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Souvenirs: The Material culture of Cultural Tourism

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In memoriam of my beloved friend Carlos Alberto Figueiras Fernandes (1962-2020)

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Abstract

This thesis explores the processes through which tourists generate meanings and re-establish (or reject) cultural stereotypes through their interaction with souvenirs during their cultural tourism experience in Greece. To date, there has been little empirical research that explores the generation of meanings and cultural stereotyping during the tourist experience. Previous studies have not dealt either with the influence of the museum experience in these processes. To address this gap, this thesis aims to explore how perceptions of authenticity are negotiated during visits to museums, souvenir shops and ceramic workshops. Since the tourist experience in Greece revolves around the cultural heritage of the country, the thesis focuses more on the souvenirs that relate to this heritage. Following the recent *return to things* in material culture studies and museum studies, the thesis investigates further the tourist-souvenir engagements and the ways that people experience souvenirs both through their representational and material properties.

The research follows a mixed-method approach adopting a triangulation design of both qualitative and quantitative methods which consisted of participant observation, survey with questionnaires and in-depth interviews with tourists visiting Greece in organised tours by travel agencies. A few interviews were also conducted with professionals of the souvenir retail industry in Greece. The findings showed that the cultural stereotypes formed prior to the arrival of tourists in Greece were re-established during the tourist experience. The majority of the research participants showed a special interest for souvenirs that relate to Classical heritage and regarded them as the most representative of the Greek culture. This thesis identified that the tourist experience shapes perceptions of authenticity: museum replicas are considered to be more authentic than other mass-produced souvenirs. It was also indicated that not only museum objects add value to museum replicas but in many cases the souvenirs that replicate (or are inspired by) museum objects enhance the importance and aura of the original objects. Furthermore, the study of the ways that people engage with their souvenirs pointed to the significance of the souvenirs' material properties for allowing embodied connections with the destination and the distant past. In this context, the study of souvenirs that relate to museum artefacts demonstrates possible ways that the public finds to engage with the distant past and with heritage objects.

Key words: souvenirs, tourist experience, Greece, cultural tourism, museums

Περίληψη

Η παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή έχει σκοπό να ερευνήσει τις διαδικασίες παραγωγής νοήματος και αναπαραγωγής (ή απόρριψης) πολιτισμικών στερεοτύπων από τους τουρίστες-επισκέπτες της Ελλάδας, κατά τη διάρκεια της πολιτιστικής τουριστικής τους εμπειρίας μελετώντας την αλληλεπίδρασή τους με τα σουβενίρ. Μέχρι σήμερα, το συγκεκριμένο πεδίο, δεν έχει ερευνηθεί αρκετά και δεν έχει πραγματοποιηθεί επαρκής μελέτη σχετικά με την επιρροή της μουσειακής εμπειρίας στις συγκεκριμένες διαδικασίες. Στόχος της παρούσας διατριβής είναι να καλύψει αυτό το ερευνητικό κενό καθώς και να ερευνήσει τη διαπραγμάτευση αντιλήψεων που σχετίζονται με ζητήματα αυθεντικότητας κατά τη διάρκεια των επισκέψεων σε μουσεία, καταστήματα πώλησης σουβενίρ και εργαστήρια κεραμικής. Δεδομένου ότι η τουριστική εμπειρία στην Ελλάδα επικεντρώνεται, κυρίως, στην πολιτιστική της κληρονομιά, η παρούσα διδακτορική διατριβή εστιάζει στα σουβενίρ τα οποία αντλούν την έμπνευσή τους από αυτήν την κληρονομιά. Ακολουθώντας την πρόσφατη «επιστροφή στα πράγματα» (*return to things*) στις σπουδές του υλικού πολιτισμού και στη μουσειολογία, η παρούσα διατριβή ερευνά περαιτέρω την αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ τουριστών και σουβενίρ καθώς και τους τρόπους με τους οποίους οι άνθρωποι «βιώνουν» τα σουβενίρ μέσω των αναπαραστατικών και υλικών τους ιδιοτήτων.

Η έρευνα που ακολουθήθηκε βασίστηκε στην υιοθέτηση ενός ευέλικτου σχεδίου με μεθοδολογικό τριγωνισμό, συνδυάζοντας ποσοτικές και ποιοτικές μεθόδους και πιο συγκεκριμένα τη συμμετοχική παρατήρηση, τις ποιοτικές συνεντεύξεις και τη δειγματοληπτική έρευνα με ερωτηματολόγια. Η έρευνα διεξήχθη σε τουρίστες περιηγητικού τουρισμού οι οποίοι επισκέφτηκαν την Ελλάδα σε οργανωμένα ταξίδια. Επιπροσθέτως, διεξήχθη μικρός αριθμός ποιοτικών συνεντεύξεων σε επαγγελματίες της αγοράς των σουβενίρ. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας υποδεικνύουν ότι κάποια από τα πολιτισμικά στερεότυπα, τα οποία είχαν διαμορφωθεί πριν την άφιξη των τουριστών στην Ελλάδα, αναπαράγονται κατά τη διάρκεια της τουριστικής εμπειρίας. Η πλειοψηφία των συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα έδειξε ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τα σουβενίρ που σχετίζονται με την Κλασική πολιτιστική κληρονομιά θεωρώντας τα ως τα πιο αντιπροσωπευτικά της Ελλάδας. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας υποδεικνύουν ότι η τουριστική εμπειρία διαμορφώνει αντιλήψεις σχετικά με την αυθεντικότητα: τα αντίγραφα των μουσειακών αντικειμένων θεωρήθηκαν, από τους συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα, περισσότερο αυθεντικά από τα σουβενίρ που

παράγονται μαζικά. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας υπέδειξαν επίσης ότι δεν είναι μόνο τα μουσειακά αντικείμενα τα οποία προσδίδουν αξία στα αντίγραφα αλλά σε πολλές περιπτώσεις μπορεί να ισχύσει και το αντίθετο: τα μουσειακά αντίγραφα καθώς και τα σουβενίρ, που εμπνέονται από τα μουσειακά αντικείμενα, μπορούν να ενισχύσουν τη σημαντικότητα και την «αύρα» των πρωτότυπων μουσειακών εκθεμάτων. Επιπροσθέτως, η μελέτη των τρόπων με τους οποίους οι άνθρωποι σχετίζονται με τα σουβενίρ αναδεικνύει την ιδιαίτερη σημασία των υλικών ιδιοτήτων των σουβενίρ τα οποία επιτρέπουν ενσώματες συνδέσεις τόσο με τον ταξιδιωτικό προορισμό όσο και με το μακρινό παρελθόν. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η μελέτη των σουβενίρ που σχετίζονται με μουσειακά αντικείμενα αναδεικνύει πιθανούς τρόπους μέσω των οποίων το ευρύτερο κοινό συνδέεται με το παρελθόν και τα πολιτιστικά αντικείμενα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Σουβενίρ, τουριστική εμπειρία, Ελλάδα, πολιτιστικός τουρισμός, μουσεία

Introduction

“You bring the souvenir from the country, from the locals, from everything you have experienced there and sometimes you don’t have to buy a souvenir at a souvenir shop but just a small piece of stone that you find in the street and that you bring back as a souvenir; it has a value for what you experienced there. More than anything else, it has the value of your personal sense of that place, the sense which was created at a specific moment during your trip.”

(N. from Spain, extract from interview)

So, this vase, although tiny, it will help me remember all the things that I saw. There was a display with ancient everyday objects or another display with votive offerings from tombs, from the excavations; so, when I look at this little vase, I will remember all those larger pieces that I couldn’t bring back”.

(MT from Argentina, extract from interview)

“I would buy a replica of Agamemnon’s mask, but I was surprised that the mask is not of Agamemnon [chuckles]. This would mean that you would buy a replica of an object that does not correspond to anything. Only if you saw it as an art piece.”

(J. from Spain, extract from interview)

Preamble

Souvenirs have been an essential element of travelling since its beginnings. From the water flasks of the ancient Roman city of Puteoli in Italy (Popkin, 2017) to the religious souvenirs of pilgrimage in the medieval age or the miniature replicas of European cities of the travellers of the Grand Tour during the 17th and 18th centuries (Paraskevaidis & Andriotis, 2015), souvenir collection has been popular among travellers throughout the ages. Souvenir purchase is still one of the main activities of tourists (Gordon, 1986; Wilkins, 2013) while shopping constitutes a third of the total travel spend (Littrell et al., 1994; Wilkins, 2013). As its name indicates¹, one of the souvenir’s main functions is to activate the mechanism of memory of a past event or experience, with a significance for its owner. In this respect, the souvenir has a double function: to trigger the memory of the experience and provide a tangible proof of it. In the present thesis, though, I view souvenirs beyond the function that their name denotes, which can be rather limiting; following previous studies (see Staiff & Bushell, 2013), I aim to investigate souvenirs as material culture with their cultural and social entanglements. The extracts cited above demonstrate that souvenirs can be ascribed with multiple meanings by their beholders. Moreover, the experience of a destination

¹Derived from the Latin verb *subvenire* which means “come to remember”. It was later used in French as a verb with the same meaning.

and the host culture is different for each individual and, therefore, the souvenirs that they acquire will be imbued with their personal values, interests and individual understanding of the destination and of the host culture. Grennan (2019) was right to observe that it is in the very nature of the souvenir to reconcile contradictions between national stereotypes and personal experience, to bring together cultural and personal narratives.

My professional role as a licensed guide in Greece enabled me to come across the fascinating nature of souvenirs and observe their significant role in the tourist experience. I became aware of the multiple meanings that people give to their souvenirs and the diverse ways that they engage with them. Being able to move with guests between archaeological sites, museums, workshops, souvenir shops, airports, hotel lounges and ports allowed me to understand both the actual and the metaphorical mobility of people, objects, images and symbols. Lash & Urry (1994, pp. 256–257) argued that the increased mobility in the contemporary world has brought a renewed awareness among people of their social conditions, a kind of ‘reflexive modernization’ which results in a wider understanding of other societies and cultures, a new sense of the nation-state and an increased interest in the past and heritage. I became interested in this field after I observed the souvenirs’ central role in the tourist experience and especially in shaping an understanding of the host culture during my professional career.

The idea to be involved with Greek souvenirs was born during a discussion I had with my supervisor, Andromache Gazi, regarding the topic of my dissertation, as part of my postgraduate course in Cultural Management (see Φλεβοτόμος, 2011). The findings of that study indicated the close relationship between souvenirs and cultural stereotyping and the importance of the tourist experience in reproducing stereotypical ideas regarding the host culture. In the present thesis I seek to explore further how tourists experience Greece through the meanings that they ascribe on the souvenirs that they acquire during their stay. By studying the processes that generate the meanings, we can see whether cultural stereotypes are renewed or rejected during the experience of the travellers visiting Greece. Since the tourist experience in Greece includes visits to cultural heritage sites and museums, the study of such processes can also illuminate how perceptions of authenticity regarding museum objects and the souvenirs that relate to them are negotiated. Apart from the meanings that souvenirs have for their beholders,

this study explores the ways in which tourists engage with their souvenirs when these engagements are initiated during the tourist experience. In response to the recent ‘material turn’ in anthropology, I aim to explore the role of the material properties of souvenirs especially in allowing connections to the destination and different ways of experiencing the remote past.

Contextualising the research gaps

Souvenirs received little attention in the past, as researchers did not consider tourist arts as a legitimate field of study of anthropological and sociological investigation (Hitchcock, 2000, p. 2). The influential volume *Ethnic and Tourist arts* by Nelson Graburn (1976) and the work on the tourist arts of Africa by Jules-Rosette (1984) established the study of souvenirs as a field of academic interest. In recent years, researchers have shown an increased interest in investigating the world of souvenirs. Books and edited volumes have been devoted to the study of souvenirs (Cave, Jenny, Baum, & Joliffe, 2013; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Hume, 2014). Despite the growing number of studies, though, many scholars prompt for the need of more research in this specific field (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Grennan, 2015; Haldrup & Larsen, 2006; Hume, 2014; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Peters, 2011; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Wilkins, 2010).

Most of the studies have adopted more subject-centred perspectives that focus on the meanings that souvenirs carry for their beholders and their role in shaping identities (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Hume, 2014; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Peters, 2011; Stewart, 1993). Such approaches usually view souvenirs for their metonymic properties and for their capacity to function as signs of an event or an experience. In her study on souvenirs, Stewart (1993, pp. 135–136) argued that the value of souvenir lies in the “narrative of its origins”. And that is not a narrative of the object itself, but a narrative created by its possessor who attaches it to the souvenir’s context of origin. Stewart (1993, p. 135) also noted the souvenir’s capacity to serve as the trace of the “second hand experience of its possessor” than the lived experience of its maker. Similarly, Hume (2014, p. 3) supported the idea that the key value of the souvenir is its ability to “mark the collector’s experience of the site”. I aim to explore further how meanings are generated during the tourist experience through the engagements that people develop with souvenirs. As

representations of the destination, souvenirs usually tend to serve as markers of the destination for their beholders. Once they are acquired by their possessors, though, souvenirs are embedded with personal meanings and value. Grennan (2015, 2019) explored the contradictions and tensions that are found on the souvenir because of its multiple narratives: the ones created by its producers and the personal meanings ascribed by its beholders. Cave and Buda (2013) noted that souvenirs are “glocal expressions of place and identity” and argued that the choices that the retailers make are based on their own interpretations of their region’s cultural identity. Grennan (2019) identified the influence between the making of souvenirs and cultural stereotyping and argued that nations can become stereotypically represented through crafted items and souvenirs, such as the miniature Eiffel towers which represent a stereotypical idea of France. To date, though, there has been little empirical research on how interpretations of cultural stereotyping are negotiated during the tourist experience through souvenirs and how these affect the meanings generated.

Due to the influence of cultural stereotyping and commercialization in the process of development and design of tourist souvenirs, notions of authenticity are contested, according to previous studies (Dougoud, 2000; Grennan, 2019; Littrell, Anderson, & Brown, 1993; Swanson & Timothy, 2012; Trinh, Ryan, & Cave, 2014). Tourists seek souvenirs that display some notion of heritage, which is usually evident in ethnic souvenirs that clearly bear elements of the local culture, while such ethnic elements suggest authenticity (Grennan, 2019, p. 168). Grennan (2019, p. 170) argues that even mass produced souvenirs which are often not produced by the host culture where they are sold which they are supposed to represent (eg. souvenirs made in China), can also carry cultural narratives. Building on Grennan’s argument, there is a number of questions regarding perceptions of authenticity of Greek souvenirs. Does the replication of museum objects or monuments influence **perceptions regarding their authenticity**? Are museum objects considered more authentic than their authentic reproductions available in the souvenir market? And what about the mass-produced souvenirs, such as T-shirts and fridge magnets that bear representations of cultural heritage monuments or iconic museum artefacts? Which are the criteria of authenticity for tourists? And do these negotiations of perceptions of authenticity during the tourist experience influence the souvenir purchase behaviour of tourists visiting Greece? And what is the role of the museum experience on such negotiations?

Much of the earlier research (Graburn, 1976; Jules-Rosette, 1984) on perceptions of the souvenirs' authenticity followed the influential work of Walter Benjamin (2007), *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, in which he argued that the 'aura' of the original art work is lost as it is mass reproduced in the industrial era. More recent studies have explored perceptions of authenticity in the field of tourism from both the hosts' and the tourists' perspective (Bruner, 2005; E. Cohen, 1988; Littrell et al., 1993; Macdonald, 1997; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Steiner, 1999; Waitt, 2000; Wang, 1999; Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010). Littrell et al. (1993) investigated the relation between souvenir purchase behaviour and definitions of authenticity. They found that the criteria of authenticity differ according to the travel motivations of the various types of travellers (see also S. Kim & Littrell, 1999; Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; see also Littrell et al., 1994).

Other studies (Bruner, 2005; Cohen, 1988; Staiff & Bushell, 2013) suggest that the authenticity of objects is socially constructed and that perceptions of authenticity are subjective. Holtorf (2005) argued that notions of authenticity are under constant (re-) negotiations by archaeologists and visitors of heritage sites and museums. By comparing the souvenir with an art object, Hume (2014, p. 3) found that there are different aesthetic judgments involved; in the case of the souvenir collector, his/her judgement is based on his/her knowledge and understanding of the site. Thus, it proves important to investigate how perceptions of authenticity are formed from the tourists' perspective when these are negotiated during the tourist experience, a field of study which has received little attention to date.

Since the cultural tourism experience in Greece includes visits to archaeological museums and heritage sites, it is important to investigate the processes that shape the tourists' perceptions of authenticity and more specifically their attitude towards the authenticity of museum objects, their reproductions and mass-produced souvenirs that relate to the cultural heritage of the host culture. Working on the authentic/inauthentic dichotomy, Bruner (2005, p. 161) observed that in many cases the reproduction constructs the original in the sense that the copy changes the way that we see the original. Similarly, Steiner (1999, pp. 95–96) argued that tourists arts can create their own standards and canons of authenticity to the point that reproductions can be more desirable and canonical than the originals. Thus, it is possible that not only the museum institutions authenticate the museum replicas available in the souvenir market but that

the latter also change the way that people view the original museum artefacts (see also Sattler & Simandiraki-Grimshaw, 2019). In this sense, although museum institutions set the standards of authenticity and shape notions of authenticity (Trilling, 1972, p. 93), these are negotiated and contested at the tourist loci.

Notions of authenticity need to take into consideration the temporal dimension, especially when souvenirs relate to museum artefacts. Commenting on the authentication processes of art objects and souvenirs, Hume (2014, p. 3) found that art objects need a title, maker, date and medium while for the souvenir such processes are different: the date of collection of the souvenir is more important than the date of production. In this sense, the souvenir is more a geographical artefact rather than a historical object, as it privileges place over time (Hume, 2014, p. 3). In the present thesis, though, I argue that the temporal dimension is equally important, especially for souvenirs that relate to museum objects such as museum replicas. In this respect, such souvenirs cannot be studied merely as geographical, as representations of place. Evans-Pritchard (1993) pointed to the significance of ancient arts on fulfilling the human need to connect with the remote past. Thus, it is possible that souvenirs related to museum objects fulfil such needs especially if we consider that in many cases museums do not allow multi-sensory experiences of their artefacts to their visitors. It is possible that through their material properties, souvenirs that relate to museum objects not only enable connections to their place of origin but also to the distant past. In this context, we need to include the discussion of materiality when we study souvenirs.

Previous studies (Dudley, 2010, 2012, 2018) have explored how museums can allow more multi-sensory experiences to their visitors through their objects. However, to date, there has been little empirical evidence of the engagements that the material properties of museum replicas and souvenirs inspired by museum objects allow. This is probably due to the lack of more object-centred studies in the field of souvenirs and approaches that study souvenirs for their sign-value. For example, Stewart (1993, pp. 135–136) supported the view that a souvenir is an object without use-value, without importance relating to its **materiality** but to its metonymic qualities. In the same vein, Grennan (2019, p. 166) argued that the materiality of the souvenir provides the certainty needed in the present in order to trigger the past experience and evoke feelings of loss, longing and nostalgia. She also noted that the souvenir owes its value to its narrative and depends on it for its agency. Morgan and Pritchard (2005, pp. 45–46) studied

souvenirs as “objects of tradition” which mediate between temporal and spatial contexts and they considered the role of their materiality in providing a “material manifestation” of the tourist experience. However, such approaches consider the materiality of souvenirs simply as a tool which allows connections between their possessors with past events or experiences while they tend to disregard the souvenirs’ capacity to acquire a more active role in their engagements with humans. By adopting the recent *return to things* and the emergence of non-representational theories, Haldrup and Larsen (2006) prompted researchers to study souvenirs from more object-centred perspectives which would allow the observation of the affects that their objects’ physical properties can trigger. Responding to this call, Ramsay (2008) considered both the affective and representative capacities of souvenirs in her PhD research, which explored how the souvenirs acquired by UK tourists in Swaziland can forge connections between them and the destination. Despite such efforts, though, there is still a need to investigate further and provide empirical evidence of the capacity that the material properties of souvenirs allow in their engagements with humans. Despite the fact that tourism research has recognised a use-value to souvenirs (Paraskevoidis & Andriotis, 2015, pp. 2–3), such as the souvenir cup (Thompson, Hannam, & Petrie, 2012), there is a need to explore beyond their utilitarian value and achieve a better understanding of the different forms that the human-souvenir interactions can take, considering also the engagement with the souvenirs’ material properties.

Thesis aims and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the processes during which tourists generate meanings and re-establish (or reject) cultural stereotypes through their interaction with souvenirs during their cultural tourism experience in Greece. Since the tourist experience in Greece revolves around the country’s cultural heritage, a special emphasis is placed on the generation of meaning during museum visits and the study of souvenirs which are directly or indirectly related to the cultural heritage of the country. Although any item collected during the tourist experience can be regarded as a souvenir, I focus more on the souvenirs that relate to the cultural heritage of Greece. Moreover, this thesis explores how people experience souvenirs not only through conceptual and mental processes but also through other more corporeal engagements.

The present research seeks to address the following questions:

- What are the processes that generate meanings attached on souvenirs during the tourist experience?
- Are cultural stereotypes renewed or rejected during the cultural tourism experience? And what is the role of souvenirs in these processes?
- What is the influence of the museum experience on the tourists' souvenir purchase practices? How are perceptions of authenticity negotiated during both museum visits and souvenir shop experiences?
- What forms do the tourist-souvenir engagements take at their early stages during the tourist experience?

I hope that this thesis will contribute to the existing literature on tourism research, material culture and museum studies. Considering the need for research on Greek souvenirs and for more empirical evidence on the study of souvenirs in general, the present work adds to the growing body of literature on this specific field of research.

The main themes investigated are the following:

- The tourists' perspective on the parameters that influence their souvenir purchases.
- The meanings that people attach on souvenirs during their tourist experience.
- Whether cultural stereotypes are renewed or rejected through souvenirs during the cultural tourism experience.
- How perceptions of authenticity are negotiated during the museum and the souvenir shop experience.
- Tourists' attitudes regarding the authenticity towards museum objects, museum replicas and souvenirs related to the cultural heritage of the host country.
- The diverse ways that tourists engage with their souvenirs and how they experience them through their material properties.

In order to investigate the above themes/questions, I draw from the fields of material culture studies, archaeology, tourism research and museum studies. Previous research (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Morgan

& Pritchard, 2005; Peters, 2011; Stewart, 1993) has established the importance of the representative qualities of the souvenirs and their sign value, which can be useful for deciphering the symbolisms and cultural narratives that souvenirs are encoded with during the production and consumption phases. However, souvenirs cannot be viewed merely as representations or images. Drawing upon the recent theoretical developments within material culture studies and more specifically the *return to things*, my goal is to also consider souvenirs as active agents during the tourist experience and examine the role of their material properties in the human-souvenir encounters. In this sense, I study the tourist experience as an experience that gives equal importance to hosts, guests and objects.

Methodology

My empirical research followed a qualitative methodological approach with flexible design, which allows more freedom to the researcher to decide or change the methodology during the course of research (Robson & McCartan, 2016, pp. 145–147). During the initial stages, I decided to conduct participant observation in order to establish a conceptual framework of the phenomena studied, clarify the research questions and decide over the methods that would be adopted during the next stages of the research. Being a licensed guide in Greece, enabled me to have access to organised tours and observe groups of tourists during their museum visits and souvenir shopping. Usually, organised tours in Greece are centred around the country's cultural heritage and more specifically its Classical heritage. Acropolis, Delphi, Olympia, Mycenae, Meteora are some of the most visited archaeological sites; similarly, the state archaeological museums are mostly included in the itineraries. In addition to the visits to cultural heritage sites, many of the organised tours in Greece include visits to ceramic workshops, wine distilleries, Byzantine icon workshops or olive farms.² During the initial stage of my research, I observed 50 groups travelling in either one-day or multi-

² Over the last 10 years, the economic recession had as a consequence a rise on the unemployment rate in Greece. This led many people to change careers and follow one in tourism. This interest towards tourism brought many fresh ideas and the foundation of many small independent agencies which started to offer alternative tours, such as graffiti tours, or neighbourhoods walks in Athens for example. This type of tours became popular among individual tourists who were travelling independently, who were finding their own accommodation and purchasing tours from different local agencies around the country (Athens, the mainland or the Greek islands). Cultural heritage sites continued to be among the most popular choices, but other more alternative tours, such as culinary tours, gained much popularity.

day tours which included both visits to archaeological sites and museum as well as stops in workshops. The analysis of the data collected from participant observation indicated that there is a relation between the tourist experience and the souvenir purchase behaviour of the participants. These findings allowed me to design the conceptual framework of the research and decide on the next stages of the research.

I decided to follow a mixed-method approach and to adopt a triangulation research design of qualitative and quantitative methods. Such an approach has the advantage of confirming and corroborating the results of the different methods adopted (see Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 41). In our case, though, we followed a convergence model: the different methods were designed in such a way as to illuminate different areas of the research (Bryman, 1988; Byrne, 2002, pp. 145–146; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007; Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 438). Data gathered from the application of each method were collected separately and in the end the results of both methods were discussed and analysed together (see *Chapter 7: Data Analysis and discussion*).

The results of the participant observation enabled me to design a semi-structured interview guide for conducting in-depth interviews. I started by conducting 44 interviews during the period between July and October 2015. The interviews were taken from Western travellers to Greece, mainly from USA, Spain, Australia and Argentina. The interviews were transcribed and analysed using the Atlas.ti software programme. The results showed the participants' impressions of the tourist experience and its influence on their souvenir purchase practices. I decided to continue conducting interviews: another 24 in-depth interviews were conducted with Western travellers (mostly from USA, Puerto Rico and one from China) visiting Greece between 2016 and 2018.

The data collected from the interviews during 2015 assisted me in designing a questionnaire in order to include a larger sample. The questionnaire consisted of 25 questions and investigated the following themes: pre-conceived ideas about Greece, the souvenir purchase behaviour, the tourist experience, and socio-demographic data. The self-completed questionnaire comprised closed-ended questions with multiple choice responses. This model was chosen for its ease and the limited time required to be filled in. The questionnaires were handed to the participants during the course of the tour whilst travelling (in the coach bus, cruise ships, hotels); therefore, an easy-to-fill questionnaire that required approximately 10 minutes to be completed proved to be

ideal. Between 2016 and 2017 a total of 561 questionnaires were distributed to 23 groups visiting Greece from Europe, Australia, North and South American countries. The sample was a non-probability convenience sample which has some limitations and cannot be generalised to a wider population (see *Limitations*).³ After the questionnaires were collected, they were statistically analysed using the SPSS software programme; in addition, crosstabulations and Pearson chi-square tests were performed in order to check the relationships between the different variables (see *Appendix I*).

Apart from the research conducted on tourists visiting Greece, it was decided to conduct in-depth interviews to professionals of the souvenir industry. Research on the design and production of Greek souvenirs is beyond the scope of the present thesis which explores the tourists' perspective. Yet, a limited number of interviews to professionals of the souvenir industry could illuminate the producers' perspective in order to better comprehend the meanings that souvenirs are ascribed by their producers before they reach the consumers. This could lead to a better understanding of the negotiations of meaning, cultural stereotypes and perceptions of authenticity during the host-guest interaction. The data from these interviews were analysed and presented together with the results of the interviews on tourists.

Thesis structure

The thesis is roughly divided in two parts. In the first part (chapters 1-5), I review the relevant literature on souvenirs (chapter 1) and provide a varied theoretical framework for the study of souvenirs. I then continue to examine the subject-object engagements, drawing mainly from material culture studies and archaeology (chapter 2), the tourist experience and the role of souvenirs (chapter 3), the museum experience and its impact on the generation of meaning ascribed on souvenirs (chapter 4), and a discussion of the heritage and tourism sectors in Greece (chapter 5). The second part (chapters 6-8) presents the research methodology (chapter 6), and the results of the study, together with a discussion of the research findings (chapter 7). The final chapter (chapter 8) outlines the conclusions of the present work with its limitations and makes some suggestions for future research.

³ Official statistics regarding incoming tourism are provided by The Bank of Greece (see *The development of tourism in Greece*).

In *Chapter 1: Souvenirs reconsidered* I contextualise my work by examining the relevant literature on souvenirs. I begin by outlining the literature concerned with the influence of socio-demographic characteristics and travel motivations on souvenir purchase behaviour. The rest of the chapter is divided in two sections. The first section attempts to locate the souvenir within its culture of origin; I examine the souvenir for its ability to objectify national tourist myths and notions of collective cultural identity of the host culture. I then look at ancient arts and their reproductions in the tourist contexts and perceptions of authenticity related to souvenirs that previous studies have addressed. The second section focuses on the engagements between humans and souvenirs. I provide a detailed analysis of souvenir mobilisations as they change realms during their biographies (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Lury, 1997; Peters, 2011). I draw mostly from Lury's (1997) approach who argued that the interlinkages between travelling and dwelling enables souvenirs to evoke their context of origin in their new environment. I then outline the literature that explores the relationship between souvenirs and the identity of their owners: the souvenir's ability to reconcile its external characteristics and the personal meanings for its owner (Grennan, 2015, 2019), to serve as a conduit between self and the Other and their power to carry the Other and the lived experience in the home environment of their owners (Love & Kohn, 2001), to construct one's personal history and identity (Lasusa, 2007), or to signify cultural and social status (Lasusa, 2007; Love & Kohn, 2001; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2010). Finally, special mention is given to more object-centred approaches that acknowledge a more active role on souvenirs and their affective capacities during the human-object encounters (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006; Ramsay, 2008).

In *Chapter 2: Experiencing Souvenirs*, I review the literature on the subject-objects engagements drawing mainly from the fields of archaeology, anthropology and material culture studies in order to establish the theoretical framework for the analysis of the tourist souvenir engagements. I adopt Olsen's (2010, pp. 12–14) bricoleur attitude, which despite its risks⁴ has the advantage of gathering elements from different theoretical approaches together for achieving a deeper understanding of the complex

⁴ Olsen (2010, p. 13) states the risk that such an approach entails in the sense that it confronts the idea of compatibility and the "customized politeness of authorial obedience". However, he (Olsen, 2010, p. 14) argues that such an approach can provide a better understanding of the complex world of things which "have repeatedly proved to be complex, different and unruly to be captured by any single philosophy or social theory"

world of things. I draw from Miller's theory of objectification in order to understand how the dialectical relationship between tourists and souvenirs contributes to the construction of meaning during the tourist experience. I then move to a discussion on the lives of humans and objects by reviewing their entanglements (Hoskins, 1998), the relationship between humans and their collections (Benjamin, 2009; Chow, 2004) and the effect that material culture can have on human identity (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Miller, 2001, 2010). This chapter is also informed by the recent theories of agency in material culture studies: I outline the theories of agency (a brief review of both Latour and Gell's approach) as well as Knappett's (2005) theories of the objects' intentionality, animacy and mutability, which can enable me to first identify and then examine their affective capacities during the encounters with humans. And in order to comprehend the different ways in which humans can experience their souvenirs, I develop a phenomenological framework based on Heideggerian thought. Such a framework is useful to see that the souvenir-tourist encounters can take multiple forms: mental processes that enable various associations and more multi-sensory and corporeal encounters through their material properties. For this reason, I have included a discussion on materiality in material culture studies (Ingold, 2000, 2007; Miller, 2005, 2007; Tilley, 2007) and also Boivin's (2008) approach from the field of archaeology.

Chapter 3: Souvenirs of tourism encounters draws from the recent work in tourism research and anthropology, explores the significance of the tourist experience and its material culture and discusses theories on authenticity in the tourist contexts. In the discussion of tourist experience and tourist space, special mention is given to the notion of 'chora', as introduced by Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010) and to 'touristic borderzone' as defined by Bruner (2005, pp. 17–18). 'Chora' is used to describe the space where hosts and travellers or "chorasters" interact. Such interactions are important for the creation of meaning during the tourist experience. The 'chora' is a space of movement, representations, memory, experience where cultural meanings are produced through the processes of interaction, negotiation, cooperation and contestation (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 10). According to the notion of "touristic borderzone" (Bruner, 2005, pp. 17–18), the tourist experience is a coproduction between the locals that organise the experience and the tourists; guides and other professionals of tourism have a key role in such co-productions. Perceptions of authenticity and cultural stereotypes are also negotiated and shaped during the tourist

experience. I argue that apart from the interactions between locals and tourists, souvenirs become the *foci* and active protagonists of such negotiations.

In *Chapter 4: Museum artefacts and souvenirs* I consider the causal links between museum objects and souvenirs and the influence of the museum experience on creating connections with the distant past and on shaping perceptions of authenticity in relation to museum objects and their reproductions. The chapter is divided in three sections. In the first one I provide an analysis of the ways in which national and cultural collective identities are constructed by museums. I then examine how cultural collective identities are expressed in everyday contexts and how they are reproduced in the tourist locus. In the second section, I analyse the factors that shape the museum experience. I explain how meaning is generated during the museum experience by the museum exhibition itself, by the tour-guide as a mediator between the exhibits and the visitors or by museum architecture and the spatial layout of the museum exhibition (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006). The chapter continues with an analysis of the connections with the remote past enabled by the interaction between people, museum objects and their reproductions. And following Dudley's (2018) call to study the capacity of museum objects in having a more active role in the human-object encounters within a museum environment, I attempt to explore:

- attitudes towards museum objects, museum replicas and copies⁵
- souvenirs and museum objects as the *foci* of negotiations of perceptions of authenticity as well as cultural stereotypes regarding the host culture.

In order to comprehend attitudes towards notions of authenticity related to museum objects and their reproductions, I created a semiotic square for analysing the authentic-reproduction interlinkages based on the models of semiotic squares

⁵ For the purposes of the present thesis, I distinguish between museum replicas and copies. According to Greek legislation (Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, 2020), TAP (renamed to *Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development or HOCRED*) is a state institution that produces the museum replicas which have the exact dimensions as the original museum objects. The museum replicas produced by TAP are available at the official museum shops as well as private souvenir shops around the country and are accompanied by a certificate validating their status as exact museum replicas. Under the license of TAP, private souvenir manufacturers and workshops can produce their own museum copies which do not have the exact dimensions and are not accompanied by the TAP certificate. However, museum copies are often accompanied with a certificate by their producers to certify that they are museum copies. (see *The souvenirs of Greece*).

introduced by Domasnka (2006a) and Shanks (2012) with the aim of overcoming the common binary oppositions of past- present and authentic-fake.

Chapter 5: *The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries* describes the circumstances that gave birth to the Greek nation-state and reviews the role of archaeology in the construction of the Greek national identity. I also analyse the development of tourism in Greece and a description of souvenir production by state institutions and by producers and retailers of the private sector.

In the second part of the thesis, I provide a description of the research methodology, a discussion of the findings and finally the thesis conclusions. In **Chapter 6: *Research methodology*** I analyse the research methodology framework and provide a detailed description of all the methods adopted and the research participants' profile. In **Chapter 7: *Data Analysis and Discussion***, data from both qualitative and quantitative methods is presented together with the discussion. The analysis is divided in two sections: in the first section I analyse the findings concerned with the influence of the tourist experience on souvenir purchase behaviour and attitudes towards cultural stereotypes regarding the host culture. In the second section I present the findings related to the tourist-souvenir engagements, the processes that generate meaning and finally the souvenirs' material properties and their role on these engagements. In **Chapter 8: *Conclusions***, I present the conclusions of thesis together with its limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 1: Souvenirs reconsidered

The souvenir must be removed from its context in order to serve as a trace of it, but it must also be restored through narrative and/or reverie. What is restored is not an “authentic”, that is, a native, context of origin but an imaginary context of origin whose chief subject is a projection of the possessor’s childhood (Stewart, 1993, p. 150)

By moving from discursive models towards more corporeal and object-mediated ones we can stress how tourists also encounter things through the hands, through corporeal proximity as well as distanced contemplation (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 278)

The above extracts summarize perfectly some of the various and diverse approaches to the study of souvenirs. Despite the recent attention to the study of souvenirs over the past few decades, researchers prompt for more research on the specific field (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Grennan, 2015; Haldrup & Larsen, 2006; Hume, 2014; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Peters, 2011; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Wilkins, 2010), especially if we take into consideration the fact that souvenir shopping is one of the major activities of tourists during their holiday (Gordon, 1986; Littrell et al., 1994; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Wilkins, 2010; Yoon-Jung Oh, Lehto, Cheng, & O’Leary, 2004). Souvenirs have often been recognised for their role as signifiers of the travel experience and as symbols of the host country’s culture, heritage and geography (Love & Sheldon, 1998).

Souvenirs, like the rest of entities that belong to the realm of objects, have been studied through subject-centred approaches that focus on the meanings and the symbolic value of souvenirs and see souvenirs as a system of signs, symbols and representations reflecting human conceptual frameworks which can be decoded. The literature on souvenirs (not necessarily the ones related to tourism) has noted the necessity of a narrative on the generation of meaning: a narrative of origins expressed through a language of longing and nostalgia (Stewart, 1993) which enhances the souvenir’s value when enmeshed with personal narratives (Grennan, 2015). A large and growing body of literature has explored meanings related specifically to tourist souvenirs: the construction of meanings and their fluidity (Love & Sheldon, 1998), the change of meanings related to a change of location of souvenirs at the home environment (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013), the ways in which meanings can be

established via social relationships and processes of fetishization and whether meanings can affect literal and metaphorical placements (Peters, 2011). Paraskevaidis and Andriotis (2015, p. 2) noted that approaches which emphasise souvenirs' use- and exchange-value are based on Marxist theory, while the ones that examine them for their sign-value follow post-modern social theory; the authors suggest that souvenirs should also be studied for their spiritual value by adopting a hybrid theoretical perspective. Other studies have examined the role of souvenirs in identity construction either through the creation of personal histories (Lasusa, 2007), or through the relationship between materiality, tourism and self-identity (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). Considering souvenirs' liminal status between spatial and temporal contexts, previous research has examined their mobile nature as "travelling-in-dwelling" or "dwelling-in-travelling" objects (Lury, 1997), their mediating role between experiences in time and space (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005) or between Self and Other (Love & Kohn, 2001) as well as their ability to fuse these worlds into the domestic everyday life.

More object-centred approaches, that follow the recent theoretical developments in material culture studies, emphasize the role of souvenirs in the processes that generate meaning (Peters, 2011); or explore their ability to create corporeal engagements with humans (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006), which can give them the potential to forge connections between people and place (Ramsay, 2008). Other object-oriented studies have followed more functional approaches, focusing on tourists' souvenir purchase behaviour affected by tourism styles, trip typologies or travel motivations (Littrell et al., 1994; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004), or by demographic characteristics (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; Combrink & Swanson, 2000; Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; Wilkins, 2010; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004).

Socio-demographic characteristics, travel motivations and souvenir purchase behaviour

A considerable number of studies have examined the shopping behaviour mainly from the tourists' perspective in order to identify their purchase motivations and attitudes (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; S. Kim & Littrell, 1999; Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Wilkins, 2010; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004; Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005), whereas a growing number of studies have started to research the

retailers' perspective (Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019; Swanson, 2004a; Timothy, 2005).

To date, several studies have investigated the **effects of demographic characteristics and travel motivations on the souvenir purchase behaviour**. Anderson and Littrell (1996), for example, studied the souvenir purchase behaviour of female travellers and did not find any differentiations according to age. Similarly, age was not found to be a significant factor in a study by Turner and Reisinger (2001), except from some slight differentiations between large segments of younger and older participants. Yu and Littrell (2005) demonstrated that younger and less educated travellers are interested into "hedonic shopping" (they enjoy the shopping experience and value, and the store atmosphere), while older travellers are more favourable of a product-oriented shopping experience in which design and workmanship are emphasized. In the same study it was also observed that people of a higher educational level were less likely to have "hedonic shopping" values and to emphasise the shopping experience; travellers of a higher income showed a preference for the quality, function and craftsmanship of the products (Yu & Littrell, 2005, p. 16). Studies from other fields have found that people in general tend to keep less items as they grow older, although objects continue to be important for them (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, p. 25; Kavanagh, 2000, pp. 104–105). Regarding differentiations on souvenir purchase behaviours according to gender, several studies have noted that women tend to purchase more souvenirs than men (Anderson & Littrell, 1996; Littrell et al., 1993; Wilkins, 2010). Kim and Littrell (2001, p. 348) explored the effects of age, marital status, education, employment and income on souvenir purchase intentions and found that only marital status was significantly associated with souvenir choices: married women who belonged to the ethnic type of travellers had a stronger intention to purchase a T-shirt for themselves. Combrink and Swanson (2000) found some differences between male and female travellers on the souvenir choices such as books, antiques, toys and local foods. The study by Lehto et al (2004) indicated differentiations according to gender and age: female travellers showed a preference for clothes, shoes, jewellery, gourmet foods and crafts in comparison to male travellers who had lower interest for all these activities. Travellers between 31-40 and over 51 years old, showed a higher interest for gourmet foods while younger ones were interested more in clothes, shoes and jewellery.

Many studies have also explored **the relationship of the travel experience with souvenir consumption**. For example, the role of the travel experience on ascribing meanings to souvenirs (Gordon, 1986; Shenhav-Keller, 1993), and the relationship between travel activities and souvenir consumption (Littrell, 1990; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004; Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005). Previous studies also highlighted the importance of the souvenir shopping experience and distinguished several attitudes among the different types of tourists who participate in various travel activities (Littrell et al., 1994; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004; Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005). Love and Sheldon (1998), for example, related the degree of travel experience to the meanings that tourists ascribe to souvenirs. Littrell et al (1994) distinguished travellers into four tourism styles: the ethnic, arts and people; history and parks; urban entertainment; and active outdoor. The **“ethnic, arts and people”** tourism style travellers were interested in experiencing authenticity by meeting local people, craftsmen and artisans and purchased items for their aesthetic quality, uniqueness such as crafted items, jewellery, local foods and antiques. The **“history and parks”** visited historical sites and national parks, valued the aesthetic and functional attributes of products and purchased books, postcards and local foods, while the **“urban and entertainment”** were interested in sport events and shopping activities and showed a preference for souvenirs which were clear markers of the destination such as t-shirts. Finally, the **“active outdoor”** tourism style travellers preferred outdoor activities and purchased items such as t-shirts and souvenirs related to nature. Based on this study, Yu and Littrell (2003, 2005) created tourism typologies and divided travellers into two broad categories according to their type of travel activity: the **“spectator/recreational”** and the **“socially engaged”**. They examined whether the travellers’ travel type determined their attitude towards shopping behaviour. One of their findings was that tourists who are interested in history, culture and meeting people were inclined towards a process-oriented shopping behaviour: interacting with the producers/artisans, learning about the process of production and the historical and cultural context of the crafts (Yu & Littrell, 2003, p. 148). Other studies found that tourists interested in history and culture showed a preference for antiques and arts and crafts (see Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004). Uniqueness seems to be one of the important product attributes that tourists value. Confirming the findings of earlier studies (L. W. Turner & Reisinger, 2001), Swanson and Horridge (2006, p. 681) observed that unique

attributes were described as “innovative, clever or made by a known craftsman or artisan from the area”. This is possibly due to wide availability of mass produced souvenirs in tourist areas which motivates tourists to seek unique attributes in souvenir products: innovative, clever products which are made by a local artisan as has been observed by earlier studies (Anderson & Littrell, 1995)

A large number of published studies address issues related to **the perception of authenticity of craft souvenirs** either by suppliers (Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019) or tourists (Littrell et al., 1993), the different notions of authenticity depending on the meaning ascribed to souvenirs (Love & Sheldon, 1998), or issues related to authenticity, commercialization and commodification of tourists arts⁶ (Graburn, 1976; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Swanson, 2013; Swanson & Timothy, 2012).

“Lost” between souvenir typologies

The rather peculiar title I chose for this section expresses the fact that there have been several attempts to categorise souvenirs which led to the creation of several souvenir typologies. Without undervaluing their usefulness, such typologies tend to constrain souvenirs into certain categories. They thus restrain the mobility of souvenirs through different categories during their biography and they don’t take into consideration interactions between the different souvenir types. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I deem necessary to record the **souvenir typologies** that have been suggested by different scholars (see **Table 1**).

Previous studies have noted the difference between memento and souvenir; usually the former refers to non-commercial items with individual or personal significance while the latter refers to purchasable items acquired during travel acting as reminders (Gordon, 1986; Stewart, 1993). Others have distinguished between touristic items, acquired during travel with a purpose of signifying the trip, and non-touristic items, that is any item collected during the tourist experience (such as tickets, maps, local newspapers and local currency), which start acquiring the status of a ‘souvenir’ in retrospect (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013, p. 21; Swanson & Timothy, 2012, p. 490).

⁶ The term is used by Graburn (1976, pp. 14–21) to refer to the commercial arts intended for tourists. He distinguishes them from the non-commercial ethnographic objects which are intended for the internal market.

The work of **Graburn** (1976) was the first to focus exclusively on the tourist arts. Even though his work explored the ethnic and tourist arts of native and aboriginal populations of the “fourth world”, he set the basis for the study of souvenirs. Until that time, souvenirs were either disregarded or were subsumed into the broader discussion of tourism. Graburn distinguished the different categories of souvenirs and created a typology. First of all, he distinguished between the “inwardly directed arts” that are directed towards the internal market of the host culture which maintain and enhance its ethnic identity; and the “airport or tourist arts”, that is the arts aimed at the external market which present an ethnic image to the outer world. In his work on the fourth world arts, Graburn (1976, pp. 4–9) produced the following classifications according to these arts’ artistic changes: extinction arts⁷; traditional or functional fine arts; commercial fine arts; souvenirs; reintegrated arts; assimilated fine arts and popular arts. Of particular interest to our research are **the commercial and the souvenir arts**: the former are intended for sale but nevertheless retain specific cultural aesthetic standards of the region, while the latter refer to the tourist arts that conform entirely to the tourists’ demands (Graburn, 1976, pp. 6–7). These categories are all intended for the external world and their art forms are altered to meet their customers’ demands. The commercial arts are usually acquired as status symbols and are purchased more as genuine authentic artefacts of the native culture rather than memorabilia. The souvenir arts are mostly mass produced and their makers are particularly concerned with fulfilling their customers’ demands and producing cheap and portable souvenirs which are also easily understandable (Graburn, 1976, p. 15). A particular mention was made by the author for the revival of ancient or dying arts; Graburn (1976, pp. 19–21) distinguished between the “revival, faking and reproduction” of such arts. “Revival” refers to the re-creation of ancient art which is no longer used, “faking” to the production of items that are made to seem old and authentic while “reproduction” is the re-creation of an ancient art by various materials not claiming to be original. He also used the term “archaism” (Graburn, 1976, p. 21) for those tourist items that are made to look ancient but do not replicate particular objects.

Gordon (1986) focused more on the souvenirs of the tourist market and she introduced a broader typology of the souvenir art categories:

- **Pictorial images** such as postcards and photos

⁷ Graburn (1976, p. 5) refers to indigenous art which is disappearing

- **Piece-of-the-rock souvenirs** which are usually taken from the natural world (pebbles, driftwood, pinecones, sand)
- **Symbolic shorthand souvenirs** which are manufactured and usually evoke a message of the destination. Miniaturised monuments like miniature Eiffel towers belong to this type.
- **Markers** are the souvenirs that usually do not have a reference to the destination as items themselves but have an inscription that clearly indicates it. A typical example are t-shirts with the name of the destination.
- **Local product souvenirs** such as food products or traditional clothing, as well as local crafts

Stewart (1993), on the other hand, distinguished between two categories of souvenirs only: the **“sampled”** and the **“representative”**. The former concerns those items which are particularly connected to their owner and his/her experience of the destination; they usually do not bear a clear marker of the destination. The owner literally carries a sample of the destination that has an individual meaning for him/her. The representative souvenir on the other hand is the souvenir that bears a clear representation of the destination and is available at the tourist market. This could include any item that connotes directly to the host culture whether it be a mass produced or crafted item. In his work on souvenirs, **Hume** (2014, p. 5) followed Stewart’s categorisation but also introduced one more category which he named **“Crafted”**, meaning the **crafted souvenirs** which use endemic materials of the host country.

Table 1:Souvenir types

Study	Souvenir types	Characteristics
Graburn, 1976	Inwardly directed arts and the airport or tourist arts	Inwardly directed arts are intended for the internal market and enhance the host culture's ethnic identity. The airport or tourist arts aim for an external market and represent an ethnic image to the outer world.
	Commercial and souvenir arts	Commercial arts are intended for sale but retain the cultural aesthetic standards of the region; they are usually purchased more as authentic artefacts, functioning as status symbols for their owners. The souvenir arts are mass produced, cheap and portable, intended to meet the tourists' demands.
	Revival, faking, reproduction and archaism	Revival refers to the re-creation of ancient art no longer used; faking to the production of items made to seem old and authentic; reproduction is defined as the re-creation of ancient art by various materials not claiming to be original. Archaism refers to tourist items which are made to look ancient but do not replicate specific objects.
Gordon, 1986	Pictorial	Postcards and photos
	Piece-of-the-rock	from the natural world (pebbles, pinecones, sand)
	Symbolic shorthand souvenirs	Miniaturised monuments
	Markers	Usually bear an inscription that clearly indicates the destination.
	Local product souvenirs	Food products, traditional clothing, local crafts

Study	Souvenir types	Characteristics
Gordon, 1986 Stewart, 1993	Souvenir and memento	A souvenir is a purchasable item acquired during the travel experience, while a memento is a non-commercial item with individual significance.
Stewart, 1993	Sampled and representative souvenirs	The sampled are closely connected with their owner and the experience of the destination without bearing a clear marker of it. The representative are the souvenirs that bear a clear representation of the destination and are purchasable at the tourist market.
Collins et al, 2013 Swanson and Timothy, 2012	Touristic and non-touristic items	A touristic item is a souvenir purchased with the purpose of signifying the trip, while a non-touristic item can be any item collected during the travel experience.
Hume, 2014	Sampled, representative and crafted	The author added one more type on Stewart's categorisation. The crafted souvenirs are the ones that are made of local materials.

The nature of the Greek souvenirs and the results of my empirical research indicated the limitations that a souvenir typology can bring: Souvenirs can belong to different categories or even move from one category to another through their life cycle. In general, a souvenir, can be any item that tourists acquire during their holiday at the host country. Of course, there are cases in which non-tourist items that were not intended to be used as souvenirs serve such a role in retrospect after travellers usually return back to their home country: such items could include public transport tickets, local newspapers etc (see Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Swanson & Timothy, 2012). In this sense, souvenirs of Greece can be any collected item that links its beholder with the destination and the travel experience in the country: from pebbles and rocks to public transport tickets, and from crafted items to mass produced souvenirs.

Because cultural heritage has a central role in the tourist experience in Greece, museum objects are closely linked to the souvenir arts. Museum replicas reproduce original museum objects through the re-invention of ancient arts by applying ancient methods and techniques of production. To use Graburn's term, "archaism" is a common

trend for the production of many souvenirs in Greece: items inspired by museum artefacts which are made to look ancient but do not claim to be exact replicas. Usually these take the form of items that bear images and symbols of the ancient Greek world, such as the “maeander”, or representations of mythological gods and heroes of the Classical world. The main purpose of this study is not to investigate the nature of the Greek souvenirs in general, but to explore possible links between heritage objects and tourist souvenirs in Greece. For this reason, I was particularly interested in the souvenir arts that are related to the cultural heritage of Greece.

A) Souvenirs in their place of origin

Souvenirs: messengers of “nation-ness”

Previous studies have noted the influence of both producers and consumers on the character of the souvenir (Goss, 2004; Graburn, 1976; Hitchcock, 2000; Hume, 2014; Jules-Rosette, 1984; Stewart, 1993; Swanson, 2004b; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). From the consumers’ perspective, souvenirs need to be able to embody their travel experience in a tangible form (Littrell et al., 1994; Swanson, 2004b), whereas from the retailer’s perspective they need to be able to satisfy their customers’ expectations (Swanson, 2004b, p. 363). And tourists of the post-modern era do not care for innovation but for the familiar, the stereotypical forms as Christopher Steiner (1999, p. 99) commented following Eco (1985)⁸. In order to serve such a function, souvenirs, in many cases, display clear representations, symbols or markers of the destination, so that a place-object connection -one of the principal souvenir’s functions- could be made easily by their purchasers,(Swanson, 2013). In this sense, taking into consideration that demand can increase people’s awareness of their self-image (Graburn, 1976, p. 19), souvenirs can embody the image that the host country wishes to portray to the external world, the wishes of destination planners (Swanson & Timothy, 2012) or represent the culture and heritage of the destination (Hume, 2014, p. 2). With the development of tourism in the twentieth century, many destinations created **national tourist myths** based on their customs, cultural heritage, national symbols and “ethnoscapes”, that is

⁸ Eco (1985, pp. 161–162) argued that there was no distinction between arts and crafts in the Middle Ages; it was during the modern period that crafts emerged as a distinct form of art. In the post-modern era, Eco supported that there has been a shift towards the appreciation of the familiar and the aesthetics of seriality. In this sense, serial arts transmit high-redundance messages which is something characteristic of tourists arts according to Steiner (1999, p. 99)

“landscapes endowed with poetic ethnic meaning through the historization of nature and the territorialisation of ethnic memories” (Smith, 1999, p. 16). The use of historic and heritage symbols together with monuments, flags, uniforms and ceremonies create social ties and remind to the members of a nation their common heritage and cultural kinship (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 19; Palmer, 1999, p. 316). Similarly, the use of such symbols in tourism contributes not only to the construction of the national tourist myths but also to the definition of cultural identities and concepts about nationhood (Palmer, 1999; Shanks, 1992).

Previous studies have shown that ethnic labels and cultural attributes can be integrated through a discourse of nationality while such messages are communicated to the rest of the world through tourism (Wood, 1997, p. 11). Marketing ethnicity (Wood, 1997, p. 19) and “packaging” an identity for sale to tourists (Palmer, 1999, p. 315) creates **a self-awareness of one’s own social identity** and a sense of belongingness to the same community. In light of this, tourism and its constructed myths promote a sense of nation-ness to the potential visitors of a destination but also make the local populations of the host country self-conscious of their national and/or ethnic identity. And in many cases heritage and tourism are manipulated so as to serve as tools for nationalistic purposes and ideological goals (Timothy, 2021, pp. 145–148). Previous studies have shown that there is usually a gap between the real lives of people and the images portrayed through tourism publicity (Mason, 1996); in this sense, the content chosen and the narrative created for tourism promotion and marketing campaigns does not correspond to reality but it is constructed and selective: certain eras and historic periods of the cultural heritage of a nation (Walsh, 1992) are chosen, while scenic landscapes are used as metaphors to create notions of nation-ness (Palmer, 1999; Selwyn, 1996). In case of countries whose cultural heritage is important for the formation of their national identity, tourist myths and ‘ethnoscapes’ are usually an enmeshment of the ancient with the present. For example, Ireland is promoted like a pre-modern society, a land of leprechauns and of unspoilt beautiful scenery (O’Connor cited in Palmer, 1999, p. 318). In Australia the predominantly white producers (designers, travel writers and souvenir makers) have appropriated cultural symbols and practices from the Aboriginal cultural heritage and have used them as symbols of the nation and mass produced them as Australian souvenirs (Grennan, 2019, p. 173). Similarly, the Greek tourist myth has long been informed by the Classical past and the Cycladic “ethnoscapes”, promoting

the country as the land of mythological gods and heroes ,and serene Cycladic landscapes which reflect the ancient Greek principles and the undisturbed continuity between past and present (Hamilakis, 2007; Loukaki, 2016; Stenou, 2019).

Wood (1997) argues that the study of such processes in tourism can provide a **better understanding** of attitudes of the modern man towards **ethnicity and ethnic identity**. In this sense, the study of souvenirs which embody notions of nationhood can throw more light into the processes that create and reproduce cultural stereotypes. Considering the role that material worlds can play on the construction of identities (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981) and more specifically the effect of souvenirs on the personal and social identities of both the producers (Evans-Pritchard, 1993; Graburn, 1976; Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019) and the consumers (Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005), the present study attempts to explore further **how souvenirs become material manifestations of negotiations of identities between hosts and guests and embodiments of cultural stereotypes** reproduced during the tourist experience.

Ancient arts in tourist contexts

Due to the central role of the cultural heritage on Greece's tourist products, there is a strong link between archaeology and tourism (*see Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries*) which generated the re-invention of ancient arts produced mainly for the tourist market. Even though such a re-invention aims mostly at fulfilling the demands of the tourists/collectors who require objects linked to the remote past, **tourist arts** function beyond their commercial function and become **national emblems**. Referring to a different context⁹, Graburn (1976, p. 25) noted that “threatened identities” need a revival of their archaic traditions, a reinforcement of their identity by a link to a glorious past. Regarding the revival of archaic traditions in tourist arts, Cohen (1993, p. 3) distinguished between the revival of declining traditions and the “resuscitation” of archaic forms, which are actually new art forms; for the latter he observed that the artisans usually have no historical links with the ancient culture from which they extract the prototypes of their work and which they learn to reproduce, while

⁹ Graburn (1976, p. 25) spoke of “threatened identities” in the context of tribes whose identity was under threat and which revived traditions like the Ghost dance of the Plains Indians and the Longhouse Religion Iroquois in North America during the 19th century.

they are usually proud for being able to revive ancient traditions and preserve them for the future (Cohen, 1993, p. 3). It is of no surprise that in many countries of the Western world the profession of craftspeople of ethnic/tourist arts is prestigious and supported by state institutions, academics, and professionals of the heritage sector. For example, Evans-Pritchard (1993, p. 19) gives the example of the crafting of reproductions of ancient art in Greece which is under the protection of the National Organization of Hellenic Handicrafts founded in 1958; the same is true for the reproduction of papyrus in Egypt. In other parts of the world, as in the case of the revival of the “Pueblo art” of Native American communities (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 21), the artists of the specific community were encouraged by the archaeologists to revive the designs and methods of their ancestors. The author concluded that “the archaeological and anthropological community towards the authenticity and traditionality of art forms has been influential in the development of some tourist arts that derive their designs or shapes from ancient models” (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 21) Another point to consider is that the re-invention of ancient arts in the context of tourism also adds to the narrative needed for the creation of the tourist myths, which in its turn can reinforce nationalistic ideologies for the host culture (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 12), as has been the case in places like Crete (Χαμηλάκης, 2010) or Greece, in general.

Furthermore, the **commoditisation of the past in the context of tourism** reinforces notions of the past as linear and recyclable: the past is seen as distant but at the same time “ownable” (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 12). Following Lowenthal’s (2015) analysis of the attributes of the past, Evans-Pritchard (1993, pp. 12–13) argues that when people purchase a copy of an ancient pot, they actually buy what the object signifies (see also Baudrillard, 1983), in other words, the important characteristics and principles of an ancient civilisation; the fact that the pot is a replica is usually of no significance. The popularity of ancient arts used in a modern context also indicates a desire for nostalgia and a need to relate to a romanticised reconstructed past (Evans-Pritchard, 1993a, p. 13), which has been recognised as one of souvenirs’ main functions (Stewart, 1993). Thus, the acquisition of reproductions fulfils both the nostalgia for the remote past and for the past travel experience. We find the roots of collecting and preserving past relics in the Renaissance, as a result of the recognition of their historical value (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 11). A new appreciation of the past and a linear sense of time coincided with the height of The Grand Tour in Europe when young aristocrats

collected antiquities during their travels in the Mediterranean (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 15). And although the collection of arts and all sorts of curiosities is not only a Western phenomenon, such attitudes and practices that still influence modern tourism have European and American origins (Hitchcock, 2000, p. 6; see also Hume, 2014, p. xvi; Χτούρης, 1995, p. 48). Similar to the antiquarian who is driven by a “nostalgic desire of romanticism or the political desire of authentication” in his mission to discover material remains of the past (Stewart, 1993, p. 140), one of the motives of modern tourists is a connection with the past.¹⁰ The world of reproductions of ancient objects fulfils such desires while the role of museums is crucial in creating such needs: indirectly through the reification of history in museum displays (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 10), or directly by branding heritage objects available in the museum shops (De Groot, 2016, pp. 297–304). Many questions are also raised on the effects of commercialisation of ancient arts; in some cases the ancient arts are partly adapted or in other cases ancient motifs are incorporated in modern art (Graburn, 1976). Such practices can lead to simplifications and distortions of the cultural and historical context of the ancient arts (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 23).

Although tourism has been regarded as one of the revenues that the heritage sector needed to maintain itself, issues regarding the commoditization of the past raised concerns among archaeologists, heritage professionals and institutions. However, in some cases it is archaeology and government policies that have raised the status of its material remains: the example of the Wooden Trojan Horse standing outside the archaeological site in Troy, modern Turkey, is a good example. Despite the fact that there is no evidence that the archaeological site is Homer’s mythical Troy, the Turkish government has perpetuated the myth created by Schliemann in the 19th century. The official authorities have created a wooden horse that has become the iconic image of the site and the region, while it has also been replicated and is available in souvenir shops (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 23). Similarly, the golden mask that Hienrich Schliemann discovered during his excavations at Mycenae in the late 19th century was erroneously associated by him with the mythical king Agamemnon; today the mask is one of the iconic museum objects of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, while souvenirs representing the mask are available in the souvenir market. Olsen

¹⁰ According to many scholars (Greenwood, 1982; MacCannell, 2013; Trilling, 1972), modern people are motivated by their need to rediscover authentic life which they find in their travels (see Γαλάνη-Μουτάφη, 1995)

(2010, pp. 52–54) has observed that a museum’s caption forms an artefact’s initial identity before it is copied and sold in the tourist market. Thus, cultural symbols such as Agamemnon’s mask are commoditized and become available to the wider public through tourism networks. What the host country wishes to promote in its contact with the Other and what museums highlight as important and iconic is reflected on souvenirs.

On the other hand, we also need to consider that the “souvenirizing” of antiquities iconizes and enhances the status of the original museum artefacts (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 23), a point confirmed by the results of the present research (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*). The previous two examples, however, raise some questions regarding authenticity: does commercialisation and commodification of the past distort the authentic character of souvenirs? Are tourists actually concerned with authenticity? Why and to whom does authenticity matter? How is the perception of authenticity constructed in tourist contexts?

The “authentic” souvenir

The discussion about authenticity has been central to the field of tourism and has generated various approaches from different perspectives. Boorstin (2012) and MacCannell (2013), for example, argued that the authenticity of objects is set by the fulfilment of certain objective criteria and standards. They took a negative stance that viewed tourism as unable to provide authentic experiences and the tourists as shallow and unable to fully submerge in the host culture (Boorstin, 2012). MacCannell (2013), on the other hand, argued that modern man seeks authenticity and the more alienated he/she feels, the more essential his/her need for authenticity becomes. Similarly, in his work on tourist arts, Graburn (1976, p. 19) observed that modern Western tourists search for the primitive, the handmade and the authentic; he further observed that the interest for antique and revived ancient arts actually fulfils the quest for authenticity. Graburn (1989) also found similarities between tourists and pilgrims: both types of travellers move away from their ordinary lives; during their travel they go through rites of passage, coming back home transformed and renewed. Graburn (1976) also observed that there can be a “metamorphosis” through which an inauthentic object can become authentic during its lifetime. Speaking from an anthropological perspective about the

art of the Fourth World, Graburn (1976, pp. 4–5) distinguished the arts between those which are directed “inwardly” and reinforce the ethnic identity and social structure, and those aimed at an external world which are termed “tourist or airport arts”. The latter have been viewed as unimportant, but they also present the external world with the ethnic image of the host country (Graburn, 1976, p. 5). However, Graburn (1976, p. 6) noted characteristically about the tourist arts:

“The rationalization of production and the standardization or simplification of design of many souvenir arts have tended to give all commercial, contemporary arts a bad name. The symbolic content is so reduced, and conforms so entirely to the consumers’ popular notions of the salient characteristics of the minority group, that we may call these items ethno-kitsch...”

According to Graburn (1989), the type of souvenirs acquired as evidence of such experiences are related to the tourism types that he suggested: for example, the “environmental tourists” are interested in taking pictures and postcards, the “Hunter and Gatherer” usually collect rocks and seashells, and the “ethnic tourists” acquire indigenous arts and crafts. Such more objectivist approaches tended to accept a real and true authenticity evident in the objects of travel (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019). According to this perspective, souvenirs can be tested for their genuine character and provenance, their authentic techniques and methods used, and the legitimacy of the craftsperson who creates them; such qualities and characteristics can be measured by souvenir experts and suppliers (Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019, pp. 105–106; Swanson, 2013, pp. 71–72). Similarly, Jules-Rosette (1984) recognises that tourist arts comply with the demands of the marketing experts who try to fulfil the demands of the consumers; as a consequence, tourist art becomes highly standardised and commercialised. This need for ‘kitsch’ or ‘tacky’ art is explained if we accept the inversion of home environment/tourist destination: tourists feel free while on vacation and buy art of lower quality simply because they are on holiday (Gordon, 1986, pp. 138–139)

Since the 1980s, scholars have addressed authenticity from different perspectives and have conducted surveys in order to get better insights of how the hosts and the tourists view authenticity (Bruner, 2005; E. Cohen, 1988; Holtorf, 2005; Littrell et al., 1993; Macdonald, 1997; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Steiner, 1999; Waitt, 2000; Wang, 1999; Wearing et al., 2010). Despite the proliferation of studies in this field, however, research on notions of authenticity from the supplier’s perspective is missing with the exception of a few studies, which have found that souvenir authenticity for

retailers is defined in terms of the location of production, traditional methods and techniques used and connection to the past (Chhabra, 2005; Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019, p. 107).

Littrell et al. (1993) explored **souvenir consumption** and examined the criteria used by US tourists for defining the authenticity of craft souvenirs (see **Table 2**). They identified eight major themes for authenticity: uniqueness and originality, workmanship, cultural and historic integrity, aesthetics, function and use, craftsman and materials, shopping experience and genuineness. Similar themes have been observed by various other researchers (Timothy, 2005, pp. 79–81). A very popular criterion for assessing an item as authentic is its uniqueness. The survey participants in the study of Littrell et al (1993, pp. 204–205) defined unique items as “one-of-a-kind” or “very few existing”. Uniqueness in terms of their mode of production meant items which were not mass produced. A second major theme was the “cultural and historical integrity” of their objects of travel. As such, they defined craft objects which were manufactured by the host culture and whose design, symbols, motifs and meanings were related to the local culture and its history. The cultural symbolism of items acquired as mementos is a very important criterion for people who value cultural and historical authenticity as has also been noted by other researchers (Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; Shenhav-Keller, 1993; Timothy, 2005; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004). Shenhav-Keller (1993, 1995) referred to the souvenirs of Israel as items that materialise the notion of “Jewishness” both for locals and visitors of Israel. Another important criterion for regarding the souvenir as authentic in the study of Littrell et al. (1993) was the shopping experience: the survey participants reported that they enjoyed watching a demonstration of crafts’ production, meeting the craftsman and receiving information for the techniques applied and the materials used while they valued handcrafted and not mass produced items. Documentation that accompanies the purchase of souvenir items, either a signature by the artisan or a certificate provided by the retailer, guaranteed its authenticity. Other criteria for enhancing the sense of authenticity of souvenir items included their use by the local population as well as their aesthetic properties (Littrell et al., 1993, pp. 204–207). Moreover, demographic characteristics and different tourism styles of respondents were found to affect notions

of authenticity. For example, people who were categorised as “ethnic and arts”¹¹ valued the materials, workmanship and quality and traditional features of their souvenirs and not the ones that were mass-produced or non-genuine. The “History and Parks” travellers appreciated genuineness and quality workmanship but they also valued items that were handmade with regional and traditional designs and had historical representations (Littrell et al., 1993, p. 208). It seems that tourists who were interested in ethnic and cultural-historical tourism tend to define as “authentic” items that display ethnic, historic, and cultural links with the host culture while they also value the work of the artisan and the local materials used. Bunn (2000, p. 172) argued that the Western perception of authenticity which has been shaped by museums, regards as authentic goods the ones made by local artisans and local materials. Other studies found that authentic souvenirs that are linked to the cultural resources of a destination allow a connection between hosts and guests (Derrett, 2003; Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019, p. 106). It has also been noted that food products can be perceived as authentic when they are considered to be typical of the destination and locally produced while more innovative travellers are willing to try and acquire more unfamiliar tastes (Altintzoglou, Heide, & Borch, 2016).

Other studies have addressed **issues of commoditization** and its impact on local cultures and on definitions of authenticity. Commodification of heritage and culture is something common in the souvenir business (MacLeod, 2006; Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019), while hosts often create sophisticated settings which are “staged” to give a sense of authenticity (MacCannell, 2013). Previous studies have observed that the making process adds to the meaning of the souvenir and adds to its perceived authenticity (Bunn, 2000). But questions are raised regarding the degree of authenticity of such settings once they have been adapted to meet tourists’ expectations. Instead of talking about authenticity, we are probably talking about “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 2013) or “reconstructed ethnicity” (Graburn, 1983), behind which are hierarchies of “back stage” regions with no access to tourists (Goss, 2004, pp. 329–

¹¹ Littrell (1990; Littrell et al., 1993, pp. 203–204) distinguishes four categories according to tourism styles. The “ethnic, arts and people” are interested in immersing themselves in the host culture, meeting with locals, visiting ethnic communities, participating in local festivals and art events and valuing ethnic arts. The “History and Parks” are interested in activities that centre around history or nature, they enjoy outdoor activities and are less interested in meeting people than the ‘ethnic, arts and people’. The “Urban entertainment enjoy urban activities such as shopping, sport events and visiting theme parks. Finally, the “Active Outdoor” style of tourists enjoy participating in outdoor activities and sports.

330). Such cultural settings provide spaces where notions of authenticity are negotiated, and new meanings are created. For example, Halewood and Hannam (2001, p. 574) give the example of Viking (reconstructed) markets where authenticity is negotiated between traders and tourists; they find this more suitable for post-tourists who are aware that there is no authentic tourist experience but are willing to enjoy (Urry, 2002). Although archaeologists and managers of Viking heritage centres try to set certain standards, authenticity is interpreted more broadly by traders and tourists, and does not necessarily comply with such standards (Halewood & Hannam, 2001, p. 574). However, some heritage sites themselves make claims to authenticity as in the case of the Jorvik Viking Centre in the UK which employed academic experts to provide detailed reconstructions of Viking textiles (Halewood & Hannam, 2001, p. 575). In this sense, authenticity is artificially constructed in the heritage sector; and in many cases it is the place itself and its historical or archaeological significance that creates a sense of authenticity and symbolic value (Halewood & Hannam, 2001, p. 575; Shenhav-Keller, 1993). Some scholars have distinguished between the authenticity of the past and the authenticity of culture: the authenticity of the former is more debatable, considering that the past is imagined (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 10) and its meaning is created in the present (Shanks, 1992, p. 86). In this respect, we are not talking about an object's authentic past but its experience in the present.

Holtorf (2005, pp. 116–119) argued that authenticity depends on the context of the observer. The author demonstrated that perceptions of authenticity and aura of archaeological sites and heritage objects can be created and (re-)negotiated by archaeologists as well as by the visitors to archaeological sites and museums. The author supported the view that an object is not old and authentic as such but it is constructed through processes that take place in the present (Holtorf, 2005, pp. 119–12). The driving force for perceiving an object as authentic is usually desire: the desire of the archaeologist to find a specific artefact, or the tourist's desire to admire a certain object and experience its pastness (Holtorf, 2005, p. 121). And in many cases the experience of pastness is defined by values of the present to the point that the recreated past supersedes the original remains. A typical example in our case is the so-called Mask of Agamemnon that fulfilled not only Schliemann's desire but continues to do the same for contemporary visitors to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens;

the imagined and recreated past is stronger than the archaeological find and the mask is still referred to as the mask of the legendary king.

Thus, the **role of the official heritage** as expressed in sites or museums **in the authentication processes** of traded goods in the souvenir market is crucial. Trilling (1972, p. 93) argued that museums where art objects and artefacts are certified as genuine are the institutions that shape perceptions of authenticity. It is not surprising that souvenir and museum shops usually seek confirmation of the authenticity of their products from institutions such as museums. Actually, the experience of tourists at markets or workshops where they can see the production process (or even be part of it as a hands-on experience) turns the traded goods into markers of the verification of the authenticity process (Halewood & Hannam, 2001, p. 576). Holtorf (2005, pp. 125–127) uses the examples of “original copies” of museum artefacts, which are marked with registered hallmarks in Greece and Denmark; he argues that such objects are both originals and copies, new and ancient at the same time. It seems that the experience of authenticity and aura of an object depend on the observer. The research participants of the study by Littrell et al (1993, p. 210) regarded as authentic those souvenir items that were linked to the past in regards to the materials, technique and content applied by the producers. Holtorf notes that the experience of age relies to a great degree to an aesthetic established through elements such as “design, manufacturing, technique, traces of wear/use, patina, incompleteness”; thus, the perceived pastness of an object is more important than its actual age, while notions such as aura, authenticity and age are not intrinsic, but are “context dependent” and subject to constant renegotiations (Holtorf, 2005, p. 127). Despite the contribution of these studies, the processes that generate such attitudes towards the temporal dimension of souvenirs still remain an unexplored area, especially when we want to explore how such definitions are shaped during the tourist experience. The influence that the interactions between traders and tourists have on the creation on meaning and significance (Schouten, 2006, pp. 195–196) and the negotiation of identities (Shenhav-Keller, 1993) has been observed by scholars in earlier studies. The present research confirms such findings of previous studies, as in many cases perceptions of authenticity were defined by the visitors or shaped during the tourist experience in Greece as a result of the negotiations between locals and visitors, or visitors and objects (see *Tourist experience and Greek souvenirs*).

Other studies have shown that tourists are willing to regard a souvenir item as authentic even if it bears transformations, due to its commoditization, since it can develop an authenticity of its own (Graburn, 1976), or if some of its traits are considered to be authentic and can in their turn authenticate the whole product (Cohen, 1988, p. 383). In her study on the Native American souvenirs of the American South-West, Swanson (2013, p. 73) found that in many cases objective authenticity is compromised for **constructive authenticity** in the sense that native arts and crafts are adapted to meet the tourists' needs. In other cases, tourists perceive objects as authentic even if they simply bear symbols of authenticity; this is what Culler (1981) has termed "symbolic authenticity". It has also been observed that inauthentic objects or experiences in tourism can become authentic over time (Graburn, 1976), something which has been described as "emergent authenticity" (Cohen, 1988). On the other hand, some studies have demonstrated that tourists do not accept tourist art that lacks authenticity and is not aesthetically appealing even if this results in cheaper prices (Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019, p. 106; Thirumaran, Dam, & Thirumaran, 2014).

Such constructivist approaches tend to disregard more objectivist beliefs that recognise an innate value and inherent authenticity to objects; instead they accept that the authenticity of objects is socially (or culturally) constructed, and that both tourist experience and the tourists' perceived authenticity is subjective (Bruner, 2005; E. Cohen, 1988; Staiff & Bushell, 2013). Apart from the recognition that the cultural settings of a destination are constructed in order to meet the tourists' expectations, it has also been suggested that the cultural experiences, produced in such settings, are usually consumed by tourists in terms of their prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies, mythologies which have been generated at their origin culture (Craik, 1997, p. 118; Lasusa, 2007, p. 282). In this sense, **the consumers' perspective** contributes a great deal in the construction of notions of authenticity based on their beliefs, perspectives, preferences, stereotyped images and preconceived ideas about the host culture (Bruner, 2005; Budruk, White, Wodrich, & Van Riper, 2008; Lasusa, 2007; Swanson, 2013). It is worth noting that the tourists' pre-conceived ideas, formed either by the tourism industry or by non-tourism sources (such as film, media etc.), can influence their attitudes towards authenticity (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 74). Selwyn (1996) argues that authenticity can be both inherent in the object itself as well as the result of the tourists' experience; for this reason he distinguished between "cool authenticity" (true

and genuine authenticity) and “hot authenticity” (fake but enjoyed by tourists). Swanson (2013, pp. 73–74) argues that objectively and constructively authentic souvenirs can co-exist at the same places: objectively authentic hand-made souvenirs were available next to subjectively authentic mass-produced souvenirs at the souvenirs shops of the American South-West that she studied.

Other studies have suggested that **notions of authenticity can be fluid** and change through time (Cohen, 1988). Cohen (1988, p. 374) posited that authenticity is socially constructed and that meaning is created by travellers as a result of their tourist experience. But he also identified different perceptions of authenticity according to his typology of tourists: existential and experimental tourists, who seek a deeper tourist experience, are more likely to embrace the “Other” and usually show stricter criteria of what is authentic, while those who are less interested in cultural connections (recreational and diversionary tourists) are more likely to have a broader criteria of authenticity (Cohen, 1988, pp. 376–377). An interesting point was introduced by Love and Sheldon (1998) who related notions of authenticity with one’s travel experience. They distinguished between conspicuous and idiosyncratic authenticity: the former is about travellers with less travel experience who usually seek souvenir items that bear clear representations of the destination; the latter concerns more experienced travellers whose notions of authenticity are more “idiosyncratic”, in other words they have a more personal meaning to them.

Wang (1999) and Reisinger and Steiner (2006) favour a more existential approach that emphasizes one’s own experience of a toured object (either artefact or event). Reisinger and Steiner (2006, p. 78) suggest a **Heideggerian perspective** that accepts authenticity as it reveals itself: to be open to “what-is”, in other words allowing tourists “to engage with the possibilities that emerge from what is given”. They argue that such a perspective provides a different approach to ideologies that have dominated the discussion of authenticity: the modernist/realist approach that accepts an objective and real authenticity; the constructivist approach that regard authenticity as subjective and socially constructed; and the postmodernist approach that argues that authenticity is not important to tourists, simply because post-modern tourists, being aware of their roles as tourists and knowing that there is no real authentic tourist experience, are often cynical or suspicious of site-specific authenticity. Therefore, they are willing to accept

and enjoy a tourist experience with its fabrications without being concerned about its authenticity (Feifer, 1985; Timothy, 2021, p. 116; Urry, 2002, p. 91).

Reisinger and Steiner (2006, p. 66) suggest that a Heideggerian perspective can accommodate these ideologies and include alternative concepts of authenticity, such as true, real or genuine. What appears to be authentic can be authentic even if it is incomplete. In a way, tourists are phenomenologists since they are open to new experiences when they travel (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 78). Thus, it is much easier for tourists to be open to “what-is” with its various possibilities and accept as authentic objects that appear to be authentic even if incomplete.

Table 2: Summary of types of authenticity related to souvenir consumption

Study	Type of authenticity	Definitions
Culler, 1981	Symbolic authenticity	Objects are perceived as authentic even if they bear only authentic symbols but are not authentic on the whole.
Cohen, 1988	Emergent authenticity	Inauthentic objects that can become authentic over time.
Littrell et al, 1993	<p><u>Criteria for authenticity of crafts:</u> uniqueness and originality, workmanship; cultural and historic integrity; aesthetics, function and use; craftsperson and materials; shopping experience; genuineness</p>	The study examined the criteria used by US tourists for defining authenticity of craft souvenirs.
Selwyn, 1996	Cool and hot authenticity	<i>Cool authenticity</i> is defined as the true and genuine authenticity, while <i>hot authenticity</i> is fake but enjoyed by tourists.
Love and Sheldon, 1998	Conspicuous and Idiosyncratic authenticity	Travellers with less travel experience seek souvenirs that bear clear representations of the destination (<i>conspicuous authenticity</i>), while more experienced travellers seek souvenirs with a more personal meaning (<i>idiosyncratic authenticity</i>).

Study	Type of authenticity	Definitions
Wang, 1999 Reisinger and Steiner, 2006	Existential authenticity	Emphasis on one's own experience of the toured object
Swanson, 2013	Objective authenticity and constructive authenticity	<i>Objective authenticity</i> is considered to be the one that is inherent in an object which bears authentic traits. <i>Constructive authenticity</i> is the one that is adapted to meet the tourists' demands.

Apart from authenticating the experience, the souvenir has been studied for its ability to signify the place of its origin (Stewart, 1993). Following Freud's theory of the genesis of the fetish¹², Stewart (1993, pp. 135–136) argues that the souvenir acts as a sample of its place of origin. It can be either a “homomaterial replica”¹³, that is made of the material of its place of origin, or metaphorically signify it (Stewart, 1993, p. 136). Thus, the souvenir functions as a **metonymy** of the experience and its place of origin but in both cases it is incomplete: it is a sample of the whole and cannot be complete without its possessor's narrative (Stewart, 1993, p. 136). Other scholars have discussed the metonymic properties of souvenirs; but, as Swanson and Timothy have observed (Swanson & Timothy, 2012, p. 492), the majority of previous studies have mainly examined the object-place relationship for its effect on contributing to definitions of authenticity (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; Blundell, 1993; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Littrell et al., 1993; Shenhav-Keller, 1993). Souvenirs that function metonymically of their place of origin carry salient features of them such as representations, symbols,

¹² The souvenir's potential to stand as a sample of the whole has initiated a discussion about the role of the souvenir as fetish (see Hume, 2014; Peters, 2011).

¹³ Stewart adopts Eco's idea of the “homomaterial replica”, a metonymic reference between the object/part and object/whole. Withing this operation the souvenir functions not so much as sign of object-to-object but metonymically as an object signifying a whole event/experience

markers and visual images; in a sense, they materialise the image that the souvenir producers of the host culture wish to depict to outsiders (Swanson & Timothy, 2012, p. 492).

Thus, from **the retailer's perspective**, souvenirs represent place, identity, local traditions, history and cultural identity (Soukhathammavong & Park, 2019). Grennan (2019, p. 175) argues that the market dictates the design of the products, and in many cases this results in the creation of fictive souvenirs and cultural stereotyping of the souvenirs. In this context, ideas of uniqueness (and authenticity) are “mediated by politics, economics and cultural norms”¹⁴. Grennan (2019, p. 168) distinguishes between the **mass-produced souvenirs** and the “**ethnic souvenirs**” which bear elements of indigenous folk or cultural heritage; the “ethnic” characteristics render them authentic. It has also been noted that mass produced souvenirs can be perceived as signs but since they do not ascribe prestige and social status to their owners, as they are not considered to be authentic or unique (Paraskevaidis & Andriotis, 2015, p. 3). And since the value of the souvenir lies in the narrative attached to its origins, it is this personal narrative that ascribes its own notion of authenticity (Grennan, 2019, p. 169). Yet, as messengers of the nation-ness of their place of origin, souvenirs are embedded with the narratives created by the host culture. And even the mass-produced souvenirs that are manufactured elsewhere (e.g. “Made in China”) can encapsulate powerful cultural narratives (Grennan, 2019, p. 170). But such narratives can include, notions, beliefs and representations given by external -to the host culture-observers. For example, Staiff and Bushell (2013, pp. 88–89) studied the copies of Buddha statues which are popular among the visitors of Luang Prayang and which represent the place-based uniqueness of the specific area (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, pp. 88–89). However, the “uniqueness” of that area has been influenced by Western representations: earlier ones created by French archaeologists, art connoisseurs, travellers and the Western aesthetic tastes of the Modernist movement and later representations generated by museum and art gallery exhibitions, design, film and media industries, and the on-going creation of the “Asian exotic” (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, p. 89).

¹⁴ In her example on the Haitian souvenirs, the design of this type of souvenirs combined non-Haitian elements while the only Haitian element was the line of production and the materials used.

B) Souvenir-tourist interactions

Souvenir mobilizations

At some point of its biography, the souvenir changes realm: it is acquired by its purchaser and starts to be entangled with his/her life. The literature regarding the meanings that souvenirs can have for their owners, and their function is vast (Baker, Kleine, & Bowen, 2006; Cave, Baum, & Jolliffe, 2013; Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Goss, 2004; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Hume, 2014; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Kohn, 2001; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Peters, 2011). Little research, though, has been conducted on the processes that generate the meaning attached on souvenirs by their possessors (Love & Sheldon, 1998), and the possible ways in which people can experientially engage with their souvenirs.

Staiff and Bushell (2013) prompt researchers to view **souvenirs as material culture**; they find that the concept of souvenir is limiting as it confines the objects of travel as tools of memory, nostalgia and remembrance. Following Appadurai (1986), the authors (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, p. 83) argue that studying the souvenirs' social lives can reveal their social and cultural entanglements, and their potential of moving between different "regimes of value" (Appadurai, 1986). Objects in general have been recognised for their ability to move between "regimes of value", to have multiple lives or a biography of various identities (Appadurai, 1986), and move in and out of their commodity state (Kopytoff, 2000). But as Staiff and Bushell (2013, p. 85) note, the conditions of exchangeability need to be taken into consideration: their exchange value is influenced by their production, classification processes, and the knowledge systems that determine such classifications. It is also critical to consider how the symbolic values, meanings and significance are produced and managed (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, p. 85). The exchangeability conditions and the "tournaments of value" (Appadurai, 1986, p. 21), or the "theatre of transaction" (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, p. 85) play an important part on determining the exchange value of objects. Whether the transaction takes place at a bazaar, shop, auction, or in the street has an effect not only on the exchange value of the commodities but also on the social status of the actors of the transaction (Staiff & Bushell, 2013, p. 85).

Lury (1997, p. 77) picks up from Appadurai's claim that the study of things can illuminate social and human contexts and studies how the travel flow of objects can elucidate **human-object relationships**. The author observes that objects were not

given enough attention in tourism studies, and that they tended to be seen as “the traveller’s extended baggage” following their own path even though “the movements of objects are not simply responsive to those of people”; she also notes that they can be viewed not only as “objects-in motion” but also “objects-that-stay-still” (Lury, 1997, p. 76). Following Clifford’s (1992) discussion on “travelling cultures” and his argument against the opposition of travelling and dwelling, Lury (1997, p. 76) supports the view that dwelling and travelling are interlinked and that culture is not necessarily bounded to a physical place; instead, the objects of travel can carry the context of their origin or environment and through their travel flows they become “travelling-in dwelling” objects; in this sense, we do not need to travel to other cultures but other cultures can come to us (Franklin, 2003, p. 110). Lury (1997, p. 77) points out that “the capacity of objects to travel and stay still is constituted in and helps secure particular relations of dwelling-and travelling and travelling-in-dwelling, and to suggest that these relations are constitutive of both the very objected-ness of objects and the organisation of space”. This is more evident in the context of global cosmopolitanism which allows the capacity of objects (apart from humans) to demonstrate an openness to each other, (Lury, 1997, pp. 80–85). According to her approach, objects can act both as dwelling-in-travelling and as travelling-in dwelling within the context of global cosmopolitanism: familiar images, representations, people and objects that are usually part of a dwelling environment can travel, while the same is also true for travelling objects that can be found in dwelling environments. A good example of “travelling-in-dwelling” are objects related to “Other” cultures that become domestic objects of one’s home environment like the ones observed by the author at the catalogue of Habitat: the catalogue provides good examples of domestic objects with references to an-‘other’ place such as ‘Baltimore bedlinen’, ‘Sienna armchair,’ Brighton teaspoon’ (Lury, 1997, p. 83). This in-betweenness of objects can also be reversible and such a characteristic allows their viewer/user to recognise himself/herself as part of global cosmopolitanism (Lury, 1997, p. 84). An interesting point is that the environments or the contexts-of-use are embedded into the objected-ness of the objects; culture and place bound together, a practice not unknown to marketing studies of product and country images (Lury, 1997, p. 84). In this sense, the place of origin can be embedded into the design of the product and represent not only the place but also elements of the culture and the people. Lury gives as an example the Swatch watch, which is encoded

with elements of its place of origin and it creates an ambience, a context of use or environment (Lury, 1997, p. 87); in other words it embodies Swiss-ness (Franklin, 2003, p. 110), in the sense that the specific product brand is associated with selected dimensions of the Swiss national identity, which renders it not just a consumer product but an “emotional product”, according to the interview of a senior executive of Swatch company (Lury, 1997, p. 86). Thus, culture-as-construct ‘re-replaces’ objects in the “space of the multiple flows of global cosmopolitanism (Lury, 1997, p. 87) while the objects’ context of use become one of their objective properties (Lury, 1997, p. 89). With their mobility, objects that carry their own contexts of use move into the “space of flows” where time and space compress and where boundaries between things, people, places and cultures are transgressed resulting in new hierarchies (Lury, 1997, pp. 90–91).

In order to study such phenomena and especially the object-people practices, Lury (1997, pp. 77–78) created a **hierarchy for the objects of travel** based on the degree of their bounded-ness to the culture of their place of origin. She adopted a hierarchy found in tourism literature, which is based on the “degrees of knowingness of travellers”: this distinguishes people between travellers, tourists and trippers; in a similar way, she created a hierarchy for the objects of travel divided between traveller-objects, tripper-objects and tourist-objects. As “**traveller-objects**”, the author defined the ones that retain their meaning and “authenticated relation to their original dwelling” during their travels and the movements across different contexts; for example, objects with historical, political or religious significance related to a national or folk culture like handicrafts, artworks etc. (Lury, 1997, p. 78). The main characteristic of this type of objects is that they have a “bounded-ness” related to an original dwelling ascribed by the “practice of symbolic binding” that allows the melding of place and culture at the same object (Lury, 1997, p. 78). “**Tripper-objects**” are not bound to a specific dwelling, and their meaning is reconstituted during their travelling and determined especially by their final destination (Lury, 1997, p. 79). Thus, their meaning is not intrinsic but is ascribed arbitrarily from the external context of their final resting place; in this sense, tripper-objects do not have a bounded-ness with their original dwelling and even though they might acquire personal meaning by their owners, such a meaning is not considered as intrinsic. Mass-produced souvenirs, consumer goods, incidental objects like tickets, packaging and personalised travel items like photos and postcards

are some typical examples of tripper objects according to the author (Lury, 1997, p. 79). Even if tripper objects have representations or images of their original dwelling, these are not bound to the place of origin through processes of authentication like the traveller-objects (Lury, 1997, p. 79). The third type are the “**tourist-objects**” which are placed between the previous two types; their objectness, produced during their movement, is neither closed like the traveller-object’s nor open like the tripper-objects (Lury, 1997, pp. 79–80). They are defined neither by their original place of dwelling nor the final resting place. Tourist-objects include a wide variety ranging from health products and type of food to television programmes and clothing. Possible representations and images that they might carry, accompany them during their movement while images and objects are mutually authenticating each other. Lury provides examples of products of the British chemist Boots such as bubble baths and shampoos: ‘China Glaze’ from the East, ‘Desert rain’ from the West or ‘West Coast Surf’ (Lury, 1997, p. 80).

Despite the fact that the above hierarchy of the objects of travel seems quite schematic, it proves useful in order to better understand the object-people relations (Lury, 1997, p. 78). Franklin (2003, p. 111) highlights Lury’s main point that objects can “undermine the fixity of culture and place in specific places” while through their travel flows they can carry their context of origin. Lury talked about objects with such characteristics in the context of “global cosmopolitanism”: objects like shampoos or the Habitat furniture may render the presence of the “Other” possible in an everyday context via the embodied context of origin in their physical integrity and might allow us to live as tourists in our daily lives. Franklin (2003, p. 111) finds Lury’s object classification not binding in the sense that objects can possibly switch from one category to another during their social lives. Thus, souvenirs acquired during a holiday can be either traveller-, tripper- or tourist-objects, and may switch categories during their biographies¹⁵; notwithstanding their status, they finally become “objects of travel that dwell” in our everyday lives and can contribute into global cosmopolitanism. Haldrup and Larsen (2006, p. 276) prompt scholars not to think in terms of sharp dividing lines between leisure, tourism and everyday life practices as they believe that these “connect, overlap and are woven together in human, social and embodied

¹⁵ Souvenirs have the ability to move beyond specific categorizations and typologies as we reviewed earlier in the previous section “*Lost*” between *souvenir typologies*. However, Lury’s categorisation of objects of travel provides a different perspective of the object-people relationship

practice”. And souvenirs can be the material culture that embodies the transgressing of such lines as they move beyond spatial and temporal contexts. Morgan and Pritchard (2005, p. 46) suggest that we should see **souvenirs as “objects of transition” or objects “of in between-ness”** which mediate temporal contexts (between past and present) and spatial ones (between domestic and public spheres).

Apart from their ability to mobilise their context of origin (Lury, 1997) or mediate spatio-temporal contexts (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005), **souvenirs have also been studied for their physical mobility** within the home environment of their owners. Collins-Kreiner (2013) found that changes in the souvenirs’ meaning over time can affect their location in the home environment of their users: 66% of the research participants reported that their souvenirs remained at the same place, while 34% changed the location of their souvenir on a less central location of their home, usually a closet or a box (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013, p. 23). Such changes of the souvenir’s location were due to changes in the taste of their possessor, or to a diminishing importance after subsequent trips of their owners; it seems that the more people travelled the fewer souvenirs they purchased while the souvenirs they acquired on previous trips started to have less meaning which affected the location of the souvenir (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013, pp. 23–24). However, the authors also reported that a change to the souvenir’s location is not always linked to a change of meaning, but can be caused by more practical reasons, such as moving to a new house or re-modelling the house (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013, p. 23).

Peters (2011, p. 249), on the other hand, found that people place souvenirs out of the everyday sight when their souvenirs are special and significant in order to maintain their unique extraordinary character. Her study examined banal souvenirs and their meanings related not only to their physical location within the home environment but also the intangible ‘place’ within the lives of their owners. She found that meanings are assigned via their enmeshment in social relationships, the processes of fetishization and their perceived authenticity (Peters, 2011, p. 235). Agreeing with Miller (1998) that objects can be ascribed with meanings through the social relationships they are involved, Peters’ study (2011, p. 236) highlighted that souvenirs can gain more significance when they are associated with people. This is more evident on souvenirs given as gifts which reinforce the social bonds between the people involved on such transactions (Mauss, 2002; Peters, 2011, p. 236). Peters argues that even banal and mass

produced items can have a special place in people's lives achieved through the process of fetishization¹⁶ (Peters, 2011, pp. 243–244).

Souvenirs and the Self

The relationship between objects and people and its potential to construct social and personal identities has concerned scholars from various disciplines (Belk, 2001; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Hurdley, 2006; Miller, 1987, 1998; I. Woodward, 2007; K. Woodward, 1997). Similarly, the relationship between humans and souvenirs and its role in shaping identities has attracted attention in tourism research (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Kohn, 2001; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Peters, 2011; Ramsay, 2008; Stewart, 1993; Wilkins, 2013). These studies have explored the multiple functions that souvenirs can have for their possessors: signify meanings, trigger memories and become material metaphors of the destination, materialise the tourist experience, become co-creators of post-travel narratives with their possessors and mediate human relationships. Most studies, though, have investigated the meanings and functions of souvenirs at the home environment of their owners; no study has adequately explored the initial stages of the relationship (between souvenirs and tourists) during the tourist experience, with the exception of Ramsay (2008), who created an ethnographic research following the different mobilizations of souvenirs acquired by UK tourists during their holiday in Swaziland until they reached their home environment in the UK.

In her influential study, Stewart explored how souvenirs are closely related with their owners; the author (Stewart, 1993, p. 135) pointed out that the souvenir serves as a trace of an authentic experience, not repeatable but one worth reporting, which can exist in the present only through narrative. Stewart (1993, p. 136) comments that a souvenir as “*biblot of curiosity*” does not have any value attached to its materiality, but it is the narrative created by its possessor that attaches it to its origins. Her view is supported by Grennan (2015, p. 12), who argues that even when additional narratives are attached to the souvenir, or when its value changes over time, its

¹⁶ The souvenir as fetish is an approach taken by many scholars (Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Hume, 2014; Lasusa, 2007; Stewart, 1993). Marx (1976) claimed that commodities are fetishized, given arbitrary and fantastic meanings in order to create a false need to consumers. In this context, tourists purchase souvenirs which can be made elsewhere and which gain meaning for their purchaser due to the process of fetishization (Goss, 2004, pp. 329–330). Similarly, following Freud, souvenirs can be given a special meaning by referring to their ‘sacredness’ (Hume, 2014)

“souvenirness” always depends on the narrative of origins. For Stewart (1993, pp. 134–136) the **narrative of origins** is a narrative of interiority and authenticity: the souvenir authenticates and internalises an experience for its owner. An interesting point for this narrative is:

“Through narrative the souvenir substitutes a context of perpetual consumption for its context of origin. It represents not the lived experience for its maker but the “second-hand” experience of its possessor/owner”(Stewart, 1993, p. 135).

Of course, souvenirs are embedded with the host culture’s narratives. According to Grennan (2015, p. 14), a narrative is constructed and attached on mass produced souvenirs by the host country, which is later enmeshed with the personal narrative of their owner. Ethnic or craft souvenirs, on the other hand, carry folk narratives which are later appropriated by their collectors. Grennan (2019, p. 168) thinks that “it is in the nature of souvenirs to reconcile apparent contradictions between national stereotypes and personal experience” .

Stewart (1993, p. 145) claims that the souvenir’s main function to authenticate the past and a remote experience is possible through its capacity to create distance; there is no continuous identity between the sign and the signified, between objects and their referents. There needs to be a distance, a gap between the Other and the Self, between present and the remote past which can be bridged by memory and the desire for nostalgia (Stewart, 1993, p. 145). The desire for nostalgia by individuals, expressed in souvenir collection, is actually a need to evoke a memory of one’s childhood and resembles the antiquarian’s nostalgia for the nation’s childhood (Stewart, 1993, p. 145). In addition, the souvenir functions in a two-fold way: it creates the temporal distance with the childhood and the antique while it authenticates and internalises the remote and external experience; in a similar way it creates a spatial distance with the exotic ‘Other’ by offering “an authenticity of experience tied up with notions of the primitive as child and the primitive as an earlier and purer stage of contemporary civilization” (Evans-Pritchard, 1993, p. 11; Stewart, 1993, p. 146).

Similarly, building on Baudrillard’s (1998, pp. 99–100) idea of “caricatural resurrection”¹⁷ and on Benjamin’s (2007) notion of the “urban flaneur”, who seeks primordial aura and universal meanings on commodities, Goss (2004, pp. 331–332)

¹⁷ This is how Baudrillard(1998, p. 99) named the phenomenon ‘anachronistic resurrection’to describe events that used to be historic, which are restored in the present evocating an aura of elements of the past, that seem more like a caricature syntax

questions how tourists, who are constantly reminded of “loss and material obsolescence”, actually view souvenirs: as material objects, as signs representing something else or objects that personify feelings of loss and absence to modern man. Goss sees the parallel sacredness as a common element between a temple and a shopping centre as well as between a tourist and a pilgrim. He argues that in the landscapes of tourist consumption “saturated with images of loss, death, and departure, we are enjoined to ‘mourn’ the transience of things, yet invited to celebrate restoration, resurrection and return” (Goss, 2004, p. 333). In this sense, shopping centres resemble museums and tourist sights are like memorials of death and memorials of the loss of nature and culture (Lennon and Foley cited in Goss, 2004, p. 333). Thus, Goss sees another dimension of souvenirs recognizing their ability to express the collective sentiments of the feeling of loss of modern man. He argues that:

“...souvenirs that not only evoke a personal memory of a particular person or place but also a collective memory of the enchantment of the world, with its possibility of life beyond death, presence with absence, meaning in materiality and subjectivity of objects” (Goss, 2004, p. 333)

Another dimension of souvenirs is given by Love and Kohn (2001, p. 47) who argue that souvenirs can bring home a **melding of Self and the Other**, which includes people, places, memories, times and imaginaries. The authors see the souvenir as a “tangible reminder of material possibility found in a foreign milieu that can be rewritten and renegotiated in performance to make our home spaces strange and lively” (Love & Kohn, 2001, p. 48) and as “discursive conduit”, through which the melding of Self and Other takes place (Love & Kohn, 2001, p. 51). The authors argue that the souvenir does not create a conflict, but actually mediates the dialectic between Self and Other, blurs their boundaries and domesticates the “perceived Other” (Love & Kohn, 2001, p. 53). Yet, it is possible that the Other is formed prior to the arrival to the destination; in this respect, we would argue that the perceived Other infused with the pre-conceived Other during the tourist experience finally finds its way in the home environment as a “renewed perception of the Other”. Love and Kohn explain the potential of souvenirs to affect identities and bring the Other in the everyday:

“What travellers tend not to realize, however, is how these objects interact with them, creating a dialogue, and how this interaction can change the ways they construct themselves, their identities, their realities. Without an exploration of this dynamic between objects and individuals, it is impossible to appreciate fully the roles souvenirs potentially can play in opening a passageway for the Other (for memory, fantasy, excess, imagination, the exotic, the forbidden,

the impossible, the liberating) to enter and contest everyday lived experience”(Love & Kohn, 2001, p. 52)

Therefore, the souvenir brings the Other, the lived experience, to the home environment of its possessor by forging a new connection learned during the experience (Love & Kohn, 2001, p. 61) . In this sense, souvenirs embody the sensation of the renewed Self changed during its contact with the Other (Love & Kohn, 2001) while their material presence brings the realisation of such transformations into our home environment and the Other into the mundane (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 46; Wearing, 2002). The discussion on whether the tourist experience contributes to the changing of oneself is vast and will be further analysed in Chapter 3. Tourists have been observed of being more open to elements ‘foreign’ to them since they are in a unique position, away from the ordinary and their usual social roles; travelling gives them the opportunity to either pause or step out of these roles and try different versions of their identity narratives (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 40; Σαμαρά, 2014) or even transform themselves to a great degree (Davidson, 2005; Desforges, 2000; Noy, 2004; O’Reilly, 2005). Yet, other scholars claim that tourists change very little either because of their limited time at a destination, or because the host country tends to offer them cultural and tourist settings that confirm their expectations (Bruner, 1991, p. 242). Lasusa (2007, pp. 277–278) argues that people do not change considerably and they tend to adopt the ‘tourist’s’ role. Following Heidegger (1962), who argued that the “Dasein”¹⁸ lives in an inauthentic state and avoids the confrontation with its genuine and authentic self by enacting various social roles, Lasusa (2007, p. 278) finds a parallel in tourism: although people step out of their social roles when they travel, they actually avoid confronting their genuine Being and consequently they adopt the most familiar role available to them, that of the ‘tourist’; in this sense, shopping during their holidays fulfils their role as consumers, souvenirs become props of this social role while the activity of collecting offers them a sense of maintaining their identity by performing an activity that usually defines their Self at home (Lasusa, 2007, p. 278)

Regardless of the degree of change of one’s Self, most studies agree on the close relationship between tourist experience and identity formation (Bruner, 1991; Davidson, 2005; Desforges, 2000; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Noy, 2004; O’Reilly,

¹⁸ Dasein is translated as “Being-there”, in other words the entity that “which each of us is himself and which includes inquiring as one of the possibilities of its Being”(Heidegger, 1962, p. 27)

2005; Urry, 2002; Σαμαρά, 2014). Considering the role of the post-travel narrative for giving shape to the experience, as well as the significance of the material world for the construction of identities and the development of the Self (Belk, 2001; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Miller, 2010), **souvenirs provide “material manifestations” of the tourism experience** that “contribute to our narratives and performances of self” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 45), processes which are important for “self-actualization” and “self-realisation”(see Giddens, 1991). Lasusa (2007, pp. 284–285) pointed to the importance of souvenirs for personal history: following Nora (2008), who claimed that pre-modern memory is embedded in every aspect of the present, Lasusa argues that souvenirs are necessary for the modern man for exactly the opposite reasons: modernization has caused a fracture with the past and there is no sense of the “timeless memory” of the pre-modern times, leaving modern Western man uprooted from his/her traditions without a sense of identity (Lasusa, 2007, p. 285). Thus, souvenirs assist not only the mechanisms of memory that recollect (even selectively) a past experience but also contribute to the construction of one’s personal history and consequently the construction of one’s sense of meaning and identity (Lasusa, 2007, p. 285).

The souvenir has also been studied for its capacity of providing material evidence of the travel experience which can enhance one’s **cultural capital and social status** (Kuhn, 2020; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Kohn, 2001; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2010) since it can be regarded as a sample of the destination or symbolically attached to it (Lasusa, 2007, p. 279). Even though souvenirs (and especially mass-produced ones such as a miniature Acropolis or Eiffel Tower) can nowadays be purchased in big department stores around the world, or through the Internet, their materiality is still appealing, because it renders them authentic pieces and evidence of travel (Lasusa, 2007, p. 280). Following Veblen’s (2007) idea of “conspicuous consumption” as typical of the middle class, Lasusa (2007, p. 280) argues that the display of the souvenir to a third person (family, friend, neighbour, etc.) serves both as “conspicuous consumption” and as “conspicuous leisure”, allowing its possessor to easily demonstrate where he/she has travelled; it even serves as a demonstration of the interlacing of Self and the Other. And the demonstration of one’s travels is important as this can enable the acquisition of “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1984), since it enhances one’s social status (Lasusa, 2007, p. 280). In the same vein, Kuhn (2020)

observed how the use of souvenirs can enhance social prestige. According to Lasusa (2007, p. 280), the cultural capital can include knowledge of foreign art, tradition, culture, and way of life of other people. Acquisition of the cultural capital is regarded as important for Western travellers because it can be seen either as an insider's knowledge of the 'mysterious Other' (in case of exotic destinations), or as knowledge of the Western cultural heritage (in case of more familiar Western cultural heritage sites). Possession of knowledge of the latter enhances one's cultural capital and status in a similar way to the Grand Tour which did the same for the young aristocrats of the 17th and 18th centuries who explored the traces of Western civilisation (Lasusa, 2007, p. 280).

Experiencing souvenirs

Notwithstanding that the souvenir provides a tangible evidence of the experience and a material metaphor of the destination, little attention has been given to **the materiality of souvenirs**, how souvenirs are actually experienced through all their material properties while little research has followed a more object-centred approach. In fact, the opposite is true, as the majority of studies on souvenirs tend to emphasize the meanings that subjects attach to their souvenirs and focus on their sign value, a perspective that privileges the meanings that humans attribute to things. Such a perspective does not recognise an independent life of things and a possibility of "the materiality of things standing in the way of, and deflecting the course of human traffic" (Pels, 1998, p. 93, 95). Even researchers who comment on the importance of the souvenirs' materiality, do not explore how tourists experience and engage with their souvenirs through their material properties. With their tangible properties souvenirs either become "authentic pieces of empirical evidence" for their owners (Lasusa, 2007, p. 280), or add to their value in the exchange systems between material and spiritual realms that render consumption sacred (Goss, 2004, p. 334). Similarly, even though Morgan and Pritchard (2005, pp. 31–34) claim that they investigate the relationship between tourism, materiality and self-identity, they actually studied souvenirs for the symbolic meanings they have for their possessors, their role in identity-formations and in objectifying individuality. In the same vein, Grennan (2019, p. 166) believes that through its materiality the souvenir becomes an aide-memoire, "which satisfies a need for certainty even if the certainty is contestable, making the past real in the present

while provoking feelings of loss and longing”. Although the materiality of the souvenir can certainly satisfy such needs and provoke such feelings, such approaches view materiality as a tool to study human identity and how materiality can trigger mental processes; however the materiality of souvenirs possibly allows more corporeal engagements (see Ramsay, 2008).

Haldrup and Larsen (2006, pp. 276–277) argue that tourist studies have been dominated by visual and representational approaches, which have viewed objects as symbolic entities that humans see and engage mentally with, and have not examined how objects are used and lived in practice. By following recent advances in the fields of hybrid geography, material culture and non-representational theory, the authors prompt scholars to study tourism objects for their use value¹⁹ which can enhance the physicality of the human body and allow humans alternative ways of engaging with things (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 276). They argue that this could be due to the fact that the social sciences have been dominated by theories that view culture as a mental and human construction, while considering the human and non-human worlds as separate (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 277). Drawing partly on the work of Ingold (2009, pp. 81–82), who argues that anthropological and archaeological literature have focused on the form of the artefacts and not their actual material properties and partly on the work of Merleau-Ponty’s (2002) phenomenological bodily experiences, Haldrup and Larsen (2006, pp. 277–278) suggest that human and non-human worlds can have a more corporeal engagement in the sense that “choreographed together and build heterogenous cultural orders that have the capacity to act, to have effects and affects”. Similarly, Franklin (2003, p. 98) observes a paradox in tourism studies: tourism abounds with objects, but tourism literature is mainly concerned with the non-object human world. Franklin (2003, p. 98) calls our attention to the fact that there are important links and relationships between humans, machines, animals, plants and objects, and such relationships produce effects that should also interest scholars of tourism studies; since tourism is an organised ordered activity it should be examined by taking into consideration the above assemblages and recognise the role that things play in it (Franklin, 2003, p. 98).

¹⁹ Following Michael (2000), they argue that material cultures can be both practical and symbolic and acquire both sign-value and use-value (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 278).

Following such calls, Nissa Ramsay (2008) explored, in her PhD thesis, the complex relationships between human, souvenir-objects and their spatiality by taking into consideration their materiality. Drawing from the Actor Network and non-representational theories and adopting Bennett's (2001) theory of "refracted enchantment",²⁰ the author notes how tourists visiting Swaziland can forge connections with the destination through their encounters²¹ with the souvenirs. Through such encounters the author attempted to demonstrate that souvenirs should not be viewed as mere objectifications of place, but as constitutive of the tourism in Swaziland, while she recognises their potential to negotiate, rework and alter geographical knowledges regarding the host country (Ramsay, 2008, pp. 8–9). By applying the theory of "refracted enchantment", Ramsay (2008, p. 8) demonstrates that both the processual meaningful materialities of souvenirs and the fragmentary (dis)connections between the sites of souvenir production and consumption can become visible. The notion of 'refracted enchantment' provides a "theoretical imagination of materiality" which is indeed more "open to the complexity of the relations between people, things and their spatiality" as the author states (Ramsay, 2008, p. 89); it gives more 'voice' to the objects since it allows the consideration of how more corporeal engagements with things can have a capacity to negotiate geographical knowledges about the destination.

Conclusions

This chapter has offered a review of the literature on souvenirs. The majority of the studies referred to above have focused on souvenir purchase behaviour and attitudes related to tourism styles, travel motivation and demographic characteristics (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; Littrell et al., 1993, 1994; Swanson, 2013; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Swanson & Timothy, 2012; Wilkins, 2010; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004; Yu & Littrell, 2005).

²⁰ In her study, Bennett (2001, pp. 3–4) prompts us to resist the story of the disenchantment of modernity which regarded the natural and cultural world's potential to 'enchant' as a characteristic of the premodern world. The author argues that accepting enchantment can, for example, lead to a greater expression of the sense of play or a sensory receptivity to the marvellous specificity of things (Bennett, 2001, p. 4)

²¹ The author studied the role of objects in **produced** (promotional and selling practices of local companies and individuals in Swaziland), **habitual** (the routine interactions that souvenir-objects evoke) and **residual** (how souvenir-objects are entangled with habitual routines in the home environment of their beholders) encounters in forging connections between people and place

Much of the literature since the 1990s emphasizes the meanings that humans ascribe to souvenirs, especially after the tourist experience has ended and tourists are back at their home environment (Cave et al., 2013; Collins-Kreiner & Zins, 2013; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Love & Kohn, 2001; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Peters, 2011). Moreover, the majority of the studies on meaning have adopted a subject-centred perspective, despite the recent cultural turn that has given more attention to objects and the recent discussion on the materiality of objects, and especially its role on the human-object engagements (see Haldrup & Larsen, 2006)

The present study supplements existing literature on souvenirs by investigating Greek souvenirs not simply as conveyors of meaning, but as actively involved within the tourist experience. Our research has identified research gaps in the existing literature: most importantly, the lack of research on the relationship between the museum experience and the souvenir purchase practices. Moreover, more research is needed to investigate the processes that generate meaning ascribed on souvenirs during the tourist experience. Thus, I wish to investigate how people start engaging with their souvenirs from the moment they acquire them during their holiday, by taking into consideration the various forms that such human-object engagements can take. The chapter that follows reviews theoretical developments regarding the human-subject engagements in archaeology, anthropology and material culture studies.

Chapter 2: Experiencing objects

Introduction

This chapter offers a review of the literature on the subject-object relationship. The purpose is to examine the relationship between the museum experience and souvenir purchase practices, explore possible links between museum objects and souvenirs, and develop a deeper understanding of tourist-souvenir engagements during the tourist experience. In order to investigate such relations, the contribution of more than one disciplines is necessary. Approaches from the fields of anthropology, material culture studies and archaeology will help us decipher the complex engagements between humans and souvenirs.

In his book *In the defence of Things, Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*, Olsen (2010, pp. 12–14) prompted scholars to adopt a more object-centred approach, and study objects by combining elements from different theoretical fields, a kind of bricoleur attitude, despite the risks²² that such an approach entails. Such an approach has many advantages since it leaves more possibilities open to understand the complex human-object relationships without necessarily trying to strictly follow one approach over the other despite their contradictory elements. It is in fact such contradictory elements that can help us to better elucidate the tourist-objects engagements from a cross-disciplinary approach.

In the pages that follow I will review the theoretical developments on the subject-object relationship, and especially how the relationship between post-processual archaeology and anthropology gave birth to the study of material culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s. I then discuss Miller's theory of objectification: souvenirs objectify representations of the destination and form an important part on the tourist-souvenir relationship that starts during the tourist experience. Next, I review the theories on the 'biography of things', and how they are entangled with human biographies. Following the approach of the object biographies, I do not intend to personify or anthropomorphize objects but rather to recognise their capacity to play a

²² Olsen (2010,12-14) finds the "bricoleur attitude" as the most appropriate for his work. The gathering of "usable bits and pieces that may be reassembled" bears the risk of being accused as an "anything goes" approach (Olsen, 2010, pp.13-14); despite the risk, Olsen defends his approach by demonstrating how this can be better achieved (Olsen, 2010, p.14).

more active role and influence their relations with subjects²³. I also review the relationship between people and their collections (Benjamin, 2009; Chow, 2004), the entanglement of human-object biographies (Hoskins, 1998), and the role of material culture on human lives (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Miller, 2001). I then devote a short section to a brief review of the main theories of agency (Gell, 1998; Latour, 1993, 2005), and the theories on the intentionality and mutability of objects (Knappett, 2005). In order to understand how people experience objects, I will then discuss the phenomenological approach from a Heideggerian perspective. This is especially useful to understand how people experience museum replicas and souvenirs related to heritage objects.

So far, there has been little discussion about the links between museum objects and souvenirs. Despite the fact that a souvenir can be any touristic or non-touristic item collected during the tourist experience, the present study focuses on souvenirs inspired by Greek archaeological museums in order to explore the relationship between museum exhibits and souvenirs, and how such a relationship might affect the tourist-object engagements. Adopting a Heideggerian approach, I will investigate the forms that such human-object engagements can take and how people experience their souvenirs in their full capacity by considering the role that their materiality plays in such experiences. The final section will review the recent developments in the theories of materiality.

The Subject-Object dialectical relationship

There exists a considerable amount of literature on the relationship of subject-object in the fields of anthropology and archaeology (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010; Hodder, 2012; Keane, 2006; Olsen, 2010; Γιαλούρη, 2012). Since its birth, archaeology has been involved with objects, as artefacts have been its main focus of study, while anthropologists were concerned with the relationship between subjects and objects, researching the ways in which the material world affects the subject's cognitive and behavioural development²⁴. Several scholars (Domanska, 2006b; Ingold, 2000; Keane, 2006; Miller, 2010; Olsen, 2010) have demonstrated the weight that was given to the subject at the expense of the object due to the influence of the philosophical thought of

²³ In this, I adopt Domanska's (2006b, p. 180) position that the "biographical approach puts forward the interesting idea that things have agency"

²⁴ For the relationship between the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology see Garrow and Yarrow (2010); Γιαλούρη (2017); Trigger (1989); Hicks (2010).

Descartes and Kant on Western thought. A similar effect was caused by the linguistic turn ²⁵ in the social sciences and anthropology: the structural anthropology of Levi-Strauss (2005)²⁶ focused on the hidden laws in culture and the structure of the human mind to study societies, while symbolic anthropology emphasized the meaning and interpretation. In this vein, and following **semiotic models**, the material world started to be appreciated for its sign value. According to these models, if an analogy between an object and a text is made, the object can be “read” as a text. Such a perspective was expressed through the structuralist and poststructuralist approaches which influenced the material culture studies (as well as British post-processual archaeology) in the 1980s (Buchli & Lucas, 2001; Hodder & Hutson, 2003; Olsen, 2010; Renfrew & Bahn, 2006; Thomas, 2010), twenty years after the poststructuralism movement of the 1960s. The adoption of both movements within a short period of time caused a slight confusion resulting in the adoption of both linguistic (from structuralism) and textual structures (from post-structuralism) in the interpretation of material culture (see also Olsen, 2010, pp. 41–42). More specifically, meanings can be extracted if we see material culture as a text. Language operates as a representational system of signs and symbols. In the same way, images, music and objects can be seen as a system to be translated; objects can be regarded as representations of concepts, ideas and feelings like language is (Hall, 1997, pp. 1–2). Hall (1997, p. 3) explains that the way we use things (what we say, feel and think about them) or, in other words, how we represent them is the process that gives them meaning.

In the late 1970s, the prominent work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* introduced the notion of “habitus”: studying the Kabyle society in Algeria, Bourdieu (1977) observed that social structures are not reproduced without human agency; in this sense, he gave more emphasis to the role of the social agent, the embodiment and the interaction of the material world which determines human dispositions. Thus, his idea of “habitus” was an attempt to reconcile previous

²⁵ The linguistic turn was initiated in the second half of the 20th century based on the model created by Ferdinand de Saussure for the study of the language and its structures. This model inspired the semiotic model which was applied in social sciences and anthropology for the study of society and its structures (Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp. 22–23).

²⁶ Levi-Strauss applied Saussure’s structuralist model on culture in order to uncover the underlying laws. His ideas opposed the contemporary tendencies of material culture studies which favoured individual interpretations and meanings as an answer to Marxist models that emphasized the mode of production. Levi-Strauss suggested a structuralist deterministic model that considered the creations of the human mind as determined by linguistic laws and semiological systems (Woodward, 2007, pp. 64–67).

structuralist and phenomenological perspectives (Hicks, 2010, p. 58) while he gave more importance to the role of the material worlds. His work influenced the contextual archaeology of Ian Hodder²⁷ and the work of Daniel Miller. Together with the adoption of ethno-archaeological approaches in archaeology, the later post-processualist turn in archaeology²⁸, the emergence of material culture studies, Marxist approaches and phenomenological perspectives brought material objects in a more prominent position.

The **birth of material culture studies** from within anthropology was a very important step towards the recognition of the significance of material objects. Research moved away from regarding objects as passively reflecting social relationships and objects were given a more active role (Γιαλούρη, 2012, p. 26). A shift of interest towards the study of objects of everyday life gained ground; until that time, social sciences and anthropology focused on production, while consumption was regarded as something that alienates people, as equal to ‘capitalist oppression’ under the influence of Marxist and critical theories (Hicks, 2010, pp. 59–64; Keane, 2006; Miller, 1987, 2005; Olsen, 2010; Woodward, 2007, pp. 98–102; Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp. 26–27).

From an archaeological perspective, Olsen(2010) argues that despite the effort to overcome the uneven relationship between subjects and objects, objects have not been recognised fully. As pointed out by Olsen, at the beginning of his book, *In defence of Things, Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*:

“Despite the grounding and inescapable materiality of the human condition, things seem to have been subjected to a kind of collective amnesia in social and cultural studies, leaving us with a paradoxically persistent image of societies operating without the mediation of objects.” (Olsen, 2010, p. 2)

²⁷ Contextual archaeology preceded the post-processual movement and emerged in the early 1980s through the work of the archaeologist Ian Hodder (2003). Material culture was viewed as having meaning or being ‘meaningfully constituted’ rather than passively reflecting human behaviour (Hicks, 2010, pp. 55–58). Expressing a critique on the positivist turn and ahistorical character of New Archaeology, contextual archaeology attempted to interpret historical change through the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977).

²⁸ In the field of archaeology, the ‘post-processualist turn’ came as a response to the positivist approach of New Archaeology of the 1960s and as a consequence of the social and political changes of the 1980s. The acceptance of ‘other’ interpretations of the past -apart from the objective scientific-, the recognition of the influence of the present social and political reality on such interpretations and the involvement with the “mundane” everyday life were some of the characteristics of post-processual archaeology. This turn required the use of the theoretical approaches from other fields and more specifically from anthropology. Shanks and Tilley (1988, p. 115) regarded material culture as “meaningfully constituted”. Regarding the archaeologist’s attempt to convey its meaning in the present, they argued that “there is no such thing as original meaning given the intersubjective context of the production and use of material culture”. Moreover, they saw the work of the archaeologist as similar to that of the anthropologist facing “an alien culture” (Tilley & Shanks, 1987).

Olsen argues that Michael Schiffer (1999) and Bruno Latour (2005) have come into the same conclusion: that objects have been ignored and haven't been recognised for their full potential. Olsen (2010, p. 2) researches the intrinsic value of things and challenges the structuralist and semiotic approach which have dominated the social sciences. Material things have been regarded as the 'means to understand culture and society and have been studied as symbols or text rather than for their "intrinsic material qualities" that render them capable to act (Olsen, 2010, pp. 23-26).

In the same vein, Webb Keane (2006, 197-202) in his introduction about the relationships of Subjects and Objects to the *Handbook of Material Culture*, acknowledges that objects haven't been given much attention and that many approaches have regarded subjects as more favourable in their relationship with the objects. Keane (ibid.) identifies four approaches to the subject-object relationship:

- *production*, which follows the legacy of Karl Marx, and refers to the 'distance' between producer-artefact and consumer in the capitalist societies, often regarded as an oppressive one,
- *representation*, according to which objects are seen as representations of the subject's ideas and perceptions or the society's collective representations (following a Durkheimian approach),
- *development of subjects* by their interaction and use of objects in their environments (using psychological and psychoanalytic approaches) and
- emphasis on the *materiality of objects*.

Towards an anthropology of mass-consumption and Miller's Objectification

Miller (1987, p. 3) noted the lack of a study of everyday material culture at a time when there was an increase of mass production and distribution of products in the world.²⁹ In his study *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Miller (1987) was influenced by the structural and semiotic approaches of Roland Barthes (2009) and Jean

²⁹ During the 1960s and 1970s, there were debates over the discussion on the differences between Western and non-western economies in economic anthropology. Such debates used the distinction between gift and commodities based on the study of Marcel Mauss *The Gift* (2002 [1922]). Miller (1987) introduced a new approach which broke the "taboo" for the study of mass-produced and everyday objects by acknowledging that commodities were constantly transforming into things, which is a position that blurred the distinction between gifts and commodities. (Hicks, 2010, pp. 62-63)

Baudrillard (1983), and the work of Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, (1996[1979]) which noted the importance that objects of the modern industrial world can have as agents of meanings for anthropologists (Hicks, 2010, pp.59-64; Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp.25-30). In this vein, Miller (1987, pp. 3-4) reported the "overwhelming concentration" on production and the association of material culture with an "increasingly 'materialistic' or 'fetishist' attitude" which has led to a nihilistic critique of modern life and a neglect to study material objects.

Miller reports that in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the place that 'goods'³⁰ have in society, a closer look at the relationships between subjects and objects is essential (Miller, 1987,4). But such a perspective requires the use of philosophical questions; for this reason, Miller (1987, pp. 19–33) focused on the dialectical relationship between subjects and objects as had been introduced by Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1977[1807])³¹.

Hegel's *Phenomenology* followed the philosophical movements of Descartes and Kant who were concerned with the subject-object dialectical relationship, one of the central questions of Western thought since the times of Classical Greece. Rather than having pre-supposed cognitions for the world, Hegel's (1977[1807]) philosophy was concerned with experience, without relegating the object to the subject; on the contrary, the objective world can lead to self-consciousness through the dialectical process of contradicting powers which were central in Hegel's thought. Through various stages of contradictions subjects can reach the Absolute Truth. The Awareness of the Self is achieved through the process of externalization; the subject becomes aware of the Self by seeing its reflection on the objective world. Self-realization is achieved by the separation of subject and object, by the creation and acknowledgement of the 'other'.

³⁰ On his defence of the study of objects, Miller (1987, pp. 3–4) argues that scholars have been focusing on the negative aspects of the growth of material culture in industrial societies. Adopting materialistic or fetishistic attitudes towards material goods has led scholars into 'nihilistic critiques of modern life', while , as Miller noted, there is a need for studying the relationship between goods and people in industrial societies

³¹ The theory of objectification was introduced by Miller with the aim of bridging the gap that existed between subjects and objects as a result of structuralist and semiotic approaches that gave too much weight on the subject at the expense of the object. In the same vein, the theory of objectification tried to see the dialectical relationship of subjects-objects through a new perspective, moving away from Marxist and Critical theory approaches that had regarded mass culture and consumption as denigrated, corrupt and a result of capitalist oppression (Hicks, 2010; Miller, 1987; I. Woodward, 2007; Γιαλούρη, 2012). Marx's translation of Hegel's phenomenology was followed by the later Marxists and had a central role in the human and social sciences (Miller, 1987, 34-49).

This act of externalization continues with the process of sublation, which is the re-appropriation of the externalised form to the subject, which afterwards moves to the next stage. The dialectical relationship between the subject and the object world, which leads to self-realization, is what Miller wants to call ‘objectification’ (1987, 27-28); he demonstrates that Hegel used the term ‘alienation’, but throughout the years this term acquired a negative connotation outside the academic philosophical world until Marx used the word ‘objectification’ to rename the process as described by Hegel. Miller (1987, p. 28) notes that this process does not imply “giving form to something” or that there is a subject prior to the act of objectification since the subject is created during and through this process. He considers Hegel’s Phenomenology crucial for the subject-object relation as it gives a “foundation for a non-reductionist” approach which he uses in his book to consider the human as subject and culture as its external form.

The process of objectification, as re-introduced by Miller in anthropology, involves objects and subjects in a dialectical relationship in which they are both formed; products of mass consumption are now recognised as being involved in these processes of objectification and meaning construction (Woodward, 2007, p.101; Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp.26-27)³². Hicks (2010, p.62) demonstrates that Miller’s work (1987) has created arguments which have been central in social anthropology: namely, the introduction of the idea of the ‘humility of things’, the “idea of context in the study of material culture”, and the study of objects of modern industrial capitalist societies in anthropology.

Since linguistic analyses were dominant at the time when Miller re-introduced the theory of objectification, the author (Miller,1987, pp. 95-96) also considered whether applying linguistic systems on material forms has rendered them subordinate and has led to their perception as passively reflecting meanings. In his book *Metaphor and Material Culture* (1999) Tilley sees metaphor as central to both linguistic and material systems, and argues that material things speak for the ‘unspoken’. This does not mean that material objects simply reflect words, but rather that they “complement what can be communicated in language”, and as objectifications they can reveal what usually remains in silence (Tilley, 2006, p. 62). Even when things are just present and do not

³² A slightly different approach was introduced by Tilley (2006, pp.60-61) who argued that the concept of objectification was already discussed by Durkheim and Mauss, but this was “an objectification as mimesis, of collective representation” presupposing that the idea comes first before the realization of the material object, while he recognizes that the concept as discussed by Hegel and Marx was more dialectical.

‘speak’, they have the power, Miller (2005, p. 5) argues, that “determine our expectations, by setting the scene and ensuring appropriate behaviour, without being open to challenge”. Stuff influences us even when not evident, when it is just standing there (Miller, 2010, p. 50).

The **shift towards the study of everyday objects and products of mass production** helped to overcome the subject-object relationship which had demoted objects as subordinate, frivolous, trivial and products of capitalist oppression (Γιαλούρη, 2012; Woodward 2007; Hicks 2010; Miller 1987; 2005; 2010). Woodward points out that Miller’s work changed the interest from “the economic realm of objectification” to a “consumer objectification”, acknowledging the meaning given to such products by their consumers (Woodward, 2007, p. 99). Miller’s *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* responded to an interest towards the study of the consumption of everyday objects in the contemporary world that developed through the semiotic and structural works of Ronald Barthes (1977, 2009) and Jean Baudrillard (1983) as well as the work of Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1996) on the anthropology of consumption (Hicks, 2010, pp. 59–60; Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp. 27–28). Such a shift towards the study of mass produced items without carrying the guilt of fetishism³³ inspired works like *Doing Cultural Studies* (Du Gay et al., 2013) which studied the legendary Sony Walkman from the consumer’s perspective (Hicks, 2010, p. 60). The authors of the book introduced the “circuit of Culture” (Du Gay et al., 2013, pp. xxx–xxxii), that is a framework which can be used for the analysis of cultural texts or artefacts. This framework consists of five major cultural processes: representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation. Du Gay et al. use this framework to study the Walkman: its representations, the identities associated with it, the mechanisms of its regulation, distribution and use, the processes of consumption and production. These processes form a complete circuit; it does not matter from which stage one starts the analysis as long as the whole circuit is completed. Moreover, every stage becomes an element of the next stage: for example, representations reappear in the stage of

³³ Fetishization of commodities was viewed as a negative aspect of capitalism, which alienated the consumer from the mode of production and gave arbitrary and fantastic values to the commodity (see Marx, 1976). The focus on the study of objects was criticised by Marxists for resulting in its fetishization, something that had influenced the social sciences, anthropology and archaeology (Hicks, 2010, pp. 59–64; Γιαλούρη, 2012).

identity and become part of the process of the construction of identity, the elements of identity become part of the stage of production and so forth (Du Gay, 2013, xxx).

Human- Object biographies

In 1986 Arjun Appadurai edited the influential volume *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*; in his introduction he suggested that instead of distinguishing objects between commodities and gifts, we should consider the idea that every object could possibly become a commodity at some point of its “cultural biography”. Following Marx’s *Capital* (1976), Appadurai noted that although Marx was mainly concerned with the commodities of the industrial age at his time, he also admitted that commodities existed even in more primitive past societies (Appadurai, 1994). Following Kopytoff’s (2000 [1986]) point that “things can move in and out of the commodity state” throughout their biography, Appadurai (1994, p. 83) supports the idea that objects enter the “commodity candidacy” which “is less a temporal than a conceptual feature and it refers to the standards and criteria (symbolic, classificatory and moral) that define the exchangeability of things in any particular social and historical context” (Appadurai, 1994, p. 83). According to Appadurai(1994, p. 84), it is the “commodity context” that links the commodity candidacy of a thing to the commodity phase of its biography. The commodity context is the setting, the “social arenas”, where an object enters its new life as a commodity; for example, an auction provides a different context from a bazaar. Appadurai(1994, p. 84) argues that:

“[...] the commodity context, as a social matter, may bring together actors from quite different cultural systems who share only the most minimal understandings (from the conceptual point of view) about the objects in question and agree only about the terms of trade”.

We argue that this is also true in the Greek souvenir market which is a commodity context where various objects become commodities sold to tourists. It is worth noting **the distinction of commodities** as given by Appadurai (1994[1986], p. 84):

- *Commodities by destination*, i.e. objects that were destined to be commodities from the beginning.
- *Commodities by metamorphosis*, i.e. objects which were originally intended for

other purposes but changed to the commodity state.

- *Commodities by diversion*, i.e., objects that even though they were placed at the commodity sphere, they were originally protected from it.
- *Ex-commodities*, i.e., things removed from the commodity state.

As we will examine in the next chapters, Greek souvenirs can be found in all four categories. For example, fridge-magnets were destined to be commodities since their production stage whereas souvenirs sold at the museum shops have an “aura” of belonging into a special sphere; even though they are sold as commodities, they are produced by the official authorities and are given a special status of being official replicas of museum objects and therefore are not usually identified as commodities. In many cases, though, souvenirs can change categories during their biography.

The Social Life of Things by Igor Kopytoff (2000[1986]) in the same volume illuminated another aspect of **the biography of things** which were recognised to be able to circulate through different exchange spheres. He argued that objects have similar biographies with people, and he observed two processes, common for both humans and non-humans: commoditization and singularization. He claimed that not only things can be commoditized but also people as happened with slavery in the past (Kopytoff, 2000, p. 378). He distinguished two types of commodities: the *perfect commodity* that could be exchanged with anything and the “*perfectly decommoditized world*” where everything is singular, unique, and unexchangeable (Kopytoff, 2000, p. 381). Kopytoff, though, argued against seeing classification as an inherent human characteristic, and supported the view that objects could conform to either of the above categories. Kopytoff (2000, p. 384) claimed that the counter drive of commoditization is culture; therefore, **singularization** is the process that protects things from excessive commoditization. Culture ensures that things will remain singular and protected and, on some occasions, culture can re-singularize what has been already commoditized (Kopytoff, 2000, p. 384). Moreover, there are things that are excluded from commoditization, and in state societies they usually come under state protection.

An interesting point is that even though **sacralisation** can be achieved from singularization, singularity, in general, cannot guarantee sacralisation (Kopytoff, 2000, p. 385). Kopytoff argues that the exchange spheres are more clearly marked in “non-commercial and non-monetized societies”; in Western societies these spheres are more

discreet like, for example, exchanging dinners. He remarks that things that have been publicly marked as singular can also be commoditized, like many national monuments that become souvenirs.

Kopytoff finds that complex societies show a tendency to singularize:

“There is clearly a yearning for singularization in complex societies. Much of it is satisfied individually, by private singularization, often on principles as mundane as the one that governs the fate of heirlooms and old slippers alike—the longevity of the relation assimilates them in some sense to the person and makes parting from them unthinkable”(Kopytoff, 2000, p. 389)

Private singularization is probably a process required for creating a collection, as in the case of many souvenirs which become singularised in order to fit into a personal collection. Walter Benjamin, one of the most important cultural critics of the twentieth century, illuminated the relationship between a collector and his/her collectibles by referring to his own passion for collecting books in his article, *Unpacking my library: A talk about book collecting* (Benjamin, 2009). He argued that objects gain their value in private collections and that “ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them” (Benjamin, 2009, p. 262).

In a particularly influential book edited by Bill Brown (2004), scholars from various disciplines offered different perspectives on viewing things and especially **how things can produce subjects** during their interactions. In this volume, Rey Chow (2004), a professor of humanities specialising in theoretical, interdisciplinary and textual analyses, used a story written by the modern Chinese author Lao She about Zhuang Yiya, also a collector, in order to illuminate the relationship between collectors and collectibles. His story is of importance to Rey Chow as an “alternative way of thinking about identity politics” (Rey Chow, 2004, 363). The protagonist of this short story was a middle school teacher in pre-war China who started collecting inexpensive items. He personified the objects of his collection, but he also applied a methodology for sorting and classifying them. Zhuang Yiya was attached to his collection, and after some time he gained a reputation of being a great collector. At that time the Japanese invaded China and they asked him to become minister of education. If he refused, he wouldn't be able to keep his collection. Zhuang was faced with the dilemma: as a

Chinese patriot he could not collaborate with the Japanese, but only if he accepted their terms, he could keep his collection. In the end he finally agreed. Chow notes that while for Benjamin collecting is recollection, for Lao She it is about loyalties. Chow (2004, 371) distinguishes three phases in Zhuang's collecting habit:

1. In the early years of his life he collected for idle pleasure and the objects he collected reflected his self-knowledge.
2. In the second phase, when he gained more reputation, he collected more valuable items that could confirm his higher social status.
3. In the final phase, with his encounter with the Japanese, he had the difficult choice between keeping his collection and remaining loyal to it, or losing his identity as a member of the national community of his compatriots in the resistance front against the invaders.

Chow (2004) demonstrates that Lao She establishes a “binary opposition between intrinsic and extrinsic relations” which reminds us of the relevant Marxist analysis about the use and exchange values; Chow argues that -following the post-structuralist thinking- there is no entity which is an object of use purely, since every object falls into the sphere of exchange and circulation. This means that there can be no collection of objects for pure pleasure (objects of use or intrinsic value). The author suggests that:

“[...] However pure and secluded an object may be in its owner's fantasy, it is virtually impossible to avoid coming into contact with a system of evaluation that is external to and other than itself (such as money, social recognition, or the professional approval of the connoisseur); the intrinsic or use-value of an object, that is, comes inevitably to be validated by what is foreign or extrinsic to it. By implication, the collector who only collects for the sake of the object (for the love of the art) is at best a fantasy;” (Chow, 2004, p.374)

If the use-value of an object is validated by external systems, we could claim that this is also true for souvenirs. As we will see in the next chapters, the collection of souvenirs is not used only for recollecting a travel experience; it can also bring social recognition since travelling has become another form of acquiring social status (see the relevant discussion in Chapter 3, *Post-modern influences on tourism and the post-tourists*). But what about **the personal value attached to souvenirs** by people? An insight on how people value their life mementoes was given by the social anthropologist Anamaria Depner (2013). The author conducted interviews with people who moved to

retirement homes and they were only allowed to take one box of personal items since they were moving into a smaller space; during the moving process, they had to choose which things they would keep and which to discard. Depner realized that it was easier for people to let go of things than what she had expected when she started her research. She found that when interviewees left some objects behind, it became easier for them to forget about them since they were not visible any more: they “lost their context, their sense, their sentimental value” (Depner, 2013, p. 85). However, it was harder for Mrs. Miller (one of the interviewees), because she didn’t have any relatives to leave some of her items. These had great sentimental value to her but the greatest worry, according to Depner, was that due to the lack of relatives there would be no one to relate these things with Mrs Miller, after she died. Another of Depner’s informants wanted to destroy some of his life -mementos, an act that doesn’t show a loss of meaning. On the contrary, destroying a life-memento that somebody cannot keep any more, actually means that it still has a meaning for its owner, who for this reason doesn’t want to let the memento to continue to exist (Depner, 2013, p. 86). The disposal of items shouldn’t be interpreted simply as a loss of meaning; discarding is about negotiating a meaning (Depner, 2013, p. 88). The author believes that the study of discarding or destroying objects “can be a deep meaning- creating process” with an “identity- establishing function and significant (object-) biographical implications and consequences”; hence, it can reveal “complex interweavings of our lives and connections that are easily misunderstood”.

Depner (2013, pp. 85–86) also noted that some of her informants gave their items to relatives who would, in their turn, ascribe new meaning to these; the objects would start new itineraries. **The itineraries of things** is a new term, introduced by Hahn & Weiss (2013), which contributes to the discussion of objects’ biographies and travelling objects in material culture studies (see also Appadurai, 1994; Hoskins, 1998; Kopytoff, 2000; Lury, 1997). The term “itineraries” implies “complex and entangled forms of mobility, a non-linear character of an object’s mobility”, unlike the linear character implied by the term “traveller object” (Hahn & Weiss, 2013, 7-8). The term “traveller”, according to the authors, suggests a destination, while an “itinerant” moves without intention of getting somewhere and makes lots of stops. Whatever the movement of an object is, however, what is most important is how object biographies and itineraries interweave with people’s lives.

Similarly, **Janet Hoskins**, a professor of anthropology and religion studied the Kodi people of the eastern Indonesian island of Sumba and how their lives are entangled with their objects. In the beginning of her book *Biographical Objects, How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (1998, p. 2) she admitted that she could not collect the histories of people and objects separately, as they were intertwined and could not be disentangled; she added that her interviewees started to give more introspective, intimate and personal accounts of their lives when they were asked about objects. The author, noted that making a life-story includes crafting, editing and constructing the Self through narrative (Hoskins, 1998, pp. 4–5). She observed that anthropologists distinguish between a life lived, a life experienced and a life told, and argued that narrating is not just reciting the events of a life time, but is about organizing an experience, and that the narrative is adapted each time according to the reactions of the listener (Hoskins, 1998, pp. 6–7). Hoskins drew on the work of French sociologist Morin, who distinguished **two categories of objects: the biographical and the “protocol”**, or standardized or public commodity (Morin cited in Hoskins, 1998, pp. 7–9, 2006, p. 78). They can both be products of mass production, but their difference lies in that the biographical object is related to the life of its owner and is given an identity which is localized, particularized and individual. The protocol objects, on the other hand, are more generalized, globalized and mechanically produced. The distinguishing characteristics of objects can be identified in three levels of mediation: their relation to time, space and their owners or consumers (Hoskins, 1998, p. 8). In relation to time, the biographical objects grow old, while the protocol ones remain youthful; in relation to space, the biographical objects anchor their owners to a specific time and place, while the standardised commodity can be everywhere and nowhere since it doesn't mark a specific personal experience but a “purchasing opportunity”. In relation to their owners, the biographical object is linked with its user, while the public commodity doesn't take part in its owner's identity formation. Morin (cited in Hoskins, 1998, 8) gives two examples for the two different categories: an ethnologist's mask as a biographical object, and souvenirs as standardized commodities purchased by tourists, even on occasions when their stay at the destination is very short.

In the present research, however, I argue that although souvenirs are usually categorised as “protocol” objects by definition, they can be related to their owners,

entangled with their lives and can contribute to constructing the Self and forming somebody's identity. There are all sorts of souvenirs and there are various ways in which their owners can relate to them: a souvenir can be a cheap mass-produced fridge-magnet or a replica of a museum exhibit which can be particularized and more individual. Even mass-produced souvenirs can be biographical objects if their lives are interweaved with the life of their owners. Morin (ct. in Hoskins, 1998) is right to note that tourists often purchase souvenirs during a short stay (eg. Cruise-ship travellers can stay even three or four hours at a destination), but that doesn't mean that these souvenirs won't "tie" them with the destination visited and with their travel experience, or that their memento won't be part of their life story.

The role that objects play in identity formation has recognised by scholars from various disciplines (Belk, 2001; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Edensor, 2002; C. Fowler, 2010; Gimeno-Martínez, 2016; Hoskins, 2006; Palmer, 1999; I. Woodward, 2007). Csikszentmihalyi (1993, p. 23), from the field of psychology argues that objects can objectify the Self in various ways: by making somebody's power and social hierarchy visible, by revealing "the continuity of the self through time", by "providing foci of involvement in the present, mementos and souvenirs of the past, and signposts to future goals" and by demonstrating somebody's place in the social network as symbols. He states clearly that objects "give a permanent shape to our views of ourselves that otherwise would quickly dissolve in the flux of consciousness" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, p. 23).

Apart from this role, however, it has been noted (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993; I. Woodward, 2007) that objects can function as an extension of the self like a musical instrument or the blind man's stick (see also Heidegger, 1962). In their study *The meaning of things, Domestic symbols and the Self*, Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) interviewed more than 300 people about their home possessions and concluded that younger people preferred objects that encourage action while older people chose objects that could connect them with the past. Apart from the permanence to the Self, it is worth noting the permanence that objects give to the relationships between the people in a social network or the fact that they symbolize common ties (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993, p. 27). And this is especially true for home possessions since

the home environment, an important place for the development and reproduction of social relations. As people in industrialized societies spend more time in their private spheres, they are paying more attention into their homes, furnishings and objects which they “reflect back on it their agency and sometimes their impotence”(Miller, 2001, p. 1,11). We argue that souvenirs are objects that have such a potential; after their acquisition they become part of the home possessions of their owners and in their new environment they can easily become the point of focus within a social network, or can reinforce ties within a family or people of a close relationship (since souvenirs would symbolize a common experience and/or a shared memory) and through their agency they can contribute actively into the development of the social relationships of the household.³⁴

The recognition of agency to things

A large and growing body of literature has investigated the agency of things. Bruno Latour, the famous French sociologist and anthropologist, didn't believe in the dichotomies of science and society, or subjects and objects, and argued that their boundaries are fluid and that the world consists of ‘hybrids’ of both human and non-human elements (Latour, 1993, 1999). In his book *We have never been modern*, Latour (1993, pp. 10–12) argued that modernity is possible because of this Great divide between humans and non-humans³⁵; He also points out another Divide between moderns and pre-moderns³⁶, westerners and other cultures; the non-western cultures accepted hybrid forms, and this resulted on their lack of proliferation. He argues that hybrids or “quasi-objects” (Latour, 1993, pp. 51–55) can be both natural and cultural, subjects and objects, co-producers together with subjects. In his claim to overcome such oppositions, Latour suggests **the concept of agency** which can also be applied to non-

³⁴ Household in the sense used by Miller (2001, p. 12) to explain the relationship between the home and those who dwell in it

³⁵ Latour (1993, pp. 10–12) argues that modernity has designated two distinct sets of practices: translation and purification. Translation or mediation creates “new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture” and these are interconnected by forming networks. One system is dependent on the other for its existence: the set of purification would be of no use without the set of translation, and the latter would be limited without the existence of the former. Moreover, purification is divided between two ontological zones: humans and non-humans. The two sets and the two ontological zones are both divided, creating, what Latour called, the “Great Divide”

³⁶ According to Latour (1993, p. 11), as long as we consider the two sets of practices as separate, we are modern; when we look simultaneously to both sets of practices, we stop being modern, and by looking back at ancient times, we realize that the two sets have been interrelated; thus, we have started to re-consider that we might have never been modern.

humans (Latour, 1993, 1999, 2005). What matters may often not be the entities themselves (human and non-human), but the network of the different agents and the relationship between them; for example people do not fly, nor does a plane fly on its own but is the air force that does (Latour, 1999, p. 181; Miller, 2005, pp. 11–12)

The publication of *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory* (1998) by Alfred Gell has also contributed greatly to the theory of agency in anthropology. Gell stated that his aim was to create an anthropological theory of art (Gell, 1998, p. 5). As a social anthropologist, Gell argued that his theory wouldn't be based on aesthetics³⁷, as these were used by anthropologists in order to define cultures and cultural meanings. He argued that the anthropology of art should not define the aesthetic principles of a culture but instead it should focus on the mobilization of aesthetic principles in social interaction. He argued that instead of studying persons or 'social agents', the study of art objects could reveal the effects of human agency reflected on them (Gell, 1998, pp. 4-5, 17–19). He was interested to see how things “appear as agents in particular social situations”; even though his theory concerned primarily art objects it was a theory that could find application in other forms of material culture such as the examples of cars and dolls that he used. He observed how little girls are attached to their dolls and how adults have a similar relationship with their cars. Gell (1998, p. 18) argued that objects have their own personhood which is evident in the example of the car: the car bears its own traits and develop its own personality and when, for example, the car breaks down we tend to blame the car.

The theory of agency, as introduced by Latour and Gell, influenced greatly the social and human sciences. According to Miller (2005, p. 13), one of the main differences between Latour and Gell is that Latour focused more on the agency of non-humans, while Gell sought the human agency “embedded” in the objects. Gell's approach is more loyal to the British social anthropology, following the path that Durkheim and Marcel Mauss initiated. Miller (2005, pp. 14-15) concludes by stating the limitations of the theory of agency: he questions whether the dualism of subjects

³⁷ Cultural anthropology focuses mainly on the culture of society studying rules of behaviour, language, customs, rituals, material creations and ideas about the world; its pioneers were Ruth Benedict and Franz Boas and developed mainly in the US. Social anthropology on the other hand developed mostly in Britain and was influenced by intellectual currents from France. Social anthropology focuses more on the social structure of society and studies the deeper structures of social relations within a society. Being a social anthropologist, Alfred Gell prompted scholars to move away from focusing on the “aesthetic values” when they study a society or works of art, a position that had led into evaluations of art. (Gell, 1998, p. 4; Γιωλούρη, 2012, p. 36)

and objects is due to the divided ontological spheres resulting from the process of ‘purification’, as suggested by Latour.

In the same volume, Pinney supports that the recent involvement with the social lives of objects and images is a “Late Purification” and argues that the discussion on the social lives of things initiated by Appadurai, is a form of reinscribing “culture’s potency through its ability to infinitely recode objects” (Pinney, 2005, p. 259).

Following the critique that the theory of agency has received (Alves, 2008; Bowden, 2004; Layton, 2003; Morphy, 2009), museum anthropologist Sandra Dudley (2018, p. 193,195) argues that, despite the recognition of a social life to things (Appadurai, 1986; Hoskins, 1998; Kopytoff, 2000), things are inanimate and do not have consciousness or intention³⁸; for this reason she suggests that we talk about **the objects’ “potentialities and actualities”** (see *Meaning created by museum exhibition*).

Such critiques raise the question of whether acceptance of an agency to objects actually renders them as fetish objects or not. Answering to Appadurai’s (1986, p. 5) claim that a social analysis of things cannot avoid a methodological fetishism, Pels (1998, p. 94) adds that this would require a more radical approach since it would not render the transcendence of the object’s materiality by human intention possible. For this reason, Pels argues that in this case a more correct term would be “methodological animism”. The author (Pels, 1998, pp. 94–95) also distinguishes between animism and fetishism; the former recognises that things are alive because they are animated by something foreign to them, while the latter accepts that things have the potential to communicate their own messages.

Attempting an interdisciplinary approach to the study of material culture, Knappett (2005, p. 117) argues that: “objects can escape the intentions of their creators—they have a mutability that often sees them move between the categories we impose upon them”. In his work *Thinking through material culture* Knappett (2005, p.116) introduced the term ‘**mutability**’, to describe the ability of objects to mutate and explain how objects can change meaning through time, or how even when they are at the same time period they might be ascribed different meanings by different social groups

³⁸ For the same reason, Alfred Gell (1998) distinguishes primary from secondary agents. The former refer to beings with intention (such as humans) while the latter refer to art objects, artefacts etc. Through these secondary agents, the primary agents “distribute their agency in the causal milieu, and thus render their agency effective” (Gell, 1998, p. 20; see also Γιαλούρη, 2012, pp. 37–38)

(Knappett, 2005, p. 116). He argues that some objects acquire their meaning from their use-value and uses the example of the coffee cup as an excellent example of such objects. Other categories, like art objects, derive their meaning from their sign-value, but Knappett (2005, 117) supports that objects can “mutate”; in some cases; everyday objects can get an ‘art object status’ acquiring a sign-value while under other circumstances the opposite can occur.

Knappett (2005) also distinguishes intentionality from agency. He finds that objects can have agency but not intentionality which he considers it to be a human trait. (Knappett, 2005, p. 22). However, we need to consider that both human agency and intentionality require the presence of the material world; intentionality would not be possible without things (see Olsen 2010, p.135). Knappett (2005, p. 25) points out that if we can accept “technologized human agents”, then we should also be open to notions like “humanized technological artefacts”. He demonstrates that objects can have corporeal animacy and that this trait shouldn’t be delimited to particular entities only (Knappett, 2005, p.25). For example, is it possible to claim that the termite has animacy, but not being able to claim the same for the termite mound. Or animacy is recognised to a transplanted organ, but not to a life-support machine. Knappett argues that this is because the transplanted organ is “internalized in an organismal system”, while the life-support machine is something external. Another important question is whether it is possible for artefacts which have been integrated in a biological system to be recognized as having agency and personhood (Knappett, 2005, 25).

The phenomenological approach

The phenomenological approach as initiated by Husserl and continued by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, has contributed to our understanding of the Self and the world through experience. In the present study we focus more on Martin Heidegger’s approach in order to understand how museum objects, their replicas and souvenirs inspired by museum artefacts allow experiences through the different phenomenological modes that they can go through.

Heidegger critiqued Husserl's notion of an "impersonal transcendental ego",³⁹ and demonstrated that instead of adopting a detached theoretical stance to study the world and our relationship to it, we should see how we perceive and experience the world and how to show more attention to the everyday existence. Undoubtedly one of Heidegger's greatest works is *Sein and Zeit* or *Being and Time* (1962). In this work he explained that a 'phenomenon' is that which shows itself in itself and introduced the term *Dasein* to describe how subjects are considered as 'being- in-the-world'. Regarding entities, he claimed that "an entity can show itself from itself in many ways, depending in each case on the kind of access we have to it" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 51). So, it is how we experience things, and how these are shown to us, that determines the meanings we attach to them. Therefore, things are not separate from us; on the contrary, we establish relationships with them and experience them in various ways.

Heidegger (1962, p. 95) posited that such entities cannot be studied only at a theoretical level; we relate to them in our everyday context, "at what gets used, what gets produced". Of course, this doesn't mean that Heidegger wants to examine simply the practical aspect of our relationship with objects; on the contrary, he is more interested in **the connection between things and people**, and the understanding of Being through such involvement (cf. Dreyfus 1991, 62). The entities that we actually deal with are what he calls "*Zeug*"⁴⁰, or "equipment", which can include various kinds of things that we use for "writing, sewing, working, transportation, measurement" (Heidegger, 1962 97). We use the car for driving, the hammer for hammering, the pencil for writing and so on. Our dealing with equipment (and our understanding of its being as such) is what Heidegger termed *ready-to hand* (Heidegger, 1962, 98). The

³⁹ According to Husserl, the practitioner tries to reach a "transcendental subjectivity" which will move him/her away from the natural attitude and from the world of the real objects, and will relate his/her consciousness to the intentional objects. In other words, the state of "transcendental subjectivity" will be possible by the "phenomenological reduction", the "bracketing" or "suspension" of the real objects so that the investigator could reveal the "core of pure consciousness and the objects as "phenomena" or appearances (Matthews, 2002, pp. 24–25; Moran, 2000, p. 2; Thomas, 2006, pp. 44–45). Husserl's transcendental phenomenology followed the Kantian transcendence which was combined with the notion of 'intentionality' (Matthews 2002; Olsen 2010).

⁴⁰ "*Zeug*" is the term used by Heidegger which has no precise English equivalent. Even though it includes the meaning of a tool or instrument, Heidegger uses it as a collective noun and the closest translation is equipment. The translator of Heidegger's work (Heidegger, 1962,97) claims that it also takes the meaning of "stuff" which he criticizes as a pejorative term and observes that Heidegger doesn't use the term with such connotation that often. Considering the date of the translation (1962) we understand that any mention in a material culture synonymous to "stuff" would have had a pejorative connotation in the 1960's. In his later work, Heidegger (1982) acknowledged that "equipment" in the ontological sense includes everything we use in domestic and public life (see also Dreyfus, 1991, Moran 2000, Olsen 2010).

'readiness-to hand' is a state in which we do not see the thing itself, but we focus on the work that it produces; the objects actually withdraw in order to be "ready-to hand quite authentically" (Heidegger, 1962, 99). We use the hammer to put a nail on the wall, but what we see is not the hammer but its action, its work. According to Heidegger, the work produced carries "the kind of Being that belongs to equipment", like the shoe is wearing, the clock is telling the time and so on. But Heidegger (1962, p. 101) argues that the readiness-to-hand of such entities shouldn't be considered as entities of "present-to-hand" with "subjective colouring". The *present-to-hand* is another term, introduced by Heidegger in order to give the meaning of the factual essence of entities, when these are bracketed and observed from a theoretical point of view.

Another interesting point of Heidegger's thought is **the way we "see" things**; he uses the term *Umsicht* which has been translated as *circumspection*, as "looking around" or "looking around for something" (Heidegger, 1962, 98-99). Circumspection is a kind of "vision" that reveals the interconnection of things, and their relation to us even when they go unnoticed in our everyday routine (see also Olsen, 2010, 71; Dreyfus, 1991, 66-67). Heidegger speaks in a lecture room and brings the attention to the walls and the environs that surround him and his listeners, forming an equipmental contexture: walls, windows, seats, corridors, chairs, blackboards and so on (Heidegger, 1982, p. 163). Olsen gives an example of the fishing gear which doesn't only include the actual fishing equipment (net, thread), but also the water, fish, deck, boat and so on (Olsen, 2010, 71). Commenting on the relational role of equipment, Heidegger (1982, pp.292-294) ascertains that "equipment is encountered always within an equipmental contexture", and its being is "in itself" (it is equipment as such) only if we project its entity beforehand upon functionality, functionality relations and functionality totality; this is what Heidegger calls *letting-function*⁴¹. When we are dealing with something, we don't focus on the equipment itself, or the work that is about to perform, but on its functionality relations.

The readiness-to-hand can also give way to the presence-at-hand under certain circumstances; this occurs when there are "breaks in the referential totality in which

⁴¹ According to Heidegger (1982, p. 293) when we deal with equipment we tend to expect its "for-which" and we retain its "with-which" in our view. In this process we understand equipment in its functionality relation. Thus, letting function is the understanding of this functionality.

circumspection operates” (Heidegger, 1962, p. 107)⁴². For example, the damage caused to a tool uncovers the equipment and makes it conspicuous, resulting in bringing forth the presence-at-hand. When we use the hammer for hammering, the actual tool goes unnoticed, but when it breaks then its presence-at-hand becomes conspicuous. That is, when their ontic state becomes conspicuous from the previous ‘in order-to’ which rendered them ‘circumspectively unnoticed’⁴³. This reveals that the presence-at-hand had been constantly there in a ‘dormant state’, and it became conspicuous after the equipment became unusable. At the same time, however, is not “devoid of all readiness-to-hand” which will be coming back to it after its repair (Heidegger, 1962,103). But the presence-at-hand revealed is still entangled with the readiness-to-hand of the equipment (Heidegger, 1962, p.104).

A phenomenological analysis of souvenirs

In order to better comprehend how a souvenir can be experienced by its owner and due to the fact that it is layered with multiple meanings and memories, we can study **the souvenir as ready-to-hand equipment**. As equipment, in a Heideggerian sense (see previous discussion), we need to see its “letting-function” and functionality relations. The souvenir functions as a memento of a destination and /or a reminiscent of a past experience. And in our case, its equipmental contexture does not have to be something tangible⁴⁴. The souvenir’s equipmental contexture can include our memories

⁴² These breaks are called states of “inconspicuousness”, “unobtrusiveness” and “non-obstinacy”(Heidegger, 1962, pp. 106–107) . An object can become inconspicuous when is damaged; or when a thing is missing and its “un-readiness-to-hand” becomes obtrusive. A similar state of disturbance is when the equipment “stands in the way of our concern”, due to a temporary breakdown or a blocking of its activity (see Dreyfus,1991,72); in such a state its obstinacy makes its presence-to-hand known to us. All the above modes (conspicuousness, obtrusiveness, obstinacy) render the characteristic of presence-at-hand conspicuous in what was already ready-to-hand.

⁴³ Heidegger distinguished two ways in which we study the world: the “*ontic*” which is the study of the factual world and the “*ontological*” which is the “phenomenological description of the deep structures that underlie and explain the ontic” (Frede, 1993, p. 55).

⁴⁴ Heidegger explained that the equipmental contexture does not have to be in nearest proximity: “...(Equipment) belongs to an equipmental contexture within which it has its specific equipmental function, which primarily constitutes its being. Equipment, taken in this ontological sense, is not only equipment for writing or sewing; it includes everything we make use of domestically or in public life. In this broad ontological sense, bridges, streets, streetlamps are also items of equipment. We call the whole of all these beings the *handy*. What is essential in this connection is not whether or not the handy is in nearest proximity, whether it is closer by than purely extant, at-hand things, but only that it is handy in and for daily use or that, looked conversely, in its factual being-in-the world the Dasein is

of the destination visited (scenic landscapes and locations), stories, people we met at our trip, cultural heritage sites. Apart from its ready-to-hand mode, the souvenir can change into a present-at-hand mode, as is true for objects, according to Heidegger (see previous section in *The phenomenological approach*).

In order to better comprehend these different ways of experiencing a souvenir we can use as an example the copy of an original ancient Greek kylix dated to the 5th century BC from the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The replica will obviously be related to the authentic kylix which is kept at the museum. In ancient times, the kylix would have been in a ready-to-hand mode since it was used for drinking wine⁴⁵. During the tourist experience, though, the replica will be encoded with interpretations and meanings as a result of the museum visit (museum labels and guide's explanations) as well as the souvenir shop experience and the interaction with local people (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). Until the acquisition by its owner the souvenir will be void by any personal meanings. As it enters the personal "sphere" of its beholder the souvenir will be embedded with personal meanings and memories. In its new environment, that is the home environment of its owner, the souvenir will carry all the meanings that were embedded in it during the tourist experience while it will continue to be ascribed with further meanings during its lifetime and its entanglement with its owner.

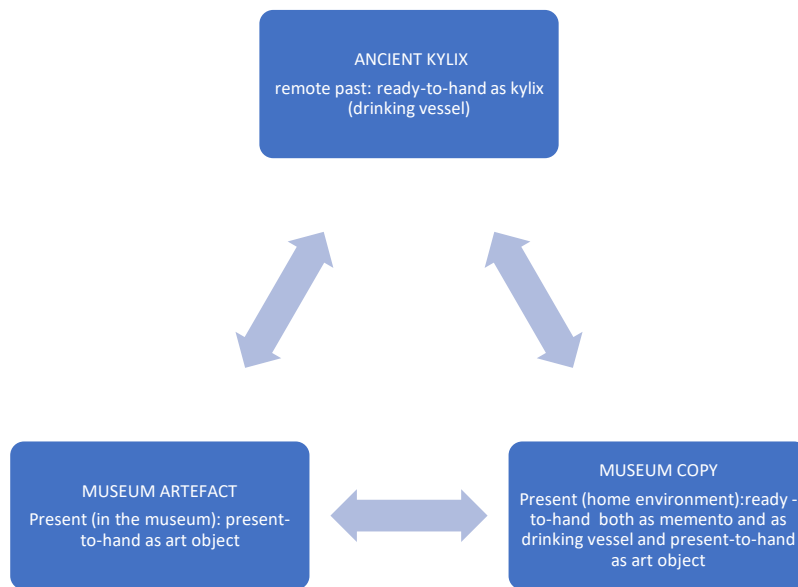
The removal of the kylix from its ancient context and its acquisition from the museum as well as the acquisition of the museum copy from its context of origin and its transfer to the home environment of its owner provide the necessary "breaks" needed so that the "equipment" changes modes, according to Heidegger (see previous section, *The phenomenological approach*). Detached from its ancient environment when it was in a ready-to-hand mode (drinking vessel) , the souvenir is experienced as present-at-hand(art-object) at the museum. We argue that when it is acquired by its future beholder, the museum copy can be experienced in both ready-to-hand (as a memento of the travel experience) and present-at-hand mode (as an art object). It is also possible,

well practiced in a specific way in handling this being, in such a way that it understands this being as something of its own making" (Heidegger, 1982[1975], 292)

⁴⁵ Although a present-at -hand mode could also be possible in the past if we assume that the kylix could also be viewed for its artistic style. However, the hypothetical uses of the kylix in the past is something beyond the scope of the present study. For this reason, we only examine its obvious use in a ready-to-hand mode as a drinking vessel

though, that the museum copy could also be used as a drinking vessel in the present by its owner. In this sense, the museum copy will be experienced in a ready-to-hand mode similar to the experience in the remote past. Thus, temporal “breaks” between the remote past and the present as well as spatial ones between the destination and the home environment of the owner of the museum copy could trigger the changes to the different modes. All these different modes and layers of meanings can be seen below at **Graph 1**:

Graph 1: Diagram of phenomenological modes of the museum replica



In this diagram we can see three phenomenological modes of two ontic entities (the ancient kylix and the museum copy)⁴⁶. The crucial phenomenological mode is the one experienced in the museum: museum artefacts are exhibited in a way that they do not allow a multisensory experience to the museum visitors (see *The silent revolution of museum materiality*). In this sense, they create a distance with their visitors and require a viewing from a more theoretical point of view, which can be achieved through a present-at-hand phenomenological mode. However, museum copies enable a ready-to-hand experience (both as mementoes and as drinking vessels) which enhances the present-at-hand mode of the authentic artefacts (see also *Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies*)

⁴⁶ The ancient kylix and the museum artefact are ontically the same object but ontologically different.

The above diagram visualizes the relationship between the ancient kylix, the museum artefact and the museum copy. Apart from this relationship, there are some binary oppositions evident in the replica of the kylix: past-present, utilitarian-memento, Self- Other. In *Things*, which Heidegger wrote much later (2009 [1971]), he speculated on the “thingness” of the material world. Heidegger used a jug, as his example, in order to comment on the being of things, their relationship with subjects, and how they gather the world within Like Heidegger’s *thing* that gathers the oneness of the fourfold (earth, sky, divinities and mortals), the museum copy of the kylix that we used as an example above is not merely an object, but becomes a thing, because it can gather the past, present, self and the other in the same entity. These four exist because of the other three and determine the nature of the thing. A similar description for the nature of pottery has been given by Henry Glassie, a professor of folklore studies with an extensive investigation on pottery and folk arts. Glassie (1999, p. 17) stated that:

“Pottery makes plain the transformation of nature. Clay from the earth blends with water from the sky. The amorphous takes form in the hands. The wet becomes dry in the air. The soft becomes hard and the dull becomes bright in the fire. Cooked, the useless becomes useful. Pottery works in the world. Displaying the complexity of the human condition, it brings the old and the new, the personal and the social, the mundane and transcendent into presence and connection”

The museum copy is linked to the remote past and to a more recent past (the one of the travel experiences) for its owner; but the owner engages with it in the present. The kylix bears this memory for the owner but “carries” an element from the destination visited and its producer. Only after its purchase, the souvenir gathers the “four in oneness” and becomes a thing. Before its acquisition by its potential buyer, the souvenir is merely an object; it becomes a thing after it starts to be entangled with the life of its beholder; his/her present and past, here and there, self and the other become one in the thing itself. Such is the power of the souvenir as thing.

“Whatever becomes a thing occurs out of the ringing of the world’s mirror play” (Heidegger, 2009[1971]).

This ring links the fourfold into oneness; the becoming of a souvenir into a thing links the different elements (past/present, self/other, home/destination, museum-producer/society-individual) into one. Therefore, the Heideggerian approach enables us to understand the souvenir’s unique and important role: the souvenir’s remarkable mobility to move between different spatial and temporal contexts renders it a thing that

links the destination with the home environment of its user, between present and past, between the Self and the Other (see the discussion on *B) Tourist-souvenir engagements*).

The discussion about materiality

If the phenomenological approach throws more light on the human-object relationship and especially on the ways in which objects can be experienced by humans, the discussion of materiality in material culture studies draws our interest to the material properties of things and to whether these may allow other possible ways of experiencing them. Such a discussion was initiated as an answer to focus on the human perspective in social sciences and anthropology. In the introduction to *Materiality*, Miller (2005) calls for attention towards an emphasis on the objects and materiality. He recognizes that, following Durkheim's tradition, modern anthropology replaced religion with the sacralisation of the social, and now that the social is getting dethroned, he argues, we shouldn't place the object in its place (Miller, 2005, 36-38). Miller is trying to move away from the view that objects merely represent ideas and systems. What he is trying to achieve is "a dialectical republic in which persons and things exist in mutual self-construction and respect for their mutual origin and mutual dependency" (Miller, 2005, p.38). Miller also argues against transcending the dualism with abstract philosophical ideas at a "heightened level", as these are of little importance to the majority of people who still think of the world as separated between subjects and objects:

"We may often find ourselves conducting research among people for whom "common sense" consists of a clear distinction between objects and subjects, defined by their opposition. [...] As part of our engagement we will necessarily attempt to empathize with these views. Furthermore, we will strive to include within our analysis the social consequences of conceptualizing the world as divided in this way" (Miller, 2010,14).

Miller urges anthropologists to engage less with abstract philosophical ideas and try to find a balance between philosophy and the "practical engagement with materiality; he also claims that the role of anthropologists would be to act as mediators between the two poles. Contrary to Miller's claim, Olsen (2010, pp. 103-104) finds that

the philosophical approaches strive to overcome the opposition of subject and object; he criticizes Miller's call for less abstracted and more practical engagement as not giving a solution to the dualism that has been dominant in social sciences over the last decades.

Olsen (2010, pp. 2–3) also talks about the neglect of things as they have been subjective to “a collective amnesia in social and cultural sciences”. He suggests that things should be recognized for their “intrinsic material significance” and for “qualities they possess beyond human cognition, representation and embodiment” without presupposing or implying the superiority of subjects. In his attempt to transcend the subject-object duality, he uses assemblages of thing theory that include poststructuralism, phenomenology, and actor-network theory. The material world is far more complex than we imagine and the attitude has been to regard it as having human-like properties; or assuming that the natural world is culturally constructed, that things cannot exist ‘in themselves’ but can only be meaningfully constituted by subjects, a view that reproduces the dichotomy of nature and culture (Ingold, 2000, p. 4). It has been taken as granted that artefacts represent human pre-conceived ideas; instead of pre-supposing that the material world is simply a representation of the human mind we should consider the possibility that materials can also determine or at least play a significant part in the final design.

Ingold (2000, pp. 339–340) points out another division between form and substance: in living entities the form emerges from within (a result of heredity) while in artefacts form is given from without. Ingold observes that the distinction between form and substance is the existence of the *surface*, where the maker works on, or, even better, the “interface” where the “material world of nature” meets the “creative human mind” (Ingold, 2000, p. 340). For Ingold even the term “material culture” reflects this model of human culture imposed on the natural material world, and in no way can we assume that this term implies a mingling of form and substance. Once again culture dominates materiality. Using a basket as his example, Ingold (2000, pp. 341–342) argues that the fibres of the basket show considerable resistance during its production; in this case we cannot assume that the maker imposes his conceptual form to the material, but that the material itself resists and therefore the basket is the result of the rhythmic movement of the maker's hands and the actual material. The material itself determines to a great extent the final design of the basket.

In his paper *Materials against materiality*, Ingold (2007) argued in favour of materials, criticizing anthropology for focusing on abstract theories about materiality without considering the materials themselves and their properties. Ingold (2007, pp. 4–5) used James Gibson’s model which distinguished three components in the environment: medium, substances and surfaces. For example, air is a medium for humans, an element that allows us to move around while it also allows us to smell, see and hear through transmission of energy and mechanical vibration. Substances refer to any kind of elements (soil, sand, concrete, pebbles etc). Surfaces are the interface between substances and medium and have certain properties. In his argument against the use of the abstract term of materiality, Ingold (2007, p.7) claims that we can touch the surface of a material but claiming that we can touch the surface of materiality is an illusion. The surface of a stone divides the substance from the medium, the material from another material and not the material from a materiality, from something abstract. Discussing the properties of things, Ingold (2007, pp. 14-15) argues that properties are stories: he agrees with Tilley (2004) that stoniness, for example, is not constant but it changes according to the light/shade, humidity/dryness and the movement of the observer. The surface of the stone becomes the interface between nature and culture, the physical world and the world of ideas while the properties of the material world are not “attributes but stories” (Tilley, 2007, pp. 14–15).

Tilley’s (2007) answer to Ingold’s position was that Ingold hadn’t considered the human importance attached to things. He argued that we can take a stone and take scientific measurements for its chemical composition, age and so on, “but this does not help us very much in understanding their human significance without being put into a much broader social and historical context” (Tilley, 2007, p.17). And that is exactly, according to Tilley, the contribution of materiality, the search for human importance to things and their relationship with humans. Similarly, Miller (2007, p. 24) agreed that what is more important is not the materiality of things but its importance to subjects; for example, the sari, which is more or less transparent depending on the occasion, matters for the researchers not for its degree of transparency but its significance for humans. Olsen (2010, p. 16), observes the fact that the “dominant intellectual legacy” has caused an exclusion of the study of the material properties of things and has resulted in an emphasis on abstraction in human sciences. On the other hand, although he finds the favouring of materials over materiality useful, he notes that the attempt to expel

abstraction is not effective and causes the filling of the void by other “abstracted and generalized concepts” which does not lead into more fruitful approaches to materials and things and the is not denying the analogies between language and materials (Olsen, 2010, pp. 16–17).

Boivin’s (2008) study from the field of archaeology can possibly contribute to this discussion. In her archaeological research on a Chalcolithic period site in the area of Balathal in Western India, Boivin (2008) applied a relatively new technique; a geoarchaeological technique called “soil micromorphology” which focuses on the materials used in ancient times in order to understand building techniques, architecture and spatial use in the Chalcolithic. During her research, she started to observe the local mud houses of the Balathal village in order to understand building techniques and local materials used; thus, her research took a more ethnoarchaeological shift. Her research indicated that people tend to use materials that “evoke experience that lie beyond the verbal, beyond the conceptual, and beyond even the conscious [...] their very power may lie in the fact that they are part of the realm of the sensual, of experience, and of emotion, rather than a world of concepts, codes and meanings” (Boivin, 2008, pp. 8–9). In this vein, her book *Material Cultures, Material Minds* (Boivin, 2008) aimed at exploring that concepts such as culture, society and mind that academics tend to regard as abstract are actually more material, visceral and sensual. The author argues that:

“the history of the human engagement with the material world is not so clearly one of mind being imposed on matter, or form on substance, but rather a history in which mind and matter, and form and substance continually bring each other into being” (Boivin, 2008, p. 23).

Drawing not only from archaeology, but also from humanities and natural sciences, Boivin aspires to overcome the idealist-materialist dichotomies and explore how the material world not only has an impact but it is also part of human lives (Boivin, 2008, p. 24). In this sense, her approach is not that far from a phenomenological Heideggerian perspective that explores how humans come into being in their experience of the world which also includes the material world.

A phenomenological approach that takes into consideration the discussion on materiality and acknowledges the importance of the material world can possibly elucidate the fact that the material world with its physical properties is part of the equation. This discussion proves useful for giving more importance to materials

themselves. The dominance of culture over nature, the mental over material and the subject over object nature, as well as the assumption that nature and material things are culturally or meaningfully constituted (by subjects) has excluded a whole perspective about the material things and their inert potentials. Olsen's (2010) defence of things, Ingold's call for a focus on materials rather than abstract terms like materiality, Miller's turn towards materiality and ethnography over abstract philosophical ideas are all valid.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed different approaches to the subject-object relationship from various fields. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the bricoleur attitude (see Olsen, 2010) seems an appropriate approach since it enables the use of elements from different theoretical schools that will allow a better understanding the engagements between souvenirs and people. As demonstrated in the previous pages, the relations that souvenirs develop with their producers, sellers and beholders are quite complex. However, much of the research up to now has followed a more subject-centred approach which emphasised the meanings that humans ascribe to souvenirs or studied the ability of objects to reflect human representations.

Drawing from the theories of objectification, agency, phenomenology, the biography of things, and materiality cannot only provide a theoretical framework to the study of souvenirs but may also illuminate the causal network relations that are formed between souvenirs, individuals, and institutions. The idea that material culture objectifies ideas and notions is also true for souvenirs. For example, souvenirs are ascribed meanings from their producers, as already mentioned above. They are given a special form that determines their initial meaning; souvenirs can, therefore, be translated as text. By de-codifying the souvenir-signs we can see the intentions of their designers and makers. The Greek Ministry of Culture, Greek archaeological museums and the Greek Ministry of Tourism have issued some guidelines regulating the production of Greek souvenirs. Souvenirs produced by following these guidelines are usually available at the official museum-shops, with the majority of these being replicas of museum artefacts. In addition, the cultural policy of both Ministries involved not only influences the production of souvenirs available in the official museum-shops, but also the souvenirs produced in the private sector. Many ceramic workshops sell copies of ceramic vases and statues exhibited in Greek museums or produce souvenirs that

bear characteristics inspired by the cultural heritage of the country. After souvenirs are acquired by their future beholders they are ascribed with additional meanings and symbolisms. As a result, the study of the souvenirs' sign value can help researchers understand the meanings that souvenirs are ascribed by both their producers and owners.

While such conclusions are very enlightening, an emphasis on the sign-value of souvenirs has some limitations since it views the engagements with objects from the subject's perspective and does not recognise an active role to them. Despite Miller's (2005) call for less abstracted philosophical ideas in material culture studies, research on souvenirs and an attempt to investigate the complex relations between museums, the souvenir tourist market and the owners of souvenirs, requires a philosophical framework that could elucidate such relations. A phenomenological perspective, which also takes into consideration the discussion on materiality, can help us be open to the various possible ways in which humans/tourists can engage with souvenirs not only through their symbolic meanings and sign value, but also through their material properties and use value.

Chapter 3: Souvenirs of tourism encounters

Introduction

In the previous chapter we examined the interaction of subjects and objects—mainly from anthropological and archaeological perspectives in order to understand the complex ways in which humans relate to things and how the lives of both are influenced by this interaction. In this chapter we will focus on tourism experience and the interaction between hosts, guests and souvenirs at the ‘tourist *locus*’.

It is rather difficult to pinpoint a definition of what tourism is, since it is a very broad field, and it can receive many interpretations. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) has published various operational definitions for the various aspects that tourism encompasses. ‘Tourism’, as a term, is defined as the activity that tourists are involved in when they leave their home environment, and stay temporarily somewhere else for leisure, free of any obligations.

In our study, we examine the relationships between museum artefacts and souvenirs of Greece and how the latter contribute to the shaping identities, reproducing stereotypes and beliefs. Therefore, we focus more on souvenirs related to cultural heritage and cultural tourism. According to the definition of the World Tourism Organisation (World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 2019):

“Cultural Tourism is a type of tourism activity in which the visitor’s essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions”

Until the past two decades tourism was not given enough attention and was mainly approached from a positivist perspective that emphasised its economic aspects. However, travelling has been an essential activity for humans since ancient times. The distinction between home/ordinary and tourist destination/extraordinary environment has been central in tourism studies, especially among the early theorists (Boorstin, 2012; Graburn, 1976; MacCannell, 2013; L. Turner & Ash, 1975), although during the

last few decades scholars tend to think beyond this division, and focus more on the tourism experience and its role in the construction of self-identity (E. Cohen, 1979; S. Cohen & Taylor, 1998; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Meethan, 2001; Noy, 2004; Uriely, 2005; Urry, 2002; Wang, 1999; Wearing et al., 2010).

In what follows, I will look at these theoretical developments, mainly from constructivist and post-modernist perspectives, and examine how souvenirs materialise the processes that shape the tourism experience as well as their contribution to the construction of identity. Before that, a brief account on the history of tourism is in place.

Travelling through the ages

Humans always had the need to travel and explore new places and the unfamiliar (Boorstin, 2012). Tourism, in the modern sense, was born as a notion in more recent times and more specifically after the industrial revolution in Britain when the working class needed to get away for leisure (Feifer, 1985, p. 166). But the roots of travelling can be traced back in ancient times; according to Casson (1994, p. 32), the first signs of travelling are found in **Egypt** around the middle of the second millennium BC: Ancient travellers left their marks on the pyramids (that they probably visited out of curiosity or just for pure enjoyment and not for religious reasons). The pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara or the three great pyramids of Gizeh had become sights that attracted several travellers since ancient times.

In **ancient Greece** the easiest and most convenient way of travelling was through the sea routes. The Classical Greeks used mainly the seaways and most of the city-states like Athens, Corinth, Megara etc. were seaports. Travel via the land routes was difficult since the terrain of Greece is mainly mountainous, making it nearly impossible to provide a proper road network. Travel by land was conducted mainly on foot or on mules and donkeys, small open carts, and carts equipped with an arched canopy for longer journeys. Despite the difficulties, the ancient Greeks travelled extensively for economic purposes but also to participate in religious festivals and to visit spas like the ones at the sanctuaries of Asclepius (Casson, 1994, pp. 65–94).

Travelling for leisure developed in **Roman times**. During the famous *Pax Romana* the Mediterranean Sea was united under one ruler and the Roman army cleared the seas from pirates. Moreover, the use of a common currency and common languages (Latin and Greek) facilitated trade and travel. Apart from the development of the sea

routes, the Romans created an advanced road system connecting different parts of the Empire like, for example, the *Via Egnatia* which linked the Adriatic Sea with Bosphorus and led to the development of the ancient region of Macedonia. The Romans continued to travel for religious reasons (oracles, games, sanctuaries), like the Classical Greeks previously, but they also started to travel for leisure. The area of the bay of Naples became a summer resort; many wealthy Romans built villas where they could spend their summer vacations. These villas were overlooking the sea, they had swimming pools and fish ponds. The first excursions to places of natural beauty were organised; apart from the upper social classes, the poorer ones could also go on a holiday at Puteoli, Baiae or Naples (Casson, 1994, pp. 138–142). Sea ports like Puteoli became popular tourist destinations while the inhabitants of ancient Puteoli produced water flasks with depictions of their town which were sold to travellers. Archaeologists discovered flasks from Puteoli around the Mediterranean with inscriptions of the name of their beholders, thus a form of personalised souvenir (Popkin, 2017).

With the decline of the Roman Empire and the Barbaric invasions that followed, the road networks and communication systems collapsed, and travelling declined as it became very dangerous to travel. People started to travel again in **Medieval times** as pilgrims; a famous trip was the one to the shrine of St James at Santiago de Compostela in Spain, which started to attract many visitors from England, France and Germany. Many Europeans included Rome to their trips and later on started to venture even further to the Holy Lands. By the 13th and 14th centuries, pilgrimage became so popular that package tours from Venice to the Holy Lands, including fare, meals and accommodation were offered to pilgrims. Travellers could also enjoy landscape beauties and other curiosities, as we can deduct from Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* published in 1357 (Feifer, 1985, pp. 29–31).

After the Renaissance, Italy became the most popular destination among young European aristocrats. During the Elizabethan era, young Englishmen of the upper classes started to travel in the Continent with the aim to reach Italy and experience Renaissance. The trips were subsidised by Queen Elizabeth and Universities, as travel was considered to be the best form to prepare the young aristocrats for governmental positions and diplomatic posts. This kind of tour followed the steps of the earlier pilgrimage tours, but the emphasis was not on the religious

element. The new tours had an educational focus and for that reason they became the predecessor of the famous “Grand Tour”.

Later on, **the Grand Tour** included France and mainly Italy where young aristocrats travelled to gain valuable knowledge and experience. The Grand Tour was established as an essential element of the education of the sons of the aristocracy during the 17th century, while during the 18th century it further included the sons of the middle class (Feifer, 1985; Urry, 2002); however some scholars argue that middle class travellers started to travel as early as the 17th century (see Towner, 1985, p. 300). Since the character of the Grand Tour was educational, the young aristocrats were travelling with their ‘governors’ (or tutors), and they usually reached Italy through the English Channel to France, or from the North Sea through the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. In Italy they visited Classical sites and studied the architecture and the art of the Renaissance. They were spending a considerable time in Rome where they were usually taking part in a six-day tour which included the most important sites and churches. The tours were led by educated guides, the most famous one being Joachim Winckelmann (Feifer, 1985, p. 117). The Grand Tour continued during the Romantic era although there was some decline towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. During that period, when most countries of Europe were cut off, the Romantic tourists could travel to the Balkan peninsula, Greece, and the Near East by boat. Places of great historical significance became stopping points in these travel itineraries; Hellas became “the *topos* par excellence of a European *logos* about Hellenism” (Leontis, 1995, p. 41 italics in the original). This part of the Mediterranean was still quite untouched by travel, something that the Romantic traveller found appealing; they detested tourists in general and looked for unspoiled places (Feifer, 1985, pp. 149–155). Greece was exotic and familiar at the same time; familiar as a birthplace of the western civilisation and exotic since it was part of the Ottoman empire with little influences from the movements in Western Europe at that time (Leontis, 1995, p. 45). Lord Byron⁴⁷ visited Ioannina and from there he went to Istanbul, then to the Greek islands and finally to Athens and to mainland Greece. The Romantic travellers were actually following this Byronic

⁴⁷ Lord Byron (1788-1824) was a famous English poet and one of the leading figures of the Romantic movement. He travelled extensively in Europe and especially in Italy where he lived for a few years. He later on travelled in Greece and joined the Greek war of Independence fighting together with the Greeks against the Ottoman Empire

itinerary through Spain, Portugal and Malta towards Albania, Turkey, Greece and the Greek islands. Scholars today have identified similarities between contemporary tourists and the “Grand” travellers of the Romantic era (Craik, 1997); others have observed that such type of touring which combined exploration through travelling with an educational purpose and which enhanced one’s social status is an ancestor of today’s tourism (Χτούρης, 1995, p. 49). Today many of the visitors to Greece actually “revisit”⁴⁸ the Grand Tour and experience the destination through the same lens. It is of no surprise, that Classical archaeological sites such as the Acropolis, “becomes a place of homecoming” (Leontis, 1995, p. 47). For Western travellers, a relationship which has been emphasised in the publicity campaign of the Greek Tourist Organisation (see on Chapter 5: The development of tourism in Greece)

The birth of mass tourism

The Grand Tour declined during the Napoleonic wars, but revived again after their end, and became so popular that whole families participated. With the Industrial Revolution a new social class started to travel as the introduction of paid holidays gave the opportunity to members of the working class to travel for leisure. The development of a railway system in Britain made travel to distant destinations in a short time possible (Feifer, 1985, pp. 166–167). The **first excursion for pleasure** was organised by Thomas Cook between Leicester and Liverpool in **1845**. During the next decade, Cook organised trips to Scotland and Paris and soon to Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. Then, in 1856 the first “grand circular tour of the Continent” was advertised (Boorstin, 2012, p. 167; Feifer, 1985, p. 168).

At the turn of the century, tourists became more demanding and searched for pleasure without effort. Tourists expected to find all the facilities at the same destination; the sacred spring of Roman times became a health spa in the medieval ages and later evolved into a pleasure resort in the modern era; hence, the holy days became holidays (Feifer, 1985, p. 204). Seaside towns, like Brighton, became popular resorts in Britain while the Mediterranean coast of France developed into the famous ‘French Riviera’ after it was discovered by Tobias Smollett during the Grand Tour. Queen Victoria and Edward VII visited the French Mediterranean coast quite frequently; the

⁴⁸ Borrowing Craik’s term (Craik, 1997, p. 119)

area soon became a popular destination for the affluent upper middle class of Britain (Feifer, 1985, pp. 206–208).

After the First World War, the Americans started to travel to Europe by crossing the Atlantic with cruise ships, the new way of travelling. The first Mediterranean cruise was conducted by Cunard's 'Caronia' vessel, which was operated by both Thomas Cook and American Express. It was around the same time, in the 1930s, that paid vacation became mandatory in France and Britain while the development of air travel made travelling to remote destinations possible.

Travel agencies started to offer **all-inclusive holidays** which offered the airfare, accommodation, and guided tours in the same package. After a short halt in tourism during the Second World War, tourism 'exploded' in the decades that followed. Today there are 698 million passenger arrivals worldwide as compared to 25 million in the 1950s (Feifer, 1985, pp. 219–258; Urry, 2002, pp. 4–7).

Theoretical developments in the study of tourism

The early theorists

It was this increase in tourism that brought more attention to the study of tourism; despite the renewed interest, though, and given an emphasis on the economic and marketing aspect of tourism, positivist perspectives have dominated this field neglecting research from a humanities perspective (Crick, 1989; Culler, 1990; Franklin, 2003; Lett, 1989; MacCannell, 2013; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Nash, 1981; Nuñez, 1989; P. Pearce, 1982; Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997a; Uriely, 2005; Urry, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010). The cause of this paradox may be the lack of concern to study 'leisure' by many academic fields (P. Pearce, 1982, p. 2), the bias in early anthropological approaches that tourism is inauthentic or the anxiety caused by the realization by anthropologists that anthropological and touristic identities actually overlap (Crick, 1995, p. 208).

After the Second World War with the rapid development of tourism, research focused mainly on **questions regarding the impact of tourism on host communities, the relations of hosts and guests and the economic development of tourism** (Craik, 1997; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997a; L. Turner & Ash, 1975; Urry, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010). Many of the early theorists, from the 1950s until the 1970s, denigrated tourists; this is evident in Boorstin's approach who introduced his

theory on “pseudo-events” in his book *The Image: A guide to Pseudo-events in America* (Boorstin, 2012). He distinguished the **traveller** from a **tourist** and argued that the traveller doesn’t care for his comfort; instead, he is a labourer seeking to learn, while the tourist cares only for pleasure. Boorstin argues that contemporary tourists are very different from the travellers of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries who opened their horizons, a fact which led to the advent of Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Boorstin believes that contemporary tourists are neither cosmopolitan nor do they search for the authentic; they rather experience the different destinations through “**pseudo-events**” (Boorstin, 2012, pp. 153–155). He further noted that people stopped being travellers and started to become tourists after the middle of the 19th century; tourism became a commodity, packaged, and sold as such to the tourists-consumers. According to Boorstin, even the word ‘tourist’ has a negative connotation as it means somebody who tours for pleasure not seeking for an authentic experience like the traveller of the Grand Tour. Tourism is planned around the provision of “pseudo-events”: all things such as museum artefacts have been removed from their context and are not exhibited in their natural habitat anymore. All tourist attractions show the same quality and provide the tourist with a series of “pseudo-events” (Boorstin, 2012, pp. 192–194). But Boorstin is not the only one (see also Barthes, 2009; L. Turner & Ash, 1975) who uses the term ‘tourist’ as derogatory; there is a wider tendency to view tourism as a decadent cultural phenomenon of the capitalist society (Uriely, 2005, p. 208).

More recently, anthropologists realised the importance of studying tourism and tourists. This generated a considerable number of studies in this field. Lett (1989, pp. 275–276), for instance, observed that “Modern tourism accounts for the single largest peaceful movement of people across boundaries in the history of the world” and concluded that tourism is certainly an anthropological topic which cannot ignore the study of tourism since as a discipline its “raison d’être is the exploration and explication of cultural similarities and differences”.

MacCannell’s semiotics of attraction

A new approach in the way we understand tourists was put forward by Dean MacCannell in his book *The Tourist* (MacCannell, 2013). MacCannell supported the idea that the reason why tourists received a critique -for being tourists- was not for leaving home and travelling, but for not being “tourists enough”, for being superficial

and for not being able to see things the way they should see them (MacCannell, 2013, p. 10). He also argued that tourists seek authenticity and that travelling resembles a ritual. Following a structuralist approach, MacCannell proposes **the study of tourists as a model for understanding modern people**, and sees tourist attractions as “analogous to the religious symbolism of primitive people” who had been the focus of study by cultural anthropologists (MacCannell, 2013, p. 2). Based on the theory of Thorstein Veblen (2007),⁴⁹ MacCannell believed that the study of leisure can give us a deeper insight on social structure. MacCannell based his analysis of sightseeing on the “social structural differentiation” (MacCannell, 2013, p. 11). He observed that differentiation covers the whole society and not just independent sections of it or specific institutions, and that such a differentiation is typical of societies in Western Europe and North America; he identified this structural differentiation as the cause for the lack of revolutions in developed societies while the less developed show more signs of revolutionary action. Revolution requires a transcendence of the social structural differentiation which can be achieved in the world of leisure although such a consciousness hasn’t developed yet (MacCannell, 2013, p. 12). In this sense, sightseeing can be seen as “a ritual performed to the differentiations of society”, an attempt to overcome the fragmentary character of modern society and make sense of a totality (MacCannell, 2013, p. 13). More recently, the element of ‘transcendence’ has been pointed out by other theorists who argue that such a state is what tourists need in order to escape from the familiar (see Craik, 1997, p. 114) At the same time that sightseeing -as a ‘ritual’- is trying to achieve a sense of totality, it celebrates differentiation; the fragmentary element of a differentiated society is reflected on the fragmentary character of tourist attractions (Craik, 1997). Following Marx’s thinking, according to which commodities are symbols in modern society, MacCannell argues that commodities’ value is not determined by the amount of labour required for their production (as stated by Marx for the industrial society of his time), but by the quality and quantity of the experience that the commodities can offer (MacCannell, 2013, p.

⁴⁹ Veblen’s theory of the leisure class was based in the idea that the practices of businessmen of the industrial age have their roots at the time of the feudal medieval period. Like medieval aristocrats, modern businessmen own the means of production and have created conspicuous leisure and consumption which are useless activities but contribute to their benefit’ on the other hand, the middle and working class are the ones employed (see Veblen, 2007)

23). Following MacCannell's theory, many theorists in tourism studies focus on the tourist experience today (see Uriely, 2005).

For MacCannell the tourist attraction is the "empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker"; these markers can take several forms like guidebooks, souvenirs, information labels etc. (MacCannell, 2013, p. 41). Individuals collect souvenirs while societies collect sights (MacCannell, 2013, p. 42). Tourists start the ritual of sightseeing by visiting the sights that need to be seen; but who determines which sights ought not to be missed? MacCannell outlines the stages in the process of sacralisation of sights (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 43–45):

- The *naming phase* is when a sight or an object is marked as worthy of importance in comparison with other similar ones.
- The *framing and elevation phase* is when a sight or object is marked as special by being placed on a pedestal or in a display (a good example is a museum artefact).
- The *enshrinement phase* is when the object or sight is sacralised and given even more importance.
- The *mechanical reproduction phase* is when an object is sacralised through its reproduction in the form of a photo, effigy etc.
- The *social reproduction phase* is when the name sight or object is used by societies to name a region for example.

Sometimes, the marker can substitute the sight. MacCannell uses the example of San Francisco claiming that sightseers do not see San Francisco but see its markers: the Golden Gate Bridge, Union Square etc. (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 111–112). In other cases the marker (or signifier) can be an abstract idea like the notion of liberty for the statue of Liberty (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 117–121). The subject-object duality is present but MacCannell argued over the interchangeability of the signifier and the signified. Especially in tourism, the elevation of an object to a sight might not have anything to do with the physical features of the object but is mostly the work of society (MacCannell, 2013, p. 119). According to MacCannell, the constant transformations of markers to sights is something which is an essential part of sightseeing. The elevation of an object to the status of a sight is the work of society and is not inherent in the object itself. Society determines what can become a 'sight. Moreover, a marker can be part of a sight (can even be a small piece of the sight for example) "but once they are in the hands of an individual, they [i.e. markers/objects] can only be souvenirs, memories of

the things itself' (MacCannell, 2013, p. 119), and they become attached to their possessor who creates his/her narrative around them (see Stewart, 1993). MacCannell (2013, p. 119) argues that people assign different values to markers and sights according to their social background; social organisation and structure determine the different roles between signified and signifiers. On a different level, society also organises the tourism and heritage industries. Both tourism and the heritage industries turn sights into tourist attractions which are part of a tourist's ritual; the information about them acts as a marker and determines the production of souvenirs, that is which objects will be ascribed that role. These souvenirs will then act as markers of a destination. We see clearly the interchangeability between the signifier and the signified that MacCannell pointed out (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 117–121). Culler (1990, p. 9) uses the Eiffel Tower as an example: a major signified monument becomes a signifier of the city of Paris and France. In our case, the Parthenon was initially built as a temple of Athena in the 5th century BC, but the tourism and heritage industries have elevated this specific sight into a marker of Athens and the whole of Greece. Souvenirs of the Parthenon will, in their part, act as markers of this destination. At the same time, the reproduction of the Parthenon reinforces its sacralisation as a sight (MacCannell, 2013) or its aura as an original sight (Benjamin, 2007). Such a semiotic system is not static, however, as pointed out by Harkin (1995, p. 653) who argues that the constant signification is part of the tourist experience, which is consumption and display of these signs at the same time. Thus, the tourists are semioticians looking for the signs of Frenchness, or of traditional English pubs (Culler, 1990; Urry, 2002) or of Greek island scenery in our case.

Authenticity and staged authenticity

Culler (1990, p. 5) pointed out the importance of authenticity by claiming that “the authentic is a *usage* perceived as a sign of that usage, and tourism is in large measure a quest for such signs” (*italics in the original*). Much of the literature on tourism has paid particular attention to authenticity (Boorstin, 2012; E. Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 2013; V. L. Smith, 1989; L. Turner & Ash, 1975; Urry, 2002). MacCannell argued that in premodern times people were more concerned with the distinction of truth and nontruth since this distinction is essential for the maintenance of close interpersonal relationships which are typical of these early societies. This

changed when modern man lost his attachment to such structures and developed an interest for the ‘real lives’ of others. Society is based instead on the “cultural representations of reality” (MacCannell, 2013, p. 92). In his analysis of authenticity, MacCannell adopted the theory of Erving Goffman of ‘front and back regions’ (MacCannell, 2013, p. 92). Like in any performance, there is the “front region” where the performers act and meet with the audience and the “back region” where the performers relax and prepare for the next act (Goffman, 1956). MacCannell uses Goffman’s distinction to describe the way tourism is structured: the space where the performance takes place is the “stage set” or the “tourist setting”. These settings can be arranged in a continuum which uses Goffman’s distinction; therefore, the continuum has the front region on one end and the back region on the other; according to MacCannell (2013, p. 101), the continuum is divided in six stages. Stage one is Goffman’s front region, while stage two is still a front region but decorated in such a way so as to look like a back region, as for example a seafood restaurant with a fishnet on the wall. Stage 3 is a front region that looks even more like a back region and stage four is a back region which is open to outsiders. Stage 5 and 6 are entirely back regions, but an occasional glimpse is permitted on stage 5 (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 101–102). The continuum provides a useful tool for the study of similar settings in tourism which MacCannell calls “staged authenticity” (see MacCannell, 2013, pp. 91–107). He argues that on their journey for the sacred, tourists seek authenticity and tourist settings have been arranged in such a way so as to provide an authentic experience; however, the staged authentic setting can be a use of symbols and stereotypes of the local culture (Τσάρτας, 1995, p. 42)

Most of the time tourists are not aware of **the degree of authenticity** offered. Of course, we need to consider that authenticity is constructed and negotiated by the various agents during the tourism experience (see the following sections below). In the tourist settings of Greece, many experiences have been staged and offered as “authentic”. Traditional weddings in Santorini, Greek dance nights in Athens are just some of the touristic shows that are offered to the tourists as an “authentic” experience. A very interesting tourist setting observed during my research were the ceramic workshops at Mycenae, one of the major tourist attractions in Greece. Tourist groups usually visit the ceramic workshops where they are taken to have a peek of the production area/back region (according to Goffman’s division). But rather than being

an authentic back region, it is actually a staged back region constructed especially for tourists, as we will examine in the following chapters (*Chapter 6: Research methodology*). Another excellent example of staged authenticity was experienced at Morocco. During a tour that I participated in Morocco, our group was travelling from Marrakech towards the Sahara Desert and stopped at a typical Berber village on the way. We walked around the alleys of the village and we were led to a Berber house in order to experience an authentic setting of weaving carpets; part of the ‘ritual’ was that we had to take our shoes off like the Berbers do. The next stage of initiation was to drink the traditional mint tea; we sat on the ground which was all covered with traditional carpets and in front of us was the ‘stage’: a Berber woman dressed in traditional clothes presenting an authentic demonstration of weaving the carpets with traditional Berber patterns. After the demonstration we had some time to look at their products; it was stressed to us that purchasing the carpets we would help the local Berbers survive. This was a unique setting because we did enter a Berber house, but the whole setting was staged for tourists. The couple that presented the weaving were not actually living there. But we were given the impression that what was presented to us was a back-stage setting provided exclusively for us. This is another excellent example of a “staged back region” as termed by MacCannell (2013, pp. 99–100).

Such tourist settings are what Boorstin (2012, p. 99) called ‘pseudo-events’ but for him such events are generated by the needs of individual tourists; MacCannell, on the other hand, notes that tourists are seeking authenticity and want to experience real social settings but this would cause an intrusion to the lives of the hosts. Thus, the production of **staged authentic experiences** are rather the result of these social relations than the will of individual tourists as MacCannell reports on Boorstin’s argument (MacCannell, 2013, pp. 106–107; Urry, 2002, p. 9). In agreement with Greenwood, Crick argues that in a sense all cultures are staged (Crick, 1989, p. 336; Greenwood, 1982; see also Urry, 2002). According to this approach, all cultures constantly adopt new elements, reinvent themselves and are, therefore, in a continuous process of ‘staging’ themselves, a process which has started even before the appearance of tourism (Crick, 1989, p. 336). Consequently, many scholars (Crick, 1989, p. 336; Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997a; Urry, 2002, p. 9) question whether we should view staged experiences in tourism negatively, as early theorists did. Greenwood (1982) gives examples in which tourism has not been necessarily destructive but in some cases had

a positive impact on local communities; in the case of Haiti rural Voodoo dancing, for example, a staged show was created for the tourists that didn't have the time to travel to the rural areas to see the show but the result was beneficial. Or, in the case of Black clubs in Bermuda which brought economic growth and reinforced the community's cultural pride. A counterargument for our example of the carpet weaving demonstration of the Berber community in Morocco, would be that although staged, such an experience contributes to the recognition and preservation of the Berber culture.

Alternative authenticities and the tourist gaze

Cohen (1988, p. 376) argues that authenticity mostly concerns intellectuals and other modern people who tend to regard authenticity as a quality of pre-modern life due to the alienation of modern society. In fact, Cohen related the degree of alienation with the quest for authenticity: the less alienated people are, the less interested they also are in authenticity. However, there are tourists who value the authenticity of their tourist experience and who will reject an inauthentic experience as contrived. According to Cohen's typology (1979)⁵⁰, the "existential" tourists will be more willing to come into contact with the 'Other' and they resemble anthropologists. He further observes, however, that because they lack the academic background and the professional expertise these tourists lack the qualifications for distinguishing whether an object or an experience is genuine or fake (Cohen, 1988, p. 376).

Urry, on the other hand, suggests that the tourist's search for authenticity is not the basis of tourism. Moreover, in the same way that MacCannell claimed that the study of tourists can serve as a model for understanding modern man and the structural differentiations of modern society, Urry argued that the study of the objects of the tourist gaze give scholars a deeper insight of the characteristics of modern society. Part of the tourist experience is to 'gaze' upon the different elements of a destination (landscapes, townscapes) and the professionals of the tourist sector are the ones who construct such a gaze (Urry, 2002, p. 1).

⁵⁰ In his paper "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experience", Cohen (1979) distinguished five main modes of tourist experience: the Recreational; the Diversionary; the Experiential; the Experimental; and the Existential. The typology is classified as different points on a continuum and its spectrum ranges from the experience of the tourist as traveller seeking mere pleasure (the Recreational is one end of the spectrum) to the tourist/pilgrim who seeks a meaningful experience (the Existential is the other end of the spectrum)

For Urry one of the most striking characteristics of tourism is the distinction between ordinary/everyday and extraordinary/ holiday (Urry, 2002, p. 12). **The tourist gaze** is constructed, and it is defined by its contrast to other forms of non-tourist experience. Urry notes that:

“The gaze therefore presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and paid work” (Urry, 2002, pp. 1–2)

Tourists often encounter objects which are more familiar to them during their travels but a common practice in the tourist industry is to provide a tourist experience that focuses on the objects that are out of the ordinary for the tourist. Urry argues that there are many different ways to gaze at these objects (Urry, 2002, pp. 12–13): he distinguishes *the gaze of a unique object* like the Eiffel Tower or the Empire State Building, famous objects that form part of the “pilgrimage” that tourists include to their sacred journey (see Graburn, 1989; MacCannell, 2013). Moreover, there is *the gaze of specific particular signs* like the typical English village (Urry, 2002, pp. 12–13), or the characteristic blue domes of the churches of Santorini, in our study. Such a gaze of tourists seeking signs ‘transforms’ them into semioticians as has been noted by Culler (1990). Another way of gazing is seeing unfamiliar aspects of what used to be familiar in the past. A good example is provided by the museum exhibitions that demonstrate people’s lives and their cultural artefacts in ‘realistic settings’ (Urry, 2002, p. 13).

Wang (1999) argues against an object-related focus in studying authenticity and suggests an approach influenced from existential philosophers. He supported the view that there are limits to objectivist (Boorstin, 2012) or constructivist (Cohen, 1988) approaches. Early theorists who followed a more objectivist approach, tended to use the term “authenticity” in tourism studies, with its “museum-linked usage”, in other words with the meaning of the term given by museum curators for museum and art objects.(Wang, 1999, p. 351). For constructivists, authenticity is negotiable, and it is constructed socially, in terms of one’s beliefs, perspectives and views. Often, tourists project pre-conceived ideas, expectations or stereotypes they might have for a tourist destination (Bruner, 2005), which resembles a quest for “symbolic authenticity” (Culler, 1990). The approach suggested by Wang (1999, pp. 351–352) was inspired

from existential philosophy and introduced the idea a “potential state of Being which is to be activated by tourist activities”. In this respect, Wang’s approach is activity-related and not object-related; in other words, the “existential authenticity” is not related to the authenticity of the objects at all, but examines the authenticity of the experience from an existential philosophical point of view. Reisinger and Steiner (2006) draw from Heidegger and question the necessity of a discussion over objective perceptions of authenticity and suggest a phenomenological approach that accepts authenticity as it is without preconceptions. Considering such approaches, we argue that authenticity should not be viewed as an objective concept that can be applied on the tourist experience in general. **Authenticity is negotiated during the tourist experience** while its perception is open to interpretations according to the circumstances that give shape to it each time (see also Holtorf, 2005).

Post-modern influences on tourism and the post-tourists

Some theorists have attempted to trace the characteristics of postmodernism in tourism (Craik, 1997; Feifer, 1985; Harkin, 1995; Lash & Urry, 1994; Urry, 2003b, 2003a). Postmodernism is “not a condition, nor as part of a fabric with post-industrialism, a type of society, in the sense that people speak of industrial society or capitalist society, or modern society”, but refers to a system of signs and symbols or a “regime of signification” (Lash, 1990, pp. 3–4; see also Urry, 2002, p. 75). In this regime only cultural objects are produced., as Lash (1990, p. 5) argues. This system consists of two components: the first one is cultural economy which regulates the modes of production and distribution of cultural objects; the other one is a “specific mode of signification” which determines the relationship between signifier, signified and referent of cultural objects (Lash, 1990, p. 5). Modernism refers to the structural differentiation of society (see MacCannell, 2013) while postmodernism is about the de-differentiation and is quite antihierarchical; postmodernism doesn’t accept vertical differentiations and doesn’t recognise a strong distinction between high culture, enjoyed only by an elite, and a popular mass culture (Lash, 1990, p. 11; Urry, 2002, pp. 75–76). Postmodernism is also concerned with the relationship between representations and reality. Lash observes that during the era of modernism there was a clear distinction between the role of the signifier, the signified and the referent, but that post-modernism problematizes this distinction and especially the relationship between representation

and reality; these two come closer since signification becomes more and more visual and since we tend to consume more the representations or the signs than the signified itself (Lash, 1990, p. 12; Urry, 2002, p. 77). A nice example is the popularity of the “*son et lumiere*” (Urry, 2002, p. 78) shows in tourism⁵¹. Lash (1990, p. 15; italics in the original) points out very clearly that:

“If realism promises stability and order in both representation and reality, then modernist automatization and self-legislation effectively destabilizes the *representation*. Postmodernist de-differentiation on the other hand puts chaos, flimsiness, and instability in our experience of *reality* itself”

In other words, modernity brought about an “orderly totality” while postmodernity brings the “end of certainty” (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 257). The work of the intellectual is not that of the legislator as it used to be regarded during modernity. In the post-modern era the intellectual is rather an interpreter. In the travel industry the interpreter mediates between the object and the visitor and gives an interpretation of the meaning but does not instruct.

Urry (2002, p. 78) observes that there is a great **influence of post-modernism in tourism**; one of its principal characteristics is that it is “anti-auratic”. Since post-modernism is anti-elitistic, it does not recognise a real distinction between art and social life; moreover, an interest in ‘kitsch’ is noted (Urry, 2002, p. 78), which doesn’t leave souvenirs unaffected. Post-modernism looks similar to what Urry termed “collective gaze”, but the author (Urry, 2002, p. 78) argues that the romantic gaze shows elements of post-modernism, too. Urry supports the view that tourism is post-modern in its core as it is a “combination of the visual, the aesthetic, the commercial and the popular” (Urry, 2002, p. 78). In his influential book *Distinction, A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu (1984) refers to the taste preferences of the different social classes and argues that cultural institutions play an important role in the struggle for dominance and power by the various classes. It is interesting to note that in this struggle for showing power, the petty bourgeois and the intellectuals are involved in activities like hiking and museum visits, following the tendency of the higher classes towards a “romantic revival” to get closer to nature and acquire cultural capital respectively. The view that intellectuals demonstrate ‘poverty’ by their code of clothing and by exemplifying the romantic gaze is supported by Urry (2002, pp. 80–81), who draws from Bourdieu’s theory (Bourdieu, 1984).

⁵¹ Such shows were also operating in Greece until the 1990s.

The new “service class” mentioned by Bourdieu, shows different preferences: a prioritisation of culture over nature and an alternative way of experiencing nature (Urry, 2002, pp. 85–86). There is a turn towards a culture of travel rather than tourism, in the narrow sense, as is evident in the way the tourism sector organises its product and promotes it to its clients today. The birth of small independent travel agencies that organise mainly tailor-made tours and travel operators who use different vocabulary in order to present their tours as a cultural experience -rather than a normal tour package- reflect some of these new trends. There is also a tendency towards a more romantic gaze than a collective one (typical of mass tourism) which the new high classes do not want to relate to. Similar postmodern characteristics are the visits to the countryside and traditional villages as well as the tendency to preserve both nature and traditional life.

Feifer (1985) was one of the first scholars to refer to “**post-tourists**”; she recognised that in the post-modern era tourists are more self-confident and willing to tailor-make their own tour rather than buying an all-inclusive package. Now the emphasis is on the experience, and post-tourists are aware that tourism doesn’t provide a single authentic one (Urry, 2002, p. 91). Travellers today can see the objects of the tourist gaze from a distance, even from home (Feifer, 1985, pp. 269–271; see also the preface in MacCannell, 2013; Urry, 2002, p. 90). Feifer argues that tourists do not have difficulty admitting that they are tourists and do “tourist things” like going to Paris to visit the Eiffel tower or buying miniature souvenirs of this monument even if they are kitsch. Post-tourists can see such a souvenir either as a “piece of kitsch” or as a “piece of geometric formalism” and as a “socially revealing artefact” (Feifer, 1985, p. 270). In fact, Feifer notes that the post-tourist’s attitude towards ‘kitsch’ is humorous. A significant characteristic of the post-tourist is that by trying to relieve himself/herself from the fragmented way of today’s modern life, he/she can enjoy either the different monuments independently or realise the “connective tissue between attractions” (Feifer, 1985, p. 270). The experience that the post-tourists seek is now subjective; they are not passive consumers, and they demand more “out-of-the-ordinary experiences”, something that has transformed the modes of production and consumption of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002, p. 92).

Furthermore, the tourist gaze has been affected by the fast speed of the images of travel through the Internet, while people can also travel fast due to the development

of transportation. Both changes have created a new reality in tourism and the heritage industry, as has been noted by many scholars (Giaccardi & Plate, 2017; Lash & Urry, 1994; MacCannell, 2013; Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997b; Urry, 2002). Urry, though, observes that the advance of “imaginative and virtual travel” is not taking the place of corporeal travel, and argues that the two ‘blend’ together (Urry, 2002, p. 141). Tourism and culture are not distinct spheres but overlap. This is due to the de-differentiation -or “culturalization”- of society and to an increase in the mobility of humans and objects (see Lury, 1997). Migration has brought many foreign exotic ⁵²cultures in western societies and old colonial metropolises experience new cultural realities (Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997b, p. 4). Both the actual and metaphorical mobility should be taken into consideration in the study of tourism. Cultures are not ‘hermetic’ and the old distinction of home and abroad needs to take into consideration the appearance of these newly created forms of “hybridity” (Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997b, p. 4). It is interesting to note that tourist spaces provide the *locus* for the mobility of people, objects, images, and symbols. A good example is the hotel lobby (see Clifford, 1992) or the metaphor of the motel as a space of constant mobility and circulation (see Morris, 1988); in a similar way the airport lounge or the coach station are *loci* of interaction. Hence, “reconfigurations of the tourist gaze” are observed (Urry, 2002, pp. 160–161), while mobility has changed the way people experience the world and has created new forms of subjectivity (Lash & Urry, 1994, pp. 256–257). Increased mobility creates subjects with an increased knowledge who are able to reflect on their own social conditions, what has been described as “reflexive modernization” (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 256). Lash and Urry (1994) argue that this reflexivity is not only cognitive or normative but also aesthetic, and causes a wider understanding about other societies and cultures, both now and in the past; thus, it leads to an “aesthetic cosmopolitanism”. The reflexivity of modernization and its result, the “aesthetic cosmopolitanism”, is one of the main reasons, according to the authors, for an increased interest in the past and heritage, and a new sense of the notion of the nation-state: the nation is not strictly bound to territory and confined within its borders (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 256). With such a change, the icons and the symbols of a nation become very important (Urry, 2002, p. 158) and national heritage sites and museums play a significant part in producing them.

⁵² Exotic as viewed by western societies

The tourist setting

The tourist experience

We have already seen that post-tourists usually seek different experiences. This realisation has led many scholars to turn towards an emphasis on the research of the tourist experience. Despite the extended discussion on authenticity in tourism, scholars have noted the lack of literature on the experience of travellers (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Wang, 1999; Wearing et al., 2010).

But first we need to look at *who* is having that experience. There has been a long discussion in tourism, for decades, over the distinction between “travellers” and “tourists” (Boorstin, 2012; Culler, 1990; L Turner & Ash, 1975). The first term refers to people who travel not only for pleasure but to learn, like the aristocrats of the Grand Tour for whom travelling was a form of education. The term “tourist”, on the other hand, has been used as derogatory, meaning somebody who travels purely for pleasure and doesn’t come into real contact with a foreign culture, who is superficial and not interested in authenticity. The distinction between the two has long characterised the study of tourism (Culler, 1990, p. 3). Tourists themselves do not want to be taken for tourists when they travel or they even avoid mingling with other tourists (MacCannell, 2013, p. 10). Cohen (1972, 1974) argued that there is no single type of tourist and created a typology of the **different types of tourists**. He accepted the ordinary-extraordinary and familiar-unfamiliar binary division in tourism that reflects the change between the home environment and the tourist destination; he further noted that all tourists have a common motive to travel, namely their desire and need to get away from what is familiar. Despite these common features, Cohen (1972) distinguished tourists in two more general categories:

- ***institutionalised*** tourists: tourists who wish to travel within the travel industry (through travel agencies). Within this category, there is the “organised mass tourist” who travels with an organised group, and the “individual travel tourist” who travels as an individual traveller through an agency.
- ***non-institutionalised*** tourists: the “explorer” who travels independently, and even though he/she moves away from the comfort of the “tourist bubble” he/she likes to get back to it when needed; and “the drifter” who is the most independent of all types and really immerses into the host culture.

Similarly, Smith ([1977] 1989, p. 12) introduced a typology of six types of tourists that range from the mass tourist to the explorer according to whether tourists demand and seek western amenities or they fully adapt to the host culture. Later on, Cohen (1979) introduced a phenomenological approach to tourist types and questioned homogenising notions of a general type of tourists by previous theorists (see Boorstin, 2012; MacCannell, 2013; L. Turner & Ash, 1975). He introduced a continuum of tourist typology according to the type of experience they seek: at one end is the “**existential**” who is more like an intellectual seeking for genuine experience; on the other end of the continuum is the “**recreational**” tourist caring mainly for entertainment and not concerned for authenticity. Between the two ends are the “**diversionary**”, “**experiential**” and the “**experimental**” type of tourists. (Cohen, 1979; see also the relevant discussion in Uriely, 2005; Wearing et al., 2010).

The recent post-modernist influences in the field of tourism studies has led to the deconstruction of strict typologies, allowing the acceptance of diversity in each category (Craik, 1997; Chris Rojek & Urry, 1997b; Uriely, 2005; Urry, 2002; Wearing et al., 2010). Uriely uses the example of Wickens’s (2002) research in order to show that each category can have many micro-types (Uriely, 2005, p. 205). Wickens (2002) studied the case of British tourists visiting Chalkidiki, a major tourist destination in Northern Greece. The type of tourists that Wickens studied, belongs to the individual mass tourist type, according to Cohen’s (1972) initial typology. After conducting her research, Wickens concluded that there are five subtypes of the individual mass tourist category, and she observed that tourists can step out of one single category and include themselves in any other subtype (Wickens, 2002, p. 849). Similarly, the study of Israeli backpackers showed that although they belonged to the same category of noninstitutionalised type of tourists since they share some similar characteristics, they sought to have very different experiences (Uriely, Yonay, & Simchai, 2002). This study clearly shows that tourists of the same type might have diverse experiences and this proves the diversity and pluralism of the tourist experience in general (Uriely, 2005; Uriely et al., 2002).

Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010, pp. 5–6), in their attempt to achieve a deeper understanding of the traveller self, have introduced an innovative term for describing tourists. They suggest that we should move away from the notion of the tourist as a “gazing flaneur” and see him/her more as an “**interacting choraster**”. The

authors adopt Benjamin's (1973) use of 'flaneur' to describe an artist and an urban stroller who spent his day around Paris, observing people and window-shopping. The flaneur was exploring the unfamiliar, deciphering the urban myths of the city. Urry (2002) used the term "flaneur" claiming him/her to be the ancestor of modern tourist who escapes from his ordinary everyday life to explore the extraordinary unfamiliar destination during his travels. Wearing, Stevenson and Young argue that the flaneur is quite detached, "highly idiosyncratic and individualistic"; he/she is not interactive in his/her observations (Wearing et al., 2010, pp. 6–10). They suggest the term "choraster", that Grosz used (1995), borrowing Plato's term "chora". They find that the term "chora" is broader, and better describes the contact between hosts and guests and their interaction with the tourist space which is finally attached to meanings (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 9). They argue that the social value of "chora" is far more interesting for analysing the tourist spaces than that of the "image" suggested by the term "flaneur" (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 10). They suggest that the typologies which have been introduced by earlier theorists (see, for example, Cohen, 1972, 1979) were based on "unfashionable functionalist theories" which were important for the development of the study of tourism at that time, but such typologies are not appropriate for the analysis of the tourist experience (Uriely, 2005; Wearing et al., 2010, p. 25; Wickens, 2002)

Uriely observes a change in the academic theorising with conceptualisations of the tourist experience from different theoretical perspectives: phenomenology, neo-Durkheimian, Goffmanian, cultural criticism, and constructive-narrative (Uriely, 2005, p. 200). This development has brought advances in the way we evaluate **the tourist experience**. Uriely (2005) summarised some major developments in the conceptualisations of the tourist experience as a result of the post-modernist influence:

- *The de-differentiation of the experience*: the de-differentiation between the daily routine and the tourist experience is a characteristic of the post-modern era. This could be explained by the fact that gazing distant sites and experiencing aspects of other cultures is possible today through media and the Internet. In this sense, people today can become tourists in their everyday lives (see also Lash & Urry, 1994; Urry, 2002).
- *Pluralising the experience*: Accepting more than one type and subtypes of tourists and arguing about the diversity of the tourist experience.

- *The role of subjectivity*: Moving away from the notion that tourists are passive consumers and recognising subjectivity and its role in determining the tourist experience.

A broader perspective has been adopted by Reisinger and Steiner (2006, pp. 74–80) who argue in favour of a Heideggerian phenomenological approach in the way we comprehend the tourist experience. Following Heidegger (1962), the authors believe that if we simply accept what appears or what is given (the *phenomenon*) whether it is negative or positive, then we can truly appreciate its existence, embrace it, work with it and learn from it. The constructivist approach accepts the subjective experience and does not accept a reality beyond that experience; but people who experience subjectively come with preconceptions and an image of what is an “authentic” experience. If what they encounter is not authentic, according to their standards and pre-conceived ideas, they tend to regard it as inauthentic and dismiss it. Reisinger and Steiner (2006, p. 78) give the following example: tourists in a small village in Indonesia expect to find the authentic village life when they suddenly come across a local boy listening music from a Walkman; their authentic experience is ruined, and they are finally disappointed by the inauthenticity of their experience. Heidegger (1962) distinguishes two ways in which people engage with possibilities: the theoretical and the practical. According to Reisinger and Steiner (2006, p. 78), the constructivist reaction to the authentic experience in the example above is theoretical. But a tourist with a practical engagement with this experience would accept the Indonesian boy with the Walkman and would be impressed with how the Walkman has become part of the authentic village life. Village life would have been accepted exactly as it is without any preconceptions and expectations. On the other hand, the authors do not find the Heideggerian approach incompatible with the constructivist view. In constructivist terms, the significance of the world is socially constructed by people when it is experienced. They argue that in Heideggerian terms “the significance of what is exists as a web of relations among things, people and human purposes” and “this web of relations is historical, a residue of the experiences of people who came before people” in what existed in art, books, etc. (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 80). Therefore, the experience is personal, and each person has a unique perspective to it, according to his/her own web of relations. Such a realisation finds a common ground in the way the

subjectivity of the tourist experience is understood in both perspectives (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006, p. 80).

The tourist experience and its role in the construction of self-identity

The majority of previous studies on personhood and tourism focused mainly on the ‘negative’ impact of tourism on the local identity of host communities (Boorstin, 2012; Lanfant, Allcock, & Bruner, 1995; Smith, 1989; Turner & Ash, 1975). MacCannell (2013) pinpointed the contribution of tourism consumption on the realisation by modern man of his place in the world. The world of leisure and tourism provides the time and space for people to get away from the ‘ordinary’ and contemplate on their lives. Lögfren (1999, p. 7) views the world of tourism as a “cultural laboratory” where people experience new aspects of their identities and their social relation. Cohen and Taylor (1998, p. 131) noted characteristically that “it [the holiday] is a setting in which constraints can be relaxed if not rejected, identities slip if not disappear, a place where lives are rejuvenated if not changed”. The authors argue that pilgrims and people who search for spiritual enlightenment look for new landscapes; getting away from their ordinary life helps people develop their individual identities, the ones that are not associated with their normal lives (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Wearing et al., 2010; Σαμαρά, 2014). Urry (1995, p. 169) recognised the role that travel and short-term mobility within Europe can have on constructing and reinforcing new conceptions of social identities and even developing a possible “European identity”⁵³. The subjective approach of each individual and the interaction with other people produces the tourist experience which gives form to social identities (Lash & Urry, 1994). According to Desforges (2000, p. 930), apart from the collective identities, the individual develops an “interior narrative of personhood” which leads to a deeper self-knowledge and self-awareness and further constructs a self-identity,

In order to explore such processes, Desforges (2000) and Cone (1995) draw from Giddens’s theory on self-identity⁵⁴ (see Giddens, 1991). Cone (1995, p. 315)

⁵³ Urry (1995, pp. 163–170) argues that travel and increased short-term mobility within Europe due to the abolition of internal frontiers should be taken into consideration when discussing the construction of novel social identities.

⁵⁴ Giddens (1991, pp. 52–53) argues that the identity of the self presumes a reflexive awareness. Self-identity is not given but it is a result of the “continuities of the individual’s action-system” which is “created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual”. The author also highlights the role of the biography through which the self realises its identity.

applies Giddens's theory of pure relationships⁵⁵ (Giddens, 1991, pp. 88–89) in her research on the self-identity of Mayan craftswomen in Mexico. According to her approach, tourism encounters of the Mayan craftswomen with the “outside world” takes them away from their domestic environment; they form “pure relationships’ with ethnic tourists which are not influenced by external criteria. This process changed their relationships, their crafts, the way they perceive themselves; the former unfair relationship between Indians and the Others turns into a relationship that functions on the basis of a true friendship.

Desforges (2000) draws inspiration from Giddens's theory of self-identity and the role of biography on its construction. Even though Desforges (2000) agrees with Cone (1995) that Giddens' theory of self-identity does not exhaust the subject, he finds Giddens's idea of the role of biography in the formation for self-identity very important (Desforges, 2000, pp. 931–933). Giddens (1991, pp. 52–53) argued that self-identity is not given but is continuously created and sustained through the reflexive awareness of the individual. He claimed that:

“Self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography”(italics in the original Giddens, 1991, p. 53)

And he highlighted the narrative of one's biography: the continuity of ‘who I am’ and ‘where I am going’ gives an answer to the existential question of self-identity (Giddens, 1991, p. 54). Desforges (2000, p. 932) argues that Giddens' idea of the importance of narrative and story-telling on self-identity can be applied in tourism. He pointed that:

The process of talking through biographies provides the opportunity to listen to tourists arranging a narrative of the role of travel in their lives, and the ways in which they use it to present themselves to other people” (Desforges, 2000, p. 932).

Such a narrative concerns both the internal dialogue of the notion of one's self and the “external representation” of the tourist experience to others (Desforges, 2000, p. 932).

Desforges (2000, pp. 932–933) conducted his research on British tourists visiting Peru and investigated the connection between identity and travel, and more specifically the ways in which geographical representations and notions of self-identity

⁵⁵ A pure relationship is the one that is “not anchored in external conditions of social or economic life” like the marriages with a contract which used to be common in the past. Pure relationships, according to Giddens (1991, pp. 88–89), deliver mutual satisfaction to both parties.

are entangled with tourist practices. His research strategy included in-depth interviews, based partly on “tourism biographies”⁵⁶, and participant observation to support as supplementary to the interviews. By observing how the interviewees constructed and used their biographies, Desforges (2000, p. 933) found that travel is given a special meaning in the lives of the respondents in two key moments: when they decide to travel overseas (away from the familiarity of Western Europe) and when they come back home with their stories, photos and souvenirs. Desforges (2000, pp. 933–934) believes that travel is linked to key moments in people’s lives and allows them to re-imagine themselves, or even develop a new self-identity. For Molly, for example, one of the interviewees, travelling provides the opportunity to form a new self-identity based on her experiences through tourism rather than one based on her domestic position as a mother and a housewife. Noy (2004) studied Israeli backpackers who travel after their military service as a kind of rite-of-passage to their lives as adults; the narrative they produce is essential for the construction of their identity. Li (2000) argues that such a development of self-identity is possible even for members of a tour group travelling on a package tour, after researching Canadian groups that travelled in China.

In the same vein, Samara studied the role of travel in the process of self-identity construction of Greek tourists travelling abroad (Σαμαρά, 2014). One of Samara’s interviewees, Soula usually purchases items for her loved ones, her husband and children during her travels. In this sense, Soula carries her identities as mother, wife and housewife in her travels (Σαμαρά, 2014, pp. 144–149). However, Samara noted the role that souvenirs can have on the construction of one’s self-identity. Through the acquisition of souvenirs of utilitarian value, such as hotel notebooks and pens, airline plastic cups, Soula introduces her travel experience in her daily routine and constructs her identity not only as a mother and a housewife but also a woman who travels and gains new experiences that become part of her personhood (Σαμαρά, 2014, p. 147).

Bruner recognises the role of narrative in giving shape to the tourist experience and distinguishes between the trip as lived, as experienced, and as told. He argues that no representation of the experience of the trip can be an exact replica of the event since there is always something omitted, something that remains untold (Bruner, 2005, pp.

⁵⁶ In Desforges’ research (2000, pp. 932–933), each participant was interviewed twice. In the first interview the researcher focused on the participants’ recent trip to Peru while the second interview was structured around tourism biographies, exploring the participants’ travel since childhood, any changes in their touristic practices and investigating the role of the recent trip in the participants’ identity

19–20). It is the story narrated that gives shape to the tourist experience; without it the experience does not have any substance. Bruner explains that tourists usually have a pre-tour narrative, pre-conceived ideas about the destinations before they actually visit them. During their tour they reshape the pre-tour narrative and on their return home the narrative takes its final form (Bruner, 2005, p. 22). Wearing, Stevenson and Young note that not only the use of stories told to friends, but also the use of photographs and diaries, help the travellers shape their narrative which becomes part of the processes of constructing a self-identity (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 47). We argue that souvenirs can also function as triggers for memory, as tangible evidence for such narratives of travel which reflect changes of self-identity (see also Σαμαρά, 2014). Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010, p. 47) refer to research by Markwell and Basche (1998) who worked on personal travel diaries. The authors explain that diaries reflect the subjective experience of their owners, who provide an “edited version” of the experienced reality, which focuses more on the good memories and disregards the negative or unimportant experiences (Markwell & Basche, 1998, p. 228).

The tourist locus, its identity, and the hosts-guests interaction

Having discussed the impact of the tourist experience on the construction of self-identity, we can now move to the discussion about the identity of the place, how this identity is negotiated between hosts and guests, and the role of tourism marketing by official tourist institutions like the Ministries of Tourism, the National Tourist Bureaus etc.

Bruner explains that when a new area develops for tourism a master story is created by local governments and tourism consultants. Tourist brochures, travel guides, governmental tourist bureaus, airlines, travel agencies, hotels will include the pre-tour narrative in their writing and advertising of the destination (Bruner, 2005, p. 22). Lanfant (1995) discusses the role of tourism marketing in the processes of construction of the identity of the place and its inhabitants, when a place becomes a tourist destination. She argues that there has been a debate on the discussion of identity and more specifically on cultural identities (Lanfant, 1995, p. 31). She notes that the discussion on identity between intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) focuses on issues of universalism and the preservation of the authenticity of different cultures (Lanfant, 1995, pp. 31–32). Tourism marketing reinforces this approach, since it is

concerned with preserving the special character and identity of a place, which is afterwards commercialised and promoted in the international tourism market as a tourist product.

The identity of a place is produced by the host country as an answer to the needs, demands, and even the ‘idealized image’ that tourists have about the host country (Lanfant, 1995, pp. 32–36). Therefore, local societies become aware of the marketing processes of international tourism and adapt, repackage, or even restructure their identity to meet the needs of the market. Lanfant argues that this formulation of the image of the identity of the host community becomes the norm which, in its turn, “flatters” and reinforces the national identity (Lanfant, 1995; see also Palmer, 1999; Wood, 1997). And this is characteristic either of countries which try to gain independence, or of ethnic groups that try to achieve more autonomy, or of independent countries that participate in larger political unions, like in the European Union (Lanfant, 1995, p. 33). The tourist product is manufactured by offering representations of its identity in the form of scenic places, monuments, folklore heritage and crafts (Lanfant, 1995, p. 32). In the case of multi-ethnic societies, subcultures are usually suppressed, or even appropriated by the ‘official dominant culture; the process of manufacturing the tourist product is selective and emphasizes the elements that are characteristic to the dominant culture; a process which is parallel to the selective presentation of the past in museums and the heritage industry. In the case of North Macedonia, for example, the historic monument of St Pandelejmon at Ochrid shows multiple layers of history and currently looks like a mosque; however, the ethnic group that claims the territory emphasises the Christian character of the monument at the expense of the other historic layers of it, something which is important for the construction of the official Macedonian national identity, (Allcock, 1995).

It is worth noting that apart from the physical attributes of monuments, they are also ascribed with metaphorical and imaginary components mostly influenced by film and the media. This creates “**imaginary places or spatial narratives**” (Meethan, 2001, p. 98) which are promoted through tourism marketing. In many cases, this directs and influences the tourist gaze. In the present research, many of our respondents mentioned the expectations set by the film industry for Greece as a destination. Such expectations create spatial narratives promoted by tourism marketing; and in many cases this leads to a reconstruction of the identity of local people which is usually presented as

“authentic” or a self-directed authenticity which provides reformulations of the hosts’ cultural identity, as some scholars have noted (Χτούρης, 1995, p. 54). Tourists visiting Greece, for example, expect to meet Greeks similar to the characters presented in films like “Zorba the Greek” or “Mamma Mia”, as we will in the following chapters (see *Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries*). The locals respond by emphasising the ‘non-conformist’ traits of modern Greeks that are easily identifiable with the character of Zorba, for example. Therefore, an “authentic” Greek is expected to be like the protagonist of the film. Similarly, Lanfant argues that the construction and reconstruction of identity is affirmed by the gaze of the foreigner (Lanfant, 1995, p. 36). The identity promoted in tourism is usually presented as an “authentic” one, answering to the recent demand of modern tourists who feel alienated and seek for the lost contact with the primitive self, nature and originality (Lanfant, 1995, p. 35; see also MacCannell, 2013). In some cases, notions of authenticity are contested when state institutions attempt to ‘shape’ authenticity; in the case of Palea Epidavros in Greece⁵⁷, a presidential decree issued in 1984 imposed traditional architectural conformity aiming at creating an ‘authentic setting’ for tourists but causing conflicts with the local communities (see Williams & Papamichael, 1995).

Although many scholars have studied the negative aspect of the interaction between hosts and guests, and the impact it can have on the local communities, there is a parallel discussion on **the ‘transcendental’ character of tourism** and its potential in overcoming the local-global division in order to achieve greater understanding between societies and cultures (see also Appiah, 2006; MacCannell, 2013; Var and Ap in Meethan, 2001, p. 153) On the other hand, Meethan argues against the homogeneity suggested by such an approach, and notes that “increased contact can also simply reinforce stereotypical attitudes of both hosts and guests rather than diminish them” (Meethan, 2001, p. 154). The results of our research suggest that such a view is correct to a certain extent, as the negotiation between hosts and guests reproduces such stereotypes and souvenirs provide the tangible evidence of this interaction. For

⁵⁷ The Greek government issued a presidential decree in 1984 which imposed conformity to traditional styles of architecture to the local community of Palaia Epidavros (Williams & Papamichael, 1995, p. 127). The aim of the presidential decree was the protection of the adjacent archaeological site as well as the creation of an architectural environment that would serve as a backdrop for the Classical ruins. However, the restrictions that came, as a consequence of the decree, brought limitations to the local social and economic activities of the local community (Williams & Papamichael, 1995, pp. 131–137).

example, tourists to Greece usually identify modern Greece with Classical Greece, a belief which is usually reinforced during the tourist experience in Greece partly as a result of host-guest interactions (see *Souvenirs inspired from the Classical world*).

An interesting perspective is given by Wearing et al. (2010, pp. 10–11) who argue that the interaction between hosts and guests gives meaning to the tourist experiences. Tourist spaces, they observe, are “spaces of movement, destination, experience, memory and representation. They are also spaces of desire, fantasy, creativity, liminality, reordering and enchantment” (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 10). They recognise that there are “important and intangible dimensions” to explore in tourist spaces. As we have discussed earlier, viewing the tourist space as the “chora” where the “choraster” interacts, illustrates a more interesting dimension than simply the gaze of the “flaneur” (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 10). The spaces are used by people who interact with them; through these encounters cultural meanings are attached to the place, embedding it with social value. Cultural meanings are produced through processes of interaction, negotiation, cooperation and contestation (Gustafson, 2001, p. 5; Wearing et al., 2010, p. 10). Gustafson (2001) conducted a survey in order to research the meanings that people attach to places spontaneously, and created a model consisting of three poles: self, others and the environment. Then, Gustafson (2001, pp. 9–12) tried to reach to conclusions about the influence that each of these poles separately - as well as in relation to each other- had for attaching meaning to places. It is of particular importance for our research to note that places associated with the ‘Other’ are given meaning according to the characteristics (traits) of their inhabitants. Gustafson (2001, p. 10) notes that on the latter category “the numerous statements (within this category) tend to be quite stereotypical and are often based on explicit comparisons between ‘us’/‘here’ and ‘them’/‘there’”. An interesting finding of Gustafson’s research is the fact that people emphasise the importance of the interaction with other people for regarding places as meaningful. Similarly, Wearing et al (2010, p. 11) argue that the “chorasters” are the ones who give social value to the “chora”, and these can be local residents, service providers and tourists. The authors argue against the ephemeral character of the promotion of the ‘image’ of a tourist destination; they suggest that the social value of the “chora” includes historical associations, the interaction between the host community and tourists, and the meanings attached to it by this encounter. Moving beyond thinking in terms of an activity-based analysis, the authors adopt a different

approach that considers the tourist experience in regards to its spatial context and, thus, towards a perspective which is space- and subject-centred. The “traveller self” is constructed through the experience gained in the context of the tourist space (Wearing et al., 2010, p. 12).

Such an approach could possibly give a more complete idea not only of the meanings and social value embedded in a site by the local population and the tourism industry, but also of the interaction between the ‘protagonists’ of the tourist experience. Similarly, Bruner argues against “a fixed static model that sees producers as in control, natives as exploited, and tourists as dupes”, and proposes an approach that considers the tourist sites as evolving; he does not emphasise the interaction of the locals and tourists as this would be too limited (Bruner, 2005, p. 12). Bruner supports the view that tourists experience home while they are away; for example, they expect to find the comforts of their home environment in the hotels they stay, and they interact with other travellers who are similar to them (Bruner, 2005, p. 17). He argues that when tourists get out of their hotel, they meet the Other, the locals, in the **“touristic borderzone”**. The borderzone focuses on a “localised event” which is rather limited (Bruner, 2005, p. 17). He observes that when the locals organise the tourist experience, they perform, and then go back to their normal lives to continue their everyday life. For Bruner **a tourist experience is a “coproduction”** between the locals and the tourists and each take account of the other in an ever-shifting, contested, evolving borderzone of engagement” (Bruner, 2005, p. 18).

A key position is that of the mediators in the borderzone. Guides and other professionals of tourism are the few people whom tourists interact with during a tour or a limited stay at a destination. The guides act as intermediaries and interpreters of the local culture and play a significant part in the production of the tourist experience (Meethan, 2001, p. 155). Tour guides “retell the pre-tour narrative” (Bruner, 2005, p. 23), and convey the meanings that have been prepared by the governmental institutions of the host country, especially in countries that regulate the profession of the tour guides and its certification, as in the case of Greece. Fine and Speer observed how the tour guides help contribute towards the sacralisation of a sight according to the categorization by MacCannell (Fine & Speer, 1985; MacCannell, 2013, pp. 44–45).

Souvenirs in tourism

Authentication processes and perceptions of authenticity

The studies presented, thus far, demonstrate the interest in issues regarding authenticity, the tourist experience, and the role of the latter in the processes of constructing identities. Apart from the discussion on whether tourists today seek authenticity, or what kind of authenticity would this be (Boorstin, 2012; E. Cohen, 1979; MacCannell, 2013; Uriely, 2005), there has been a parallel discussion on the authenticity of the material culture of tourism (Bruner, 2005; E. Cohen, 1988; Hitchcock, 2000; Schouten, 2006; Shenhav-Keller, 1995; Swanson & Timothy, 2012), or the necessity of using such a notion (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

In his influential study, Steiner (1999) used Benjamin's (2007) essay as a stepping stone to introduce another perspective in the way that scholars approach perceptions of authenticity regarding souvenirs. Steiner (1999, p. 89,102) argued that instead of trying to justify the authenticity of tourist arts (see Jules-Rosette, 1984) we should approach it from another perspective; instead of treating it as an isolated system of cultural production and reproduction we should see it as one of several systems of representations that are deeply rooted in historically in other forms of mass production. The author stated characteristically (Steiner, 1999, p. 90):

I contend that, in the end, tourist art might perhaps better be understood not as a unique form of art produced in the restricted conditions of colonial and postcolonial encounters but as an example of material culture that fits into a more generalized model of producer consumer relations including other major innovations in mechanical reproduction, mass production, and the universal dissemination of popular culture, which both preceded the rise of the tourist art industry and continue to flow in the wake of its swelling tides"

In this sense, Steiner (1999, p. 93) finds a parallel between tourist art and the printing practices of the 15th century. The author uses the example of Wolgemut's city woodcuts introduced in 1493 and reduplicated several times in order to be used for other cities; thus, it created a visual and narrative authenticity, its own standards of reality, a type of authenticity based on redundancy and repetition. And such a system is observed in the tourist market that produces its own canons of authenticity-a self-referential discourse of cultural reality that generates an internal measure of truth-value"(Steiner, 1999, p. 95). In this respect, the roles of authentic objects and their reproductions are turned upside down: "the unique object represents the anomalous and undesirable, while a multiple range of (stereo)types signifies the canonical and hence what is most

desirable to collect” (Steiner, 1999, p. 96).

Other more postmodern perspectives did not view inauthenticity as an issue because it is either irrelevant whether something is real or fake (Eco, 1986), or that the simulacrum become more important than the original (Baudrillard, 1983). In tourism today, technology can make inauthentic objects look authentic while the boundaries between real and fake are blurred, and tourists are not interested in the authenticity of objects; this raises the question of whether scholars should be concerned with this issue or not (Cohen, 1988; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Bruner examined the postmodern perspective of Eco and Baudrillard with a critical eye, and he attempted to transcend the original/copy dichotomy by adopting a constructivist position⁵⁸ (Bruner, 2005, p. 146). He studied the Lincoln Centre at New Salem which advertises itself as an **“authentic reproduction”** of the 1830s, an interesting oxymoron, according to Bruner (2005, p. 146). This term hints to several meanings and nuances; it means that New Salem is a reproduction which aspires to be as close to the original as possible, or, in other words, what Bruner names **‘historical verisimilitude’** (Bruner, 2005, p. 149). Another meaning indicates the genuineness of the site, when the latter is very accurate up to the point that it is more like a simulation of the original. According to Bruner, these first two meanings and especially the first one, are what the museum professionals aim for: to be as closely accurate to the original or, in other words, to achieve a ‘historic mimesis’. The third nuance of the term “authentic” concerns the original as opposed to the copy, which implies that all copies are inauthentic. The last meaning is the one which legally certifies what is authentic by an authority (Bruner, 2005, pp. 149–150). The interesting point that Bruner raises is **who possesses the authority to authenticate**; he relates this matter to power structures (Bruner, 2005, p. 150). This power is usually exercised by governmental institutions or by professional historians who are hired by museums. Most of the time the experts debate which version of history to adopt, and this brings up the issue of who constructs history (Bruner, 2005, p. 151). Trilling (1972, p. 93) had already noted that the provenance of authenticity lies within museums where museum professionals can validate the degree of authenticity and the “value” of the objects exhibited. Museums and other heritage sites shape our notion of the past and play a significant part in the processes of authentication not only of the original artefacts kept in museums, but also

⁵⁸ This position supports that cultures are constantly in the process of reinventing themselves

of their replicas found in the official museum shops, or in the souvenir shops of the tourist market. From a constructivist perspective, Bruner (2005, pp. 160–163) argues, that the dichotomy authentic/inauthentic should not really matter, not because the simulacrum has substituted the original (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986), but because meaning is constructed by how people experience history at a site or a museum. The 1990s New Salem is original because “each reproduction, in the process of emerging, constructs its own original” (Bruner, 2005, p. 161); in other words, the copy changes the way we see the original. Thus, we could claim that **the relationship between museum objects and souvenirs is reciprocal**: museums authenticate their objects, enhance their aura, and consequently determine which objects have the appropriate status to be reproductions in the tourist market. Similarly, though, the reproduction enhances and iconizes the status of the original museum objects as we reviewed in chapter 1 (see *Ancient arts in tourist contexts*); not only museums -as official institutions- authenticate the original artefacts and influence their reproductions, but the latter, in their turn, contribute to the processes of the construction of what is elevated and regarded as an original and thus, as worthy to be reproduced. And in many cases, through the ‘dialogue’ between museum replicas and originals, the former can lead or “re-interpretations” of the originals (Sattler & Simandiraki-Grimshaw, 2019)

An interesting point, that Bruner (2005, pp. 164–165) makes, is that when a site is visited and experienced, its visitors make associations with their lives and give new meanings to it. In this sense, he argues, the site is generative and so there isn’t one Salem but several ones. Especially in the era of the Internet, there are **new ways of a participatory construction of cultural memory**, as heritage objects may also be interpreted and valued online, beyond the physical space of the museum (Giaccardi, 2012; see Giaccardi & Plate, 2017). Objects, including museum objects, are connected to online databases and operated algorithms, and through social media they interact with humans generating a constant construction of memory; cultural objects and ordinary artefacts are attached with memory (Giaccardi & Plate, 2017), while there is a constant negotiation of their meaning. In this respect, souvenirs that are related to museum artefacts are also participating in such online networks of memory construction. The interaction of the physical attributes (materiality) of both museum exhibits and souvenirs is important in order to study issues of authenticity/inauthenticity; meanings are negotiated during this interaction and

museum replicas, purchased as mementos by tourists during their travels, are attached with new meanings (both in the physical and cyber space).

The link between **souvenir shops and museums** is highlighted by Schouten (2006, p. 196), who, in line with Shenav-Keller (1995), argues that the authorisation for the authentication of Israeli souvenirs is provided by the souvenir shop attendants; Schouten (2006, p. 196) argues that “meaning, significance and authenticity are constituted within the exchange between the customer and the shop”. He believes that since tourists do not have access to the museum experts for authentication, they usually search for it at the official art shops, museum and souvenir shops that provide authorisation for the objects that they will purchase. The latter are usually stamped and certified by the museum authorities, or other national heritage institutions; apart from the authentication of the copies, this process also authenticates the originals (Schouten, 2006, p. 196) and the objects themselves are the markers of such processes (Halewood & Hannam, 2001; see also Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Souvenirs, the tourist locus and identity

Apart from their role as markers of authentication processes at the ‘tourist locus’ and as tangible evidence of the tour and the travel destination, souvenirs can also illuminate the meanings created during the tourist experience and provide material evidence of it, which can then be used in post-tour narratives. I argue that due to the contribution of the tourist experience on identity construction of the Self and on the formation of collective identities (as we examined in the previous section), **souvenirs materialise such meanings and processes**; hence, their study can produce important findings. Schouten (2006) highlighted that souvenirs are attached with the meanings of the exchange between seller and buyer. In this case they act both as mediators and markers, a fact that gives us an insight of the interactions at the tourist locus. Many researchers have pointed out the role of souvenirs as markers of the destination visited and the meanings that they evoke for their holders (Cave et al., 2013; Gordon, 1986; Hitchcock, 2000). Souvenirs act as signs and symbols: signs since they represent something else and symbols because they are codified with multiple layers of meaning (Jules-Rosette, 1984, p. 18). This double function of the souvenirs has been pointed out by various researchers who argue that one of the main purchase motivations is to acquire souvenirs as proof of travel; in that case, souvenirs evoke memories and act as

markers of the social and economic status of their holders (Cohen, 1988; Gimblett, 1998; Gordon, 1986; Hitchcock, 2000; Jules-Rosette, 1984; Lash & Urry, 1994; N. Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Urry, 2002). Furthermore, souvenirs maintain and promote the image of the destination as they provide a tangible proof of the arts and crafts of the destination (Schouten, 2006, p. 200). Thus, they tend to sustain the images that have already been created and promoted by the state institutions and the marketing industry of the host country. And often these images represent a nation's symbols and signs; especially if we view the tourist locus as a "landscape of national identity" (Palmer, 1999, p. 5): images are circulated, promoted and finally experienced by the tourists who visit the heritage sites and national museums (see also Lanfant et al., 1995; Wood, 1997).

It has also been noted that the **multiple layers of meanings** that souvenirs are attached with, renders them difficult to be read simply as a language (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Schouten, 2006). Souvenirs are signs and symbols of a destination, but their significance lies beyond their viewing as a language system that needs decoding. Their potential lies not only in that they objectify the pre-conceived ideas that tourists have about the destination, and which have already been generated by the host country's tourism and heritage industries; they also *materialise* the tourist experience. The experience at the tourist locus is where the meanings and identities are negotiated: at one level these are generated by the interaction between hosts and guests, and secondly by the tourists themselves, who create their own meanings that reflect their experience at the moment. Of course, the meanings created during the tourist experience can be influenced by the tourists' pre-conceived ideas before their arrival at the destination. In fact, as the results of the present research indicate, in some cases the tourists' preconceptions about the destination might be altered during their experience or the latter might add to those pre-existing ideas (see *Tourist experience and Greek souvenirs*).

Conclusions

The studies we reviewed in this chapter have pointed out the importance of travel and the tourist experience in the construction of identity (Cohen & Taylor, 1998; Franklin, 2003; Lash & Urry, 1994; Wearing et al., 2010; Σαμαρά, 2014). We also looked into the importance of the post-travel narrative of the tourist experience in

allowing slight differentiations of self-identity (Bruner, 2005; Desforges, 2000; Li, 2000; Noy, 2004). Considering that geographical representations of the place are entangled with notions of self-identity during the tourism practices (Desforges, 2000) and that souvenirs can be attached with all these different and sometimes contradictory narratives (Grennan, 2019), we understand the complex nature of the meanings generated by tourists during their experience.

Personal meanings are entangled with the interpretations of the experience of the 'chora' (Wearing et al., 2010), the interaction with the 'Other'. Souvenirs take a central role on these contacts and become active protagonists of the tourist experience. Thus, their study in the tourist locus can reveal the complex processes that generate meaning and shape perceptions of authenticity. When the experience includes visits to museum and archaeological sites, as in the case of Greece, we understand that the museum experience is crucial in these processes. **It seems that museums construct and validate the degree of authenticity of the souvenirs that circulate in the tourist markets.** Thus, if we look at the ways in which museums construct notions of collective cultural identities, the past, and perceptions of authenticity we can understand more about the museum experience and its influence in souvenir purchase practices and tourism practices in general.

Chapter 4: Museum artefacts and souvenirs

Introduction

In the previous chapters we examined the relationships between subjects and objects and their contribution to identity formation. We noted the role of personal collections in the development of the self and the parallel lives of objects and their users. We also reviewed theoretical developments in tourism studies with an emphasis on the literature focusing on the tourist experience. The material culture of tourism is constitutive of this experience and has an active role in the interactions between hosts and guests and the negotiations of their cultural collective identities.

In this chapter I will examine possible causal links between museum artefacts and souvenirs and their role in the processes that generate meanings and shape perceptions of authenticity during the cultural tourism experience. The development of national archaeological museums in the 19th century gave a central role to archaeological objects; museum collections provided the tangible evidence for the creation of national narratives. Museum artefacts are attributed meanings and communicate stories which prove significant for shaping collective identities for the members of the host community, while at the same time they present the ‘national story’ to tourists. In countries, like Greece, with a developed cultural heritage industry, souvenirs are usually inspired by this cultural heritage and reproduce museum artefacts.

Although the development of the Internet and social media has rendered museum artefacts and archaeological sites more accessible to the public beyond the physical space (see Giaccardi & Plate, 2017), I argue that the materiality of museum objects and their copies is still important for forging connections between people and the distant past. Individuals keep collections of mementoes in the same way in which nations keep collections of artefacts; their materiality is the key. The material presence of souvenirs gives substance to one’s memories while museum artefacts provide the material evidence for the “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2006). Such connections with the ‘past’ are important for both the development of the self and for the formation of the collective identity of the ‘imagined community’. One of the reasons we visit museums and archaeological sites is in order to get a sense of our common human past and of continuity. Museums, however, do not allow more corporeal engagements to

their audiences with their artefacts (Dudley, 2012) , despite the recent proliferation of ‘hands-on’ experiences in museums. The present study indicated that souvenirs and especially museum replicas satisfy the human need to connect with the remote past (see *Souvenir actions*); a need which proves essential for the development of a personal narrative and the construction of the self.

The production of both museum replicas and souvenirs (inspired by museum artefacts) forms a popular culture which reaches the general public even those who do not visit museums. Through the consumption, circulation and use of this popular culture people fulfil the desired contact with the past. Previous studies have noted that museums and travel are both organised to explore perceptions of the ‘other’ (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 412). Therefore, the study of the causal links between museum artefacts and souvenirs can give us an insight of how museums influence our personal lives, notions and beliefs about the past and the Other.

In what follows, I will briefly review the circumstances under which museums were born and how national identity is constructed by the state through such institutions. I will also examine how national identity may be expressed in an everyday context and how individuals become co-creators of their sense of national identity especially in the tourist *loci*, where natives and foreigners negotiate their collective cultural identities. I will continue by reviewing how messages are conveyed during the museum visit and how these influence souvenir purchase practices. The final section of this chapter includes a discussion on the reasons why people want to connect with the past and the role of the material properties of souvenirs in enabling such connections.

The birth of the museum

The original ‘museum’ -with its literal meaning- was as a shrine dedicated to the muses of ancient Greek mythology associated with the arts and sciences, while the first museum as an educational institution is traced back at Hellenistic Alexandria (Pearce, 1992, p. 93; Shelton, 2006, p. 482). But museums, as institutions in the modern sense, can be traced back to the beginning of modernity and more specifically in the middle of the fifteenth century AD, at the Renaissance cities of Italy (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006; Pearce, 1992). A definition of the museum reflects its roots at this era; trying to find a definition proves quite a difficult task as museums can take many forms today (Σολομών, 2012, p. 77). In this work we use the definition given by Susan Pearce

(Museum Association definition in S. M. Pearce, 1992, p. 2) which describes it as “ an institution which collects, documents, preserves, exhibits and interprets material evidence and associated information for the public benefit”. The main purposes of the museum are quite obvious: to store and preserve the material culture, and its associated information, and serve an educational role; although some scholars argue that the main purpose of the museum is mainly the conservation and the display of artefacts (Wilson cited in Shelton, 2006, p. 483).

Collecting and storing material culture is an essential practice of the museum and requires a selective process: the early scholars collected the objects of the observed phenomena of the natural world, motivated by a thirst for understanding the objective reality and by the rise of scientific knowledge. They cared mainly to interpret and study the links between the objects of the natural world. During the 17th and 18th centuries, scholars became more interested in classification and taxonomy. In the 19th century the influences of Linnaeus’s scheme and Darwin’s evolution theory, motivated scholars who started to classify the objects of the natural world and archaeological finds. Around the same time, Newton’s concept of mathematical time together with new ethical values of Judeo-Christian origin and a new work ethic in Northern Europe gave rise to a linear sense of time, while museums gave tangible and visible forms to the new moral qualities (Pearce, 1992, p. 3). Therefore, the emphasis on material culture and the sense of a linear narrative of the nation’s past influenced the ways in which museums developed while such perspectives are still dominant today.

A) State, society, and the construction of national identity

“Museums, in concert with media and travel, serve as ways in which national and international publics learn about themselves and other”
(Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 412)

Construction of national identity by the state institutions

Modernity also experienced the end of the feudal medieval world and the emergence of many nation-states in Europe and around the world. Nation-states based their narrative on historical continuity. Museum artefacts and archaeological monuments provided the tangible evidence of this continuity which became the cultural

capital for many new-born nations (Gazi, 2008; Hamilakis, 2007; Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996; Palmer, 1999; Pearce, 1992, 1994). In his attempt to define the nation, Gellner (1983, p. 6) noted that “having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity” and saw the idea of belonging to a nation as an invention. For him, the recognition by its members that they are part of the same community brings the nation into existence (Gellner, 1983, p. 7). In this sense, nations are invented, they are “artefacts of men’s convictions, loyalties and solidarities” (Gellner, 1983, p. 7). Anderson introduced the term “imagined community” to describe the nation: a community whose members do not know each other but in their minds “lives the image of their communion” and are willing to sacrifice their lives for their nation. He argued that all communities (except the very small ones that can have face-to face contact) are, in a sense, imagined (Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

When we refer to the term ‘nation-state’ it is worth noting that state and nation are not the same (Arendt, 1966; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Gimeno-Martínez, 2016). In fact, the structure of the state had already been formed during the era of monarchies; with the emergence of constitutional monarchies and republics, the state continued to act as the supreme institution protecting all its members regardless of their nationality (Arendt, 1966; Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 133). As the national consciousness grew, the state started to consider as citizens only the nationals who belonged to a single national community; therefore, the state was eventually identified with the nation, thus leading to the formation of the nation-state (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 133). In this sense, the state reproduced the idea of the nation and spread nationalism (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 133). Gimeno-Martínez (2016, pp. 95–96) distinguishes the idea of the nation-state from the national state: the term “national-state” describes those states that consist of more than one “ethnies”, or, in other words, of citizens of different ethnic backgrounds (like in the case of Spain, Britain etc.), while the “nation-state” characterizes those states that consist of one dominant ethnic group and are usually more homogenous (for example Portugal, Greece etc). In both cases, the official state is responsible for perpetrating ‘national-making’ and ‘national-building’; the state ‘makes’ the nation by establishing the public institutions that allow the state to function (tax-system, administrative institutions) and ‘builds’ the nation by creating the sense of national consciousness to its citizens (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 96) and by constructing national identity.

Smith (1991) tried to define national identity and separate it from other collective identities; he distinguishes the identity of ethno-linguistic groups from that of the religious ones. In many cases, through the course of history, ethno-linguistic groups are closely related but this is not always the norm, as we can clearly see in the case of Egypt, Switzerland and Germany (Smith, 1991, pp. 6–9). Smith uses the example of ancient Greece to talk about collective identities; the ancient Greek world consisted of ethnic communities, but it was not a nation. In this sense, national identity pre-supposes the idea of political community. Such a community usually needs a well-defined territory but not just any territory; it must be a “historic land”, a homeland “where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations”(Smith, 1991, p. 9). The homeland is associated with historic memories of national heroes, its natural beauty becomes ‘sacred’ and its resources become exclusive to the members of the participating community (Smith, 1991, p. 9). What is important in the Western “civic” model of the nation is legal equality and the sharing of a common culture, a civic ideology as well as common understandings and aspirations; nations are seen as cultural communities and are banded together by common historical memories, myths and traditions. On the other hand, the “ethnic” model, which was applied mainly in Eastern Europe and Asia, emphasizes the family ties of its members who are considered to be of a common descent (Smith, 1991, p. 11). In the Western/civic model, the legal-political equality is important, and the members of the nation share a common civic culture while in the non-western/ethnic model, language and customs take the place of law. This is why philologists and folklorists played a significant role in propagating nationalism in Eastern Europe and Asia (Smith, 1991, p. 12), or in modern Greece (see *Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries*).

History and historical memories are important in both models, but the ‘imagined community’ usually needs to set the boundaries of its territory. Individuals can therefore define their national identity by developing a connection with their land while excluding non-members from it. In such a process, the sense of place is the result of people’s imagination and is legitimized by the dimension of time (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, pp. 3–4). Hamilakis (2007, pp. 16–17) argues that national imagination constructs a ‘topos’, both literary and geographically; and agreeing with Leontis (1995) and Gourgouris (2007), Hamilakis (2007, pp. 16–17) supports the view that the archaeological remains and artefacts define a topos which is more a heterotopia than a

utopia in a Foucauldian sense. In his lecture⁵⁹, Foucault (1986, p. 24) distinguished between utopias and heterotopias⁶⁰; the former are sites with no real place and they “present society in a perfected form or else society turned upside down”. Heterotopias, on the other hand, are real places which function like counter-sites, like an “enacted utopia” in which the real sites are “simultaneously represented, contested and inverted” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Foucault (1986, pp. 24–25) provided examples of heterotopias like the mirror or the heterotopia of the colony and the cemetery; in many cases, heterotopias are linked to “heterochronies”, that is slices of time (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) since a break with traditional time is needed for an heterotopia to function. In modern society, heterotopias and heterochronies are structured and distributed while some heterotopias like the museum or the library accumulate time (Foucault, 1986, p. 26)

The materiality of heterotopias gives the valuable tangible evidence of the continuity of the nation, important for its naturalization, a process during which truths of the nation become objective, real, and timeless (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 16). Cultural heritage combines the dimensions of time and space, materializes the national imagination, and defines the national space. The past and national monuments become the “symbolic capital of the nation” (Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996; Yalouri, 2001). But since the nation is invented (Gellner, 1983) and the idea of the nation is constructed (Walsh, 1992), the process of choosing which monuments and museum artefacts would represent the nation follows the ‘official’ national narrative of a common national identity.

Expressions of national identity in everyday life

However, national cultures do not consist only of cultural institutions and heritage sites but also of symbols and representations (Hall, 1992, p. 293). National identity is multi-dimensional and is expressed through ceremonials and symbols which render the nation visible to its members and to the rest of the world (Smith, 1991). National identity is expressed through salient features like flags, national anthems, parades, folk museums etc. but also through less conspicuous ones like popular heroes,

⁵⁹ Foucault gave his lecture titled “Des Espaces Autres” in March 1967, which was first published in French in the journal *Architecture-Mouvement-Continuite* in October 1984. The edition used here is from the English translation by Jay Miskowiec for the *Diacritics*

⁶⁰ The literal meaning of the word heterotopia is derived from the ancient Greek words ‘heteros’ meaning ‘other’ and the word ‘topos’ meaning place (Leontis, 1995, p. 43)

fairy tales, arts and crafts etc. (Elgenius, 2011; Palmer, 1999, p. 314; Smith, 1991, p. 77). However, national identity and the way it is expressed through symbols is not concrete and it can change over time (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Skey, 2009); there can also be multiple identities that exist at the same time. The availability of multiple identities makes the construction of national identity a personal process since individuals construct their own concept of such an identity based on their sense of it (Palmer, 1999, p. 314)⁶¹. Individuals and groups construct new notions of the national identity by drawing inspiration from the past, symbols and the media (Clifford, 1988; Palmer, 1999). In this sense, nationalism is a constant work in progress, not only top-down construction imposed by state officials and intellectuals but as Hamilakis (2007, p. 17) argues, it can be a “simultaneous construction from both below and above”.

This two-way process that constantly produces and reproduces nationalism, constructs and reconstructs national identity and reshapes the national imagination is present in our daily routine (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002; Gimeno-Martínez, 2016; Hamilakis, 2007; Σολομών, 2012). Earlier theories (namely, those which considered the construction of national identity from a top-down perspective and the Marxist and Weberian state-centric theories which regarded society and the state as separate entities), dominated the social sciences in the past (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 136). More recent theories support the idea that state and society are distinguishable but should not be studied separately; the state is distinct from society but embedded within the society and the everyday life (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 136) while “national and state symbolisms are conflated and difficult to separate” (Elgenius, 2011, p. 8). The role of the nation “is understood as the bearer of identity and culture within a framework provided by the state, which, in turn, is justified by the nation” (Elgenius, 2011, p. 8). Edensor (2002) acknowledges the role of the state in the production and reproduction of national identity, but suggests not to overemphasize it and to recognise the role of the civic society in such processes. The national identity can be traced in mundane tasks and in popular culture. Earlier theorists (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992; Smith, 1991) focused on how national identity concentrated in “high and official

⁶¹ Gimeno-Martínez (2016, p. 15) distinguishes between cultural identities (such as national, religious, gender) and social class identities which have a different relevance in an individual and collective level. At an individual level they can be multiple and situational, since individuals can have multiple identities. At the collective level, identities can be more pervasive and the collective bond matters more than any individual feelings and opinion

cultures” while they regarded popular culture as trivial (Edensor, 2002, p. 14). Hobsbawm (1992), though, understood the importance of studying nationalism from below and, later on, Billig (1995) contributed towards such an approach by examining the ways national discourse is manifested in everyday life through the use of national symbols in banal forms that usually go unnoticed. In this sense, Billig’s study moved away from macro-scale theorizing and applied a more empirical approach to researching the way nationalism is expressed in what we term ‘low culture’ (Skey, 2009, pp. 332–333). Abstract principles and ideas like the idea of the nation are consolidated through images and material culture used in an everyday context which gives credence to the formation of national identity (Skey, 2009, p. 335).

Understanding the reproduction of nationalism from below does not underestimate an analysis from a top-down perspective which examines the influence of both the dominant political discourse and the state institutions on the production of the nation’s narrative. An approach from below⁶² aspires to study how national identity can be expressed through popular culture and reveal “how the cultural ingredients of national identity are increasingly mediated, polysemic, contested and subject to change” and how national identity is not fixed but “dynamic, found in the constellation of a huge matrix of images, ideas, spaces, things, discourses and practices” (Edensor, 2002, p. 17). Many of the quotidian habitual performances, for example, are executed in a certain way determined by the national habitus. Using Bourdieu’s term (see Bourdieu, 1984), Edensor argues that the “national habitus” (Edensor, 2002, pp. 92–93) encompasses all those habitual actions and mundane tasks that we perform in our everyday life and that we carry out in a certain way in our attempt to conform with the nation’s common norms. Edensor (2002, pp. 92–94) distinguishes between the “popular competencies”, i.e. the practical knowledge that helps us perform mundane tasks, and the “embodied habits”, that is the manners of etiquette and habitual actions unique for the nation. The way people do things is dictated by local and national governments in order to achieve the smooth function of the state; state institutions also impose the conditions upon which citizenship should be performed (Edensor, 2002, p. 92). For example, the state regulates the way people will drive in a country, how they can obtain their driving licenses, the opening times of shops etc. In this sense, Edensor

⁶² We need to take into consideration that even the “top-down” and “from below” distinction has been questioned (see Schmidt, 2005)

does not undervalue the role of the state ; rather he suggests to study how these practical habits become a “second nature” and determine common-sense enactions (Edensor, 2002, p. 94).

In the same vein, Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008, p. 537) argue that the nation is not only the “product of macro-structural forces” but also the “practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities”. They distinguish four ways in which nationhood is reproduced (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008, pp. 537–538; see also Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, pp. 159–160):

- Talking the nation: production of a national discourse by people in their everyday routine.
- Choosing the nation: decisions that people make in their everyday routine.
- Performing the nation: participating in common shared experiences (like rituals, festivals or sport events).
- Consuming the nation: how nationhood infiltrates in everyday acts of consumption.

The different ways in which nationhood is reproduced in everyday life are useful because they show us the vast array of expressions of nationhood. Of course, some of these can overlap; for example, “choosing the nation” overlaps with “consuming the nation” when the citizens choose a product that conveys a specific vision of the nation and therefore this decision can be placed in both categories (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, p. 160).

Such approaches illuminate the processes by which the national identity is negotiated and defined by people themselves in an everyday context. Important for our research are the ways in which national identity is expressed in material culture. Edensor (2002, p. 103) notes that “by their ubiquitous presence, things provide material proof of shared ways of living and common habits”. Although they can go unnoticed in the everyday context, they do have a great influence on people (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 19) (Miller, 2010) while at the same time they embody social relations and act as their mediators (Dant, 1999). Therefore, apart from the relationships between individuals and objects, and the role of the latter on the creation of personal histories and narratives, objects are also part of collective histories; they become “signifiers of identity for national communities and also for tourists and consumers who seek out and collect symbolic items” (Edensor, 2002, p. 105).

Tourism, collective cultural identity and souvenirs

The manifestations of nationalism in tourism are of particular importance for our research. It has been observed that in many cases, national governments use tourism to promote political ideas to their own people and to tourists and cultural heritage to build nationalism and patriotism (Timothy, 2021, pp. 143–147). Especially in countries with an emphasis on cultural heritage, the ‘tourist *topos* or *locus*’ is where the local-global interaction occurs and where the “local, national, and global discourses on past meet” (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 19); thus, the study of tourism can reveal complex issues regarding identity formation and the negotiations of power (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 19; see also Yalouri, 2001).

“Tourism and nationalism bear more than a passing resemblance. Both are concepts of modernity, and both subscribe to a new frame of social life where the dual categories of the spectacle and of surveillance meet: the tourist gaze, the museum as a space of observation and as a spectacle, the map as a device of surveillance, and more relevant to this study, the excavation and the exhibition of antiquities for inspection (and thus verification of the truths of the nation) and visual consumption by the tourist gaze, are all features of this new regime of truth” (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 19).

Palmer (1999) also emphasizes the relationship between tourism and nationalism and especially the ways in which tourism constructs and maintains national identity and concepts of nation-ness. Drawing from the concept of semiology, and from MacCannell’s (2013) application of semiotics in the tourism industry, Palmer argues that tourism reproduces the elements which construct national identity. Tourist attractions are signs that convey meanings about the host nation (Palmer, 1999, p. 316). As we have seen (see p. 144), the national heritage map is ideologically constructed and a product of a selective process (Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996; Walsh, 1992); monuments and museum artefacts (chosen to be part of the national heritage map) become the ‘sacred centres’ of tourism (see Graburn, 1989; MacCannell, 2013) and become symbols of the nation, its people and their identity. During this process, the members of the host nation define their cultural identity which becomes visible to them and to the ‘Others’; and “cultural identity underpins national identity as it communicates the past and present traditions and mores of a people, thus enabling them to be identified as a distinctive group” (Palmer, 1999, p. 316). In this respect, the locals of the host country also define their identity in their contact with the ‘Others’, exactly

on the boundaries they set between ‘self and the other’(Edensor, 2002, p. 24).

As noted earlier (see *Expressions of national identity in everyday life*), the construction of national identity is a two-way process (see Hamilakis, 2007, p. 17): on the one hand the national identity is produced and reproduced by the official institutions (e.g. ministries of culture, museums and national tourist bureaus) , while on the other hand, national identity can also be constructed by individuals. Of particular interest for the present research is the role of state institutions, such as museums , which present a “static display of the nation” and assemble people, places and historic events into a national narrative (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008, p. 550) meeting the demands of potential customers/tourists (Silberman, 1995, p. 260). The map of national heritage contributes to the construction of tourist myths (Selwyn, 1996) which in their turn become “signs of nationhood” and construct the sense of national identity to the visitor (Palmer, 1999, p. 316).

Tourism is a special field where such identities are negotiated on the local-global interaction (see Hamilakis, 2007; Yalouri, 2001). There has been a long discussion on the relationship between nationalism and globalization (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Gimeno-Martínez, 2016; Skey, 2009). Billig criticized those who talk about the decline of the nation-state as a result of increased global flows and post-modern identities; yet, he equated globalization with Americanisation (Billig, 1995). Other researchers support that view that nationalism and globalization should not be studied as two opposing and separate forces, but should be reconstructed as co-original (Gimeno-Martínez, 2016, pp. 156–157; Skey, 2009). Edensor claims that the “global processes might diminish a sense of national identity or reinforce it” (Edensor, 2002, p. 29). He recognizes that globalization and postmodernity have an influence on identity formation which results in fragmented and fractured identities, but argues that national identity can provide an anchorage for modern people who in the “lack of spatial and cultural fixity can provide a discursive and affective focus for reclaiming a sense of situatedness” (Edensor, 2002, p. 28).

The tourist *locus*, important for shaping the tourist experience and playing an important part on the formation of one’s personal identity, is also the *locus* where collective identities are negotiated and renewed (see *The tourist locus, its identity, and the hosts-guests interaction*). The recent questioning of the necessity for adopting top-down models and the realization of the gradual replacement of singular national

histories by multiple histories of different social groups, as a result of the post-modern discourse (see chapter 5 in Urry, 2002), renders the study of the ways in which national identity is produced or reproduced in the tourist *loci* essential for achieving a clear insight of the above processes.

Objects (and in our case souvenirs) usually become the focal points in such negotiations; according to Edensor (2002, p. 116), objects in general become the markers of national identities and signs of historical and geographical contexts. And considering the fact that objects can entangle shared histories when they become part of one's domestic environment "collective memories mesh with personal memories to effect another means by which national identity draws upon various contexts of identification"(Edensor, 2002, p. 116). In the same way, souvenirs become the focal point during the tourist-hosts interaction and when they enter the personal realm of their owners, they become part of their owner's personal narrative and life story but still act as markers of the cultural collective identity of the destination visited. Grennan (2015, pp. 123–124) pointed the contradiction between the souvenir's external characteristics and the personal narrative attached to it by its owner. In this way, souvenirs are embedded with both collective and personal histories and identities. Considering the role of souvenirs on identity formation (see *Souvenirs and the Self*) they can have an effect on notions beliefs and stereotypes about the cultural collective identity of their producers⁶³.

Souvenirs are objects that embody the host country's idea of its collective cultural identity (national, religious or local identity)⁶⁴ and package it for tourists. Hume (2014, pp. 2–3) explained what the souvenir mean for the culture that produces them:

"From the perspective of the producer, the souvenir needs to represent the culture and heritage of the tourist destination, that is, his or her home or part thereof: the more nodes of heritage that can be tastefully invested in the souvenir by the maker, and recognised by the consumer, the better. An object made from a material indigenous to the tourist destination is a good start. If the object represents some aspect of the destination's heritage, then all the better, and , if it carries with

⁶³ Stereotypes are common cultural perceptions of social groups towards either their own group or other groups (Billig, 1995, p. 80; Ψαρού, 2005, p. 149). Billig (1995, p. 82) argues characteristically that "stereotypes are often the means of distinguishing 'them' from 'us', thereby contributing to 'our' claims of a unique identity"

⁶⁴ Gimeno-Martínez (2016, p. 15) supports that a collective cultural identity of a nation can include national, gender, social class and religious identities. The one represented and promoted in tourism is usually the national and religious identity (see *Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries*)

it the mark of the maker, who happens to be a local craftsman, then better still”

Thus, the role of museums and cultural heritage institutions is crucial not only in the production of a national narrative but also in inspiring a popular culture which can be mass produced and used in people’s everyday lives (see Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999; Storey, 2003, 2009; Σολομών, 2010, 2012). Appadurai and Breckenridge (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 405) note that the placing of objects in a museum is one stage of their cultural biographies and that such objects become part of the “marketing of heritage”; the role of museums is crucial since they “contribute to the larger process by which popular culture is formed” (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 405).

B) The museum experience, meanings and practices

In countries like Greece, the tourist experience centres around the cultural heritage of the country (see *The development of tourism in Greece*). Previous studies have noted similarities between travel and museums in the sense that they are both organised to explore facets of the ‘other’ (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 412). Thus, apart from the tourist experience, it is worth looking at the museum experience in order to better comprehend the processes that generate meaning, constructions of the ‘other’ (both spatial and temporal) and perceptions of authenticity, and understand how these affect souvenir purchase practices and the interactions between people and souvenirs.

Meaning created by museum exhibitions

The advance of museum studies, the emergence of material culture studies, the closer relationship between anthropology and archaeology, and the influence of post-processual archaeology have shifted the way museums develop and the way we view museums and their exhibitions. The adoption of the concept of semiotics in the study of museums has given museum studies theorists and museum professionals a tool for better understanding exhibitions and the messages they convey. Structuralist and post-structuralist approaches, according to which language structures could be a useful key for the study of societies, also found application in museum studies. A pioneer institution in this direction was the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, where Susan Pearce applied the questions raised by post-processual archaeology in museum studies and brought museum objects centre stage (Σολομών,

2012, pp. 79–81). Museum objects were believed to consist of a language of signs and so their study could reveal how meaning is constructed in museums; therefore, various artefact models of how messages are conveyed were suggested (see Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Pearce, 1990, 1992, 1994).

In her book *Museums, Objects and Collections*, Pearce (1992) illuminates the relationship between humans and objects, the practice of collecting (of both museums and personal collections) and discusses how meaning is constructed in a museum collection. By applying a linguistic model and identifying a signifier (museum object) and a signified (its meaning), it became possible to separate museum objects from their meaning and see an exhibition as a set of signs producing a visual and conceptual arrangement and forming a more complex system of communication between the various agents of meaning creation (Σολομών, 2012, pp. 80–81). Objects can function as signs forming sets with which they bear an intrinsic relationship; they stand for the whole set and their relationship to them is, therefore, metonymic. When there is no clear intrinsic relationship between the object and the set, but they are, nevertheless, associated with each other, then objects can act as a symbol, bearing a metaphorical relationship to the set or the culture it represents (Pearce, 1992, pp. 26–27, 180). Borrowing the terms *langue* and *parole* from Barthes (1977), Pearce (1992, pp. 26–27) applied them on museum objects: *langue* concerns the whole range of communication possibilities or a code that a society chooses following some socially understood rules; from the *langue*, the society issues *parole* which is the actual action, speech or performance. In a linguistic model, the *langue* or the system of code is needed in order to comprehend the *parole*, in other words the individual messages. Pearce argues that if we apply such a model on museum artefacts with a long history, the *parole* of the previous chronological phase becomes part of contemporary *langue*, which afterwards becomes the contemporary *parole* and so on (Pearce, 1992, pp. 27–30). Such models illuminate the relationship of objects with their past and help us get a better understanding of the meaning of objects through their life course.

The power of the objects, as noted by Pearce (1992, p. 27), lies in the fact that because of their materiality they retain an intrinsic relationship with the past and they can still work as signs. At the same time, they can also be symbolic and have a metaphorical relationship. Thus, objects have this unique power to be both signs and symbols (Pearce, 1992, p. 27), and their associated metaphors and metonymies allow

the subjects to connect the world together (Tilley, 2002).

Such models are very useful for our research as they can reveal the different meanings that souvenirs can be encoded with. Using the replica of an ancient Athenian kylix as an example (as shown in Chapter 2, **Graph 1**), **Graph 2** and **Graph 3** were created. In **Graph 2**, the Athenian Kylix was a vase utilized for wine consumption in ancient Athenian daily life. Apart from its apparent utility as a wine holder, attempting to explore its possible meanings in antiquity is beyond the scope of the current research but such questions have concerned archaeologists (Buchli & Lucas, 2001; Butler, 2006; Domanska, 2006a; P. Fowler, 1992; Hodder & Hutson, 2003; Holtorf, 2002; Rathje, Shanks, & Witmore, 2013; Shanks, 1992, 2012; Tilley & Shanks, 1987; Walsh, 1992). This research is not concerned with the meaning of such objects in the past; rather, it is concerned with the meaning they are ascribed with in the present by museums visitors and tourists. In order to understand **Graph 2** and **Graph 3**, we assume that the ancient kylix had a metonymical relationship with its use: the ancient Greek symposium and daily life (see also examples of various interpretations of ancient Korinthian aryballoi in Shanks, 1992, pp. 68–78).

The selection of certain objects and their presentation in relation to other objects within an exhibition adds new interpretations, meanings, and values to them, apart from that put forward by museum curators. Going back to our example, the kylix gains an ‘auratic’ character which turns it into something valuable and worth being gazed at. In the museum context the kylix stands for its value as an ancient artefact but also for its artistic value and for what it symbolizes: the ancient Greek world, its values and ideas. In this new realm, the kylix acts as a metaphor for all these values of the ancient world.⁶⁵ Information about the function of objects in the past is usually provided by interpretative media such as labels, interactives etc. In this respect, the kylix stands as a symbol of the ancient values and ideas but also as a metonymy of the symposium and daily life in antiquity.

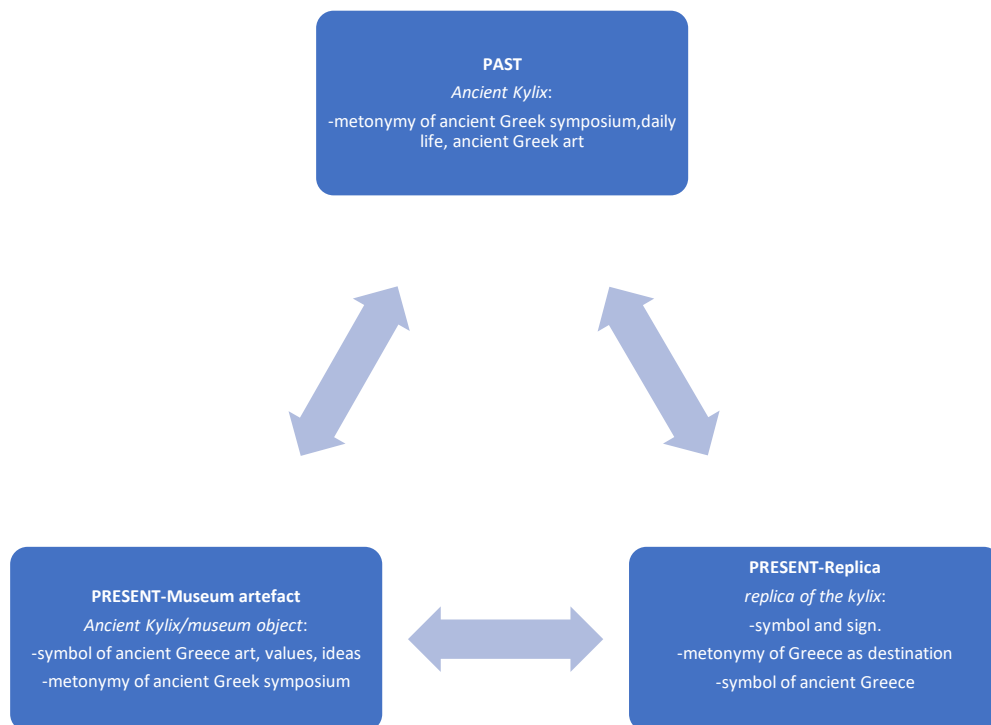
The acquisition of a museum replica is ascribed even more meanings and

⁶⁵ Tilley (2002, p. 24) argues how the material world can be interpreted not only through the linguistic analogies attributed to objects but also through solid metaphors provided through bodily experiences with the material attributes of artefacts. According to the author, the embodied human mind is the link between language use and the use of things. Through both verbal metaphors and solid metaphors “objectified in the forms of artefacts”, humans can connect the world together. Both kinds of metaphor can “constitute our meaning and experience, providing a meeting ground between languages and discourses of representation, feeling, emotion and multiple experiential modes of engagement with the world” (Tilley, 2002, p. 24).

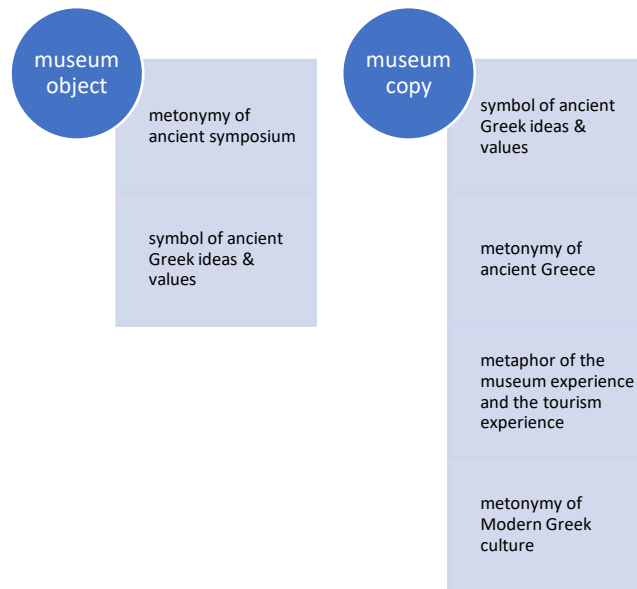
associations. Apart from its role as a sign of the ancient symposium and a symbol of the ancient Greek world (ideas and values), the replica would also serve as a souvenir-metonymy of contemporary Greece and would materialise a metaphorical relationship with both the museum and the tourist experience in general (see **Graph 3**).

Graph 4, shows the main categories of the different associations of the replica of the classical kylix. The replica could be associated with the ancient world, since it is a replica of an ancient vase; it could also be associated with both the museum and the tourist experiences. In light of this, the replica will be embedded with multiple layers of meanings; the phenomenological approach that inspired the model of **Graph 1** in Chapter 2, demonstrates that the object changes modes during its interaction with its owner.

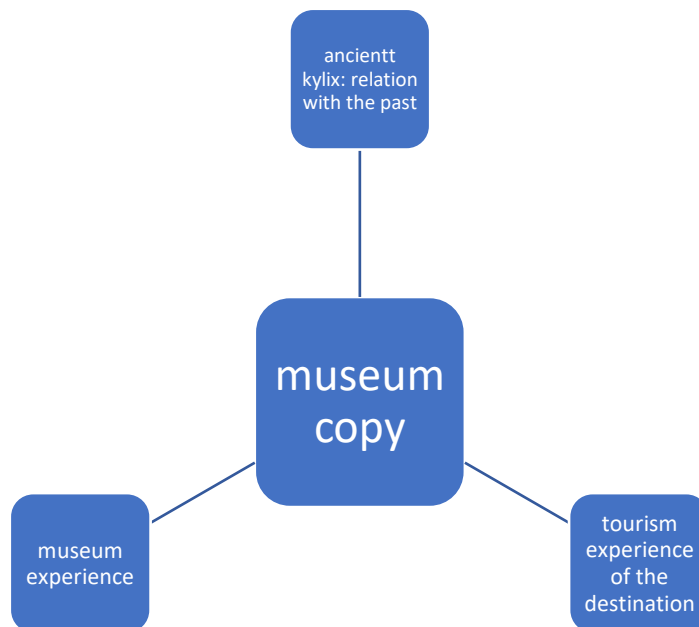
Graph 2: Metonymical associations of a Kylix and its reproduction



Graph 3: Metaphors and metonymies of the Kylix and its reproduction



Graph 4: Meanings attached to museum copies



Baxandall (1991) argues that during a museum visit, meaning is produced among three different agents: the maker of the object, the curator or exhibitor, and the

viewer/visitor. According to the author, the maker's conceptual context⁶⁶, that is the context in which he/she created the object, is not the same as ours (Baxandall, 1991, p. 36). Although, Baxandall uses artefacts made by the Kota tribe in Kongo and displayed in an anthropological exhibition, his model can be applied to archaeological artefacts. A maker of the past would have lived in a different society and would have created the object in a different conceptual framework, conveying the ideas and beliefs of his/her time; this realization makes it harder for an archaeologist/curator to understand the meaning that the maker would have given to the object since the curator lives in contemporary society and adds the ideas and values of his/her time to the objects (Shanks, 1992, 2012). The museum labels, which usually have the purpose of instructing the audience, convey the ideology and values of museum curators. The third agent is the viewer who is usually interested in what the artefact actually is, the circumstances under which it was created and its function. In this network of agents the curator/exhibitor is a mediator between the maker of the object and the audience, while the museum labels act as a medium for conveying his/her ideas and values. But, even before label writing, the exhibition itself (by simply selecting the objects as representative of a culture and/or as elements of a constructed narrative) conveys meanings. The label, though, provides more interpretation; the "intellectual space" between the label (curator) and the object (maker) is where the interaction of the three agents occurs (Baxandall, 1991, pp. 36–37).

Such constructivist approaches, still dominant in museum studies as well as in most humanities and social sciences, have received critique from more object-centred approaches. In our example of the Athenian kylix, such semiotic and constructivist approaches, which are still dominant in museum studies, provide us the tools to understand the possible mental processes and associations created by museum visitors during their museum experience (as shown in the figures above). But can museum objects themselves cause impactful experiences via their material realities? Would the adoption of more object-centred perspectives allow us to move away from human-centred approaches? The results of the present study indicated that people possibly find various ways to engage with the material world through all their material properties (see in Chapter 7, *Souvenir actions*). Therefore, the study of souvenirs and more

⁶⁶ Baxandall refers to artefacts created by the Kota, a tribe in the Republic of Kongo. I argue that his model can find application on ancient artefacts displayed in museums

specifically the human-souvenir engagements can reveal the possible engagements that museum visitors can have with museum objects.

Museum anthropology professor Sandra Dudley (2018, p. 191), argues that constructivist approaches tend to view people's engagement with objects via the representations that subjects construct about them, influenced from their precepts and pre-existing knowledge as well as their social, cultural and historical contexts; but the representation is not the object. Dudley (2018, p. 191) agrees with Bryant (2011, p. 23) who finds such an approach as "epistemologically antirealist" in the sense that the representations of the world belong within the mental realm while they are "always culturally, socially and historically contingent, and are not objectively accurate, uninterpreted representations of material reality". Attempting to be more open to the different ways in which people can engage with museum objects, the author explores the effects that objects can have on humans and calls for a more ontological approach which does not need to be in conflict with the constructivist ones (Dudley, 2018, p. 192). Agreeing with the critique of the theory of agency⁶⁷ and drawing from Bryant's (2011) emphasis on the objects' "power and capacities", Dudley (2018, pp. 194–195) suggests that we should focus not on the agency of objects but on their potentialities (the possibility in the object to influence or act upon others) and actualities (the result of that possibility being realised). These are not identical to the objects' properties but are closely associated with them; they not only define the object but also inform their observer with sensory data (Dudley, 2018, p. 194). The author stresses the effects that objects can bring about upon other objects (including humans)⁶⁸. However, the way that these effects are actualised (the result of their potentiality being realised) by other objects (including humans) does not imply another human-centric approach. The author explains that:

⁶⁷ The author finds that the theory of agency is more problematic when applied to the material world than the human subjects and argues that the notion of agency according to Gell's approach (see *The recognition of agency to things*) actually recognises an "objectified social agency of their human maker or user" than an agency of the things themselves (Dudley, 2018, pp. 190–191)

⁶⁸ Dudley(2018, p. 190) also draws from the speculative turn (see Levi; Bryant, Srnicek, & Harman, 2011), an approach that de-anthropocentrizes the analyses of the material world and treats all worldly entities (animals, people, houses, rocks, objects) as "objects", different kind of objects with different qualities

“ How people come to know objects has nothing to do with what makes objects what they are. But there is no contradiction here. Talking of the “actualization” of certain object potentialities that produce a particular effect on another object – perhaps a person – is a way of describing what happens when the particular properties concerned are, even if only momentarily, in some way influential outside only the internal reality of the object itself. “Influential” might mean simply that a particular set of properties – say, largeness, grayness, wrinkliness, trumpeting, and the possession of a trunk – have been seen, heard, and haptically intuited by an observer; or it might also imply even greater effects, such as the coursing of adrenaline and its resultant biological consequences, and the eventual running away of the observer” (Dudley, 2018, p. 195).

In this vein, ontological realism does not deny an epistemological non-realism and, in the same way, a subject’s representations of an object do not necessarily reflect its reality (Dudley, 2018, p. 195). Such a perspective can also alter the way in which museum professionals treat museum objects; the latter need to be recognised for their capacity of causing effects to their observers and not being viewed only as props illustrating the knowledge provided by the former (Dudley, 2018, p. 196). The author emphasizes the impact that museum artifacts can have on their observers even when they are behind a display not allowing a more multi-sensory experience (Dudley, 2018, p. 196). This could be explained by the sense of authenticity that museum objects evoke; however, even in cases where authenticity is unknown or uncertain, museum objects can have impactful effects (Dudley, 2018, p. 196). And such effects can may last just a few moments, which can be enough for grasping the artifact’s objecthood and thingness (Brown, 2004; Dudley, 2018, p. 196).

As Dudley notes (2018, p. 197), even phenomenological perspectives such as the one suggested by Ingold (2010)⁶⁹ do not fully consider the multiplicity and diversity of encounters between objects and humans. Such approaches regard things as being in a state of flux, mutable and processual and do not fully consider how the objects’ properties are perceived by their observers at any single moment; such perceptions depend upon “which of the objects’ properties are evident, or realised, at the time, because any object has more properties than are apparent and experienceable and/or

⁶⁹ Ingold suggested that a “thing that has been thrown before the mind, in a form that can be apprehended. Life, however, is *in* the throwing and *in* the apprehension. It is the becoming of things perceived and ourselves as perceivers” (Ingold, 2010, p. 301 emphasis in the original)

utilizable in any specific instance” (Dudley, 2018, p. 197). The author suggests that more powerful experience could be achieved by allowing museum visitors “develop more empathic connections to the potentialities and actualities involved in historic objects and places and their narratives” (Dudley, 2018, p. 197). The adoption of a more interpretive stance, that emphasizes the importance of objects and fully recognises their potentialities, can actually reorient the stories that reach the museum audiences; thus, museum artefacts will not be viewed as simply reflecting human representations but they can allow deeper engagements and be part of the stories of their observers (Dudley, 2018, p. 198).

In the present study, we adopted a phenomenological perspective, which can illuminate the different ways in which humans engage with museum copies in given moments. Adopting Dudley’s call to look at the objects’ potentialities can also provide a wider perspective of what the objects can bring to such engagements. We argue that museum professionals can benefit a great deal through the study of souvenir collections (museum copies and souvenirs inspired from museum artefacts) and the ways in which people engage with them; by studying museum copies that allow more freedom for multi-sensory experiences than their museum counterparts, we can understand more about the souvenir-human encounters.

The role of the tourist-guide as mediator of the museum experience

The interpretations offered by the tourist-guides who lead guided-tours for groups could also add to the museum’s production of meaning. Tourist guides act as mediators in the intellectual space between object, maker and visitor (see Baxandall, 1991). Their interpretation⁷⁰ adds to the one already provided by the curator. Usually, participants in organized groups do not have the time to read museum interpretative labels because they follow the tour and focus on the guide’s interpretations⁷¹.

⁷⁰ For the interpretational skills of guides see Tilden (2007)

⁷¹ The role of the guide is important for the present research, since the groups and their members who took part in the survey were all guide-led (see *Chapter 6: Research methodology*). Of course, the advance of technology has made a wide range of resources such as audio-guides, audio-visual display, a variety of guide-books (also available as e-books) and smart-phone applications for self-guided tours to tourists. In fact, many individual travellers do use them. In the present study, though, we examine human guides, who lead organised tours to both groups and individuals, and we explore their role in the production of meaning. Greek guides are official guides, trained by the state, and entitled to conduct tours in Greek heritage sites while guiding and archaeology are very closely related (see Μητσοπούλου, 2016)

Being in the mediatory sphere, the guide functions as a bridge between the foreign and the familiar, the object of interest and the visitor (McGarth, 2003, p. 16); at the same time, guides draw the attention and direct the “gaze” (see Urry, 2002) of visitors to objects of interest. Another important and essential skill is a guide’s ability to help visitors ‘travel’ metaphorically to the past, something that requires a good command of the relevant context which can be achieved with high quality training, as noted by McGarth (2003, p. 17).

On a more cognitive level, the guide acts as a cultural broker who provides visitors with information and connects them with the host culture (see also in Chapter 3, *The tourist locus, its identity, and the hosts-guests interaction*). The guide, therefore, operates as a mediator who interprets the cultural objects and heritage sites, while at the same time he/she acts as a shaman who ‘transfers’ people to the past. The use of “interpretative communication strategies” can include personal references, analogies as well as the artefacts exhibited (Weiler & Black Rosemary, 2015, p. 36). Moreover, a guide’s interpretation is subject to his/her personal interests, ideas and values, social status, his/her previous experiences, academic qualifications and guide training. Inevitably the guide’s role as a mediator between the host culture and the guests adds to the tourist experience as a whole and influences that experience as well as the souvenir purchase behaviour as the results of the present study indicated (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). Regarding the museum experience, though, we argue that the guide’s movement, narrative and production of meaning is shaped to a great extent by the spatial layout of the museum.

[The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience](#)

Studies, such as the one conducted by Hillier and Tzortzi (2006), have shown the significance of museum architecture and exhibitions’ spatial layout in determining the visitor’s experience. Space Syntax theory, which had already been used for analysing space in buildings and cities (see Hillier, 1996; Hillier & Hanson, 1984) was applied in museum exhibitions in order to examine the degree to which a museum’s spatial layout influences social functioning as well as the cultural meaning derived from a visit to that museum (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006, p. 282). Hillier and Tzortzi argued that space should not be considered as just a background of human activity and experience, but rather as an intrinsic part of it. Applying the Space Syntax theory on museum

architecture, they used the degree of integration⁷² as their measuring unit; they argued that we should be looking more at the relation between spaces in a layout and at how this relationship determines movement, and less at the properties of a given space as a factor of influencing the movement of people. In light of this, the configuration of spaces within a layout would be a decisive factor for people's movement (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006, p. 283). They analysed the spatial configuration of building layouts considering the visual spaces⁷³ that people experience when they move between spaces. They concluded that spatial layouts look different from different points of view.

Space Syntax analysis proved a useful tool for studying the movement of people within a museum, since the patterns of movement could be correlated with the spatial configuration of the building and give valuable results on how people move within museum space. A good example is the study at Tate Britain where Hillier and Tzortzi (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006, p. 286) correlated the movement of people during with the visual integration of each space⁷⁴ and found that the more segregated a room was, the less people it attracted.

Similarly, Psarra (2005) used the Space Syntax theory in order to study the impact of the architectural layout on the spatial, social and educational experience of museum visitors to four museums and galleries in Britain⁷⁵. The purpose of her research was to improve the functioning of the buildings and their layout for the distribution of their visitors (Psarra, 2005, p. 79). Psarra (2005, p. 89) distinguished two types of museum exhibitions according to their narrative: first, the strongly structured ones, in which the orientation is based on sequence and causality, which establish a hierarchy of their elements based on their position; and second, a weaker narrative structure,

⁷² The degree of integration measures how segmented the different rooms and spaces of a building are. A lower degree of integration indicates a less segmented space, which is more easily accessible. On the contrary, museum visitors would have to pass through a number of rooms to access more segmented areas of a building; thus, those spaces would receive less visitors.

⁷³ Hillier and Tzortzi studied the "visual fields", in other words, the empty spaces formed in buildings or cities. They argued that human movement is essentially linear as its traces follow linear patterns of experience. Interaction between people, though, is convex since it requires a space in which all points are visible from other. Thus, people experience ambient space in buildings and cities as a series of differently shaped visual fields; human activity follows a natural geometry influenced by the visual fields, which shapes the space around us (Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006, p. 283)

⁷⁴ The visual integration was then subjected to the wider integration analysis of the whole complex. By correlating the average visual integration and the average density of movement traces, they found that the pattern of the movement of people resembled the pattern of visual integration of each space; to put it simply, people moved to certain rooms of the gallery and not all of them depending on the degree of visual integration of each room.

⁷⁵ the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, (Glasgow), the Natural History Museum (London), The Burrell Museum (Glasgow) and the Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh).

which is formed by the interconnection of different elements of the whole exhibition and which enable visitors to equally structure a meaning. The first type of narrative usually gives the sense of a temporal progression, like the one in the Natural History Museum in London. The second type focuses more on the relations between the different elements from different areas of knowledge which create a message based on the spatial integration, like in the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow (Psarra, 2005, p. 89). To put it simply, the first type concerns a spatial sequence which would suggest a chronological order, while the second type will create spatial links among different elements of the exhibition while the message would be conveyed through the interaction between these elements (Psarra, 2005, pp. 90–91). The first type is more typical in museums that determine movement and create a sequential chronological narrative; the second type is more typical in museums whose narration shows a thematic coherence, and meaning is produced by the spatial integration of its contents.

The discussion on how the spatial structure can shape movement and visitors' experience is important, because we can see different ways in which messages are conveyed in a museum exhibition. Messages and meanings are not produced only in the space between the display and the visitor; the architectural structure of the space as a whole can determine the route of the visit, and give a sense of the messages conveyed by the exhibition to both individual visitors and groups led by a guide. Therefore, we need to take into consideration that the guide follows the museum's spatial structure as he/she moves with the group; his/her narrative would have to follow more or less the narrative already pre-dictated not only by the museum's displays and its informational panels but also by the museum's spatial structure. In this respect, when the spatial layout suggests a chronological sequence, the narrative created either by an individual visitor or by a guide leading a group would be foreshadowed by a chronological order.

C) Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies

In a discussion concerning the role of the museum experience on shaping the souvenir purchase behaviour we also need to examine briefly why the general public feels the urge to visit archaeological and heritage sites. In his iconic book *The Past is a foreign country*, David Lowenthal (2015[1985]) addressed attitudes towards the past; he discusses the differences in the way we look at the past: up to the 19th century, scholars tended to refer to the past as if it was still part of the present and not unfamiliar

at all. But in the modern era, the past started to be regarded as different, as a foreign country which is worth of preservation. The past is a foreign country and at the same time a product of the present, as we constantly “reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics” (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 69) Our interest in the past has increased greatly in the last century: Nations keep relics and records of their past while it is becoming more and more popular among individuals to proceed to DNA analysis tests in order to connect to their roots and their ancestors. Lowenthal notes that “treasured pasts transcend national legacies” and individuals value family photographs, childhood memories and keepsakes (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 83). Looking at the reasons why we want to be involved with the past, he distinguishes the following categories: familiarity, guidance, communion, affirmation, identity, possession, enhancement and escape (Lowenthal, 2015, pp. 86–127). More specifically, the past renders the present recognizable and familiar; past experience is important for understanding the present. Lowenthal gives the example of chocolate; if we didn’t have the past experience we wouldn’t know exactly what chocolate is and what to do with it (Lowenthal, 2015, pp. 86–88). Apart from guidance, the past has the power to help us transcend our own short time-span; reading history and visiting archaeological sites and museums help us see life’s continuity on a long-term basis and place “our own brief lifetime memories into the lengthier historical saga (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 126). At the same time the past can help us escape from the present and alleviate us from its daily stress (see also S. Cohen & Taylor, 1998; Lowenthal, 2015, pp. 102–108; Timothy, 2021, pp. 36–37). It can guide us for the future while it can reaffirm the present, in the way that it can endorse present views and acts. Lowenthal observes that literate people who have knowledge of ancient texts are aware that the past is unlike the present, while societies at large seek to reaffirm the “timeless values and unbroken lineages” (Lowenthal, 2015, pp. 92–93). Knowing the past brings self-realization since “constructing a coherent self-narrative “is important for “personal integrity and psychic well-being” (Lowenthal, 2015, p. 94) This is why individuals are fond of keepsakes as they maintain their precious memories, important for their identity. Stewart (1993, p. 145) parallels the longing of souvenirs by individuals for recollecting their childhood , with that of antiquarians for cherishing the material traces of the nation’s childhood; the latter’s childhood is not lived but imagined and it can be recalled through its material remains; the “imagined childhood”, though is created by the mechanisms of memory though a process of selection that creates an

artificial continuity between the nation's childhood and the present.

In order to better understand the relationship between people and the material remains of the past through the acquisition of museum copies we turn to the work of Ewa Domanska, a philosopher of historiography; following the renewed interest towards a return to things⁷⁶, in her influential article the *Material Presence of the Past* Domanska attempts to reconsider the function of relics of the past in mediating roles between people and things or things themselves in reconceptualising the study of the past (Domanska, 2006a, p. 337). In order to illustrate her argument, Domanska used the example of the disappeared person in Argentina, which questions the oppositional structure of present versus absent. The 'desaparecidos', victims of the dictatorship in Argentina whose bodies were vanished by the regime to hide their atrocities (Domanska, 2006a, pp. 342–344). Desaparecidos' absent bodies and empty graves could not let the issue settle and their families find peace. The material remains of the bodies were essential for the families seeking justice (the body as evidence) but also for the families demanding the bodies for a proper burial which would allow them to mourn (the body as object of mourning). In this case, the dead body functions as a witness to the atrocities and as evidence for claiming justice. According to Domanska (2006a, p. 345), the "uncanny"⁷⁷ status of the disappeared bodies resists the usual dichotomous classification of present-absent: she argues that the disappeared body is "a paradigm of the past itself, which is both continuous with the present and discontinuous from it, which simultaneously is and is not" (Domanska, 2006a, p. 345). In other words, the status of the disappeared bodies creates an absence felt in the present, but at the same time the fact that their families do not have the material presence of the bodies of their loved ones prevents them from healing the trauma of loss. In this sense, the status of the disappeared bodies causes them to become present through their absence.

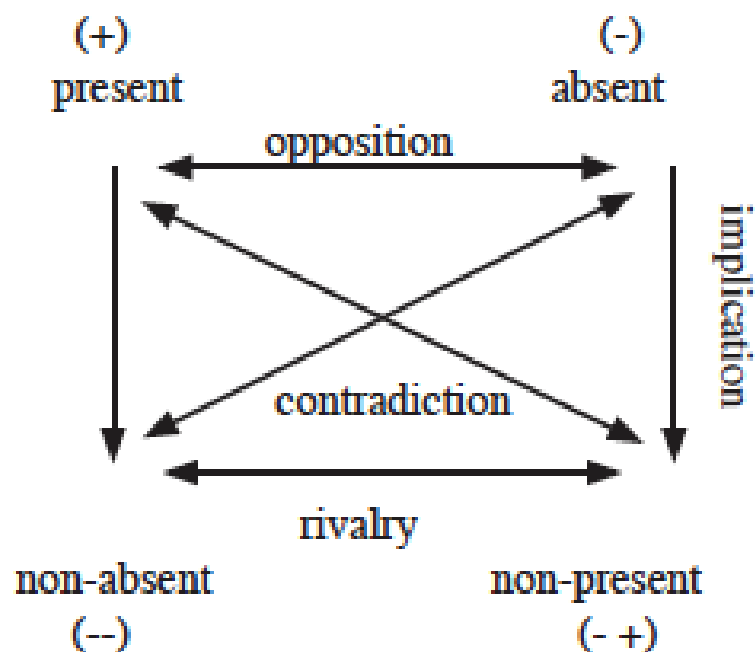
The status of the desaparecidos resists the normal dichotomous classification of the present versus absent; due to the lack of adequate terms to analyse the contradictory element of such a dichotomy, Domanska looks outside the binary opposition of present

⁷⁶ See her article *The Return to Things*, (Domanska, 2006b)

⁷⁷ Domanska (2006a, p. 343) uses Freud's term "the uncanny" which describes feelings of anxiety, fear, horrors caused by haunted houses or contact with a dead body. She uses the term to describe the status of the missing dead bodies which remain in a liminal stage without knowing whether they are dead or alive and prevent the trauma of loss to be healed.

and absent and uses Greimas' semiotic square, which was originally created for dealing with concepts of such binary oppositions (Domanska, 2006a, pp. 345–346). In **Graph 5** we can see the semiotic square as an instrument for moving beyond the basic opposition of the concept present-absent. With this square we can get a better understanding of the secondary concepts non-absent and non-present. The square provides a mechanism to see more clearly the meanings created by the binary oppositions when these “are subjected to the processes of building oppositions, contradictions, and implications” (Domanska, 2006a, p. 345).

Graph 5: Semiotic square by Greimas



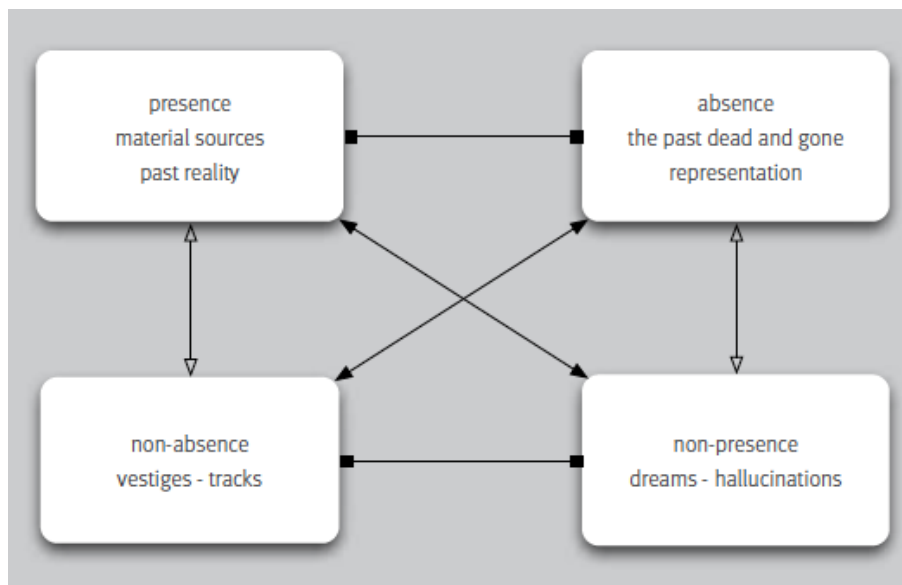
Note: Reprinted from “The Material Presence of the Past” by E.Domanska, 2006, *History and Theory*, Vol. 45, p.345

So, the present (+) is in opposition to the absent (-) which expresses the usual opposition of present and past. The secondary concepts that are introduced in this square (the non-present and non-absent) are more interesting, in that they can provide an instrument to deal with the material remains of the past and mostly their effect in the present. The non-present (-+) past (whose presence is not manifest) is how we imagine the non-present past would be; in other words, it is the projections, expectations, dreams and hallucinations that we have for the past from the present's point of view. And such interpretations of the past can be used as a tool for manipulation since we reconstruct the past as we desire (Domanska, 2006a, p. 346; see also Shanks, 1992). On the other

hand, the double negation of the non-absent past implies a positive result. The absence is manifest and the past reaches us through its vestiges; contradicting the absent (a past gone and vanished), the non-absent is still present, it expresses the “uncanny”, according to Freud’s definition of it (Domanska, 2006a). It is in the liminal space of the non-absent where Domanska places the vanished bodies of the ‘desaperecidos’; their absent bodies have the power to make their presence felt despite the fact that they are absent.

Shanks (2012) extended Domanska’s use of the semiotic square to deal with issues concerning archaeologists. Trying to find how archaeologists can broaden their perspective when they work with past remains, he created several semiotic squares using the same idea of introducing binary oppositions along with their secondary ones, which are interrelated and defined by their contradictions and implications. In **Graph 6**, we can see a more analytical semiotic square for the binary concept of present - past.

Graph 6: The semiotic square of present-past

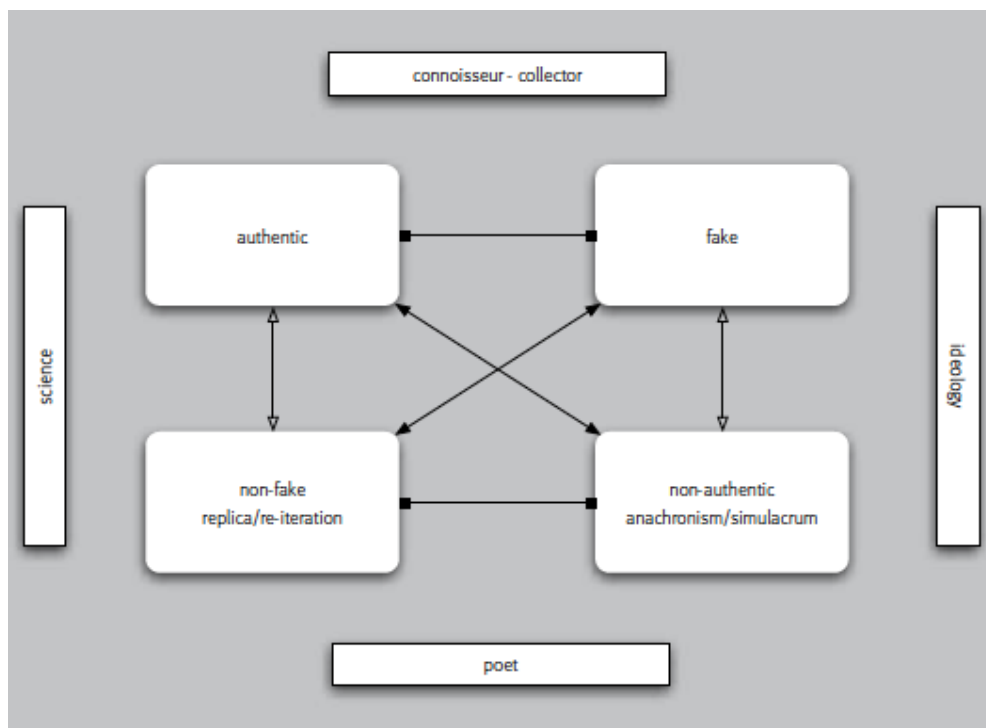


Note: Reprinted from The Archaeological Imagination (p. 133), by M. Shanks, 2012, California: Left Coast press, INC

Such semiotic squares for expressing the complex relations and notions of binary oppositions can also find some application in the object of our study, the souvenirs. In **Graph 7**, Shanks (2012) created a semiotic square for examining the fake-authentic opposition, regarding the work of the connoisseur-collector. The non-authentic is an anachronism which connects past and present but fails to “respect the

present with an ideological imposition of present views and notions”; the non-authentic is a simulacrum, and following Baudrillard is actually a non-authentic fake, “ the exact copy of an original that never existed” according to Michael Shanks (2012, p. 140) The non-fake with the double-negation equals a positive. The non-fake is the replica; the replica does not express how we expect the past to be. Free from any expectations, the non-fake replicates the authentic without aspiring to be authentic. We know that it is not the authentic, but at the same time it replicates it and openly reveals that it is not authentic. In addition, it is more closely associated to the authentic than the simulacrum. In the same way as the vestige implies the trace (see **Graph 7**, the non-fake implies the authentic.

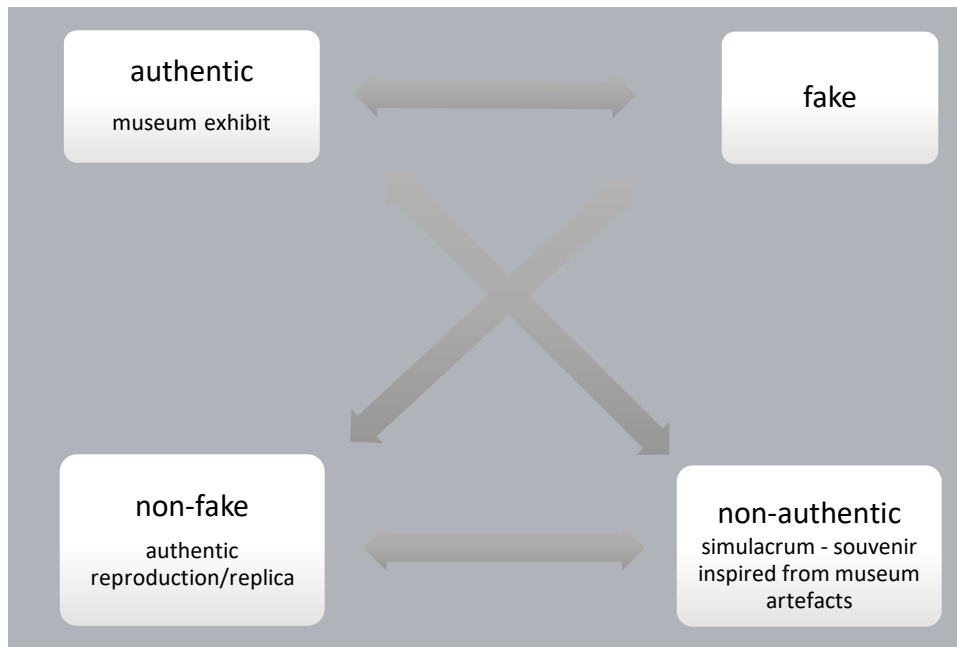
Graph 7: The collector's semiotic square



Note: Reprinted from The Archaeological Imagination (p. 139), by M. Shanks, 2012, California: Left Coast press, INC

Following Shank’s semiotic square of the authentic-fake, we created another square that is applicable to souvenirs (as shown in **Graph 8**).

Graph 8: The semiotic square of the Souvenir



According to this square, the museum exhibit is the original object which sets the standard for the concept of what is authentic. As Benjamin argued in his influential article *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Benjamin, 2007, p. 220) “the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity”. And it is true that the opposition between authentic/fake is quite strong. People do not wish to relate to an object that is fake, while they value the authenticity of the original object in a museum. In the present study this was indicated by attitudes of the research participants towards perceptions of authenticity regarding the museum artefacts (see the example of the Agamemnon’s mask in *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*). But what about attitudes towards a replica? Benjamin (2007, p. 220) argued that “even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be”, while he believed that the mechanical reproduction loses the aura that is present in the authentic⁷⁸. In the context of the museum, Dudley (2018, p. 196) noted how people value the original museum objects over the replicas, because of a sense of

⁷⁸ Benjamin(2007, p. 224) used the ancient statue of Venus to explain that in its traditional context , the statue’s aura was related to a ritualistic character, since it was viewed as an object of veneration. That aura was also present even for the clerics of the Middle Ages who viewed it as an ominous idol. In this sense, the value of the authentic work of art is based on this ritualistic character, “the location of its original use value”. This ritualistic basis evolved into a secularised form that venerated its beauty as something sacred during the Renaissance. However, with the emergence of revolutionary means of reproduction, the ritualistic basis declined

authenticity that they evoke. Grennan (2019, p. 176) notes that ethnic souvenirs -the ones that bear elements of the cultural heritage- are considered to be more authentic than the cheaper mass-produced souvenirs; however, she notes that “cultural seepage” can contest notions of authenticity and representation. In the present study, the research participants showed an interest in replicas of museum originals and considered them as more authentic than mass-produced souvenirs. It seems that the museum replicas are considered as “ethnic” souvenirs in Grennan’s terms. Our semiotic square (see

Graph 8) can possibly offer an explanation for attitudes towards originals and replicas: the non-fake replica contradicts the fake (which pretends to be an authentic object and hides its fake nature⁷⁹) and in this sense it is closely related to the authentic. It is not the authentic, but as a replica it carries some of the aura of the authentic, and its very materiality allows a multisensory experience not possible in our interaction with authentic museum objects. Referring to antique pieces, Attfield (2000, p. 81) argued that perceptions of authenticity are related to the “age” of objects and their materiality:

“An authentic antique is the ‘real’ thing, it doesn’t just represent antiquity, it is a piece of it- you can touch it, feel it, own it and pass it down to your descendants. And materiality would seem to be more important than either perfection or uniqueness. So much so that visible imperfections and accidental flaws would seem to act as the evidence of authenticity by calling attention to the moment of bringing the concept into existence in the form of a material object. Thus authenticity calls to mind the sense of presence for which there can be no representation or substitute for the real thing”

⁷⁹ Shanks used the semiotic square to explain the authentic-fake relationships of objects acquired by collectors. The collector-connoisseurs were, in many cases, deceived by purchasing fakes as authentic objects

Figure 1: Museum copies



Source: Personal archive

The power of a replicated object is noteworthy as has been observed by Michael Taussig in his book *Mimesis and Alterity* (Taussig, 1993, p. 2 emphasis in the original): “Note the *replicas*. Note the magical, the soulful power that derives from replication”. The non-fake/replica is an authentic reproduction in Bruner’s (2005) terms; it clearly states that is a reproduction but it is an exact replica at the same time. The non-authentic is the simulacrum, a souvenir inspired from a museum collection that aspires to be authentic and looks authentic but is the product of imagination. It “replicates” an object that never existed.

Figure 2: Simulacra



Source: Personal archive

These semiotic squares can help us comprehend the complex relationships, implications and contradictions that define our different nuances of the past-present opposition: The present is here with its remains of the past; the past is gone, absent. The absent present is the assumed present. The non-present is defined by our point of view from the present: we make the projections from the present to it. The non-absent is absent, but present at the same time; ‘absent’ traces arrive to us as an *ichnos* (see Shanks, 2012). This helps us view more clearly the fine line between the non-fake and the non-authentic. The relationship between the non-absent past and the present is expressed in a material form by the replica; the latter renders the past something tangible, and this is one of the reasons why replicas are valued more highly than the non-authentic simulacra.

Although the above semiotic squares help us understand the relationships between the authentic, fakes and authentic reproductions we also need to consider that their borderlines are sometimes blurred. Following Eco’s view on fakes and originals (Eco, 1994), Holtorf (2005, p. 121) notes that concepts such truth and falsity, authenticity and forgery are circularly defined by each other and their borderlines are not clear-cut. Moreover, perceptions of authenticity are under constant renegotiations, as we saw in Chapter 1 (see *The “authentic” souvenir*).

Other scholars (Bruner, 2005, p. 146) have tried to transcend the original/copy dichotomy and turned to the role of museums and other state institutions in

authenticating processes (see *Authentication processes*). Collections held in a museum are part of how the host country expresses its idea of its national culture and identity. Museum objects are valued according to the following qualities: aesthetic, archaeological, age and authenticity (Shanks, 1992, p. 80). Archaeological objects are, therefore, “collected into systems of value and meaning according to principals of authenticity and originality” (Shanks, 1992, p. 80). Museums, as state institutions, value their objects and certify their authenticity and originality. And as museum artefacts can serve political purposes, historical agendas and ideologies of preservation, they often become decontextualised from their everyday contexts, creating new aesthetic and stylistic effects that do not fit their original contexts (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999, p. 406). I argue that museum replicas become recontextualised into the everyday use by their owners. They do not provide the authenticity of the museum object, but they embody the non-absent past which can be utilized, touched, and therefore offer a ‘real’ connection to the past. Therefore, materiality proves an essential quality valued by contemporary humans.

The silent revolution of museum materiality

As souvenirs transform into ‘collected items’, memory becomes an essential process in the act of collecting since memory triggers the recollection, an active part of remembering. A collection is passion; and although passion lies, in general, in the chaotic, “the collector’s passion borders on the chaos of memories” (Benjamin, 2009, p. 257). But this disorderly character becomes orderly through collecting. Benjamin (2009, p. 258) notes that the relationship of the object with its owner, does not emphasize its function and utilitarian value. We argue that collecting souvenirs bears much resemblance to a normal collection, but there are some unique characteristics. The quintessential characteristics of a souvenir collection is its potential to trigger memory mechanisms and at the same time provide a hands-on experience of the destination. In Greece the majority of souvenirs are related to its cultural heritage and therefore Greek souvenirs (or souvenirs of any other country with a developed heritage industry) provide tangibility to the past. Of course, they stand for what they represent, too. Benjamin observes that “for a true collector the whole background of an item adds up to a magic encyclopaedia whose quintessence is the fate of his object” (Benjamin, 2009, p. 258). The object of a collection embodies and represents all the values and

ideas of its collector and materializes the “magic encyclopaedia”. In the same way, the souvenir embodies the ideas and values of the host country, materializes the tourism and museum experience, and gives material substance to the “magic encyclopaedia” (see Benjamin, 2009) created by its owner. This encyclopaedia is a personal one and for that reason the objects of an individual’s collection resist the formal and official museum classification. “The true, greatly misunderstood passion of the collector is always anarchistic and destructive” (Benjamin, 2009, p. 258).

Shanks argues that:

“the physiognomy of the collected and personal object is a power to fixate. As with memories, this is a quality of uniqueness. Collectibles and memories do not just inform or educate. They return to haunt. This disconcerting fascination is one of dis-ease and disruption” (Shanks, 1992, p. 81).

This dialectic of order and fascination of the collector is also present in tourism, which merges the disruption with the fascination (see Shanks, 1992, p. 81). The act of collecting replicas and souvenirs that reproduce museum objects expresses this rather ‘anarchistic attitude’ towards the imposed classification of the museum, and towards the museum’s denial of the right to touch objects, preventing their visitors from the freedom to interact with the objects’ materiality and to have a more multi-sensory experience. Dudley (2010, p. 2) prompts us to an exploration of the subjective experience of the museum visitor within a broader perspective, taking into consideration the physical, multi-sensory, aesthetic, emotional and immersive modes of experiencing museum objects. She argues against the dominant view within museum studies that museums are about information focusing on the cultural meanings of their objects (Dudley, 2010, p. 3); in this sense, its material properties are not given attention but become part of the object’s information package (Dudley, 2010, p. 3; see also Parry, 2007). It is the presentation of objects by the museum that focuses on the information, biography and persons associated with them, along with their classification into a system of chronology and cultural significance, that actually separates the visitor from the physical object located behind a display-case, or obstructs him/her from coming near it or touching it when it is located on an open display (Dudley, 2010, p. 4). Dudley wonders:

What would it be like for visitors more often than not to be able not only to read a text panel that explains an historical story associated with an object, but also to

experience an embodied engagement with that object and thus form their own ideas and/or a tangible, physical connection with those who made and used it in the past?(Dudley, 2010, p. 4)

Perhaps, the necessity of people for having a physical and multi-sensory experience with objects from the past is met and fulfilled in the souvenir market where they can seek for their replicas. In fact, the results of our survey point out to such a direction, as we shall see in the following chapter (see *Chapter 7: Data Analysis and Discussion*).

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to reveal possible relations between museum objects and souvenirs. Since I investigate whether souvenirs reinforce or reject cultural stereotypes as a result of the tourist experience in Greece, I needed to examine the role of the museums and the influence of the museum experience in beliefs regarding museum objects and the souvenirs related to them. National institutions, including museums, produce or reproduce a sense of national identity and historical continuity for their citizens. On the other hand, citizens play a significant part in confirming their participation in the ‘nation’ through their everyday practices; nationhood is expressed in different ways and becomes part of people’s daily matrix. Particular importance has been given to the negotiation of cultural collective identities at the ‘tourist *locus*’ between hosts and guests, through their interactions with souvenirs.

We have argued that the experience in a national archaeological museum plays an important role in determining what tourists believe about the collective cultural identity of the citizens of the country they visit. The local souvenir producers and state institutions (which produce the official merchandise of museum shops) create a material culture that ‘packages’ its cultural collective identity and ‘sells’ it in the tourist market. Tourists, on the other hand, usually seek tangible evidence to materialise their experience of the destination visited; when their experience includes visits to cultural heritage sites, the souvenirs they acquire can be related to museum artefacts. The physical presence of such objects possibly fulfils the desire for experiencing a physical, multi-sensory connection with/to the past.

We could, therefore, argue that the world of souvenirs is much more complex than previously thought. Souvenirs are encoded with various meanings, desires and needs by their owners. Thus, this chapter has demonstrated that souvenirs can be,

among other things:

- Objects that reify the abstract concept of nationhood.
- Symbols/markers of the host country's collective cultural identity.
- Objects that embody the negotiations of collective identities between hosts and guests.
- Objects that become the *foci* of negotiations of perceptions of authenticity related to the museum artefacts and souvenirs as these are shaped during the tourist experience.
- Material culture which allows more corporeal experiences through its materials properties that can connect their owners with the 'Other', whether the 'Other' refers to the cultural 'Other' (host country and culture) or the temporal 'Other' (the remote past).

Hence, souvenirs are embedded with multiple layers of meanings, messages, negotiations, and representations. They also embody past and present ideas and values while they are also ascribed with personal memories, histories, experiences, and meanings by their users. Thus, the study of souvenirs can help us understand the processes of collective and personal identity formation, their negotiations at the tourist *loci*, and the complex relationships that people develop with the past, cultural heritage and materiality.

In the chapter that follows we will review the Greek cultural heritage scene and the Greek tourism industry before presenting the results of our empirical study.

Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries

The Western interest towards the Classical world

The rediscovery of antiquity during the Renaissance led to a renewed interest for ancient Greek and Roman ruins and artefacts. Later on, the emergence of the intellectual movement of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution were based upon the principles of the classical world, and especially the ancient Greek ideals and principles. Europe started to look back to the classical past as a necessary process for the formation of modern European identity. As we have seen (see Travelling through the ages), young aristocrats started to travel to Italy and Greece as part of the so-called “Grand Tour” and many of those developed a practice of collecting artefacts, valuable souvenirs that they brought back to their home countries (Feifer, 1985). Famous artists and architects visited the antiquities of Greece, not only as part of the Grand Tour but also as members of foreign diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire. In 1715 the Society of Dilettanti, which consisted of British antiquarians, sent James Stuart and Nicholas Revett to conduct a systematic study of the antiquities in Athens. Four volumes were published with the observations of Stuart and Revett, which included numerous engravings of the antiquities of Athens (Shanks, 2005, pp. 64–65; Tsigakou, 2007, pp. 112–113), while such images motivated the movement in architecture towards the neoclassical style (Loukaki, 2016, p. 27). At the same time, a special interest for classical Greek artefacts and architecture was reinforced by the introduction of the *History of the art of antiquity* by the German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann⁸⁰ (Loukaki, 2016, pp. 26–27; Tsigakou, 2007, pp. 113–114; Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 75–81). With this work, Winckelmann set the standards for classifying and dating ancient Greek sculpture which are still in use until today in Classical archaeology. Pieces of Classical sculpture were related with works of art mentioned in ancient literary texts and were identified as the creations of individual artists. The

⁸⁰ Winckelmann’s work was the first systematic study of Classical art. There was no previous attempt to date Classical sculpture and other antiquities which were part of collections of aristocrats and antiquarians since the 16th and 17th centuries. Winckelmann’s *History of the art of antiquity* set the foundations of a chronological framework which could offer the possibility of dating works of ancient art and placing them in a historical context (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 76)

creative artist's genius was reflected on the beauty of the Classical sculptures which illustrated the Classical ideal of nature and beauty: in fact, ancient Greek Art was thought to express beauty better than nature (Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 76–77). Winckelmann considered the works of art to be expressions of the artist's genius, creativity and spirituality while the beauty of Classical art, as an ideal form of beauty, was seen as the means to reach the Truth, in other words the pure form of Nature, a belief that was welcomed by the Romantics of the 19th century (Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 79–80). Together with the emphasis on the individual artist, the view that the artists reflect their context and time has its roots in German Romanticism at the time of Winckelmann while it also led to elitist views that classified ancient civilisations and gave ground to nationalistic theories that linked the modern German nation with the ancient Greeks (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 89).

Following Winckelmann's "classificatory" system, which divided ancient art in chronological periods according to their style, Classical archaeology created classifications and typologies which studied ancient art following a linear process reaching its peak at the Classical age with the work of Pheidias; everything after him was considered to be inferior since it did not fulfil the ideal Classical standards (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 91). In this sense, influenced from Winckelmann's approach and by the fact that much of Classical sculpture was studied through its Roman replicas, Roman art was viewed as simply imitating Classical art; therefore, the Western attitude towards ancient Greek art was an idealized form which influenced the way that the Western world viewed (and continues to view) the classical Greek world. This Hellenic ideal was considered to be the ancestral form of the European ideal that was born at that time (Herzfeld, 1986, p. 5). The rebirth of the ancient Greek ideal was needed to legitimize the cultural change that occurred in Europe after the intellectual development of the Enlightenment; the previous cultural system which was based on religious cosmological views of the world was replaced by another cultural system that was based on "rationalist secularism" (Anderson, 2006, p. 11); at the same time Europe experienced the dawn of nationalism and the birth of many nation-states. Although these nation-states were young, their nations were considered to have deep roots to the past, and a cultural continuity that continues to the present (Anderson, 2006, p. 11).

The birth of the modern Greek nation-state and the synthesis of a “Hellenic” identity

It was under these circumstances that the modern Greek nation-state was born. Greece had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the fifteenth century; the Ottoman Empire was divided according to religion in semi-autonomous entities called “millet”. The Christian Orthodox populations belonged to the “millet-i-Rum” (the millet of the Romioi⁸¹) which included both Greek speaking as well as non-Greek speaking Orthodox populations. Administration and judicial power of the Empire was exercised by the Ottoman officers and authorities (see Brewer, 2010), but some autonomy was granted to the religious leaders of each millet in order to achieve a more efficient administration. The Romioi were responsible for the administration of the Orthodox church and Greek language became the dominant language used among the members of this community; the Church together with the rich Christian landowners⁸² were assisting the Ottoman authorities with the collection of taxes and were performing some minor judicial tasks for the Christian populations of the Empire (Brewer, 2010).

With the Enlightenment movement and the political changes in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, multi-ethnic Christian Orthodox merchants and traders of the Ottoman Empire were also seeking a change. These developing social classes together with the diaspora Greeks who lived in trade centres (like Vienna, Trieste etc) came into contact with the upper and middle social classes in Europe and were influenced by the movement of the Enlightenment and the renewed European interest towards Hellenism and the Classical past (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 75–76; see also Leontis, 1995; Σκοπετέα, 1988). Therefore, the Christian Orthodox class of traders rediscovered the Classical heritage and adopted the idealized form of Hellenism that was prevalent in Europe.

These contacts led to the emergence of the Greek Enlightenment (Hamilakis, 2007; Herzfeld, 1986; Leontis, 1995; Loukaki, 2016; Yalouri, 2001; Σκοπετέα, 1988). Among the leading figures of this movement, was Adamantios Koraes, an influential scholar who purified the Greek language from foreign terms (which were adopted throughout the centuries) and created an archaic ‘pure’ form of the Greek language known as the ‘katharevousa’ or purist. The emergence of schools and the organization

⁸¹ A term meaning Roman in Greek and used to define the Greek speaking Christian Orthodox populations since the Byzantine times

⁸² In Greek “Πρωτογέροντες” or later on “κοτζαμπάσηδες”

of an unofficial educational system (Κουλούρη, 1988) before the Greek war of Independence also created an awareness among the Greeks: they started to feel heirs of the Classical heritage and gave ancient Greek names to their children and maritime vessels. According to Hamilakis (2007, pp. 76–77), the rediscovery of Hellenic heritage by the modern Greeks was due to political and economic developments as well as the ideological movements in Europe which glorified the Classical antiquity; thus, the appropriation of the western view of Hellenism by the modern Greeks transformed classical antiquities into the symbolic capital of the nation (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 76–77; see also Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996). To the eyes of modern Greeks, the European powers were seen as debtors while the Europeans in their turn always compared modern Greeks with ancient Greeks which in many cases led to degrading views towards modern Greeks as unworthy of being descendants of their Classical ancestors (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 77).

However, while the religious cultural system was replaced by a rationalist secular system and nationalism around Europe, the story was different in Greece: the identity of the Romioi, which represented the Greek speaking Orthodox communities, seen as heirs of the Byzantine Empire, was merged with the new adopted identity of the Hellenes, a term that represents the ancestry from the glorious Classical past adopted from the European Enlightenment (Hamilakis, 2007; Herzfeld, 1986; Yalouri, 2001). Although these two identities seem to represent two opposing poles (Herzfeld, 1986; Yalouri, 2001), elements of both created a more syncretic and synthetic form of the modern Greek national identity, based on both the Christian Orthodox religion and the secular form of nationalism based on the classical heritage (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 85; Herzfeld, 1986; Yalouri, 2001, pp. 138–142).

The synthesis of these two elements, though, was quite a long process throughout the 19th century. Despite the emphasis on the Classical past during the first decades after Greece's independence, the Greeks were eager to prove their connection to the past through the historical continuity either because of the recent views of Fallmerayer⁸³ (Σκοπετέα, 1988, pp. 175–189), or in order to overcome the “melancholic contrast”

⁸³ the link between Modern Greeks with Classical Greeks was put into question in 1830 by the Austrian scholar Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer who based his argument on the presence of a large percentage of Slavs in Greece (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 115–116). This caused an anti-Fallmerayer movement in Greece, especially after the middle of the 19th century. The Greeks were now eager to prove their historical continuity throughout the centuries; the missing link between the Classical antiquity and

between the glorious past and the pitiful present (Tziovas, 2008, p. 289). Such continuity would require the missing link which in the case of Greece would be the Greek Medieval period (Cameron, 2014, pp. 26–45). The shift towards an interest for the Byzantine past started in the 1850s; until that time, there was a lack of interest by both the official authorities and the intellectual circles of Greece since the focus was on the Classical past. However, the Bavarian royal family tolerated the popular interest towards Byzantium since it legitimised the institution of monarchy as there was a precedent in the Byzantine past (Σκοπετέα, 1988, p. 178). Since the 1850s, the works of historians such as Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos attempted to bridge the gap between the Classical past and Modern Greece by regarding the Byzantine past as an integral part of Greece’s historical continuity⁸⁴. Spyridon Zambelios introduced the term “ellinohristianikos” (Helleno-Christian), which synthesized the Christian Orthodox and Classical Greek elements into one entity that could both “absorb foreign influences and Hellenize other people” (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 116–117). Paparrigopoulos attempted to provide evidence of the continuity of the nation and answer to Fallmerayer’s claims by publishing the *History of the Hellenic Nation* in which he synthesized various elements contributing to the creation of a Hellenic national narrative (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 115–116; Plantzos, 2008, pp. 17–18; Σκοπετέα, 1988, pp. 181–182). In the same vein, the work of the archaeologist Christos Tsountas at the excavations of Mycenae extended the cultural continuity of the Greeks into prehistory (Plantzos, 2008, p. 18; Shanks, 2005, p. 79); however, even in this case prehistoric archaeology served as a “prelude” to Classical archaeology (Gazi, 2008, p. 73). Another way of proving the Greek origins of Modern Greeks was to search for traces of the glorious Classical past in the present and more specifically in the folklore tradition (Σκοπετέα, 1988, pp. 190–204); thus, the development of folklore studies⁸⁵ (*laographia*) also filled in the missing links between past and present by providing the theoretical justification for the continuity of the Greek nation (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 72–73; Herzfeld, 1986, p. 4).

Modern Greece was provided either by the study of ‘Hellenic traits’ which could be traced in the Byzantine period or of “archaic traces” found in the present folklore tradition or even by the comparison of the Greek soldiers of the War of Independence with heroic figures of the Classical past (Σκοπετέα, 1988, pp. 171–216)

⁸⁴ Despite the interest towards the Byzantine past, Byzantine archaeology was not really accepted by mainstream archaeology until the early 20th century (see Gazi, 2008, p. 73)

⁸⁵ The work of Politis (1904), who set the foundations of folklore studies in Greece, contributed to the continuity of the nation.

The bridging of the gap between Classical antiquity and the Modern Greek present and the synthesis of these two elements gave birth to the notion of Greekness⁸⁶. The term was used for the first time in the Greek language in the middle of the 19th century by Konstantinos Pop and Iakovos Polyas who defended the Greekness of Solomos against Zampelios (Tziovas, 2008, p. 287). The notion of Greekness was regenerated by the so called “generation of the thirties” (a group of artists, writers and poets who rehabilitated Byzantium and emphasized the continuity of Hellenism) in the Inter-war period. This time, though, the past was not viewed as an archaeological relic in the present but as an aesthetic archetype, a deeper structure that functioned as an ‘aesthetic thread’ linking past with present, or what Tziovas (2008) called aesthetic or modernist approach of Greek intellectuals towards the country’s past.⁸⁷ According to this approach the notion of continuity is not achieved in material or historical terms through archaeological remains or literary texts but (cultural continuity) is implicit in the aestheticized form of the past that permeates time and is manifested in the present; in this sense, the past is not revived but reassessed and revised (Tziovas, 2008, p. 288). The generation of the thirties emphasized those deeper values and features of the Greek culture that could start a new dialogue with Europe and transform the exotic land of Greece into something more familiar, the start of a dialogue between the “European Hellenism”⁸⁸ with the “Greek Hellenism”(Tziovas, 2008, p. 292), the attempt of modern Greeks to localize the idea of European Hellenism (Yalouri, 2001, p. 12) or a reaction to the “gaze of the West, often disapproving and scornful” (Plantzos, 2008, p. 22). Modern Greece was viewed as an imaginary territory that could not only be reduced or contained in its history but expressed something more (Gourgouris, 1996, p. 31). While in the rest of Europe the modernist movement challenged the previous

⁸⁶ Translation of the Greek term “Hellenikoteta” or Hellenicity (see Plantzos, 2008, p. 18)

⁸⁷ Tziovas (2008, pp. 287–288) distinguishes four approaches of Greek intellectuals towards the Greece’s past: the “**archaeological or symbolic**” approach that emphasized the Classical past and treated it as an archaeological monument, an approach that highlighted the gap between Greece’s past and present. The second approach was the “**holistic or romantic**” which searched the traces of the past in the present. The third approach was the “**aesthetic or modernist**”, according to which the presence of the past is possible not as a historical trace but through its aesthetic or stylistic continuity. Finally the fourth approach named “**ironic, critical or post-modernist**” regards the past as something that is not indisputable but can be constantly reinterpreted and revised

⁸⁸ Tziovas (2008, p. 292) distinguishes between: the **European Hellenism**, that is the Hellenism as imagined and introduced to Modern Greeks by the Europeans during the 18th and 19th centuries, and the **Greek Hellenism** which describes how Greekness was perceived by the Greeks especially by the generation of the thirties

notions of classicism and classical norms,⁸⁹ the same movement in Greece, expressed by the “Generation of the ‘30s”, reconciled antiquity with modernity (and fulfilled the desire for cultural continuity) by reintroducing the idea of “Greekness”. This idea is better understood in the context of the rise of nationalism around Europe at that time, especially if we consider it as a result of the political, economic, cultural and geographical marginalisation of Greece during the inter-war period (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 255; Τζιόβας, 1989, p. 14)⁹⁰. The singular character of Hellenic art from prehistory to the Byzantine period was emphasized by the movement of the intellectuals of the generation of the thirties and Greek history was viewed (through its art) as a single entity (Plantzos, 2008, p. 19).

Such views of the singular character of antiquities and Hellenic art and notions of Greekness do not only belong to the 19th century and the 1930s but are still present today⁹¹. The opening ceremony of the 2004 Olympic games in Athens is a good example that illustrates this very clearly: Hellenic art paraded in front of millions of viewers presenting the cultural continuity of Hellenism⁹². Plantzos (2008, p. 12 italics in the original) argues that this ceremony was an opportunity for Greece to show its “own *Hellenic* view of her own Hellenic (mostly *ancient*, mostly *Athenian*) art”. The opening ceremony and the presentation of the “Greek past” (and the Hellenic view of the Hellenic identity) was addressed to a wider international audience; thus, we also need to take into consideration the degree of influence that international interpretations of Hellenism have on the perceptions that modern Greeks have for themselves and their identity. According to Yalouri (2001, p. 13), local and global interpretations of

⁸⁹ Although the modernist movement also had references to Classicism, eg. LeCorbusier

⁹⁰ Worth mentioning is that the recent national disasters, the defeat of Greece from Turkey in 1897 and the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, finally discouraged the Greeks from any hope for accomplishing the Megali Idea (Great Idea), a Greater Greece that would include the territories of all ‘Hellenes’. The years after 1897 were characterised by introspection and contemplation over the relationship of modern Greeks with antiquity that led to mixed reactions: a tendency to question that ancient Greece is the only heritage of Greece and another tendency to achieve national purity through classical antiquity (see Gazi, 2008, pp. 72–73). Following the Asia Minor catastrophe the generation of the thirties brought the regeneration of the notion of Greekness (see Yalouri, 2001, pp. 38–40)

⁹¹ The notion of ‘Greekness’ is still present today, influencing both the national consciousness and design in Greece (see Yagou, 2011, pp. 129–152)

⁹² See Plantzos (2008) for further analysis on the opening ceremony of the 2004 Olympic games in Athens. Plantzos (2008, p. 19) also uses the example of the performance of the “Birds” of Aristophanes, by the Art Theatre Company directed by Karolos Koun which was presented in 1959. An innovative addition to the play was the use of Byzantine psalms, linking in this way the folklore tradition with antiquity. Another example of the Hellenic view of its own identity is the issue of new Greek passports that illustrate representative monuments of Greece once again demonstrate the sense of a linear cultural continuity (see Πλάντζος, 2017)

Hellenism, are “mutually defining” while the construction of Greek identity is linked with the interrelation of the two interpretations. Investigating the role of the Acropolis as a ‘vehicle of agency’ on the formation of the Greek identity Yalouri (2001, p. 17) argues that :

“Through the physical presence of the Acropolis, Greeks internalize perceptions of their national identity, and by interacting and using it, they reproduce or transform the ways they understand and define themselves in an international context”

Apart from the local-global interpretations, the physical presence of archaeological sites justifies the national space and materialises the national imagination (see *Construction of national identity by the state institutions*). And drawing from the realisation that time is conceived spatially and that history and archaeology conceptualise the past physically while the spatial and temporal dimensions cannot be separated (see Tilley, 1994; Tilley & Shanks, 1987), Yalouri (2001, pp. 17, 51–53) argues that the temporal and spatial dimension of archaeological sites, as in the case of the Acropolis, transform into history and territory. When history is linked to territory, nations can claim this territory; the Acropolis materializes history and at the same time it legitimizes the national territory (Yalouri, 2001, p. 54), a necessary process for objectifying the nation. The role of archaeology in providing the tangible evidence and in reinforcing the unity of a nation-state in time and space is crucial (Yalouri, 2001, pp. 22–23), as we will see in the section that follows.

The Hellenic identity and the role of Greek archaeology

Such notions of a singular antiquity, of an “atemporal and-heavily aestheticized-view of ancient Greek culture” influenced the narrative of Greek archaeology that produced the material remains which proved the cultural continuity of the nation (Plantzos, 2008, p. 14). The materiality of the archaeological remains and artefacts became undisputable evidence of the nation’s national narrative, while their sense of authenticity and longevity added to their symbolic power (Gazi, 2008, pp. 76–77; Hamilakis, 2007, p. 79). In order to support the Hellenic national narrative, Greek archaeology followed a singular view of the Greek past, neglecting anything regarded as ‘foreign’ which did not accord with the national narrative. In the same way that the language was purified from foreign terms, the Acropolis was purified from post-classical structures, and the archaeological sites of the country were restored in their idealized form conforming both to the western Classical ideal and to the Hellenic

national imagination (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 96–97). Around the same time the birth of photography reproduced the sanitized stereotypical images of the western perception of classical antiquity; in this sense, both photography and archaeology operated at the same framework constructing a monumentalized view of Greece (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 96–97). Photography enabled the mass reproduction of these stereotypical visual representations of Greece “that the western audiences (including travellers and tourists) dreamed and demanded” (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 97).

Thus, the role of archaeology was significant in constructing Greece not only as a real geographical entity but also as an ideological *topos* (Plantzos, 2008, p. 14) and as a “heterotopia of Hellenism” (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 85–98) in a Foucauldian sense (for the discussion of Foucault’s definition of heterotopia see *Construction of national identity by the state institutions*). Leontis (1995, p. 43) argues that the definition of an heterotopia as a place of a “different order” is determined less by its physical location than “by the confluence of discourses, institutions and procedures deployed in a place”. And following Foucault’s example of the heterotopia of the colony (Foucault, 1986, p. 27), the author supports the view that the various sites of Classical ruins form the heterotopia of ‘Hellas’, a topos existing outside time and space and outside the borders of Western states but regarded as their place of origin within their societies’ collective imagination (Leontis, 1995, pp. 43–44). In this sense, “Hellas itself is a heterotopia, a space set apart precisely because it contains classical ruins” (Leontis, 1995, p. 44). And Greece has been a heterotopia of Western (colonial) imagination since the times of the first travellers that toured the country during the Grand tour (see Leontis, 1995, pp. 45–52). Plantzos adds that the heterotopia of Greece was recreated and “self-colonised” by modern Greek writers who claimed their right to inherit the glorious Classical past. The archaeologists recreated the Greek landscape by providing the material remains (Plantzos, 2008, pp. 14–15) and the material landmarks of the heterotopia of Hellas. However, their role was not simply confined to produce the “iconography of the national dream” but also to provide the physical, real and “thus beyond any dispute proof of the continuity of the nation”, according to Hamilakis (2007, p. 17). Monuments, artefacts and material remains contributed to the production of the topos and in the “process of dreaming the heterotopic locus of the nation”(Hamilakis, 2007, p. 121; Γουργουρής, 2007).

The glorification of the Classical past and the fact that the modern Greek state was the successor of this linear cultural continuity resulted in the monumentalisation of Greece; the modern nation-state was seen as unique, as belonging into a “de-historicized myth-space” realm, while the Classical antiquities removed it from the historical and social context of its time (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 103). Classical antiquities together with the ethnographic artefacts provided by ‘laographia’ gave material form to the Hellenic national narrative and the “Helleno-Christian” identity, legitimised the cultural continuity of the nation and ‘marked’ the national territory⁹³. For this reason, revealing the antiquities through excavation and protecting them became one of the main objectives of the new-born nation state aiming at the recognition of its status internationally⁹⁴.

The organization of archaeology and the national archaeological museums

Since the beginning of its life as a new-born state, Greece introduced archaeological laws with the objective of protecting the ancestral heritage⁹⁵ (see Hamilakis, 2007; Loukaki, 2016, pp. 135–165; Yalouri, 2001). The General Ephorate of Antiquities and the Central Committee (which later on became the Central Archaeological Council⁹⁶) were founded in 1834, while the first Archaeological Museum was founded on the island of Aegina, then capital of Greece, in 1829 (Loukaki, 2016, pp. 139–140). The Greek Archaeological Service, founded in 1833, is one of the oldest in Europe and is responsible for the excavation, preservation and display of the heritage of Greece (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 36). Until today, the Archaeological Service supervises all Ephorates of antiquities and all archaeological sites; local archaeological museums are managed by the regional Ephorates and its directors are also directors of

⁹³ Peckham (2001, p. xi) explains how the practices of archaeology and folklore determine relations with the land and define national space. Folklore unified national space and through the “process of internal colonization” it erased any regional differences (Peckham, 2001, p. xiii and chapter 4)

⁹⁴ Plantzos (2014, p. 103) underlines Anderson’s (2006) claim of the importance of archaeological research and the promotion of its work in the processes of both the formation of modern nation-states and the recognition of their status internationally (see also Hamilakis, 2007; Σκοπετέα, 1988)

⁹⁵ However, protection of the ancestral heritage in terms of the 19th century meant protection of the Classical antiquities (see Kotsakis, 1991)

⁹⁶ In Greek is called KAS (Kentriko Archaologiko Symboylio)

the museums, while some museums have been granted more autonomy⁹⁷ and others that are legal entities under public law, such as the New Acropolis Museum⁹⁸.

In the same way that the archaeological sites of Greece were sacred for both the European imagination and the Hellenic national imagination (see Hamilakis, 2007), the archaeological artefacts and museum objects were also considered to be sacred. Thus, the construction of ‘sacred temples’ to keep and preserve the nation’s sacred objects was essential (Gazi, 2008; Hamilakis, 2007, p. 121; Γκαζή, 1999). Another tendency, throughout the 19th century and the early 20th century, was the display of antiquities classified in a strict chronological and typological order (Gazi, 2008, p. 69). The archaeological artefacts were endowed with symbolic power and became national emblems which materialized the continuity of the nation and became witnesses of the nation’s ancient roots (Gazi, 2008, p. 77; Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 46–48, 121; Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 98–105). Moreover, artefacts were viewed as treasures, heirlooms of the nation and art objects; therefore, the tendency was to ‘let the objects speak for themselves’ without providing many explanations (Gazi, 2008; Plantzos, 2008). This particular tendency of the Greek museums follows a tradition of modern museums which since the 18th century have regarded artefacts as art objects: the classicist tradition displays archaeology as history of art and emphasizes their aesthetic value rather than information (Gazi, 2008, p. 75). Artefacts were regarded as timeless and as representing the humanistic and idealistic qualities and principles of the classical world which were important for modernist West in order to justify its cultural development and superiority (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 101). This aesthetic ideal that permeated the upper and middle classes and their collection practices influenced the philosophy of museum displays which treated museum objects as objects of high art. Therefore, the archaeologists’ aesthetic ideal has to a large extent also been that of high art as archaeology was mostly a discipline that concerned the upper and middle classes (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 44).

⁹⁷ The following museums are not managed by the Ephorate of Antiquities but have their own directors and are all supervised by the Ministry of Culture: the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, the Byzantine Museum, the Epigraphic Museum, the Museum of Asian Art, the Museum of Byzantine Culture, the National Archaeological Museum, the Numismatic Museum and the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, Crete (see <https://www.culture.gov.gr/en/ministry/SitePages/viewyphresia.aspx?iID=1304>, accessed on August 30th, 2020)

⁹⁸ See <https://www.culture.gov.gr/el/ministry/SitePages/heritage.aspx>, accessed on August 30th, 2020

Following the period after the World War II, Greek museums found the opportunity for reorganisation; yet, the dominant trend was to present the Classical past as a linear evolution of art (Mouliou, 2008, pp. 84–92). The glorification of the Classical past did not allow the discipline of Greek archaeology to follow theoretical and intellectual changes (Mouliou, 2008, p. 85; Πλάντζος, 2014). Around the same time, Greek tourism started to boom and Greek archaeology was called to organise the cultural heritage sector of the country in order to meet the tourist demands, constructing a reputation as a “historical and archaeological dreamland” (Mouliou, 2008, p. 85). However, exhibitions were designed according to the model that emphasized the aesthetic value of the museum objects without providing social or historical interpretations; history was implied and incorporated in the objects but not displayed (Mouliou, 2008, p. 88). Archaeological artefacts were interpreted according to their artistic style that attributed them to individual artists or workshops: an excellent example was the exhibition of pottery of the National Archaeological Museum that adopted a Beazleyite connoisseurship⁹⁹ approach which classified pottery according to their artistic style (Mouliou, 2008, p. 88). Other important tendencies of the post-war era were: the attempt to enhance the link between ancient Greek art and the notion of Greekness as was explained by Karouzos (the then director of the National Archaeological Museum) and the organization of exhibitions in strict chronological order and typological groups, as in the case of the reorganization of the Museum of Ancient Olympia (Mouliou, 2008, pp. 88–89)

The year 1977 marked the beginning of a new period for museum development in Greece: the introduction of the Presidential Decree 941 generated the restructuring of the Archaeological Service which in its turn resulted in a considerable increase of archaeological excavations, the production of much archaeological material and the foundation of several local museums across the country (Mouliou, 2008, pp. 92–99). It was during this period that the discovery of the Royal Tombs at Vergina by Manolis Andronikos and the temporary exhibition the “Treasures of Ancient Macedonia” brought a change on the museological work: the artefacts were not displayed in a chronological order but according to the geographical area they belonged and their

⁹⁹ A term derived from the famous Classical archaeologist Sir John Beazley who worked on Athenian pottery and established its study as a branch of fine art. For a detailed analysis on the development of the discipline of Classical archaeology, including the connoisseur’s gaze that still dominates many of the exhibitions of Classical archaeological artefacts see Πλάντζος, 2014

burial context; furthermore, special care was taken for the aesthetic staging of the artefacts (Mouliou, 2008, pp. 94–95). That particular exhibition and others that followed the same philosophy¹⁰⁰ received critique for creating artefacts- icons of art which were displayed in highly aesthetic settings and were not placed in a context (Mouliou, 2008, p. 95). The Vergina discoveries and the exhibitions that followed caused the creation of many temporary travelling exhibitions, a common practice until today in Greece. Through the travelling museum exhibitions organised by the Ministry of Culture and its affiliated institutions, the museum curators (who are usually archaeologists) display museum artefacts as “cultural signifiers of glorified territories”, and suggest ways of viewing ancient Greek art to a wider audience of potential travellers-tourists of Greece (Mouliou, 1994, p. 74),

However, despite the adoption of more innovative ways of presenting the past, the lack of application of proper museological theories created a distance between the museums and their public as was observed by Hourmouziadis (Hourmouziadis cited in Mouliou, 2008, p. 99). Hourmouziadis prompted for a more postmodern museological approach that would allow more freedom to the visitor on the production of information and more pluralistic universal ways of interpreting the museum objects (Mouliou, 2008, p. 99).

With the turn of the millennium new legislation¹⁰¹ and the preparation for the 2004 Olympic games in Athens brought development funds and measures designed to upgrade the archaeological museums of the country. Despite the fact that museological and museographic studies were considered for the renovation of the museum exhibitions, little work was done at a conceptual and interpretative level (Mouliou, 2008, p. 100). Except from the pressure of time and the lack of sufficient funding, the reason that many exhibitions did not dare to apply more innovative archaeological narratives and followed well known paths is due to the reluctance of Classical archaeology to be more open to archaeological theory (Mouliou, 2008, pp. 100–101; Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 94–95). According to the latest renovation of the galleries of the National Archaeological Museum, during 2004-2005, artefacts were displayed in a chronological order; objects were also grouped into thematic sections which illustrate

¹⁰⁰ Another example was the exhibition *Alexander the Great: History and Legend in Art* in the 1980s (Mouliou, 2008, p. 95)

¹⁰¹ Law 3028 issued in 2002 and the Presidential Decree 191 issued in 2003 resulted in further protection of antiquities and legal provision for the museum sector (see Mouliou, 2008, p. 100)

aspects of antiquity, such as “Women in antiquity”, “The children” or “life in a Mycenaean Palace”, according to its director (Καλτσάς, 2007, p. 46). However, the thematic sections are not very clear, the artefacts are not interrelated within each thematic section and the labels follow more traditional ways by being merely descriptive without attempting to provide alternative interpretations and contextualise the exhibits. Tendencies that regard museum artefacts as art objects are still evident in more recent museums, as in the case of the New Acropolis Museum where the exhibits are left to speak for themselves since they are considered to possess timeless value (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 102). Such a perspective towards museum objects also entails the view that artefacts are direct witnesses of a remote past without considering that the so called object of the past is a construction of the present (Πλάντζος, 2017). In other cases, though, museums attempted to break away from traditional museological practices: for example, the refurbishment of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki followed a chronological order in most of their sections but managed to achieve a thematic presentation of life in ancient Macedonia (Γραμμένος, 2006) while the labelling (see Γκαζή, 2006) and interpretative approaches adopted more recent museological practices which tried to be more inclusive, engage the visitor and offer different perspectives for the same object.

The development of tourism in Greece

The circumstances that shaped modern Greek national identity and influenced the management of the country’s cultural heritage also shaped the way Greek tourism developed in the 19th and 20th centuries. We have already seen in the previous chapter the role of tourism in reproducing and reinforcing elements of national identity (see Edensor, 2002; Palmer, 1999); we have also examined the importance of the Greek cultural heritage in legitimising the “Helleno-Christian” narrative (see Hamilakis, 2007) on which the nationalist rhetoric of the modern Greek state was based.

By the time modern Greeks started to shape their modern Greek national identity and prepare their war of Independence, Western Europeans started to travel to Greece with the aim of studying classical antiquities. This was the first form of tourism and it had mainly an educational, rather than a recreational character (Feifer, 1985). Greece was isolated geographically from Western Europe, as the inadequate road and railway system rendered the country a remote destination. The easiest connection to Greece,

until the end of the 19th century, was via the sea from Marseille, Naples, Brindisi and Trieste (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 39). Despite its difficult access, more and more travellers started to include Greece in their journeys in south east Mediterranean; Vlahos (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 38) argues that this was due to the publicity of the great archaeological discoveries in Greece and the revival of the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens. Meanwhile, technological advances and the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of the 19th century made the Eastern Mediterranean more accessible to visitors. Despite this improvement, Greece remained an ‘isolated and remote’ destination not only because of its inadequate road system, but also because of the lack of a hospitality infrastructure that other countries, such as France, have already started to develop. For this reason, the easiest way to visit Greece at that time was via the sea; cruise ships started to stop in Greek ports (mostly in Piraeus), and this also solved the problem of accommodation. The number of visitors to Greece was still low and the majority of them were educated travellers who regarded the journey to Greece as an opportunity to enrich their knowledge of the classical world. Their approach towards the destination was not that different from the earlier travellers of the Grand Tour. Greece still attracted the educated elite which craved to visit Greek Classical antiquities.

During the last two decades of the 19th century, mass production and the use of photography enabled the creation of visual representations in the context of tourism for promotion purposes. In its first attempts to organise and promote Greece as a destination, the Greek state’s objective was to render the tourist product of Greece familiar and recognizable to its potential visitors. A ‘heterotopia’, in visual terms, was created: the classical monuments were photographed excluding, though, images of the modern city of Athens, its contemporary life and the locals. Images of an idealized form of Hellenism were reproduced whereas the monumentalisation of the Greek landscape (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 17) fulfilled the imaginary of western travellers for classical antiquities (Βλάχος, 2016, pp. 42–43). The roots of the tendency to admire Greek classical civilisation, but regard the country’s modern inhabitants as “debased inheritors” or even as “living monuments”, can be traced back to the time of the Grand Tour (Loukaki, 2016, p. 28). Such attitudes towards modern Greeks are reflected in the publication of the first guide books for Athens (see Murray, 1845; Travlou, 2002, p. 109). Travlou (2002, pp. 109–111) argues that even today’s guidebooks still reflect the travel discourse of the first travellers of the 19th century who tended to glorify the

Classical past (“Grecophilia”) and show some resentment over modern Greece and its inhabitants, a kind of “mis-Hellenism” (Travlou, 2002, p. 111; Λεοντή, 1998, p. 101; Χαμηλάκης, 2010, p. 203). The Classical antiquities of Athens fulfilled the Western imagery of the Classical world, while the modern part of Athens represented elements of an “Oriental imagery” to western travellers who compared Athens to other Middle Eastern cities; in this sense, Athens was approached as a unique “hybrid” (Travlou, 2002, pp. 111–112).

Greek cultural heritage remained the main focus of tourism in Greece from the time of the Grand Tour to the Second World War (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 154). The first attempts to organise the tourism sector started in the early 20th century by Eleftherios Venizelos, prime minister of Greece at the time. For example, one of the most important hotel companies (Lampsa) was founded in 1919 with the aim of laying the foundations of a proper hotel infrastructure in Greece (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 101). Unfortunately, Venizelos’ plans were stopped by the loss of Asia Minor and the great influx of Greek refugees who arrived in Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The National Tourist Bureau (EOT) was founded in 1929 with the aim of organising and supervising the emerging tourism industry of the country (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 107). At around the same time, the need to train tourism professionals was met with the foundation of the School of Tourism Professionals and the first School of Licensed Tourist Guides in 1939 (Βλάχος, 2016, pp. 120, 191). Interestingly, the Greek state distinguished the difference between a ‘traveller’ and a ‘tourist’ as early as the 1920s, before the first package tours started to be organised in the next decade (Βλάχος, 2016, pp. 96, 141). The difference between the two types of travellers has been the object of study in the field of tourism (see *Chapter 3: Souvenirs of tourism encounters*) and still continues to influence the way the tourism sector in Greece functions.

The period between the two World Wars was particularly characterised by the creation of the notion of “Greekness” by the so called “generation of the thirties” (see *The birth of the modern Greek nation-state and the synthesis of a “Hellenic” identity*). Attempting to embrace the regeneration of the notion of Greekness, the Greek state used it for the construction of the Greek tourist topos. The monumentalisation of Greece by Greek archaeology which had contributed to the formations of its heterotopia (see *The birth of the modern Greek nation-state and the synthesis of a “Hellenic” identity*) did not only provide an ideal perception of classical antiquity but also provided

a way to modernity for the modern-Greek state that started to use such images for tourism, fulfilling the demands of the imagination of the western traveller (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 42). The photos of Nelly¹⁰², who was commissioned by the National Tourist Bureau in 1935, enhanced the ancient ideal even more. Nelly's photos were afterwards used on the official tourist pamphlets and posters which circulated abroad, becoming the first visual symbols of the Greek tourism industry (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 345). More artists like Yannis Moralis, Spyros Vasileiou, Perikles Byzantios and others, were appointed by the Greek state in order to create the official posters and advertisements of Greek Tourism between 1930-1960. These artists were not only inspired by the classical antiquities; they also drew inspiration from mythology and folklore tradition (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 347). The uniqueness of the Greek land which was emphasised by the intellectual movement of the 'generation of the thirties' was now used for the formation of the Greek tourist myth that viewed the Greek landscape as a pagan mystic landscape (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 45). The Greek landscape was promoted as a land of gods, a mystical land of harmony and purity.

Following this philosophy, a constructed view of the Aegean landscape was formed at the same time. The nationalistic rhetoric that followed the Metaxas' dictatorship promoted the "aesthetic model of the whitewashed Cycladic house"¹⁰³ (Νικολακάκης, 2017, pp. 50–51) and set the foundations for the creation of a discourse that constructed the notion of "Aegean-ness"¹⁰⁴ for use in tourism (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 48). Le Corbusier's ideas on Cycladic architecture after his travel in Greece, combined the purity of the Aegean landscape with the principles of modernist architecture of his time while the Cycladic architecture viewed as reflecting the ancient Greek virtue of harmony (Stenou, 2019, pp. 1648–1653). Similar views over the whiteness of ancient Greek architecture and sculpture, which had dominated archaeology (see Πλάντζος, 2014), were paired with the whiteness of Cycladic architecture and contributed to the creation of the Greek tourist myth. The aesthetic principles that exemplified the white

¹⁰² Nelly was a world renowned photographer who undertook the project of photographing the revival of the Delphic festivals in 1927 and 1930. She also caused the reaction of archaeologists and journalists in Greece when she took nude photos of the famous ballet dancer Mona Paeva at the Acropolis in 1927 (Yalouri, 2001, p. 156).

¹⁰³ The Metaxas regime introduced a decree which obliged the inhabitants of the Cycladic islands to whitewash their houses for hygienic purposes (Stenou, 2019, p. 1647). Moreover, the blue and white colours of the houses reinforced the nationalistic rhetoric of the time

¹⁰⁴ Inspired from the term "Greekness", Vlachos created the notion of "Aegean-ness" to explain the construction of the stereotypical image of the Cycladic islands of the Aegean sea

colour as a symbol of purity and eternity provided the thread that linked past and present, antiquities and Cycladic landscape (Stenou, 2019, p. 1653). The construction of the notion of ‘Aegean-ness’ was successful to such a degree that its (the Aegean-ness’) stereotypical image surpassed and even replaced the ‘topos’ (Βλάχος, 2016, pp. 48–49)

The real explosion in Greek tourism occurred after the Second World War and more specifically after the end of the Greek civil war in 1949¹⁰⁵. The Marshall Plan included an aid to Greece, through the “European Recovery Programme”, with the aim of resurrecting the devastated Greek economy after the War and creating an industrial infrastructure. However, Paul Hoffman, who was in charge of the Marshall Plan in Europe, visited Greece in August of 1949 and prompted the Greek government to abandon the earlier pre-war plan of industrial development and adopt an economy growth plan based on tourism (Βλάχος, 2016, p. 411). The American call to invest in tourism was received by the Greek authorities and soon a proper tourism infrastructure evolved. The archaeological sites of the country had to be suitable to receive mass tourism (Loukaki, 2016, p. 265). In this respect, the process of monumentalising Greece continued with the restoration of antiquities that met such needs. A nice example was the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos¹⁰⁶ at the Ancient Agora of Athens by the American School of Classical studies. (Loukaki, 2016; Sakka, 2008; Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 270–271). The archaeological site of the Agora actually became a site where the Greek and American nationalisms or national and colonial archaeologies met, or better a “double colonialism” (see Hamilakis, 2013). The Agora excavations and restorations fulfilled the needs of the national imagination of Greece but was also a matter of national importance for the United States: apart from the scholarly interest for the American archaeologists, the Agora excavations aroused public interest and became a matter of national pride for the Americans¹⁰⁷ (Hamilakis, 2013, pp. 171–174; Πλάντζος, 2014, pp. 270–271). Another state intervention aiming also in fulfilling the national imagination was the landscaping of the western side of the Acropolis connecting

¹⁰⁵ For more on the consumer culture of tourism in Greece see the PhD research of Pavlos Moullos (Μούλιος, 2022)

¹⁰⁶ The Stoa was originally built in the 2nd century BCE by King Attalos the II, from Pergamon. The Stoa was fully restored to be used as the Agora museum in the 1950s by the American School of Classical Studies

¹⁰⁷ Following other foreign archaeological schools like the French, German and British which had excavated Delphi, Olympia and Knossos respectively since the end of the 19th century

Philopappos hill with the Propylaea by the famous architect Dimitris Pikionis. Inspired by the intellectual movement of the generation of the thirties and the notion of Greekness, Pikionis believed in the existence of harmonic unity, a common rhythm that run through light, air and the geometry of place; the principle of “homorhythmia” was a common rhythm that formed life, the topography of the earth, the earth, local flora and art. Following such principles Pikionis supported that nature should be allowed to envelop architecture (Loukaki, 2016, pp. 267–268). In 1954, Pikionis was commissioned by the Greek state to landscape the west side of the Acropolis. For Pikionis the philosophy that run the Acropolis works was that of a pilgrimage; he integrated ancient traces with new compositions being influenced by various Greek historical and geographical styles but also of foreign ones such as the Japanese (Loukaki, 2016, pp. 271–272). Closer to the archaeological sites, Pikionis’ footpaths adopted more austere geometrical forms but moving further away his work resembled more modern art (Loukaki, 2016, p. 272). Pikionis’ work on Saint Demetrius church and the surrounding area illustrates clearly his influence from the rehabilitation of Byzantium of the mid-war period. By mixing and integrating all the different elements, Pikionis managed to create an sense of eternity and timelessness to his landscaping (Loukaki, 2016, p. 275) which led into an experience that integrated the past into the present not as a continuity but as contemporaneity (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 279). The landscaping of the Acropolis achieved in embodying the “imagined Hellenicity”¹⁰⁸ as an aesthetic experience which also determines perceptions of Classical civilisation and guides the gaze of the Acropolis visitors (Πλάντζος, 2014, p. 280).

Apart from the preparation of the cultural heritage of the country for tourism, the official authorities organised publicity and marketing campaigns after World War II. The National Tourist Bureau designed posters, depicting the glorified antiquities and picturesque landscapes of, mostly, Greek islands and beaches drenched by the sunlight. Especially after the 1950s, Greece was promoted as the birthplace of the Western civilisation and images of Classical archaeological sites (like the Acropolis, Olympia and Delphi) and Byzantine sites (like Mystras and Meteora) were reproduced together with images of cosmopolitan destinations like Corfu, Rhodes, Mykonos, Hydra, Poros

¹⁰⁸ Plantzos uses the term “Hellenicity” to describe the notion of Greekness as introduced by the generation of the thirties.

and Andros (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 348). The marketing campaign for the promotion of tourism abroad continued in the 1960s, with the production of more posters inspired by the antiquities and picturesque islands, but declined suddenly with the establishment of the military dictatorship between 1967-1974 (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 349). A new marketing campaign was designed after 1974 by EOT (the Greek National Tourist Bureau) in collaboration with important photographers; images of quaint destinations together with archaeological monuments and artefacts were now the renewed focus of the official authorities (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 351). The 1980s were characterised by the explosion of mass tourism and the construction of big hotel resorts in Rhodes, Corfu, Crete, Argolis, the Saronic gulf, and Zakynthos. This explosion brought an influx of tourists of low income and researchers noted the decline of the quality of the Greek tourist product and the need for its upgrade (Βαφειάδης in Γαλάνη-Μουτάφη, 2002, p. 225). Official tourism posters continued to depict archaeological sites (including the recently discovered ones, like the royal tombs at Vergina), but focused more on the human element and promoted images of classical statues from Greek museums and of tourists depicted in Greek destinations having a good time (Μαριστέλλα, 2015).

During the 1990s the emergence of destinations with similar characteristics (sun, sea, antiquities) in other countries brought more competition and the need for enriching the Greek tourist product and creating new and alternative forms of tourism. The foundation of a Ministry of Tourism in 1989 (which functioned until 1996) assisted in this way, by producing a strategy plan for Greek tourism, while the airline connection of Greece with overseas destinations brought tourists from distant parts of the world. Very enlightening, for understanding the tendencies of Greek tourism at the time, are the results of a survey on tourists who visited Greece between 1993-1994 by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (see Ψωινός, 1994); the tourists who visited Greece during that period came mainly from Britain, Germany, Italy and France but also from the USA (Ψωινός, 1994, pp. 39–40). The majority of the tourists who participated in the survey valued highly the natural beauty, the climate and the archaeological sites of Greece as their primary motives for visiting the country (Ψωινός, 1994, p. 59). The results of the survey indicated that Greece is popular in the summer months among younger visitors who do not have the obligations of a family and tend to visit Greece mainly for recreation, while tourists of the winter months are usually of an older age and visit Greece for business (Ψωινός, 1994, pp. 302–303). The survey

also indicated the seasonal character of Greek tourism since the greatest numbers of tourists visits Greece during the summer season; however, it is interesting to note that Greek antiquities were valued highly by tourists in both seasons (Ψωινόζ, 1994, p. 307). The researcher (Ψωινόζ, 1994, pp. 312–313), however, recommended the improvement of hotel facilities and the tourist product in general while he pointed out the need for planning an educational policy in tourism in order provide the tourist industry with qualified professionals.

With the turn of the millennium and the organisation of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, the foundation of the Ministry of Tourism Development in 2004 proved necessary; EOT continued its collaboration with famous photographers and painters and prepared marketing campaigns: *Live your myth in Greece* in 2005, *Explore your senses* in 2007, *The True Experience* in 2008, *You in Greece* in 2010-2011 (Μπονάρου, 2012, p. 350). In the years after the Olympic Games, Athens managed to regain its popularity as a destination itself and not as a stopover for the Greek islands, as was the case during the 1980s and 1990s. The economic crisis of 2009 and the political unrest that followed had a negative impact on tourism, especially for Athens. For this reason, one of the aims of the Greek National Tourist Organisation for the years 2013-2015, according to its strategic plan for the promotion of Greek tourism (see Υπουργείο Τουρισμού, 2013) was the recovery of Greek tourism and the increase in visitors. The strategic plan concluded that the international economic crisis affected many European Union countries which were, traditionally, supplying Greece with tourists, like Germany and Britain. Given the fact that many potential tourists have started to make more use of the Internet for acquiring information about their desired destination, the Ministry of Tourism redirected its policies and aimed at a further differentiation of the Greek tourist product.

The thematic axes of Greek Tourism were defined by the Ministry of Tourism (Υπουργείο Τουρισμού, 2013, p. 2) as follows:

- Seaside
- Cultural
- Diving
- Health and wellness
- Luxury
- Nautical

- City breaks
- Business
- Touring

In an attempt to diversify tourist experiences in Greece, the Ministry of Culture promoted new forms of tourism like the religious, educational, nature and tourism for senior citizens. The marketing campaign *Greece. All Time Classic* and the creation of the tourist portal of Greece (www.visitgreece.gr, 2019) aimed at the differentiation of the Greek tourist product, while the influx of tourists increased considerably during the years following 2016. According to the annual official statistics of the Bank of Greece (see the report of the Bank of Greece, 2019), in 2008 the total number of incoming visitors was 15.938.8 and after a slight decline between the years 2009-2013, the number of visitors increased in 2013, reaching the number of 20.111.400 visitors. The number of visitors continued to increase in the following years until it reached the number of 22.072.200 tourists in 2018. In that year, the majority of incoming tourists came from Europe (21.397.500 visitors from EU countries and 9.961.100 from non-EU European countries) and 8.752.300 from other countries outside the European Union, notably Canada, USA and Australia (Bank of Greece, 2019). The number of travellers visiting Greece with cruise ships, also increased to 3.271.5 travellers in 2016.

Tourist guides' training in Greece

The tourist guide's role is important for the tourist experience since the guides are the mediators between the local culture and tourists in the "touristic borderzone", to use Bruner's (2005) term. Due to the limited free time that tourists have during organised tours, the guides are the only "local" people that tourists develop a more substantial contact with. Bruner (2005, p. 23) has observed that in case of countries that regulate the profession of their tourist guides, their training provided by governmental institutions tends to affect the nature of the guide's narrative, which in many cases reproduces the pre-tour narrative for the visitors (see *The tourist locus, its identity, and the hosts-guests interaction*). Of course, the guide's interpretation is not only influenced by his/her training. Other factors include educational interests and academic qualifications, previous experiences, personal interests, social status. Being a guide myself, I can definitely confirm that the narrative I provide during the guided tours is influenced not only by my training as a guide, but also by the rest of my academic

studies, my interests, my social status in Greek society and many other factors, which I do not have the space to analyse here.

The guide's training, though, which prepares him/her for a professional career in tourism plays an important role in the guide's interpretation or perspective of the host culture. Greece developed a training scheme for tourist guides with the development of tourism after the Second World War. In the beginning the courses were much shorter, but as tourism started to increase there was a need for a lengthier course that would prepare licensed guides to welcome the thousands of tourists that were flocking the country. Between 1968-1977 courses were organised in a regular basis and had annual duration. After the turbulent period of the Colonel's dictatorship (1967-1974), the Greek state updated the previous legislation and issued a new law (Law 710/1977) ¹⁰⁹ which regulated both the guide's profession and its training. Since then, the Guide's school have been under the jurisdiction of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism and, more recently, of the Ministry of Education. National Tourist Guide Schools have been founded around the country and upon the completion of the course tourist guides are accredited with a license to guide in archaeological sites and museums all over the country. Today, the course's duration is for two years, and the syllabus is designed by the Ministries of Tourism and Education. The course consists of 945 hours of teaching and 65 days of fieldtrips to cultural heritage sites, museums, monuments and places of historical significance ¹¹⁰. The guide's school programme emphasizes the cultural heritage of the country and especially the Classical past. For example, from the 945 hours of classes, 100 hours are dedicated to Prehistoric archaeology, 180 hours to Classical archaeology, 130 to Byzantine archaeology. The rest of the modules include the History of the ancient Classical world (50hours), the History of ancient Greek literature (20 hours), the History of ancient Greek theatre and sports (20 hours), Byzantine history (50 hours), History and art of the Latin and Ottoman periods (45 hours)¹¹¹. A new law introduced in 2012 (Law 4093/2012) gave the opportunity to graduates of Archaeology, History and Archaeology or History and Ethnology degrees to obtain the license to guide after attending a two-month seminar. Thus, we see that

¹⁰⁹ Law 710/1977, see <https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-tourismos/n-710-1977.html> (accessed on April 7th, 2021)

¹¹⁰ See the site of the ministry of education : <http://www.mintour.edu.gr/index.php/sxoles-xanagon> (accessed, February 25th, 2021)

¹¹¹ Source: Law 12360/2017 see <https://edu.klimaka.gr/dia-viou-mathhsh/katartisi/25-scholes-xenagwn-turistikhs-ekpaidevshs-otek> (accessed on February 25th, 2021)

the guide's training, which is regulated by the Greek state, emphasizes the archaeological heritage of the country with a special interest in the Classical heritage.

The souvenirs of Greece

With the development of tourism and the increasing number of visitors during the 20th century, the need to design and produce souvenirs was necessary, as souvenir shopping is considered to be one of the main activities of tourists when they travel abroad (see Cave et al., 2013; Graburn, 2000; Hitchcock, 2000). Private family-run businesses were opened next to the main archaeological sites of Greece, as in the case of Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus and the Acropolis. The rediscovery and reinvention of ancient methods and techniques, especially for the production of ceramic vases, statues and figurines which replicated the museum artefacts, served well the demand for mementoes of Greece when a larger number of tourists started to visit the country in the inter-war era and especially after the Second World War.

The Greek state realised the necessity of producing official replicas and of regulating the Greek souvenir market, and this was one of the reasons that led to the foundation of TAP (Fund of Archaeological proceeds) in 1977 (see Law 736 Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, 1977). According to the latest legislation TAP (Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, 2020) was renamed as HOCRED (Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development)¹¹². TAP comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and has the purpose of managing its funds which are mainly generated by the entrance fees to Greek archaeological sites and museums and state funds, as well as the funds from the official reproduction of artefacts available for purchase at the official museum shops that can be found in Greek archaeological sites and museums. The archaeologists of the State Archaeological Service are the ones that select the museum artefacts to be reproduced and send their proposals to TAP. Then TAP decides, produces, and distributes the replicas in the official museum shops. TAP mainly focuses on the reproduction of statues which are produced in its workshops (see

Figure 3). In addition TAP commissions private workshops to produce jewellery, coins from the Prehistoric, Classical and Hellenistic period and reproductions of Byzantine icons which are also available in the official museum

¹¹² Since the institution was renamed HOCRED recently (December 2020) the interviews of executives of this institution were taken in July 2020 when it was still under the name TAP. In order to avoid confusion for the reader, I will use the name TAP for the purposes of this thesis

shops.¹¹³

Figure 3: replica produced by TAP of an original statue of Hygeia, 360 BC from the National Archaeological Museum



Source: TAP

Apart from the official museum shops there are several private workshops which produce their own copies (but not exact replicas¹¹⁴) of museum artefacts (pottery, statues and jewellery) under the license of TAP, according to the latest legislation (Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, 2020). The museum copies available in private workshops and souvenir shops are usually certified by their producers, confirming their status as copies, and differentiating them from other mass-produced souvenirs (see **Figure 4**).

¹¹³ See <http://www.tap.gr/tapadb/index.php/en/> (visited on July 9th, 2019)

¹¹⁴ TAP (today HOCRED) is the state institution which has the right to produce official exact reproductions of museum objects. These replicas need to have the same size and colour like the original museum artefacts. Only the material of the reproductions can differentiate since some of the material can be expensive or heavy. For this reason, reproductions of marble statues, for example, are usually made of plaster. Under the license of TAP, independent manufacturers, artists and workshops can produce their own museum copies which do not have the exact dimensions as the original museum objects but can have the same colours and materials. In many cases, museum copies can combine elements inspired from different museum artefacts. The official museum replicas produced by TAP are accompanied by a certificate issued by the institution. Museum copies produced by private manufactures are not accompanied by the TAP certificate but are certified by their manufacturers for being museum copies, for being handmade and handpainted, etc. In addition, TAP commissions independent producers and artists who create official museum replicas under their license.

Figure 4: Museum copies of pottery vases from ceramic workshop at Mycenae



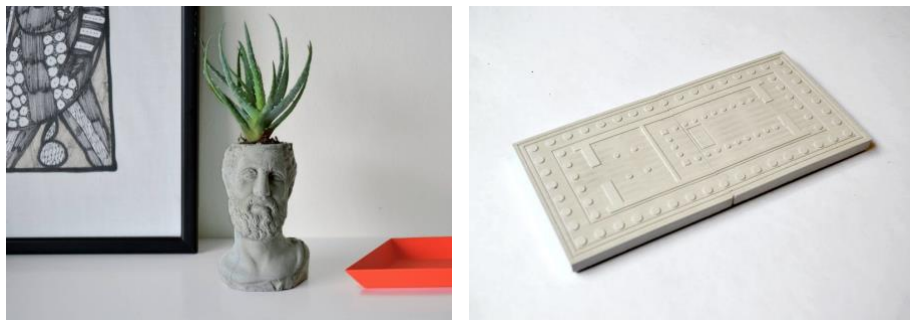
Source: Personal archive

The differentiation between mass produced souvenirs and authentic replicas has been a practice among travellers in the past. Mass produced souvenirs were often regarded as tasteless by the elite who, in this sense, adopted the “hegemonic ideology of the moral authority of classical antiquity (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 41–42). As already noted (see *Travelling through the ages*), the practice of acquiring ancient artefacts by the upper classes has its roots in the era of the Grand Tour; when this was not possible, authentic replicas could also serve the same purpose as the first tourists started to visit Greece in the end of the 19th and early 20th century. Despite the interest of the poorer social classes for mainstream mass produced souvenirs, soon enough they also adopted the tastes of the upper classes and connected with them through practices such as museum visiting and the purchase of “authentic” replicas of classical art (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 44).

Apart from the official reproductions by TAP or museum copies produced by local workshops, the last five years, nearly 80 Greek designers created an initiative

aiming at “redefining the design and meaning of the traditional Greek souvenir”¹¹⁵ and organized the exhibition “It’s all, oh so souvenir to me”¹¹⁶. This collective of designers created items that “combine usability and innovation, conceptual design and quality while at the same time reflecting the designers’ personal thoughts and feelings of what Greece is and what it means for them”¹¹⁷. Since the launch of this initiative many designers started to create their own idea of the Greek souvenir, which can be inspired by the cultural heritage, folklore tradition, the Greek islands and Greek summer or Modern Greek culture. The ancient cultural heritage, though, seems to be one of the main sources of inspiration for many designers (see **Figure 5**)

Figure 5: 'Parthenon coaster' and 'Hacked: a little useful statue' by designer 'A future Perfect'



Source: <https://ohsosouvenir.com>

In 2015, TAP in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture made an open call to artists, graphic designers, architects and other design professionals to produce the new generation of souvenirs/mementoes that would be on sale exclusively in the official museum shops supervised by TAP (see TAIL, 2015). The competition gave a list of specific artefacts and monuments for the artists to design. The artefacts and the monuments were divided in three categories; the candidates had to choose one artefact

¹¹⁵ The extract taken from the online brochure accessible in the collective’s website <https://ohsosouvenir.com>, accessed on September 14th, 2020

¹¹⁶ The initiative started back in 2015 by various artists (fashion designers, product designers, architects, stylists, branding creators) aiming at redefining the traditional Greek souvenir. They designed objects that combined innovation, usability, conceptual design and quality with a focus on Greece and what Greece is for the designers. The initiative was so successful that the designers presented their souvenirs in a few exhibitions at Benaki Museum while more and more artists contributed to the initiative throughout the years. The designer interviewed for the purposes of the present research was not part of the initiative, but her art gift gallery participated in their network of shops and galleries.

¹¹⁷ The extract taken from the online brochure accessible in their website <https://ohsosouvenir.com>, accessed on September 14th, 2020

from each category and produce three designs in total. The categories were the following:

Category A

- The Parthenon
- The White Tower or Galerius' Arch from Thessaloniki
- The Palace of the Grand Magister in Rhodes or Mystras
- The Palace of Knossos or the theatre of Epidaurus,
- The Charioteer of Delphi or the Bronze statue of Athena (archaeological museum of Piraeus), the Antikythera Bronze young man or the Bronze statue of Poseidon of the (National Archaeological Museum)
- The Kouros of Sounio (National Archaeological Museum) or Hermes of Praxiteles (Olympia) or Antinoos (Delphi)
- Rhyton or the Goddess of the Snakes (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion)

Category B

- The Antikythera mechanism (National Archaeological Museum) or the Disc of Phaistos (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion)
- The Spring fresco from Akrotiri (Thera) or the Parisian Lady or the Prince with the lilies (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion)
- Mosaic of Dionysos on a panther (Delos) or the hunting of deer (Pella)
- The Derveni krater (Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki) or the golden urn of Philip II or the golden diadem of Philip II (Museum of Macedonian tombs at Vergina)
- The golden ring of Minos (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion) or the golden jewel with the bees (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion) or the golden mask of Agamemnon (National Archaeological Museum) or the golden pendant of the Neolithic Age (National Archaeological Museum)
- Bronze cross of St George or animal shaped letter (Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens)
- Ceramic cup with bird or the led-seal of the emperor Konstantinos Porfyrogennitos (Museum of the Byzantine civilisation of Thessaloniki)

- The Dipylon amphora (National Archaeological Museum) or pottery sherds (Agora museum) or the Delphi Kylix with Apollo (Delphi) or White Lekythos (National Archaeological Museum)

Category C

- Architectural details of ancient monuments
- Nautical themes of ancient vessels
- Ancient patterns (eg. maeander)
- Geometrical or floral patterns (from the Classical and Byzantine period)
- Ancient epigraphic stele
- Coins
- Owl or dolphin or sphinx
- Figures of ancient heroes or gods
- Angel or eros or Pegasus or winged Victory

TAP also specified that two designs should draw inspiration from the archaeological monuments and artefacts, and one design should only be from the Byzantine/Medieval period (see **Figure 6**). From TAP's list and its guidelines to the candidates we observe that:

- The Ministry's guidelines required souvenirs that reproduce the more iconic archaeological monuments and museum artefacts;
- the museum artefacts chosen are the ones that are highlighted in the museum exhibitions;
- most of the artefacts and archaeological monuments are from the Prehistoric and the Classical period with the exception of a few from the Byzantine period;
- the artefacts and archaeological monuments chosen are emblematic and representative of what is considered to be Greek;
- there is no option for monuments or artefacts which are considered to be 'non-Greek', or not representative of the Greek national identity. The only exception is the Place of the Grand Magister in Rhodes and the White Tower in Thessaloniki, both of which have become emblematic monuments of these destinations.

Figure 6: Official museum shop of the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens



Source: Athens Voice, Issue 751, July 29th 2020¹¹⁸

Conclusions

In this chapter we reviewed the circumstances under which the modern Greek national identity was formed, and the modern Greek state was born. The Western world had started to show some interest for Greek antiquities since the time of the Grand Tour in Europe. The Classical civilisation was idealised, and this ideal form of Hellenism was adopted by the native Greek population which was shaping its national identity at the time. Thus, Greece entered modernity by creating an “idionsyncratic connection with the past” (Plantzos, 2008, p. 22). Classical antiquities and archaeology played an important role in providing the tangible evidence that materialised the national memory and imagination and objectified the nation.

In the same vein, Greece created its tourist product based on its cultural heritage and especially on Classical antiquity. The cultural heritage of Greece was the main source from which the Ministry of Culture and the National Tourist Bureau drew inspiration for designing tourism marketing campaigns and promoting tourism abroad. TAP produced replicas and souvenirs drawing also from the same source. Greek Classical heritage became the symbolic capital of the new-born state (Hamilakis &

¹¹⁸ Available at https://www.athensvoice.gr/life/urban-culture/athens/667266_episkepsi-se-7-politiria-moyseion-tis-athinas (accessed on April 11th, 2021)

Yalouri, 1996); the reproductions of ancient artefacts and monuments and souvenirs which were distributed in the tourist market, act as ambassadors of what the natives promote as their cultural/national identity (see *Chapter 7: Data Analysis and discussion*). The ‘reinvented past’ found a new way of expression through the material culture of tourism. Graburn (1984, pp. 394–395) argues that tourist art can exhibit a certain “intercultural transmissibility” even without the tourist-host interaction. For example, a souvenir given as a gift does not relate the receiver of the gift with the host country due to the lack of a tourist experience there. But the souvenir can still reproduce stereotypes, notions, and beliefs about the cultural identity of the country that produced such a souvenir.

For the locals, tourism is a field where identities are negotiated, reconfirmed and reproduced as in the case of Crete and its Minoan past; tourism in this case reconfirms in a way the Minoan past (Χαμηλάκης, 2010, pp. 217–218). In the case of Knossos, though, what the tourists visit is the reconstructed palace that Evans imagined; therefore, the semiotic link between what is ‘real Minoan’ and what is ‘pseudo-Minoan’ influences the archaeological work, the local society and the tourist experience on the island (Σολομών, 2010, p. 238). In light of this, tourism in general promotes a reconstructed and idealised image of the past which shapes the tourist experience and influences the ideas that tourists get of the destination visited. Consequently, souvenirs have the potential of materialising this experience and the reconstructed/reinvented past.

Chapter 6: Research methodology

Introduction-overview of the methodology design

The research followed a qualitative methodological approach with flexible design. This provides the researcher with the freedom of deciding on or even changing the methodology during the conduct of the research, rather than designing the methodology before its conduct, something which is more characteristic of a fixed design research (Robson & McCartan, 2016, pp. 145–147). Despite the critique that the flexible design method has received for its (perceived lack of) reliability and validity by researchers who follow fixed design approaches, others have argued that such a critique is not accurate, and that it rests on reductionist accounts of both (see Robson & McCartan, 2016, pp. 168–169). Anastas (1998, p. 56) posits that qualitative or flexible methods are no more or less legitimate than a fixed design approach, since all methods include the researcher, the researched, and their relationship, and give an approximate knowledge of the phenomena studied. De Vaus (2002, pp. 5–6) finds the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods as “unhelpful and misleading” and suggests that researchers should distinguish between the two stages of the research process, that is the stage of collecting and analysing data.

A flexible design model allowed us to develop an evolving design, deciding over the best methodology during the process, a common practice in ethnography and grounded theory approaches (see Chapter 7 in Robson & McCartan, 2016). In the initial stages of our research it was decided to conduct participant observation, a common method in the field of anthropology for studying and interpreting a culture; Participant observation seemed the best method for the initial stage of our research since it can provide valuable insights, especially in a new field, and guide the further stages of the research (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 160). In our case, participant observation was chosen since I am a licensed guide in Greece I could, therefore, utilise this access to follow groups and observe their souvenir shopping behaviour. Participant observation helped me produce a conceptual framework of souvenir purchase attitudes and clarify any linkages between the museum visits and souvenir shopping.

The data produced from the observation were coded and analysed. The analysis provided me with a deeper insight of the phenomena studied and a better planning of the next stages of our research.

Therefore, after the initial results of the participant observation were studied, I decided to follow a mixed method approach and adopt a triangulation research design which combines qualitative and quantitative methods for strengthening our hypotheses. A mixed method approach has the advantage of confirming and corroborating the results of the different methods and providing richer details (see the discussion in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 41). Miles & Huberman argue for the advantages of such an approach:

“Looked at in another way, qualitative data can help the quantitative side of a study during the *design* by aiding with conceptual development and instrumentation. They can help during *data collection* by making access and data collection easier. During *analysis* they can help by validating, interpreting, clarifying, and illustrating quantitative findings, as well as through strengthening and revising theory”(Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 41 italics in the original)

In our case, though, the triangulation method was not aimed at simply validating or expanding the results of one method over the other; instead, they functioned quite complementary to each other, in the sense that each method produced results which illuminated different areas of our research and could give a wider perspective of the phenomena studied (see the relevant discussion in Mason, 1994). In other words, we do not consider the combination of research methods in conventional terms that regard the quantitative method as a means to establish cause and the qualitative as a means to provide a deeper insight into the meanings; we rather adopt a convergence approach of the two methods (Bryman, 1988; Byrne, 2002, pp. 145–146; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007; Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 438).

Following a convergence model (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007, pp. 64–65), requires the application of both qualitative and quantitative methods which are considered to be of equal weight. Data from both qualitative and quantitative methods were collected and analysed separately while the results were merged during the interpretation stage at the end of our research. However, due to the lack of established quantitative instruments for the phenomena studied¹¹⁹, the need to conduct a survey with in-depth interviews during the initial research stage was deemed necessary.

¹¹⁹ Diverging from the available research instruments on souvenir purchase behaviour and attitudes (Kim & Littrell, 1999; Littrell et al., 1994; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Wilkins, 2010), our research attempted to move beyond strict consumer behaviour designs in order provide more qualitative data regarding the causal links between museums artefacts and souvenirs.

Qualitative data from the in-depth interviews were collected and analysed, and the findings aided us in exploring the phenomenon more deeply and identifying the variables which were used for designing a survey questionnaire for the next stages of our research. The interviews were transcribed, coded, and analysed, a categorical scheme for our questionnaires was formulated. Questions were drafted according to this scheme and the possible answers were drawn from the data provided by the interviews. A questionnaire was designed and distributed to 561 participants between August-October 2016 and March-October 2017. We also continued to conduct in-depth interviews during 2016-2018.

Questionnaires were statistically analysed using the SPSS Programme and the data produced by the questionnaires corroborated the analysis of the data resulting from the qualitative interviews. The survey with questionnaires provided a larger sample and also illuminated different aspects of our research which were not covered by the in-depth interviews, like the degree of influence of sociodemographic characteristics on souvenir purchase behaviour. On the other hand, the analysis of the in-depth interviews allowed a deeper insight into the phenomena studied, and especially the influence of the museum experience on the souvenir purchase behaviour, and the processes that generate the meanings encode into the souvenirs purchased by the tourists during their tour. Data from both methods were analysed separately but were compared, contrasted and merged during the interpretation stage.

The participants' profile and the nature of the organised tours

Participants in the present research (the participant observation, the interviews and survey with questionnaires) travelled in cultural tours organised by travel agencies.¹²⁰ Organised cultural tours in Greece usually include visits to archaeological sites and museums. For example, the “Classical circuit” tour of Greece usually lasts 4-5-days; it starts in Athens (Acropolis, National Archaeological Museum and Acropolis Museum), continues to Argolis (Mycenae, Epidaurus and Nauplio), then to Olympia, Delphi and ends in the monasteries at Meteora. Apart from visits to archaeological sites,

¹²⁰ Organised tours can be of any sort: cultural, gastronomical, religious, leisure etc. The participants of the present research travelled in organised tours with a special interest in the cultural heritage of the country. A unique feature of Greek tourism though, is that all types of tourism usually include at least a visit at an iconic Classical site, such as the Acropolis. For a example a gastronomical tour of Greece focuses on the gastronomy but usually includes a visit at an archaeological site and/or museum

museums and places of historical interest, itineraries of cultural tours in Greece usually include stops in souvenir shops, ceramic workshops and wineries. These are organised by foreign or Greek travel operators and agencies. Apart from multi-day tours, the agencies organise half day or one day tours; these can be part of a bigger itinerary that includes, for example, one day in Athens and a 3-day cruise in the Greek islands. In some cases, people travel independently, and they usually purchase an organised tour from a local agency to visit the Acropolis or Delphi, before they go to the islands independently. Half day tours in Athens usually last four hours and usually include a visit to the Acropolis, the Acropolis Museum and a short stop at a souvenir shop. Full day tours in Athens usually include the Acropolis, another archaeological site (the Agora or the Temple of Zeus), an archaeological museum (Acropolis Museum or National Archaeological museum) and a walking tour in Plaka with free time for shopping¹²¹. Tours in Delphi and Mycenae are day trips from Athens and both include visits to the archaeological sites of Delphi or Mycenae and their museums. After these visits, some itineraries include a stop at a ceramic workshop in Mycenae and a textile workshop near Delphi.

Some travel agencies organise tours with an educational content. Their itineraries include the most popular sites (eg. Acropolis, Delphi, Olympia etc), but also other more “off the beaten track” sites such as ancient Messene or Monemvasia for example. People who travel in these groups are not referred to as customers but as ‘participants’ and their tours are called ‘fieldtrips’ instead. This indicates the special educational element and the cultural focus of this type of travelling. There is usually a special interest on Classical heritage sites; participants spend more time in the archaeological sites, their guides give lectures and there are no workshop or souvenir shop stops. However, their travellers do some souvenir shopping in their free time. Another type of organised tour is the so called “Steps of St Paul”, popular among Christian groups that follow the places that St Paul visited during his travels. This type of itineraries usually include Athens, Corinth, Veria, Thessaloniki, Philippoi and include visits to Byzantine churches. Sometimes if the tours have an extra day they

¹²¹ Tours can differ from agency depending on whether it is an agency that organises group tours or one that organises private tours. In many cases, especially in private tours, the itinerary is customised according to the interests of the customer. However, the majority of the tours in Athens include the visit at the Acropolis, another archaeological site and /or an archaeological museum a tour around the city centre and/or a walking tour in Plaka and Monastiraki

include visits to Meteora, the Royal tombs and Vergina and the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki.

During the last decade, though, many new and alternative itineraries were created by new travel agencies that emerged as a result of the recent economic crisis. During the 10 past years, Greece experienced one of the worst economic crisis in its history and one of its consequences was the rise of unemployment. Many young and highly qualified people from different professional backgrounds decided to follow a career in tourism which was one of the very few sectors that continued to thrive despite the economic crisis. Many small independent agencies were founded and created alternative itineraries (eg. culinary tours, graffiti tours, neighbourhood walks) moving away from the usual itineraries that focus on Classical heritage (*see Chapter 5: The Greek cultural heritage and tourist industries*). These alternative tours became really popular among individual travellers who travel independently.

For the purposes of the research, I tried to include a sample of participants who participated in tours of a different nature. I included interviews and distributed questionnaires to research participants who travelled in organised private tours, in the Classical circuit tours, in the educational organised tours and one group with the “Steps of St Paul” itinerary (see above). A few of the interviewees were individual travellers traveling in private organised tours. However, I did not include data from participants who travel independently in Greece and for this reason the data of the present research need to be interpreted with caution. The same applies for the sample population of my research. The research participants were Western travellers (from Europe, North and South America) of higher age groups with a university educational background and an average (or higher) income. Therefore, the results of the present research cannot be generalised to the wider population (*see Limitations*)

Regarding the experience at the workshops, it is worth noting that both the ceramic and the textile workshops offer a wide range of souvenirs apart from ceramics and textiles. The ceramic workshops at Mycenae offer museum copies of ceramic vases but also jewellery, statues, and other souvenirs which are considered more commercial and mass-produced such as fridge-magnets. The visit in the ceramic workshops often starts with a demonstration explaining the production of a replica of an ancient vase. The groups are taken to a specific “backstage area” (*see MacCannell, 2013*) of the workshop in order to watch the pottery-maker working on a piece of clay and producing

a vase, who also explains the next stages of pottery-making (baking , painting, varnishing).

Figure 7: Backstage area of workshop at Mycenae with the potter's wheel and kiln



Source: Personal archive

The textile workshop near Delphi also includes a weaving demonstration on a loom, with the weaver explaining the process of production of cotton and woollen textiles and their decoration with designs inspired by the folklore tradition of Greece; apart from the textiles, though, the workshop offers T-shirts, guidebooks, leather jackets and furs and other cheaper souvenirs such as fridge-magnets. At this point it is worth to mention that the research participants shopped either during the stops at workshops, which were part of the itineraries, or during their free time at the places where we stayed overnight and some in the official museum shops. In order to have a better idea of the production processes of the souvenirs, I also conducted a few interviews with professionals of the souvenir industry. However, my research aimed at investigating the souvenirs of Greece from the tourists' perspective; a research on the production processes from the retailers' perspective is beyond the scope of the present thesis and this would be an area of possible future research (see *Future research*).

Figure 8: T-shirts associated with the cultural heritage of Greece



Source: Personal archive

A) Participant Observation

Participant observation was conducted during the preliminary stages of my research in order to establish the conceptual framework of the phenomena studied, clarify research questions and formulate a categorical scheme for the next stages of research. This seemed to be the most suitable method at the initial stage for studying the souvenir purchase behaviour of the tourists of Greece, and the influence of their museum visit prior to their experience at the souvenir shop.

Participant observation has been a common practice among ethnographers in the field of social anthropology for decades (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; J. Mason, 2010, p. 134), and has gained more ground more recently over quantitative methods (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995, p. 1). The ethnographer usually participates in a culture as a member or just an observant over an extended period of time (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995, p. 1)

Of course, a degree of reflexivity on such a method should be taken into consideration: the critics of naturalist approach, argue in favour of a more positivist approach since they identify reflexivity as a ‘weakness’ (see the relevant discussion in Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995, pp. 16–19). On the other hand, the advocates of the naturalist approach support that it is important to study the phenomena in their natural

setting while they also recognise that such phenomena are not insulated from the society and that the researcher is influenced by his/her personal characteristics and experiences. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 17) recognise reflexivity as part of the process since the social world reflects on the results of the observation conducted; however, the authors do not believe that such reflexivity undermines the whole process and the validity of the data.

I also needed to decide about the sampling of our cases; Hammersly and Atkinson (1995, pp. 48–51) believes that further sampling within the cases is useful for the development of a research, while the dimensions of time, people and context should be taken into account before the researcher starts his/her observation. In order to better comprehend the souvenir purchase behaviour of the participants, souvenir shops, ceramic and textile workshops were chosen as the setting for the observation. During 2014, I studied 50 groups visiting the Acropolis, Delphi, Mycenae, Olympia and the Acropolis Museum. Regarding the appropriate period for the observation, I decided to observe the groups over an extended period of time, between February and October¹²², in order to have a more representative sample. The tours in Athens lasted four hours and included a visit at the Acropolis, the Acropolis Museum and a short stop at a souvenir shop. Tours in Delphi and Mycenae were day trips from Athens, and both included visits at the archaeological sites of Delphi or Mycenae and their museums. After these visits, there was provision for a stop at a ceramic workshop in Mycenae and a textile workshop in Delphi. The rest of the groups travelled on the so-called Classical circuit of Greece which includes Mycenae, Epidaurus, Olympia, Delphi and Meteora; during those 4-day tours, stops at ceramic workshops in Mycenae and souvenir shops at Olympia and Delphi were included.

It is worth noting that both the ceramic and the textile workshops offer a wide range of souvenirs apart from ceramics and textiles. The ceramic workshops of Mycenae offer museum copies of ceramic vases but also jewellery, statues, and other souvenirs which are considered more commercial and mass-produced such as fridge-magnets. The visit in the ceramic workshops often starts with a demonstration explaining the production of a replica of an ancient vase. The groups are taken to a

¹²² Usually, student groups visit Greece during the spring term, groups of retired and older people visit in April, May, September and October while families and young people visit Greece in the summer months (June, July and August).

specific ‘backstage area’ (see MacCannell, 2013) of the workshop in order to watch the pottery-maker working on a piece of clay and producing a vase, who also explains the next stages of pottery-making (baking , painting, varnishing). The textile workshop at Delphi also includes a weaving demonstration on a loom, with the weaver explaining the process of production of cotton and woollen textiles and their decoration with designs inspired by the folklore tradition of Greece; apart from the textiles, though, the workshop offers T-shirts, guidebooks, leather jackets and furs and other cheaper souvenirs such as fridge-magnets.

The participants were observed during their time at the souvenir shop; such stops are usually short and do not exceed 30 minutes. Therefore, it seemed necessary to also sample the people that would be observed from each group. People were selected according to their demographic characteristics (age, gender) aiming at achieving a more representative sample of the wider population. A total of 110 people were observed during their free time at the workshops and souvenir shops. Since I was the guide of these groups, a certain degree of rapport was already established between me and the participants. Consequently, participants were willing to engage in informal unstructured interviews with the researcher and to share their impressions of the museum visits and the souvenir shop stops, and to expand on their choices of souvenirs. The advantage of such unstructured interviews has been noted by scholars: they can help to comprehend the behaviour of people without having formed an a priori categorization (Fontana & Frey, 1994, pp. 365–366). At the end of each observation day, analytical notes and memoranda were kept; these assisted the analysis of the data (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001).

Conclusions drawn from the participant observation phase

The analysis of our participant observation data and the informal interviews established a framework of the participants’ souvenir purchase motivations. The analysis indicated that both the architectural spatial structure, internal decoration and the personnel of the souvenir shop shapes-to a great degree- the purchase behaviour of the participants. For example, the ceramic workshops of Mycenae are arranged in a

way that makes the shopping experience pleasant ¹²³and motivates the participants to purchase souvenirs, even if they did not intend to.

It was also shown that the museum experience and the guide's discourse influenced to a great extent the souvenir behaviour. More specifically:

- The participants who visited Mycenae and its museum usually showed an interest in jewellery decorated with spirals and silver replicas of ancient coins, both inspired from museum artefacts of the archaeological museum at Mycenae.
- In some of the cases, the researcher was wearing a piece of jewellery (whether a necklace in the form of replica of the ancient drachma of Athens or a bracelet inspired by the Cycladic civilisation); it was observed that some participants asked to be shown similar items at the ceramic workshop
- The participants who visited Delphi were motivated to purchase T-shirts with famous phrases in ancient Greek which, according to the ancient literature, were written at the vestibule of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. During the guided visit of Delphi, I referred to those phrases. After the guided visit, participants were given free time on their own during which they could also be informed about the famous ancient Greek phrases by the labels of the archaeological site and the museum. During the visit at the textile workshops which offer T-shirts with these famous phrases, it was observed that the majority of the participants purchased these T-shirts despite the wide variety of textiles with folklore designs.
- The participants at Olympia, looked for souvenirs related to their guided visit at the site and the museum. The majority were interested in purchasing either souvenirs or jewellery related to the ancient Olympic Games, like the olive wreath.
- In Athens, participants were particularly interested in the owl, as the symbol of ancient Athens and of goddess Athena. It is noteworthy that visitors to the Acropolis Museum are welcomed by the statue of an ancient owl at the entrance of the museum while many souvenir shops in Athens offer a wide variety of souvenirs with Athena's owl. Participants, in the informal interviews, affirmed

¹²³ The exhibition area of the workshop is spacious and divided in thematic sectors. The available items are presented in displays which resemble similar displays in museums. Adjoined to the exhibition area, there is usually a café where customers can order a coffee while they shop. There is always music playing at the background making the shopping experience pleasant

that these were the main reasons for acquiring an artefact related to the owl of goddess Athena.

Regarding the tourist experience in Greece and its role in the purchase behaviour of the participants it was observed that:

- The majority were interested in acquiring items used by the locals of the host country. For example, some participants were interested in acquiring worry-beads or the evil-eye, because they saw their coach driver or a waiter at a restaurant carrying such an item, as they affirmed during the informal interviews.
- The majority of the tours in Greece centre around visits to cultural heritage sites and archaeological museums of the Classical period, a fact that plays a significant role in determining the purchase behaviour of the participants. More specifically, participants were mainly interested in souvenirs related to Classical antiquity. The informal interviews indicated that most of the visitors arrive with pre-conceived ideas about the Greek culture, which are associated with the Classical past; such pre-conceived ideas were reinforced during their tourist experience, something that influenced their purchase behaviour.
- The demonstrations at the ceramic and textile workshops influences purchase behaviour. Many of the participants actually acquired replicas of ceramic vases after the demonstration by the workshop's personnel. Some participants at the textile workshop in Delphi acquired carpets with folklore designs, although they were not familiar with such designs before their visit in Greece.
- The rapport that the informants had with the souvenir shop's personnel was found to be a determining factor for their souvenir purchases.

To summarise, participant observation carried out at the initial stage of our research indicated that there is a relation between the tourist experience (which includes the museum experience) and the purchase behaviour of the visitors. Participants were particularly interested in acquiring artefacts that were either related to their visit at the museums or their tourist experience as a whole. The souvenir shop experience (demonstration and interaction with salespersons) and its spatial arrangement also had an influence on souvenir purchase behaviour. Despite the fact that such demonstrations are “staged” (see MacCannell, 2013 and pp.79 above), the observation indicated that they play an important part in determining the purchase behaviour of the participants. The analysis of our participants’

observation, therefore, assisted in planning the further steps of our research and deciding in which areas should more attention be drawn.

B) In-depth interviews

According to the results of the participant observation, the areas where attention should be focused could be better explored with in-depth interviews. Based on the conclusions of the participant observation, I designed a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions in order to let the interviewees freely express their views about their tourist experience and souvenir purchases.

The interviews aimed at exploring the following issues:

- Pre-conceived ideas of the destination before their visit,
- whether these ideas were modified as a result of their experience in the host country,
- the choice of souvenirs purchased,
- tourism and museum experience,
- purchase motivations,
- the factors influencing souvenir purchase,
- meanings attached to souvenirs,
- the intended use of the souvenirs after their purchase and/or a discussion on the use of souvenirs purchased during previous tours.

I decided to conduct a conduct interviews between July-October 2015, before deciding over the course of the rest of the research. During this period, 44 in-depth interviews were conducted to Western¹²⁴ visitors to Greece; in some cases couples were interviewed together since they shared the same home environment and they could explain more easily how they use (or intend to use) the souvenirs in their common home space; thus, 53 people were interviewed in total. The interviewees came from USA, Australia, Spain and Argentina, the majority being of a higher educational level (45 with university degrees and 7 were graduates of secondary education). 17 were men and 35 women. Regarding their age groups, 1 interviewee was between 10-18 years old, 6 were between 19-30, 17 between 31-45, 19 between 46-60 and 10 were over 60 years old. All interviewees were guided by me; the majority travelled as members of a group while 14 visited Greece as individuals through travel agencies that specialise in

¹²⁴ Mainly from Europe, North and South America, from English- and Spanish- speaking countries

private tours and usually have a clientele of a higher economic status. In both cases, though, the informants followed specific itineraries which had already been designed by the travel agencies.

The analysis of the data of the interviews of 2015, indicated the following:

- A large number of the souvenirs purchased was intended as gifts for friends and family.
- The reasons for acquiring souvenirs were: authenticity, usability, aesthetic value, price, size and representativeness of the host culture.
- The factors that influenced purchase choices were the museum visits, the information provided by the guide, the experience at the souvenir shop and interaction with natives of the host country.
- The interviewees reported that they collect souvenirs either for their private personal collections and/or for displaying them at a visible place in their home environment (bookshelf, wall etc).
- The majority of the interviewees commented on the various meanings that they ascribed to the souvenirs purchased while many of them underlined their function as memory triggers of their experience at the destination.
- Most interviewees commented on preconceptions about the host culture that mostly associate Modern Greece with Classical antiquities and Classical artefacts and with scenic images of the Greek islands.
- Most interviewees didn't change these preconceptions even after their stay in Greece. However, after their experience in Greece, they 'discovered' some items that they were unfamiliar to them before their visit, such as worry-beads or souvenirs related to the Byzantine heritage.

The interviewees reported¹²⁵ that they purchased or acquired the following items which were intended to be used as souvenirs:

- Ceramic vases
- Jewellery
- Statues
- Religious artefacts/crosses

¹²⁵ This list includes the souvenirs that our interviewees reported that they acquired or intended to acquire. There are other type of souvenirs that are available on the Greek souvenir shops and workshops such as textiles and rugs, key rings, coffee mugs etc which were not included in the list since they were not mentioned during the interviews.

- Rocks and pebbles
- Fridge-magnets
- T-shirts
- Worry-beads
- Postcards and guidebooks of archaeological sites and museums
- Edible and natural products
- Tickets of archaeological sites and museums and public transport tickets

The above findings indicated some tendencies regarding souvenir purchase behavior in Greece. Since the interviews were conducted during the second half of the tourist season¹²⁶, I decided to continue conducting interviews in order to obtain a sample of visitors that visit Greece throughout the year. Therefore, another 24 in-depth interviews with visitors were conducted between 2016-2018. More specifically, 27 visitors were interviewed between 2016-2018: 20 of those were female and 7 male; regarding their age group, 2 were between 10-18 of age, 6 were between 19-30, 2 were from the 31-45 age group, 3 were between 46-60 and 14 were over 60 years old. The interviewees came mostly from USA and Puerto-Rico and one from China. 22 interviewees travelled as members of groups while 5 visited Greece on a private tour or independently. All the participants were guided by the researcher during their guided visits to museums and archaeological sites of Greece. The interviews were conducted in the coach, hotels and cruise ships.

In-depth interviews with professionals of the souvenir industry

In addition to the interviews conducted with visitors to Greece, it was decided to conduct interviews with professionals of the souvenir industry in order to better understand the production processes of souvenirs in Greece. A research on souvenir design and production is beyond the scope of my research which focuses more on the tourists' perspective. However, it was decided that a limited number of interviews with professionals of the souvenir industry could indicate the attitudes from the producers' perspective in order to better comprehend the parameters that influence the tourist experience of Greece. Thus, six in-depth interviews were conducted during 2019 and

¹²⁶ The high tourist season usually starts in early spring and lasts until late autumn (March-November). The low season is considered to be between November-February

2020 with: five professionals and owners of retail souvenir stores and workshops, an employee from an official museum shop and two executive officers of TAP (see previous section about TAP on p. 202) More specifically, two owners of ceramic workshops in Mycenae were interviewed in February 2019. Their workshops are family run and have a long tradition of pottery making since the rise of tourism in Greece back in the 1950s and 1960s. Their workshops also have an exhibition area where customers can find not only museum copies of pottery but also jewelry, statues as well as a wide variety of other type of souvenirs. Part of the experience they offer to their customers is usually a demonstration of pottery making which provides information to their customers about the techniques and methods applied. A salesperson working at the official museum shop of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens was interviewed in June 2019. In July 2020, two co-owners of a ceramic workshop in Athens were interviewed together. Both were graduates of the Athens School of Fine Arts and they created a ceramic workshop located in Plaka five years ago. Their main focus is the experience of making pottery and not the commercial aspect of selling their products. Their customers usually purchase an experience which has the form of a short-term seminar (usually 3 hours long) during which they learn how to make pottery and they create their own piece of pottery that they can take home¹²⁷. Another owner of an art gift shop in Plaka who makes her own crafted souvenirs was interviewed in July 2020. Finally, a member of the management board and the manager of the marketing department of TAP were interviewed together in July 2020.

Data analysis of the in-depth interviews

The 30 in-depth interviews conducted between 2016-2019 with visitors and tourism professionals were analysed and coded together with the 44 interviews conducted during 2015, since they had the same structure. The interviews were transcribed, and the files were coded and analysed using the Atlas.ti software programme. The codes, created during the coding phase of our analysis, were grouped into themes which became part of analytical categories (both descriptive and conceptual) that could be corroborated with the data provided by the survey (Mason, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Atlas.ti was considered to be the ideal software

¹²⁷ This is usually sent by post since pottery needs to dry out and fired before it can travel overseas

programme for processing the data from the in-depth interviews due to its potential of enabling semantic retrievals from the different thematic categories. Such a function has been noted (Fielding, 2001, pp. 463–465; Richards & R, 1994, pp. 458–460) for being a helpful tool for the researcher since he/she can clarify the relationships between the different codes and develop conceptual networks.

My intention was not to use Atlas.ti for quantifying¹²⁸ the qualitative data (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 485); rather, it was used as a tool for organising the data of my research and especially for its potential for semantic retrieval which allows the exploration of relationships between different segments of data.

Transcribed interviews were read thoroughly, and initial codes were applied. These codes were created by drawing comparisons and similarities between the transcribed interviews of different individuals. However, we also took into consideration the “similarity relations or contiguity relations” which examine the connections between elements that are close together in the same case, as has been noted by Maxwell and Miller (Maxwell and Miller in Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 463). In other words, apart from the overall view which is necessary during the initial application of codes to our data, I also examined the contiguity relations, which provide a more axial analysis of the individual cases and can provide important qualitative findings.

In the next stage of analysis, the initial codes were grouped into themes. During this stage, the initial codes were reduced and modified several times before reaching their final form. The final groups of themes can be seen in **Graph 9**, while **Table 3** (as shown in *Appendix 1*) illustrates the list of codes which were categorized under each theme.

Closer inspection of **Table 3** shows the following:

- The preconceived ideas that people had about Greece before their visit mainly concerned Classical Greece and iconic landscapes of the Greek islands. During the interviews we tried to explore whether the tourist experience reaffirmed such ideas or expanded them to include an interest in other historical periods such as the Byzantine, the Ottoman, the traditional folklore culture and the modern Greek culture. We also investigated the degree of

¹²⁸ In other words, this is how we describe the practice of turning the qualitative data into a quantitative form by modifying the different segments into variables which could enable its statistical analysis

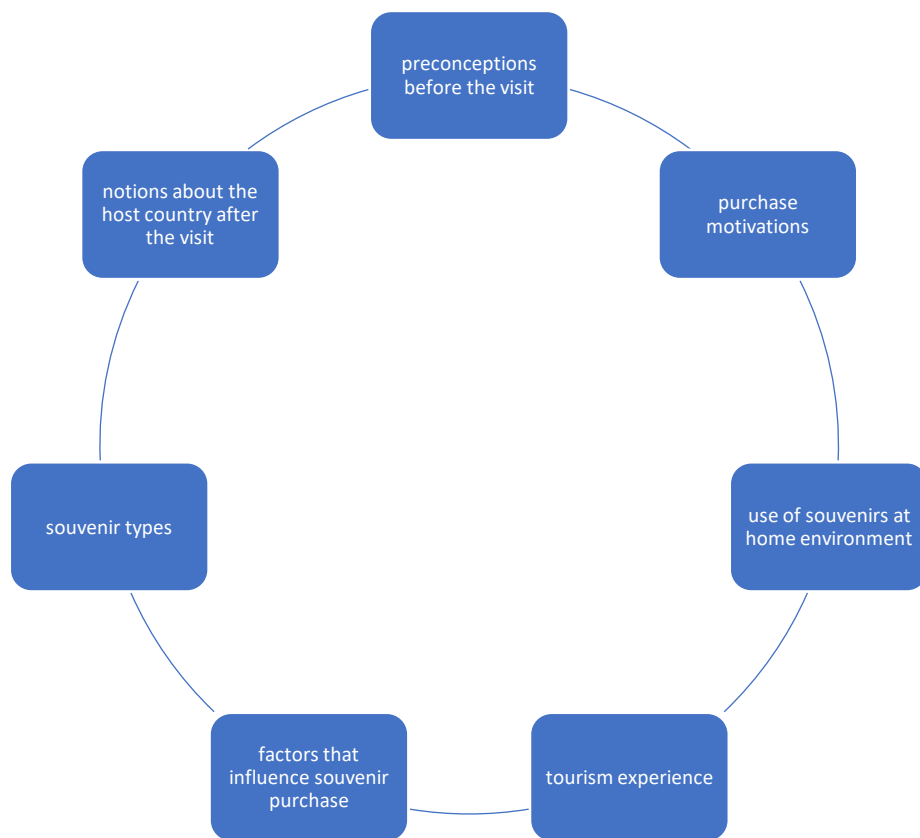
influence of the tourist experience on their souvenir purchase behaviour and especially whether they would be open to purchase souvenirs from other historical periods of Greece (apart from the Classical). The analysis of the data indicated that the tourist experience reaffirmed the preconceived ideas about Greece and influenced the souvenir purchase behaviour. In a few cases, it was indicated that the tourist experience generated an interest towards other historical periods of Greece's heritage, such as the Byzantine and Modern Greece. However, such an interest was not necessarily reflected on the souvenir purchase behaviour.

- Regarding the reasons for purchasing souvenirs, the respondents highlighted authenticity, aesthetics, meaning, the price and size of souvenirs; they also emphasized the importance of the aura and materiality of their souvenirs and their utilitarian value.
- Regarding the function of the souvenirs that they acquired in Greece, but also of the ones they already possess from other trips, most participants emphasised the ability of their objects of travel to act as memory triggers of their tourist experience and people they met. The informants also explained how some souvenirs would convey personal meanings or would be closely related to their personal lives, like, for example, souvenirs related to the Classical past could be related to their student years. Some of the souvenirs would be kept in their private collections while others would be kept at a visible place either at a wall, bookcase or a display. The latter would be evidence of travel and assist them on the recollection of the tourist experience and the creation of post-travel narratives especially when they share the latter to their guests.
- Their tourist experience consisted of the souvenir shop experience, the interaction with locals and other travellers, and the museum experience (visits to both archaeological sites and museums). In many cases, though, the interviewees reported that the museum, souvenir shop experience and the interaction with locals influenced their souvenir choices. Therefore, such quotations were double coded, and their codes were grouped under the thematic categories that refer to both their tourist experience and the factors that influence the participants' souvenir purchase behaviour. For this reason,

the codes “souvenir shop experience”, “museum experience”, and “interaction with the locals” are identical in both thematic categories (see **Table 3**). Finally, the souvenirs that the participants purchased were grouped in four main categories:

- representative souvenirs of the destination,
- souvenirs purchased as gifts,
- food and natural product souvenirs, and
- museum replicas.

Graph 9: Thematic categories of qualitative data



C) Survey with questionnaires

The analysis of the data from the in-depth interviews conducted during 2015, provided me with a valuable insight into people’s souvenir purchase motivations and the influence that museums have on their purchase behaviour. I decided to design a questionnaire survey in order to gather a larger sample, and to explore more aspects of the phenomena under study which could be corroborated and interpreted together with the results provided by the qualitative interviews.

I designed a questionnaire of 25 questions (see *Appendix 2*) representing the following thematic categories:

- General attitude to travelling and frequency of travelling in Greece (Questions 1-4),
- Preconceptions about Greece as a tourist destination and about the Greek culture, and examination of whether these preconceptions altered during the actual tourist experience in Greece (Questions 5-8),
- Museums (Questions 9-11),
- Souvenir purchase behaviour and motivation (Questions 12-19),
- Sociodemographic data (Questions 20-25).

The self-completed questionnaire was structured and consisted of closed-ended questions, offering multiple-choice responses (see Finn, Elliott-White, & Walton, 2000). A semi open-ended response was offered in most of the questions so that the participants could freely express anything that didn't represent their views from the closed-ended questions. The multiple response set proved a very helpful tool for my research since the survey participants were asked to fill the questionnaire during the course of the tour sometimes with very limited time and under circumstances which not ideal: while travelling on a coach, on a cruise ship, in airports etc. The 25 questions were chosen carefully considering that the questionnaire should not be too lengthy so that the participants would need maximum 10 minutes to fill it in. The questionnaire was provided in both English and Spanish so as to include a sample from both English and Spanish-speaking groups. It was distributed during the tours with a short explanation about the research and some guidelines on how to fill it.

A pilot study was conducted by distributing 20 questionnaires to test them for their accuracy and ease of comprehension. After the necessary changes were made, the questionnaire started to be distributed among the informants. A total of 561 questionnaires were distributed from August to October 2016 and from March to October 2017. Questionnaires were given to 11 groups in 2016 and to 12 groups in 2017. The groups came from Australia, North, Central and South America and Europe.

The sample was a non-probability convenience one which may not be generalisable to the research population (De Vaus, 2002; Fink & Kosecoff, 1998; Hammersley, 1992; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Oppenheim, 2005; Robson & McCartan, 2016; Silverman, 2001; Σταλίκας, 2011). Due to the lack of official

statistical data regarding demographic and other characteristics of visitors to Greece (see previous chapter for the official statistics of the incoming tourism in Greece provided by the Bank of Greece), it was not possible to design a representative sample of the wider population visiting Greece for tourism. Therefore, a convenience sample was adopted; however, I attempted to distribute the questionnaire in diverse groups regarding their age, economic status and educational background in order to include samples that represent different demographic characteristics of visitors to Greece. The response rate was approximately 90% in total for the 23 groups in 2016 and 2017. Those who refused to complete the questionnaire claimed that this was due to fatigue, as the questionnaires were completed during travelling.

Data analysis of the statistical analysis of the survey questionnaires

The 561 questionnaires were analysed using descriptive statistics. Qualitative variables are expressed as absolute (N) and relative frequency (%) in each category of the variable (see *Appendix 1*)

Cross tabulation between different variables were created and Pearson chi-squared tests were performed to assess possible differences that may exist in the questionnaire questions in relation to some demographic characteristics. The underlying statistical assumptions in this case are:

Ho: there is a relationship between the two variables

H1: There is no relationship between the two variables

If p-value is less than 0.05 ($p < 0.05$) the zero hypothesis is rejected, resulting in a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

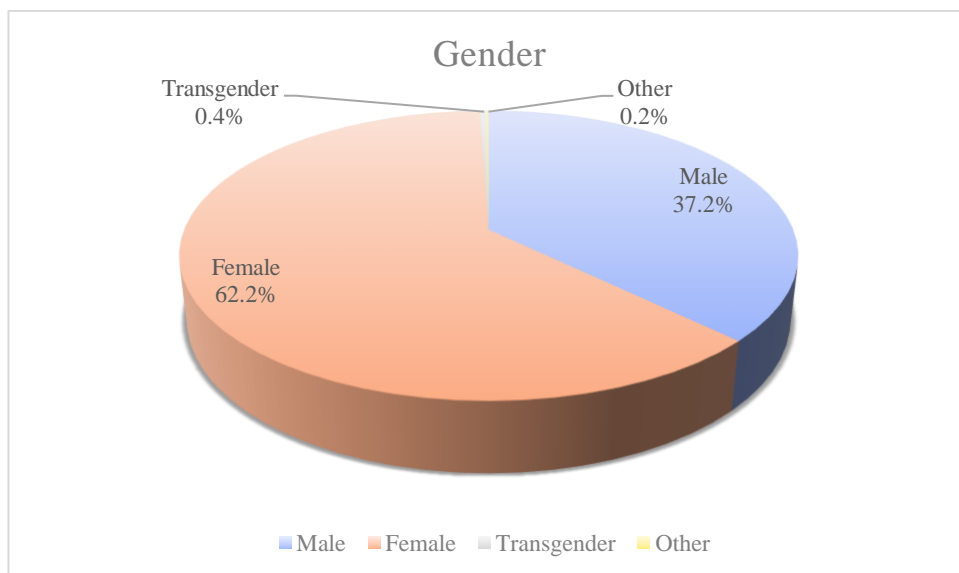
All the statistical tests were performed at the statistical significance level of 5%. Data were analysed using SPSS software, version 22 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences Inc., 2003, Chicago, USA).

Demographics

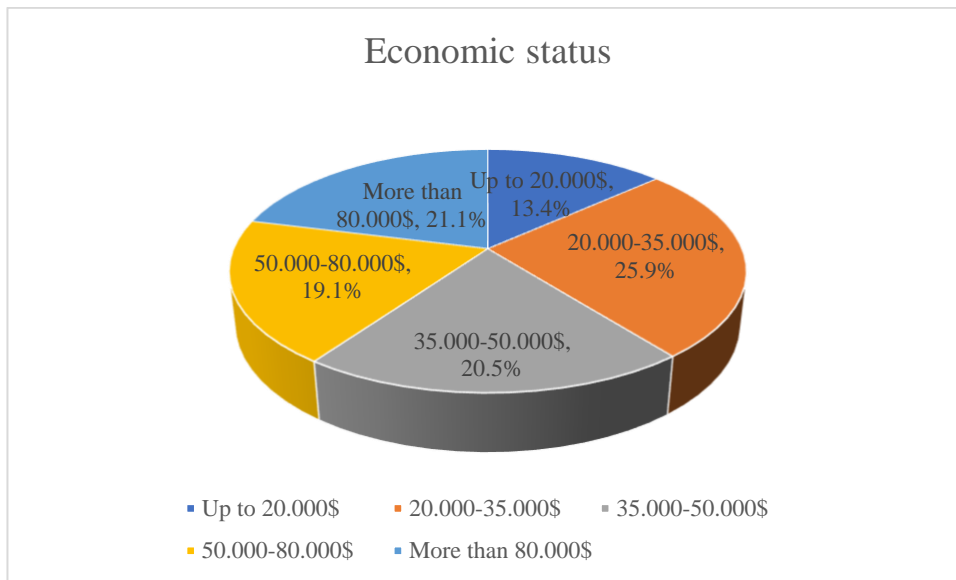
The basic demographic characteristics for the participants are presented in **Table 4** and Graphs 1-4 below. The majority of the participants were women (62.2%), followed by men (37.2%). Among the 561 participants included in the study, 50.2% were over 60 years old, 24.2% 46-60 years old, 11.8% 31-45 years old, 8.1% 10-18 years old and 5.7% 19-30 years old. As far as the educational level of the participants

is concerned, 41% had a university degree, 30.4% secondary education, 20.4% post-graduate studies, 3.6% completed primary education, 3.6% hold a PhD and 1.0% had completed other studies. The majority of the participants belong to the category “20.000-35.000\$” of annual income (25.9%), whereas the remaining participants belong to the next four categories “More than 80.000\$” (21.1%), “35.000-50.000\$”(20.5%), “50.000-80.000\$”(19.1%) and “Up to 20.000\$”(13.4%). Regarding their country of origin, most of the participants were from Europe (37.8%), followed by North America (33.0%), South America (28.8%), Middle East (0.2%) and Asia (0.2%). Regarding their country of residence, the majority reside in Europe (37.1%), followed by North America (34.9%) and South America (28.0%).

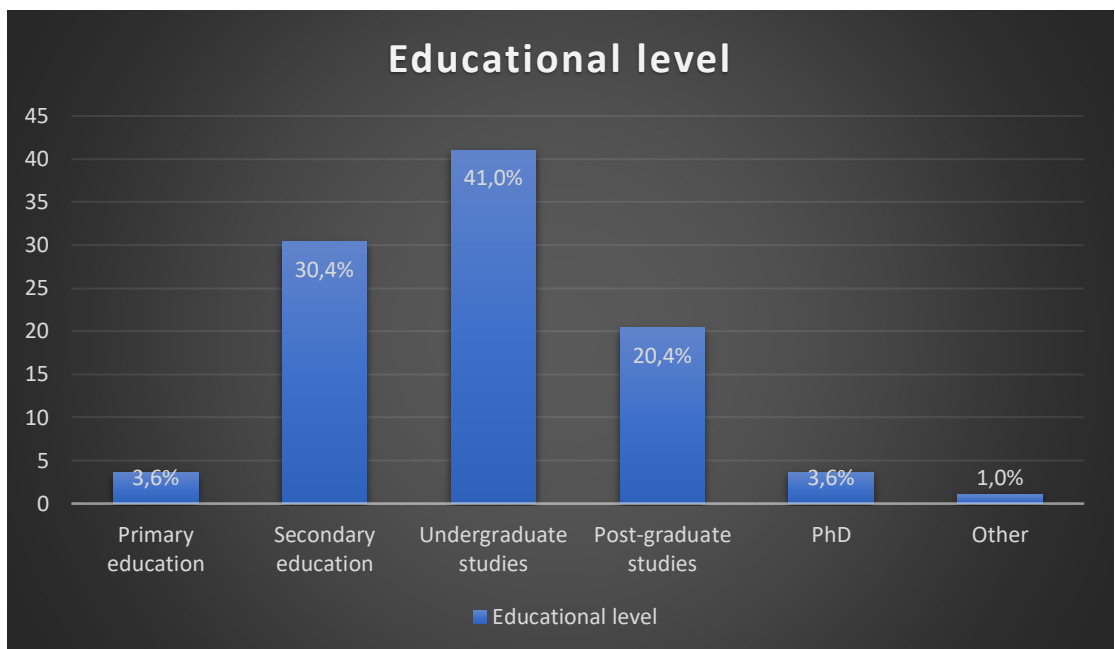
Graph 10:Gender distribution



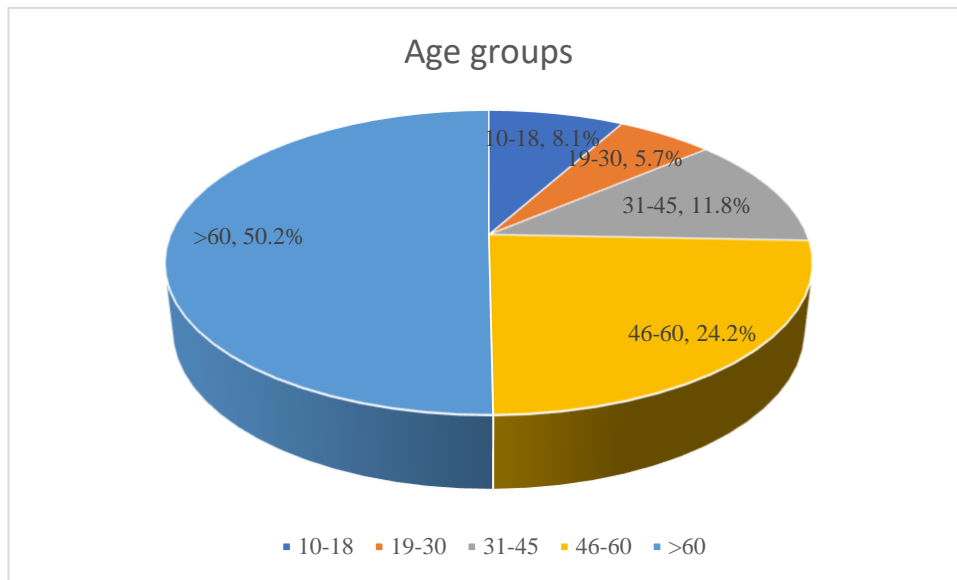
Graph 11: Economic status of survey participants



Graph 12: Educational level of survey participants



Graph 13: Age group distribution of survey participants



As shown in **Table 5** and in **Graph 14** below, for the question “Greece for me is” among the 561 participants included in the study, the majority answered temples, archaeological sites and museums (25.0%), followed by mythological gods and heroes (16.9%). This finding indicates that most of the survey participants relates Greece to its cultural heritage.

Regarding the participants' first contact with Greece (prior to their visit), 27.7% had their first contact in their history class at school, and 25.9% by reading Greek mythology (see **Graph 15**). If we also add the percentage of those that answered ancient Greek literature and the museum artefacts, nearly a total of 70% of the participants' answers demonstrates that their first contact with Greece was through its history and cultural heritage.

Ancient monuments (35%), museums and their artefacts (17.7%) were the most frequent answers to the question “What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here” (see **Graph 16**), probably a result of the tourist experience in Greece centring around the cultural heritage. As we already discussed in Chapter 5 , the organised package tours of Greece include mainly heritage sites of the Classical period. This is affirmed by the answers given to the question “Which museums have you visited in Greece”: the majority of the participants have visited the

Acropolis Museum (33.4%), the Archaeological Museum of Delphi (24.4%), and the National Archaeological Museum (20.1%).¹²⁹

To the question “If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?”, 32.9% answered more islands, and 20.3% Classical antiquities and museums of the Classic period (see **Graph 17**). Again, the participants’ preferences focus on visiting Classical antiquities and islands. On the other hand, a significant percentage chose Byzantine (15.0%), Venetian (10.6%) and Ottoman (8.5%) heritage sites, while a 9.9% showed a preference for culinary experiences. These findings suggest that there are possible modifications in the interests of tourists probably as a result of their tourist experience in Greece. Many agencies do include visits to Byzantine heritage sites, and recently culinary tours have become more popular. On the other hand, although the organised tours very rarely include visits to Venetian or Ottoman sites, the interest of the survey participants in including these in a future visit could be due to the guide’s explanations or simply the visitors’ curiosity and interests. 83.8% of the participants visited museums in Greece, compared to 16.2% who did not visit any Venetian or Ottoman sites. The percentage of the participants who usually buy souvenirs in their travels is 82.1% compared to those who do not buy anything which is 17.9% (see **Table 5**); a finding that affirms that souvenir expenditure is one of the main activities that tourists perform in their travels as the literature review has shown (Wilkins, 2010; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004; Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005).

Graph 18 shows the participants’ choices of souvenirs. The majority chose food products (13%), T-shirts (12.4%) and fridge magnets (12.4%) as souvenirs. Interestingly, a large percentage (26%) choose souvenirs which are associated with the Classical past (copies of ancient Greek ceramic vases, jewellery inspired by the Classical past and statues of mythological gods and heroes).

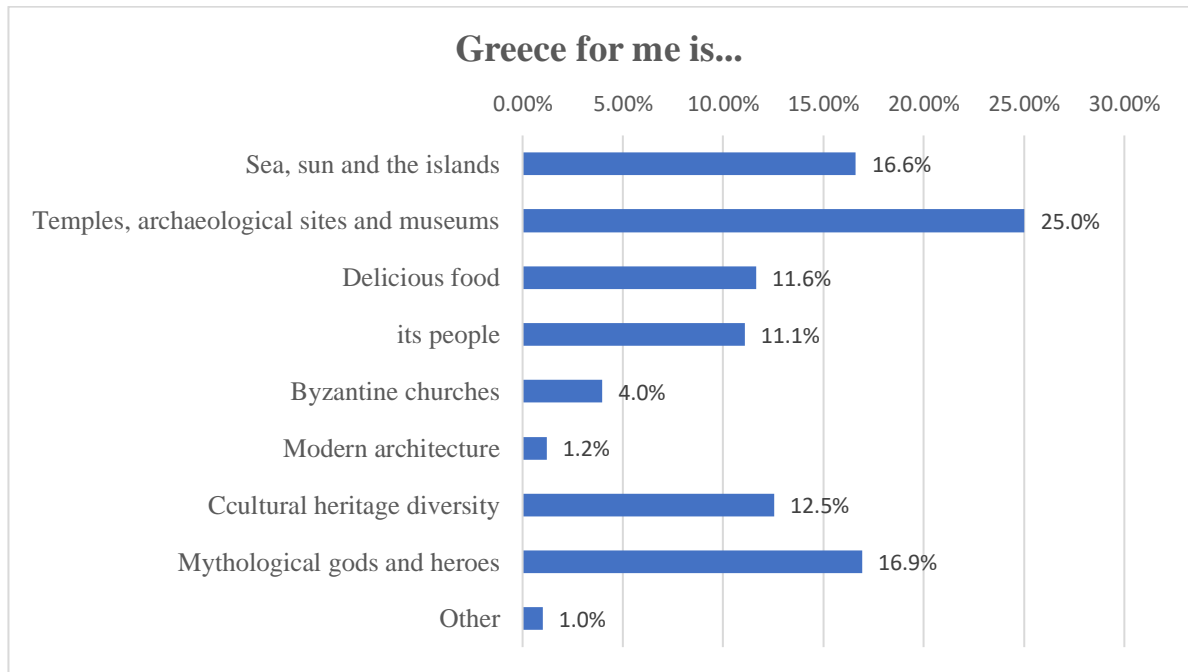
When asked for what they regard as a representative souvenir of Greece (see **Graph 21**) the majority picked a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (31.8%), or a miniature of the Parthenon (28.4%). This indicates that souvenirs inspired by the Classical period are the most popular; however, a significant percentage opted for

¹²⁹ Of course, we need to take into consideration the limitations of our sample population which included participants who were travelling as members of groups on a specific itinerary, already designed by travel operators. However, such a finding shows some indications: the tours of Greece usually focus on the Classical period.

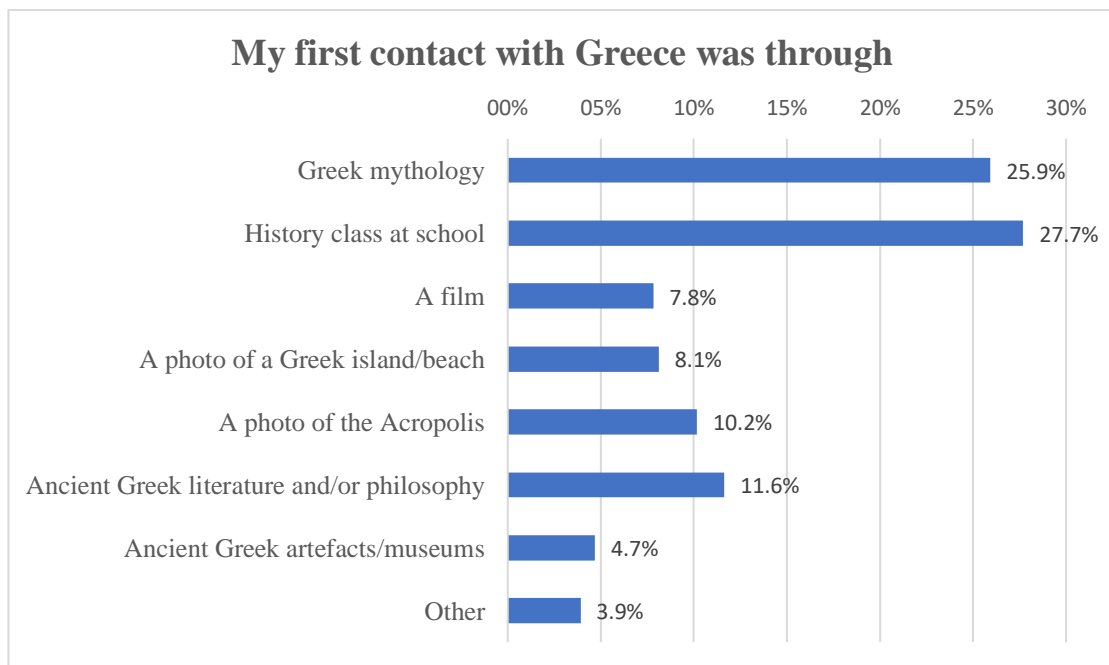
Byzantine jewellery (13.4%) and the evil eye (12.9%). This could be due to the tourist experience of the participants (see also **Table 35**)

Regarding the reasons for purchasing souvenirs, the participants wanted something typical/representative of Greece (31.7%), something authentic of the place (21.2%) while they also valued the aesthetic qualities (16.2%) and the usability of their souvenirs (see **Graph 19**). The most frequent answer to the question “What influenced your choice?” (see **Graph 20**) was “Something I saw at a museum” (28.6%), followed by “Something that the guide mentioned” (19.8%). However, a large percentage of 27.5% were influenced by their experience at the souvenir shop (the way that the souvenir shop was set up/decoration and its seller/shop owner).

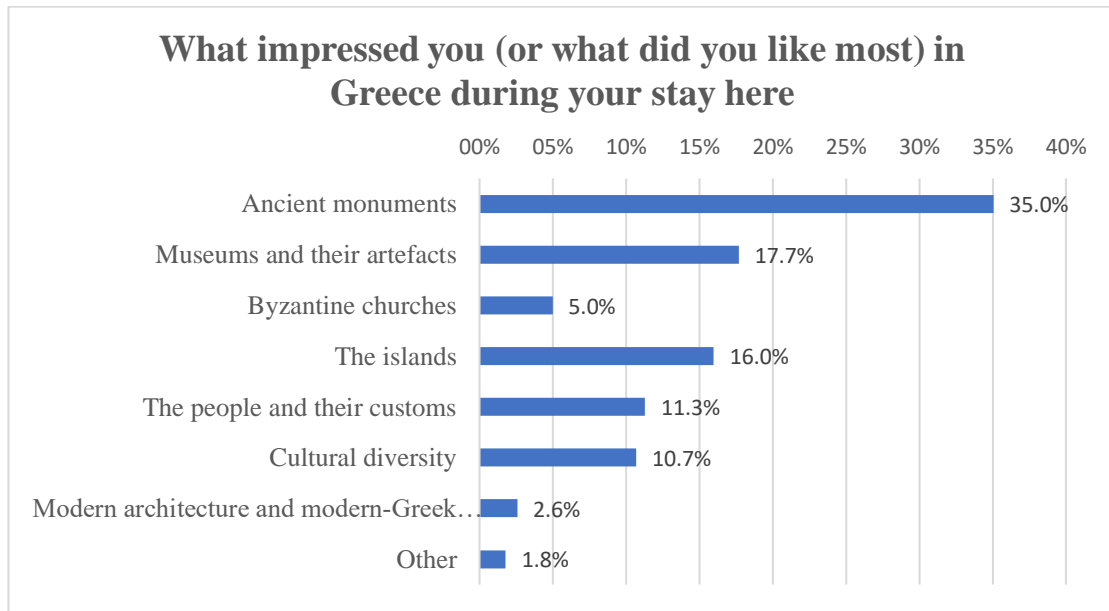
Graph 14: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question "Greece for me is..."



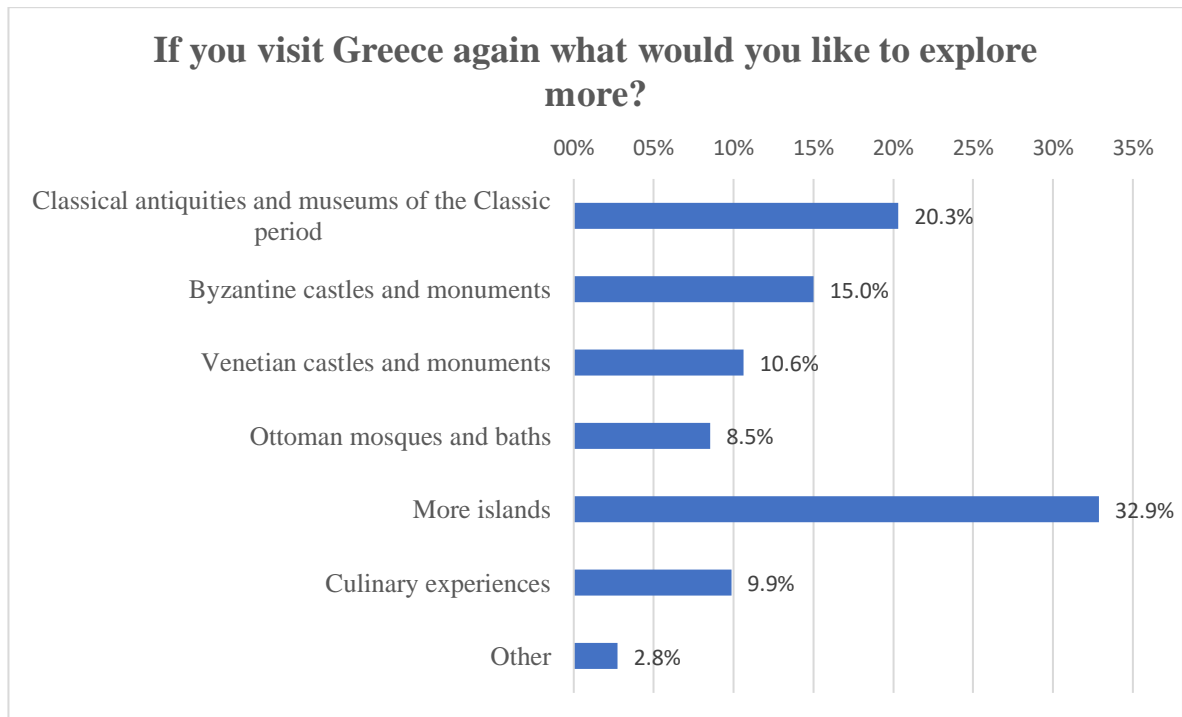
Graph 15: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question "My first contact with Greece was through..."



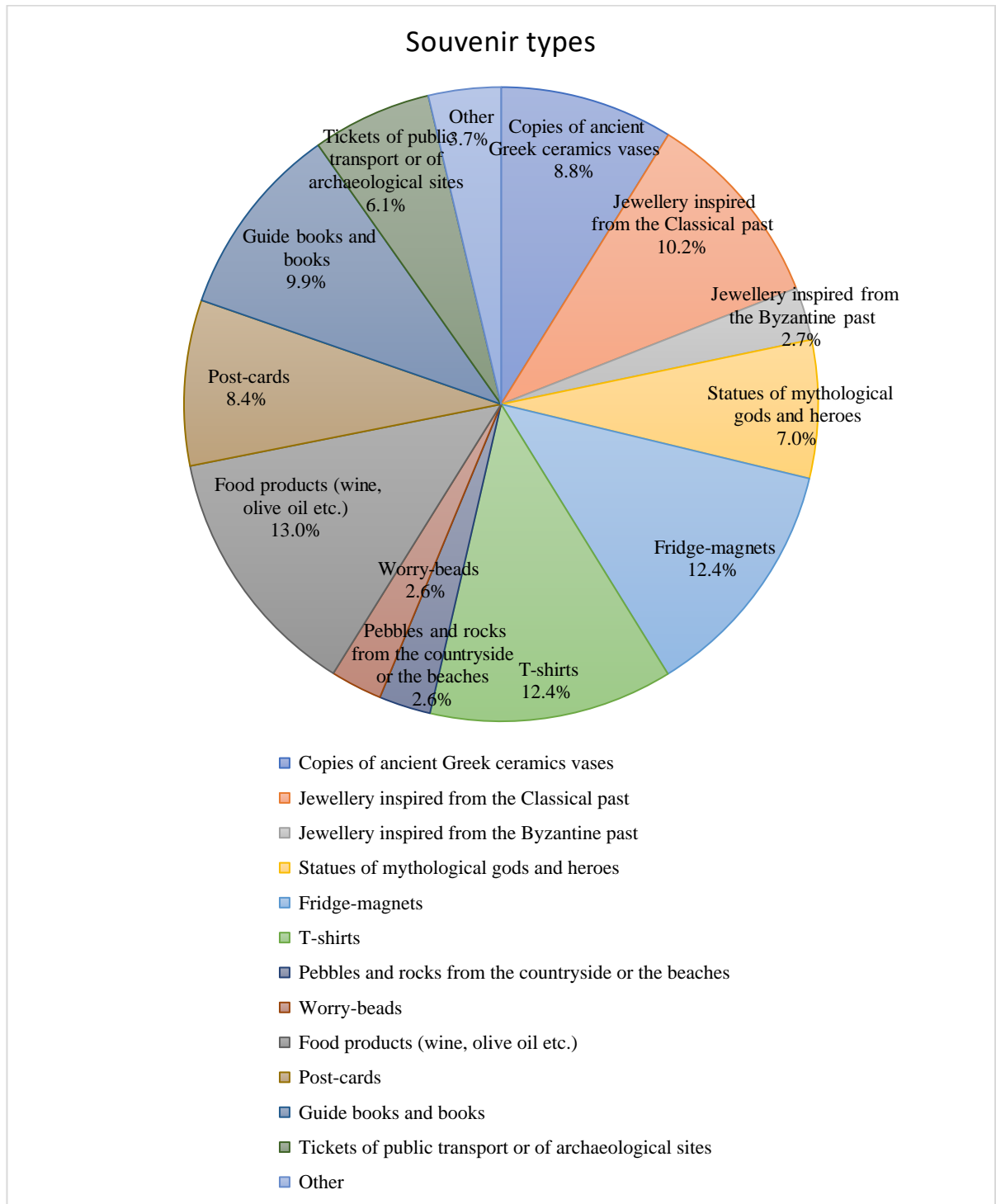
Graph 16: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question "What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here"



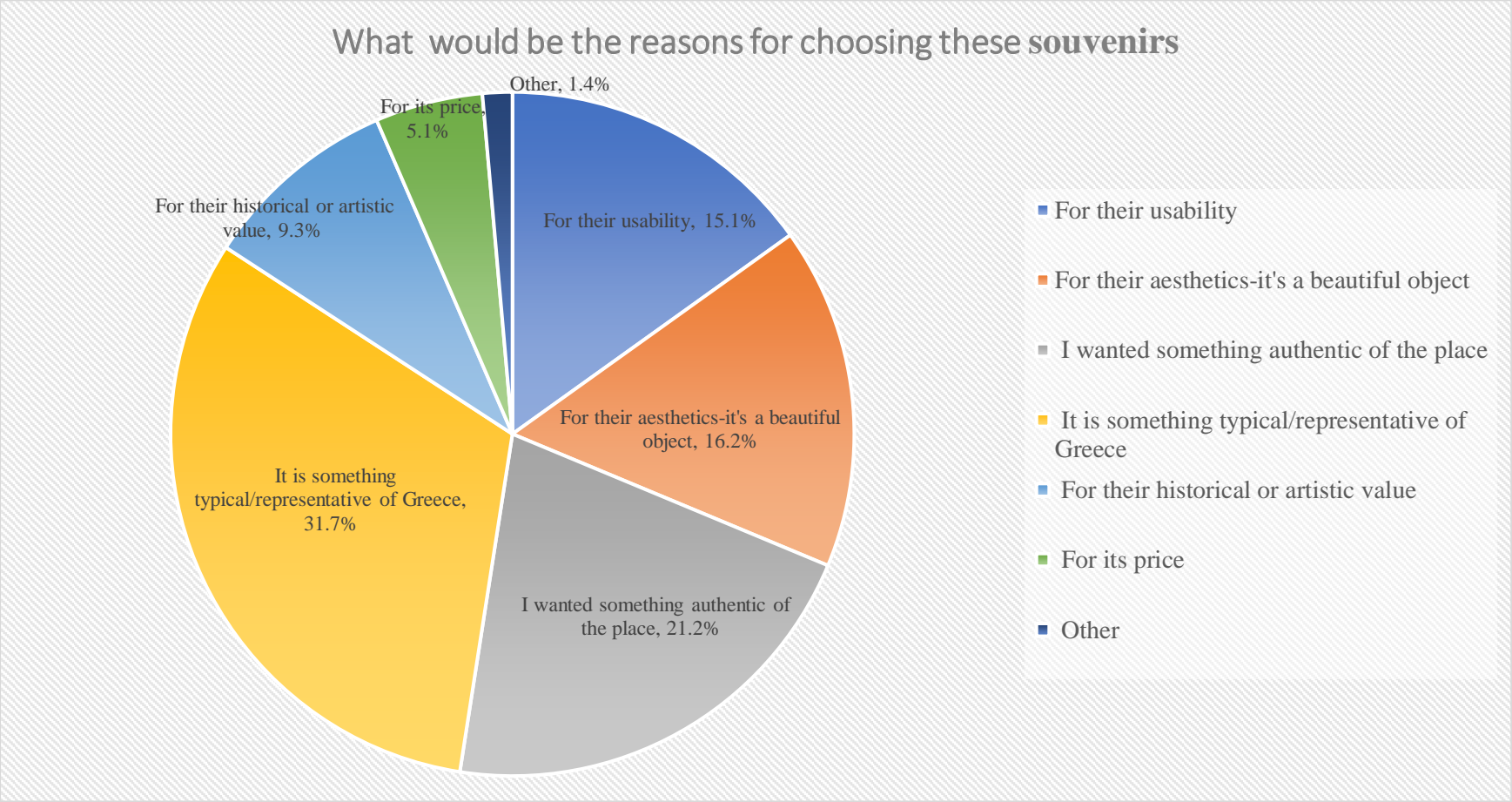
Graph 17: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question " If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more".



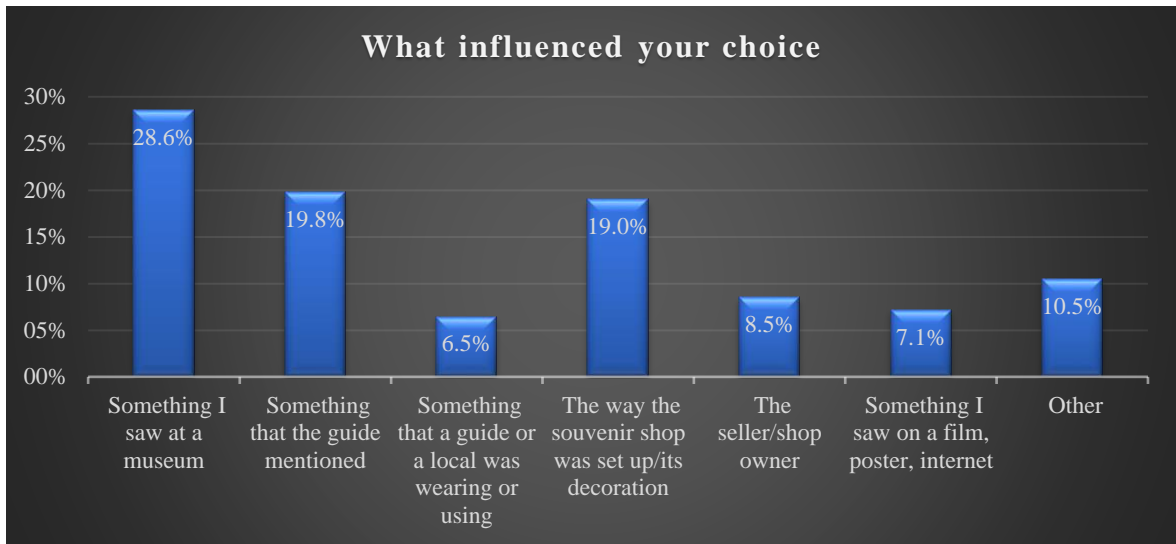
Graph 18: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question " What souvenirs did you buy (or would you buy)?"



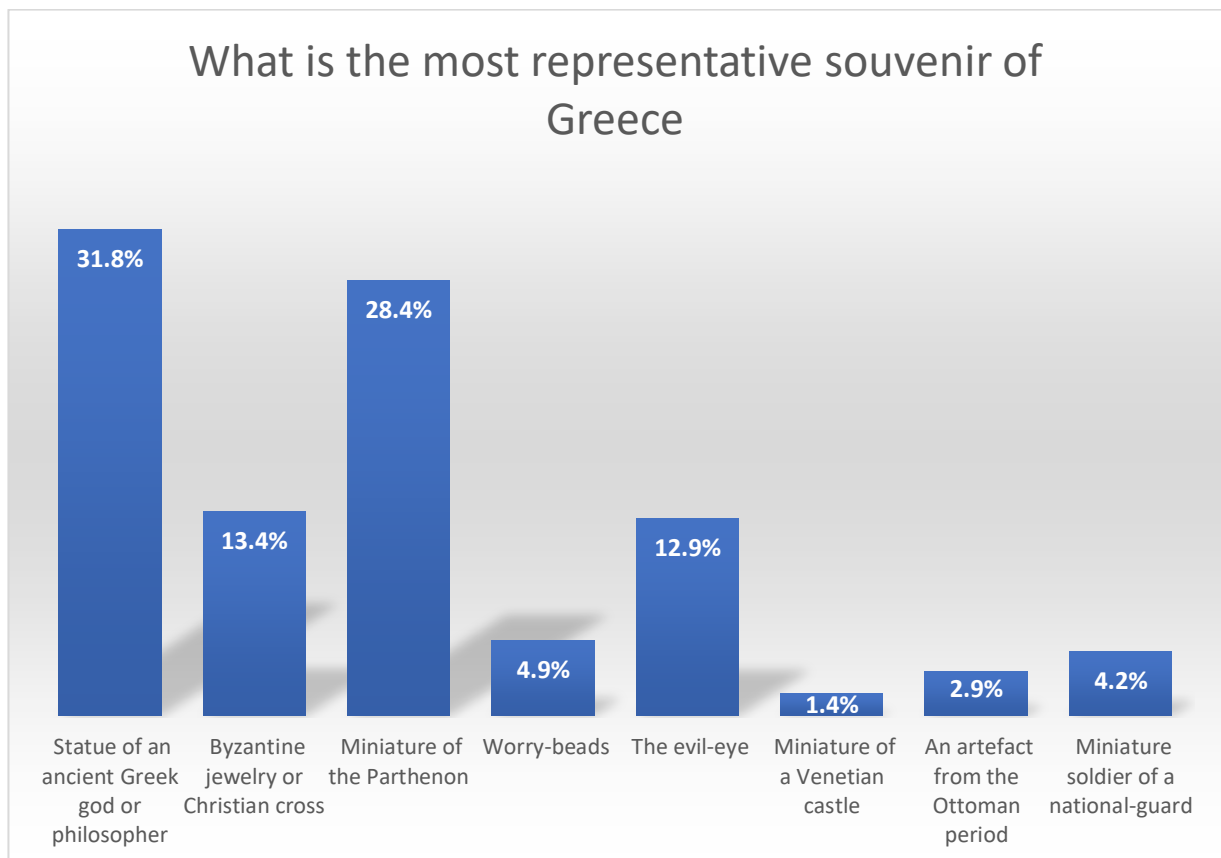
Graph 19: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question "What would be the reasons for choosing these souvenirs?"



Graph 20: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question " What influenced your choice?"



Graph 21: Distribution of the participants' answers to the question" What is the most representative souvenir of Greece?"



Socio-demographic characteristics and souvenir consumption

Previous studies have examined the effect of the socio-demographic characteristics of tourists on their souvenir purchase motivations and behaviour, as well as the influence of tourism types on souvenir purchase intentions (see *Socio-demographic characteristics, travel motivations and souvenir purchase behaviour*).

The sample population of both the in-depth interviews and the questionnaire survey consisted of travellers from Western countries, of an older age (approximately 70% were over 45 years old), the majority of whom were women of higher education and an average to higher economic status (see **Table 4**). Most research participants were interested in history and culture since they participated in organised tours that included visits to archaeological sites and museums. In this sense, the sample population of our research has a particular interest in cultural heritage tours and falls into the “ethnic, arts and people oriented” and history and parks” tourism types, according to Littrell et al. (1994), or just into the “ethnic” type, according to Kim and Littrell (1999), as discussed in Chapter 1 (see *Socio-demographic characteristics, travel motivations and souvenir purchase behaviour*). Consistent with the findings of these studies, our research indicated that the participants purchased or intended to purchase crafts that displayed strong ethnic or country features, they valued the workmanship, emphasised the aesthetic and functional qualities of their souvenirs and underlined their souvenir shop experience (see below in *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*).

The present study did not show any major differentiations in the shopping behaviour between women and men. However, women reported that they were more interested in souvenir shopping than men, and especially in acquiring holiday gifts (**Table 23** and **Table 24**), as has also been suggested by previous studies (Wilkins, 2010). The economic status and the educational level of the participants did not seem to influence their souvenir purchase behaviour (**Table 29, Table 30, Table 31, Table 32**).

Regarding the souvenir purchase behaviour among different age groups, the results of the present study indicated: a higher interest for T-shirts by the 10-18 age group than the other age groups, and a predisposition to purchase food products and museum replicas in older age groups; participants over 40s purchased guidebooks

and books as souvenirs (see **Table 26**). Apropos of the reasons for their souvenir choices, all age groups -except the 10-18 age group- valued the authenticity and the aesthetic qualities of their souvenirs, while participants over 46 years old valued the functional qualities of their souvenirs higher than the other age groups (see **Table 27**). Yet, these data need to be interpreted with caution since the sample cannot be generalised to the wider population. The majority of the research participants were women over 45 years old. Nevertheless, the findings of the quantitative survey showed tendencies of the different age groups and in conjunction with the results of the in-depth interviews we could observe some indications which affirmed the results of previous studies as mentioned above.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis and discussion

This study set out to reach a better understanding of the a) influence of the tourist experience on the souvenir purchase practices and b) the tourist-souvenir engagements as these are initiated during the tourist experience.

In the section that follows we will discuss the results of both the qualitative and quantitative research. Our findings will be discussed in two sections: first, we discuss possible influences of the tourist experience on the souvenir purchase behaviour and whether this experience reaffirms or rejects cultural stereotypes regarding the host culture. In the second section, we discuss the tourist-souvenir engagements that generate meanings and practices.

A) Tourist experience and Greek souvenirs

The findings suggest a strong influence of the tourist experience on the souvenir purchase behaviour. As material culture of tourism, souvenirs materialise the tourist myth of each country, which in the case of Greece has been based on two main pillars since the 1930s: the antiquities of the Classical period, and the Cycladic architecture and Cycladic iconic landscapes. As discussed in Chapter 5 (see *The Hellenic identity and the role of Greek archaeology*), archaeology took a dominant role in the processes that gave birth to the modern Greek state in the early 19th century and the archaeological antiquities became the symbolic capital of the new born nation-state (Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996). The emphasis on the Classical past met the expectations of the European intellectuals who had been visiting Greece as part of the Grand Tour in the 17th century and were educated according to the ideals of the Classical world. In a similar way, modern tourists were seeking to pay homage to the “sacred” sites of the Western civilisation (Evans-Pritchard, 1993; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000) with the development of tourism during the 20th century. This was the case in parts of the Mediterranean and the Middle East: sites such as the oracle of Apollo in Delphi, the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and the Kaaba at Mecca combined the “needs of spiritual pilgrimage with the material rewards of tourism” (Scarce, 2000, p. 25). The tourist experience of Greece developed around the Classical heritage ever since the beginning of organised tourism during the interwar period. And although the intellectual movement of the so called ‘generation of the 30s’ introduced the idea of “Hellenism”

(see *The development of tourism in Greece*), which attempted to provide the missing link between the ancient past and the present by emphasizing the Byzantine heritage and folk tradition, the Greek tourism sector continued to prioritize the Classical antiquities and the Cycladic landscapes and architecture until today.

Previous studies have noted the role of such myths in validating or reinforcing the national identity of the local population (Palmer, 1999; Stenou, 2019), and the potential of souvenirs in materialising such myths and becoming symbols of national identity (Hitchcock, 2000; Shenhav-Keller, 1993). For the souvenir producers, souvenirs materialise ideas regarding their national identity. On the other hand, souvenirs need to meet the demands of the market and the expectations of their potential buyers. In this sense, Greek souvenirs encapsulate both the producers' ideas of their national identity and the tourists' expectations. For both hosts and guests, souvenirs objectify their ideas and expectations while they become material mediators of their contact. The results of our research indicate that tourists arrive with pre-existing ideas regarding Greek culture; their tourist experience in Greece meets their expectations while it reaffirms their pre-conceived ideas about the country.

Preconceptions prior to the visit

The findings of our research have demonstrated that prior to their visit the majority of the research participants associated Modern Greece with its Classical heritage, as a result of their educational background and personal interests: either Classical studies at university level or the history class at high school, or simply an strong interest for ancient Greek mythology, literature and theatre. In order to explore the preconceptions that people have about Modern Greece, participants were asked about their ideas and stereotypical images about Greece and thGreek culture prior to their visit. Overall, the participants related Greece with the Classical civilisation and with iconic landscapes of the Greek islands.

The overwhelming majority of interviewees stated that their image of Modern Greece, prior to their visit, was associated to the ancient Greek civilisation: either to a **monument or artefact**¹³⁰ from the Classical period or to the ancient Greek mythology. As one interviewee put it: "I'd say before this trip, I thought of the Greek gods, like

¹³⁰ Due to the vast number of cases, findings are grouped in themes printed in bold for easier comprehension of the results

Zeus and the whole—when I was little, I always liked all the Greek gods and everything” (27:15).¹³¹ Or, another stated: “I think of Classic architecture and Socrates and Athens, the Iliad, the Odyssey” (51:13).

Some relate Greece to the ancient Greek language, literature, and philosophy while a few referred to Greece as the beginning of civilisation or the cradle of Western civilisation. Others referred to specific iconic archaeological monuments such as the Parthenon and to emblematic museum objects like the Charioteer at the Delphi Museum. Similarly, the statistical analysis of the survey with questionnaires (see **Table 5**) showed that most of the survey participants relate Greece to its cultural heritage.

When participants were asked to explain how their ideas about Greece were formed, the majority referred to their educational background. Many respondents referred to their **history class** at school or university, which introduced them to the Classical civilisation and Greek mythology. Informant J. from Spain stated characteristically:

“the first image I have of Greece is the Parthenon, the Caryatids and Lycabettos because they remind me of the slides that my professor used to show me in the history class” [my translation from Spanish] (18:8)

I. also from Spain commented:

“for me since I was a kid, I always wanted to visit Greece. Since the time I went to school and I started to study about the history of Greece I wanted to visit Greece. My visit here was an accomplished dream. When I arrived at Olympia, I started to cry from what I was feeling, from fulfilling my dream” [my translation from Spanish] (20:16).

Most participants stated that they knew mostly about ancient Greece. They admit how little they know about modern Greece while most of their knowledge about Modern Greece is related to the recent economic crisis.

E. from USA stated:

“As soon as we hear Greece, we think of Greek mythology. We go through a lot of that stuff in our schools. It’s something that we’re typically taught. Present day Greece isn’t necessarily focused on as much except from the recent economic standpoint” (28:10)

Regarding the participants' first contact with Greece (prior to their visit), the survey with questionnaires showed that 27.7% had their first contact in their history

¹³¹Quotes and extracts from interviews have been ascribed with numbers during the coding process of the quotations with the Atlas.ti software programme. The first number indicates the participant’s case, and the second number corresponds to each quotation.

class at school, and 25.9% by reading Greek mythology (as shown in **Graph 15**). If we also add the percentage of those who answered ancient Greek literature and the museum artefacts, nearly a total of 70% of the participants' answers demonstrates that their first contact with Greece was through its history and cultural heritage.

Besides the archaeological monuments and museum objects, many participants referred to Cycladic **iconic landscapes**. One participant commented: "I was expecting to see the blue and white houses, that was the image I had about Greece, blue and white like the Greek flag" [my translation from Spanish] (16:14), or another: "I didn't have any expectations or any thoughts about it all.[...] Maybe about the Greek islands, and the beautiful waters and the beautiful buildings on the cliff with the blue roofs and just the beautiful verandas. That's probably what I envisioned most" (33:4). Most of the interviewees usually referred to both the antiquities and the Greek islands. One stated characteristically: "The Acropolis, Greek mythology, the islands, the beaches and the summer" [my translation from Spanish] (1:10). It is not surprising that 16,6% of the survey participants chose "Sea, sun and islands" when they were asked what Greece is for them (see **Graph 15**).

Many respondents also related Greece to its **natural products**, like the olive oil, the Greek yogurt, or the cuisine. A respondent claimed: "Greece was about the food; I know it's the Greek salad. It's one of the famous ones, and olives" (55:1).

Sometimes it is a mixture of elements of Modern Greece but always mingled with the ancient Greek past, as L. from Australia stated characteristically:

"A lot of things, but smashing plates. I haven't seen any of that this time around, a music, the music of Greece, and the food of Greece. A lot of things, actually. And the flag comes to mind, and the birthplace of Western democracy comes to mind." (35:8)

Another recurrent pattern observed among the participants' responds were the **films** that created the image they got of Greece. L. from Australia stated:

"I think for me, we've watched movies like *Mamma Mia* and the Greek Island and stuff like that, so it would be Greek islands and especially Santorini with the blue roofs and white-and lots of steps and donkeys" (41:8)

MC. from Puerto Rico mentions Santorini again which she saw in a film:

"Yes, it was the image of Santorini that I got from the film *The Sisterhood of the Travelling pants*. This was the first time that I saw the island and I fell in love with it and after that I started to search for photos" [my translation from Spanish] (46:3).

For participant L. from Mexico, who related a scene from a film with the replicas of vases that she found on souvenir shops of Greece:

“There is a Disney film, *Hercules* which starts with vases and this is what I was saying to my daughter; that being here in Greece reminds me of that film and especially the vases. We knew that vases existed but not that we could actually buy them and bring them back with us”. [my translation from Spanish] (7:10)

Or sometimes is a **picture**, a poster or a postcard that creates such images as one of the participants commented: “The picture you see on the postcard or anything, the poster or anything of what you see of Greece, you always see the church with the blue dome” (27:6). Sometimes it seems that people are searching for the scenic locations that are represented in postcards (see Μπανάπου, 2012) or in images from the Internet. E. from USA expressed his surprise for not finding what he had seen on the Internet prior to his visit:

“Probably the blue dome buildings in Santorini. Because every time, if you google image Greece, that’s the first image that’s going to pop up. So, actually, when we got to Santorini we were surprised they weren’t everywhere” (28:6)

The survey with questionnaires also showed that films, photos of the Acropolis and photos of the Greek islands is the first contact that a few participants had with Greece prior to their visit (see **Graph 15**).

A interesting finding is that none of the research participants commented on having an idea of the Byzantine, Venetian or Ottoman heritage of Greece prior to their visit. The statistical analysis of the survey with questionnaires also demonstrates that only 4.0% of the respondents associated Greece with the Byzantine heritage (see **Graph 14**).

Souvenirs inspired from the Classical world

Apart from investigating ideas, beliefs and stereotypes regarding the Greek culture formed before the travellers’ arrival to Greece, we explored whether these were modified as a result of their tourist experience. According to the results of the present research, participants with a Classical educational background (or simply an interest in the Classical world) showed a preference for Classical archaeological sites and Classical museum artefacts, and finally acquired souvenirs associated to the Classical world, such as statues of mythological gods and heroes, jewellery inspired from the

Classical past or museum replicas of ceramic vases. By exploring the meanings that the research participants attached to their souvenirs during their tourist experience, it was indicated that their pre-conceived ideas were re-established. For example, N. from Spain summarised perfectly what influenced her on her souvenir choices:

“It was a little bit of everything. The planning of the whole trip, travelling to Greece, coming to Athens, it is the mythology, the foundation of culture; also the Parthenon, walk through the Agora, it is everything that you have studied in the university and in a way everything that is part of mythology and that you have been taught. The sensation that you have when you are at the Parthenon, carrying with you all that culture and in such a sacred place, it feels as if you are part of pilgrimage although it’s tourism” [my translation from Spanish] (69:3)

N. clearly stated that her educational background and interests had already formed her idea of Greece, but it was also her personal experience of Greece that finally influenced her souvenir choices. She also paralleled her travel experience with a sacred journey, a common metaphor among scholars who found similarities between tourism and pilgrimage (Graburn, 1989; MacCannell, 2013; Urry, 2002). Thus, her souvenir will acquire a special status: if travel is paralleled to a pilgrimage, the souvenir becomes the “sacred relic”, venerated as such. It seems that many Western visitors seek to pay homage to the sacred sites due to their importance for the Western civilisation similar to the practices of the travellers of the Grand tour of the previous centuries (see Leontis, 1995; Loukaki, 2016). The above extract, though, demonstrates that apart from the visitors’ expectations, the tourist experience in Greece plays an important role in reinforcing such attitudes.

At this point, we need to also take into our consideration that the research participants took part in organised tours that included mainly archaeological sites and museums of the Classical period with a few exceptions of visiting sites of Byzantine heritage (eg. Meteora, Mystras, or Byzantine monuments at Thessaloniki). However, from my position as the guide of the research participants I tried to fill the itinerary’s gap by narrating the history of other historical periods during the long bus journeys. The itinerary which is already organised by the travel agencies restricts the freedom of choice for the guide, who usually does not have enough available time to make a detour in order to introduce travellers to the Byzantine, Venetian or Ottoman heritage of Greece. Therefore, the guide must give information mostly for the monuments, archaeological sites and museums included in the itinerary. Thus, it is not surprising that the research participants who reported that they were impressed by archaeological

sites and the museums of Greece during their holiday were influenced to a great degree by the museums and the guide's information on their choices on souvenirs (see **Table 14**), while the guide's explanations inspired them to look for souvenirs that relate to the Classical heritage of Greece. (see **Table 20**)

When asked what impressed them from their tourist experience in Greece, the majority reported the **Classical heritage of Greece** and highlighted their experience from emblematic archaeological sites of the Classical period like Delphi, Olympia and the Acropolis. For example, I. from Spain stated:

“If you ask me ‘what is Greece’, I would say it’s the Parthenon; for me Greece is the Acropolis, I don’t identify Greece with anything else. Other people identify Greece with Mykonos or Santorini but I don’t.” [my translation from Spanish] (53:25).

Later in the interview, the same participant commented that she identifies Greece with philosophers like Aristotle or poets like Homer, and she explained that this was a result of her classical education.

Similarly, F. from Spain also commented on the importance that Classical heritage has for him:

F: What always attracted me to Greece was Classical Greece, more than Modern Greece, which has to do with today. But I am interested in learning more about the past, about Classical Greece which is what we have studied

Interviewer: Did this trip fulfil your expectations?

F.: It definitely has fulfilled all my expectations and even beyond those” [my translation from Spanish] (6:10)

F. states that the tour fulfilled his expectations and his interest on the Classical heritage; this demonstrates that the Classical tours of Greece are designed primarily in order to meet such expectations. F. also emphasizes the fact that education has probably influenced his interest on Classical past. Thus, it can be assumed that one's educational background is important not only for forming his/her idea of the host country before the visit but also for setting the expectations for one's tourist experience. In this sense, it continues to have an effect during and after his/her visit.

For participant J., a university graduate in chemistry from Spain, the museum replica that he acquired is reminiscent of his student years:

“Yes, I bought pottery vases yesterday at Mycenae; they will remind me of Greece and all that I studied during high school. They bring a memory and a lot more: they remind me of my school years, of the art history class” [my translation from Spanish] (18:5)

The survey with questionnaires also demonstrated that participants whose first contact with Greece was through Greek mythology, the history class at school, ancient Greek literature and philosophy and ancient Greek artefacts, chose souvenirs inspired from the ancient Greek world, like statues, copies of ceramic vases and jewellery inspired from the Classical past (see **Table 9**).

Such findings indicate a strong relationship among the souvenir purchase behaviour, the travel experience and the generation of meanings attached to souvenirs. These results reflect those observed in earlier studies, as discussed earlier (see *Chapter 1: Souvenirs reconsidered*). The sample of our study consisted mostly of participants who can be described as “heritage tourists” (see Timothy & Boyd, 2003) and have characteristics similar to the “ethnic, arts and people” (Littrell et al., 1993) and “socially engaged” types (Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005) who have a preference for history and culture. The research participants of the present study were interested in arts and crafts, in acquiring knowledge about the process of their production, and in interacting with the local producers and shopkeepers.

On the other hand, the present study showed that even participants who reported to have no Classical background (educational or simply an interest for the Classical world), purchased souvenirs (see **Table 9**) or chose souvenirs inspired from the Classical past as representative of Greece (see **Table 33**)¹³². For example, E. from Australia reported to have no educational background or interest in the Classical past prior to her visit but bought jewellery and an imitation of an ancient Greek shield with the Greek key (34:3). Similarly, L. from Australia purchased paper bookmarks with depictions of famous ancient Greeks such as Hippocrates (35:6). This could be partly due to an influence of film and media on their views about the Greek culture prior to their visit: the promotion campaigns of the Greek Ministry of Tourism focusing on the Classical heritage of Greece; or the initiatives of the Greek Ministry of Culture for organising travelling exhibitions and events around the world, many times in collaboration with foreign cultural institutions or embassies promoting the Greek culture abroad (see p. 188). Moreover, images of Greece, either of the ancient world, or of iconic landscapes of the Greek islands, and Cycladic architecture or folklore images of people and their lifestyle are very common on the Internet and films. Our

¹³² Souvenirs chosen as the most representative of the host culture were not necessarily purchased by the research participants

research illustrated that many of the research participants claimed that they had their first contact with Greece through photos, postcards, films and the Internet, and reported that these influenced their souvenir choices (see **Table 9**). A good example is C. from China whom I met on a personal trip to Rhodes and who was travelling with her husband from Sweden on their own. When asked what was the image she had about Greece she reported:

“If about the food, I know it's the Greece salad [sic]. It's one of the famous ones, and olives, the old culture that-- The old culture I don't really know that much, but when we were small, then the people always mentioned the legend from the old time about some different gods, different story, the basic story. One of the famous gods is Medusa?”(55:2)

It seems that such perceptions that link Modern Greece with Classical Greece infiltrate people's lives through various means apart from education. And when people visit Greece, the tourist experience influences their choices. C. from China actually reported that she purchased souvenirs inspired by the ancient world during her trip in Rhodes.

Souvenirs representing other historical periods

One of the most significant findings from this study is the informants' attitude towards the purchase behaviour for souvenirs which do not represent the Classical past of Greece. A recurrent theme was that the informants did not associate Modern Greece with the cultural heritage that dates to the **Byzantine or the Ottoman** period.

For example, M. from Spain stated that:

“I saw a monastery, a church and I like Byzantine art but this art can be seen in other places, too. Regarding art, Greece for me is important for its ancient art [...] the first impression is the ancient Greek culture; obviously, the church of Saint Sophia in Istanbul is Greek -I know that very well- but I identify Greece mostly with its Classical heritage” [my translation from Spanish] (13: 9-10).

For D. from USA, the Byzantine heritage does not relate to Greece at all: “The Byzantine era doesn't come through my mind until I go east with [sic] the European ancient countries. It's the Greeks and the Romans when you go further west...” (29:7). Even interviewees who recognise the Byzantine heritage as part of Greece's heritage, continue to relate Greece mostly with its Classical heritage. In some cases, participants related the Byzantine heritage with religion, and stated that they were not interested in exploring that historical period since they were not religious.

A common view amongst interviewees was that the Ottoman heritage is related to Modern Turkey and the Classical one with Modern Greece. For example, D. from Argentina stated clearly that she would visit Turkey and not Greece if she wanted to see archaeological sites from the Ottoman period:

“I was always fascinated with the Classical world since my student years. The first time I saw the Parthenon, I felt very emotional especially listening to Pericles’ voice at the ‘Sound and Light show’. For the Ottoman period I would visit Turkey; and I have already been to Turkey three times. One is coming to Greece for the Classical civilisation” [my translation from Spanish] (15:4).

A. from Spain tried to explain why visitors do not learn about the other historical periods of Greece:

“The truth is that we know mostly about Classical Greece; for the other historical periods we have seen some things, we have read also something and before coming here we do our preparation by reading guidebooks. This also happens in Spain; we ignore other historical periods, in Spain we focus mainly on the 14th and 15th century and we just browse through quickly all the other historical periods” [my translation from Spanish] (19:9)

And when he was asked if he would be interested in purchasing **souvenirs representing other historical periods**, only a small number of interviewees expressed such a desire.

For example, A. from Spain expressed an interest in souvenirs of the Byzantine period:

“I believe that the Classical symbol still prevails. Yes, I think that the Classical symbols are very strong. Even the Byzantine empire or the Byzantine period are very interesting and a souvenir from that period would also be interesting since there is a lot of Byzantine presence in Athens and in Greece in general. But in regards to the Ottoman empire, I will give it a pass, I don’t have any reference to it. [my translation from Spanish] (19:10).

I. from Spain, who has visited Greece several times and who was already familiar with the Ottoman heritage of Greece, offered an explanation why the souvenir related to the Classical heritage is more important for him:

“If you go to visit the White Tower of Thessaloniki you can clearly understand that this is where the Turks have been. And you can get a memento of the White Tower, but it won’t have the same value. [...]

Maybe it’s because the idea of Greece is the same since school, and this idea is still interesting today. It’s not just the archaeology or the history, it’s those ancient human beings that were very interesting, they had something interesting to say. Well, you see, they are in the television all the time” [my translation from Spanish] (20:19)

L. from Australia who has visited Greece several times, commented on the possibility of acquiring souvenirs from other historical periods:

“For me, the thing that Byzantine era is very different artwork than what we are used to, so it was very interesting. I probably didn’t associate with it as much because of the difference in the artwork. [...] Ottoman probably not—I think it’s more of a faith thing, it’s more Muslim, it’s not sort of something that resonates with me. Venetians: their glasswork is quite good but again, you can’t travel with it so I like to look at it but I wouldn’t buy it. The Byzantine, I have bought some of the candles and a few little things like that, the honey wax candles that represent that era time because that’s quite symbolic, also some of the oils like the myrrh and things, also did buy the worry beads, bought them as presents that are made from the wood here and I bought that for a few friends to take home as well.” (41:9-41:10)

The statistical results of the survey with questionnaires showed similar findings. Souvenirs related to the Byzantine period or Ottoman heritage were not as popular as the ones inspired by the Classical heritage and were not considered to be representative of Greece (see **Table 5** and **Graph 21**). A possible explanation, apart from the aforementioned emphasis of the tourist experience on the Classical heritage, may be that Byzantine museums are not as numerous, or that the Byzantine heritage is under-represented especially in the regional archaeological museums (e.g The Archaeological Museums of Delphi and Olympia). Furthermore, even when Byzantine museums and exhibitions are available, they are usually not included in the tour itineraries by Greek and foreign tour operators. Another possible explanation is the lack of souvenirs available from the Byzantine period in the souvenir shops and workshops, except from locations such as Kalambaka or Patmos, which are located next to popular Byzantine heritage sites.

A surprising finding was that many participants reported that they “discovered” the Byzantine heritage of Greece and started to identify it with Greek culture during their stay in Greece, apparently as a result of their travel experience. For example, P. from Argentina shared her “discovery” of the Byzantine past:

Yes, there was something that attracted my attention; I found a church of the 10th-11th century and I was surprised. I said to myself ‘Look, there is something of the medieval period’. This is what caught my attention; because to me it looks as if there are two histories and there seems to be nothing in the middle, nothing for the Turkish occupation also” [my translation from Spanish] (11:20)

The discovery of the Byzantine heritage of Greece during their travel experience was something that many participants commented upon. This explains the fact that the survey participants who had travelled to Greece before were the ones that reported that

they identify Greece with its Byzantine heritage (see **Table 7**). The travel experience possibly influenced the souvenir purchase behaviour since the research participants who visited the Byzantine Museum in Athens reported that they purchased souvenirs inspired from the Byzantine period (see **Table 17**). The same applies to the survey participants who reported to have visited the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki; they participated in an organised tour of the Northern part of Greece, following the steps of St. Paul, focusing more on archaeological sites of the Early Christian period and Christian monuments. Therefore, the group's interests and their travel experience which included more sites of the Byzantine heritage of Greece possibly explains the fact that they purchased souvenirs related to the Byzantine heritage (see **Table 17**). Participants who were impressed by Byzantine churches during their holiday, not only chose souvenirs inspired by the Byzantine heritage of Greece (see **Table 40**), but also chose such souvenirs as representative of Greece (see **Table 35**). **Table 18** demonstrates the relationship between the souvenir purchase and notions shaped as a result of the tourist experience: participants who regard souvenirs related to the Byzantine heritage as representative of Greece purchased jewellery inspired by the Byzantine past. **Table 36** demonstrates that the respondents who chose a souvenir inspired from the Byzantine past as representative of Greece expressed their desire to visit more sites of the Byzantine heritage of Greece in a future visit. These findings suggest a strong relationship between the museum experience, the participants' souvenir purchase behaviour and the adoption of a broader perspective of what is considered to be part of the cultural heritage of Greece. In other words, the study indicated that the inclusion of visits to Byzantine museums and Byzantine archaeological sites could possibly alter pre-conceived ideas and affect people's perceptions regarding Greek culture in general.

Contrary to the above findings, the study did not indicate a similar positive attitude towards the possibility of acquiring souvenirs from the **Venetian and Ottoman** periods, as these were considered to be representing foreign cultures, which are not identified with Greek culture. This might be explained by the fact that these historical periods are hardly represented in Greek archaeological museums or in the promotional campaigns of the Greek Ministries of Tourism and Culture. Interestingly, a small percentage of the informants who valued Greece's cultural diversity (see **Table 35**) and reported a preference for visiting sites and museums of the Venetian or Ottoman periods in a future visit to Greece (see **Table 36**), were also the ones who expressed a more

positive attitude towards regarding souvenirs from these historical periods as representative of Greece. This could also be due to their tourist experience in Greece, which resulted in adopting a broader perspective of the country's cultural heritage.

Regarding the informants' image of **Modern Greek Culture**, common themes emerged: the interesting mixture of modern-ancient culture; the mixture of East (Middle Eastern influence) and West; the interest for the recent economic crisis; the Modern Greeks and their personality (generosity and friendliness); and the Greek cuisine. Interestingly, some expressed their interest for Modern Greek culture but commented on their preference for Classical Greece. I. from Spain tried to explain the reason:

“We don't refuse to know more about the actual culture of modern Greece, it's just that we can't relate to it, we don't know what is culturally significant. This is more complicated for us since we don't live in this country. We can relate more with the Classical world since our school years; it is much easier for us to relate with this past” [my translation from Spanish] (20:9).

This explains the fact that a very low percentage of the survey participants showed an interest in the modern architecture (see **Table 5, Graph 14, Graph 16**). Many interviewees commented on the interesting mixture of modern with ancient. MT from Argentina explained:

“ I never thought that these monuments like the Parthenon, the Acropolis and all this that I have studied would be so large monuments. And I never imagined that I would be walking and behind nearly every corner I would see the modern with ancient together. When I have my breakfast at the hotel I can see the temple of Zeus opposite which is something that I never expected. It is the ancient with the modern mixed together, coexisting at the same location” [my translation from Spanish] (4:22)

In their accounts regarding Modern Greece, the majority of the interviewees, commented on their impressions of Greeks and their hospitality. W. from Canada explained: “I think the people today have such a richness in its culture, in who they are, and a sense of who they are” (39:7). The statistical analysis of the survey with questionnaires confirmed that the people of Greece and their customs had a great influence on the impression that people got from their tourist experience (see **Graph 16**) and in many cases it influenced the souvenirs that participants purchased as we will see later on.

Landscapes, folklore, and food souvenirs

Another recurrent theme was the interest for the Greek islands: the majority of the participants identified Greece with the **Greek islands (Graph 14)** while they were impressed by them during their holiday (**Graph 16**) and expressed their interest to visit more islands in the future (**Graph 17**). And many interviewees noted that they were impressed by their experience of the Greek islands. Some participants, like M. and his wife J. from USA, who visited Greece for their honeymoon, commented on the image they had about Greece before their visit and how their experience of the Cyclades changed it:

M.: The picture you see on the postcard or anything, the poster or anything of what you see of Greece, you always see the church with the blue dome.

J.: I think mostly of the picture. Like when you Google Greece, it comes up with the picture of Santorini with the church in Oia, like that scene. I think of that first and then I also think of the Greek food and I think of the older architecture too. I'd say mostly the Oia picture.

M.: I'd say before this trip, I thought of the Greek gods, like Zeus and the whole-- when I was little, I always liked all the Greek gods and everything. Now that I came here, I think more about the scenery. You can see Santorini when you look out from the top, you could see the islands and everything. My view has changed a little bit since that trip. (27:13-27:15)

M. and J. mentioned photos of the islands that they found in the Internet before their holiday; they were impressed by the Greek islands and although they are not souvenir-buyers (as they mentioned in the interview) they purchased a miniature church with a blue dome to use it as a Christmas ornament, since they are collectors of different objects from their travels to use them as Christmas ornaments.

Figure 9: Miniature souvenirs of Cycladic architecture



Source: Personal archive

The survey with questionnaires indicated that a large percentage of participants whose first contact with Greece was a film, a photo of a poster purchased **fridge magnets** (see **Table 9** and **Figure 10**). A possible explanation for this may be that fridge-magnets usually depict iconic monuments or landscapes of Greece, which could be more popular among those whose first contact with Greece was through films or photos. And fridge-magnets were chosen among the most popular souvenirs together with T-shirts and food products by the survey participants (see **Graph 18**). Fridge-magnets and T-shirts in Greece usually bear either images of archaeological monuments and iconic landscapes or simply an iconic image or product or just the name of the destination; in this sense, they function as markers of the destination (see Gordon, 1986). Another interesting finding of the statistical analysis of the survey with questionnaires indicated that representative souvenirs which clearly relate to the destination are either offered as gifts to friends and family or kept as memory triggers of the trip by their owners (see **Table 22**). A possible explanation of this might be that such souvenirs act as clear markers of the destination which allow easy associations with the destination: as gifts they can be easily related to the host country by their owners who do not have experience of the destination while as memory triggers they can be associated with the destination without much effort.

Figure 10 : Typical fridge-magnets of Greece



Source: Personal archive

The in-depth interviews clarified some of the criteria that participants consider when buying **gifts**. E., a ceramic workshop owner from Mycenae explained:

“There are always differences when buying gifts. Especially when people want to buy several gifts, these would have to be of a lower price, unless they get something for their family, their daughter, for their child who graduates from university. When they buy a gift for the lady that waters their plants or petsits their cat while they are away it is not the same gift. And those who immerse deeper into the culture want to buy an object of quality, not a kitsch object” [my translation from Greek” (70:19)

F. a traveller from Spain explained about the different criteria when purchased gifts for her siblings:

“It depends, for example, my sister studied philosophy and I got her a T-shirt related to the Academy of Athens. And this item is obviously related to Greece. My brother doesn’t really care for history, he hasn’t studied. I can get him a T-shirt with the name ‘Greece’ stamped on it” [my translation from Spanish] (21:3)

Or C., a female university graduate in her late seventies from USA, reported that she bought gifts that are “unique” to Greece:

“I bought some pretty jewels that were made with leather and some natural stone, coral stone. They are all made in Athens so they are unique to Greece. For my sisters and my mom. Then I bought my mom also a cookbook with some Greek recipes, she loves to cook. As well as my dad. So I bought them some spices and

some olive oil because I know that's unique to Greece. And then I bought a couple of-- like he was saying that ornament that we bought. We bought the blue eye that you guys have for good luck. We bought one of those to put on our Christmas tree" (28:3)

C. repeated the word "unique" several times and it seems that this was her criterion for buying gifts: she wanted something unique to Greece; in other words, something which is representative of Greece. K., a female participant in her late forties of secondary education from Australia, also mentioned that one of her criteria is the unique and representative character of the gifts that she purchases:

"Mainly gifts, yes. A few things for myself but mainly gifts. I tend to like gifts that are unique to the country or have got a culture representative to it, so I don't buy lots of cheap touristy stuff, I normally buy quality tourist stuff" (33:1)

When asked if visitors to Greece different criteria for their choices of souvenirs have when buying gifts, T. a souvenir shop owner from Mycenae explained:

"The shopping basket when they reach the cashier usually consists of cheaper objects. A best seller is the fridge-magnet- it is something traditional, it reminds Greece, it doesn't cost much and it is easy to carry-, the *komboloi* and the evil eyes which have become very popular. We also sell small museum replicas and T-shirts, which are another best-seller. Also herbs and olive oil; the last few years, the majority of people buy Greek olive oil because there has been a lot of promotion abroad. On a smaller percentage we sell bronze or alabaster statues because they are heavier" [my translation from Greek] (71:5)

The study has also showed that **souvenirs inspired by the Greek folklore** tradition such as the worry-beads and the evil eye were also quite popular. The research participants reported that the purchase of these specific souvenirs was affected by their interaction with the locals: they usually became interested in acquiring such an item after having seen a local using similar items. Contact with the locals, the guide or the shopkeeper/seller was among the most important factors that influenced the research participants in their souvenir choices, including worry-beads and food products (see **Table 20**) or for choosing the worry-beads and the evil eye as representative souvenirs of Greece (see **Table 35** and **Table 38**).

Figure 11: Evil-eye souvenirs



Source: Personal archive

Similarly, participants who valued the Greek people (see

Table 11) or emphasized their interaction with them during their tourist experience (see **Table 40**), showed a preference for **food products**. Most participants reported that they purchased local products such as wine, olive oil that they easily associate with Greece, or other products such as cheese, pistachios or pastries that they discovered, as a result of their tourist experience and especially their contact with the locals. For example, D. from USA purchased a local cheese pie that was introduced to her by me, through my role as her guide: “What I would like to bring home the cheese because your cheese is fabulous. Tyropitaki is the name of your cheese that you brought the other night. I just wanted something that they could attach some meaning to for this country.” (56:10). It is possible that the interaction with the locals and the guides enables tourists to be more innovative and open to try new flavours Similarly, R from USA bought cheese for the same reason:

“I love food, and my grandchildren love to cook with me. One of the things we'll do is, we'll cook some traditional meals and find some recipes. That was the other thing I bought. I did buy some of the olive oil that you were telling us, it's not imported into the States, for my daughter who loves to cook and appreciates that. We'll do some food and I'll tell them about the ancient, the really old ruins, the sites, but how real it seemed to be there. By contrast, how young the United States is and how little we know of our history, really.” (65:10)

And many participants, like R., reported how the food products could trigger the memory of the travel experience, probably due to their multisensory character, as well as the food's potential as a unifying element between them and their friends and family. So our research affirms findings from previous studies (see *The "authentic" souvenir*) that highlighted the importance of food products for enhancing the travel experience and for prolonging it after its end (see Altintzoglou et al., 2016; Swanson, 2004b; Swanson & Horridge, 2006).

The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture

The above findings suggest that apart from one's educational background and preconceived ideas about Greece, the role of the tourist experience is significant in influencing the souvenir purchase behaviour. The results of the present research demonstrated that the interaction with locals, the experience at the museum and the souvenir shop/workshop had a crucial role on shaping the general experience in Greece and on influencing the choice of the souvenirs that were finally acquired by the participants. Regarding the **museum experience**, **most** survey participants claimed that their museum visits were one of the main factors that influenced their choice of souvenirs (see also **Graph 14**). For example, their experience of the archaeological museum introduced participant M. and his wife D., both teachers from USA to Cycladic art:

"It seems like after touring the museum [...], I really like the Cycladic art among the other ones. We saw that in a lot of the shops. [...] We didn't purchase them because of practical reasons. If we were wealthy, we could afford to ship it" (2:67)

At another point the same participants explained how the museum visit motivated them to have a closer look at pottery vases:

"M: After going to the museum, you see so much pottery, and then the souvenir shops have those little miniature vases.

D: Replicas.

M: going to the museum to see lots of pottery and then the souvenir shops have lots of the pottery, and then we actually bought one for my daughter, a small one, inexpensive, but yes" (2:74)

For participant MT., a sociologist from Argentina, the museum also influenced her purchase behaviour:

“Yes, I saw that at the museum. To be honest I would have liked a much bigger vase, but it would have been very difficult to get that back home. So, this vase, although tiny, it will help me remember all the things that I saw. There was a display with ancient everyday objects or another display with votive offerings from tombs, from the excavations; so, when I look at this little vase I will remember all those larger pieces that I couldn’t bring back” [my translation from Spanish] (4:10)

It is possible that some museum objects highlighted by the museum professionals attract more attention than others. And usually what a museum highlights is what would be produced as a replica available to potential customers in official museum shops and souvenir shops around the country. This was affirmed by A., a member of the management board of TAP, who noted during her interview:

“What the museum highlights is what you will decide to produce as a replica. It is good to have items which are more exclusive and not as common but you also need to have the essentials” [my translation from Greek](75:2)

Potential customers would probably look for museum replicas or souvenirs inspired by the museum artefacts that have been highlighted by the museum curators which attracted their attention during their visit. P., a seller at the official museum shop of the National Archaeological Museum, explained the popular demand for artefacts which are highlighted by the museum:

“We don’t have (a replica) Agamemnon’s mask, or whom people claim who Agamemnon is. Agamemnon is only available on postcards; they are always asking for Agamemnon’s mask and we have informed the central offices (of TAP) for this demand. They would like to have Agamemnon as a pin, as a neckless, they would even like Agamemnon printed on a mug or even a handbag. But I think that if Agamemnon’s mask was available as a replica people would buy it. It really impresses people, maybe because it is the first things they see when they enter the Museum. What they remember the most from the Museum is Agamemnon’s mask and Poseidon of Artemisio” [my translation from Greek] (72:5)

Some participants reported how some museum artefacts impressed them during their visit. For example, during our visit the Delphi Museum J. was impressed by the Charioteer:

“I didn’t expect to see the Charioteer at this museum, and I got really surprised. When I saw it, I thought ‘this is the Charioteer’ and I remembered my time as a student when I was only 16 and I had an excellent teacher of history of art” (18:7)

And later on in his interview, J. commented that he would look for souvenirs that are related to the museum objects that impressed him. Similarly, participant MC. a 23-year-old lawyer from Puerto Rico was impressed by the Sphinx in Delphi:

Yes, the Sphinx. I don't know why it impressed me, it was probably the way that it was placed at a higher level but I really liked to see a statue in such proportions. It felt as if it was marking its own area at the museum and I was really impressed [my translation from Spanish] (46:8)

Interestingly, both the Sphinx and the Charioteer are highlighted at the archaeological museum of Delphi. MC. was really impressed by the Sphinx, and she clearly stated that this was probably due to the higher level on which the Sphinx is placed in the museum, which renders the statue worth being observed. The same applies to the Charioteer; J. was not aware that he was going to find the Charioteer in the Delphi Museum, but the artefact's position in the museum (exhibited as a sole item on a high pedestal) rendered its identification as the famous statue easier. Both museum objects have been placed in such a way so that they won't be missed.

Figure 12: Charioteer at Delphi Museum (left) and its copy at workshop in Mycenae (right)



Source: Personal archive

Such findings suggest that the **spatial arrangement of museums** and the way in which artefacts are displayed have an impact on visitors' museum experience, as we have seen in Chapter 4 (see *The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience*). The **role of the guide** is also crucial on shaping the visitors' museum experience since the guide acts as a mediator between them and the museum artefacts (see *The role of the tourist-guide as mediator of the museum experience*). Of course, the vocational training of Greek guides that emphasizes the Classical heritage (see *Tourist guides' training in Greece*) certainly influences the guide's narrative. Drawing from my own experience as a guide, though, I argue that the guide's freedom of movement within the museum is usually limited as a result of the museum's spatial arrangement (see *The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience*). According to the Space Syntax theory which was applied by Hillier and Tzortzi (2006) to museum exhibitions, there is a strong correlation between visitor movement and the spatial configuration of the museum buildings (see the discussion in *The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience*). In our case, the room with the Charioteer in Delphi Museum mentioned by J. in the previous extract, is the last room before the museum's exit, while the Charioteer is the only exhibit in that room; therefore, individual visitors or guided groups cannot bypass the exhibit¹³³. To put it simply, it is very difficult for a guide to exclude artefacts which are highlighted by the museum itself from a guided visit. If the guide wishes to introduce the travellers into other historical periods, this can only be done through his/her commentary during the bus journeys. In the same sense, the design and arrangement of the museum's exhibitions also shape -to a great degree- the information that a guide provides to his/her group. For example, in a gallery that presents daily life in ancient Greece, the guide has to follow that theme. As discussed in Chapter 4 (see *The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience*), the architectural layout and the

¹³³ Many of my guided visits of Delphi included the visit of both the Museum and the archaeological site. The itinerary usually does not restrict the guide regarding the order of the visit; thus, the guide can choose whether he/she would start the visit from the archaeological site or the museum. Since many of my guided visits of Delphi took part during the hot summer months, I was usually starting the guided visit from the archaeological site, first, early in the morning to avoid the heat. After visiting the site, I continued with the guided visit of the museum. Thus, we would visit the museum at noon just before our lunchtime. The agencies usually reserved lunch for us at a restaurant nearby, right after the visit. However, the museum was usually very crowded during the summer months. In many cases, the guides were in a rush at the museum to try and get the groups in time for lunch. In many cases, by the time I reached the last gallery of the museum (The gallery with the Charioteer), the group was getting hungry and tired. Despite these circumstances, and despite my deliberate effort to skip the Charioteer, it was something unavoidable since it is a sole exhibit in the last room of Delphi museum.

spatial arrangement of a museum can have an impact on the visitor's experience. I argue that the architectural layout and spatial arrangement can also limit the freedom of a guide. For example, the Acropolis Museum follows the strongly structured type of museum according to Psarra's (2005) categorisation which does not allow freedom to the museum visitors to structure their own meaning (see *The role of museum architecture in determining the museum experience*). The narrative of the Acropolis Museum focuses on the Acropolis monuments from the Classical era. Thus, a guide cannot expand his/her narration so as to touch on the Byzantine or Ottoman period of the Acropolis but has to centre to the Classical age. Of course, museum artefacts can be used by guides as triggers/props to narrate different aspects of the ancient world or to find links to the later historical periods or even the contemporary world. But even in these cases, the guide would have to follow the museum's main theme and follow the conceptual arrangement of the galleries as has been designed by the museum professionals.

Despite such limitations that influence a guide's narrative, the results of the present research indicated that a guide has a great degree of influence on souvenir purchase (see **Graph 20**). During the preliminary stages of the research, participant observation demonstrated that after the visit at Mycenae and its museum, participants were usually asking for souvenirs inspired by the characteristic Mycenaean spirals that they observed at the museum. As a guide I usually include a mention of the Mycenaean spiral motif which can be clearly seen at the funerary stelae of the gallery of the finds from Grave circle B at the Mycenae Museum. For example, MI. from Argentina reported that she chose her souvenir inspired by the guide's explanations during the Mycenae Museum. She bought a piece of jewellery that was a replica of the Mycenaean spiral which probably represent religious beliefs and possibly symbolises eternity and life after death. (see **Figure 13**):

“MI: the meaning of the spiral; what you told us about the spiral made me feel very emotional, that life does not stop with death, but it continues. It made feel very emotional and this is the reason I looked specifically for a souvenir with the spiral” [my translation from Spanish] (12:8)

T., an owner of a ceramic workshop at Mycenae, explained how important the role of the guide on the souvenir purchase is:

The role of the guide is very important. The more analytical a guide is, the better he/she transmits the information about the artefacts. And the more open the guided tour is, in other words the more tourists open their horizons and their

minds, the easier it becomes for the customer to decide what souvenir he/she will buy afterwards. [my translation from Greek] (71:11)

Figure 13: Necklaces with Maeander and Spiral patterns



Source: Personal archive

Apart from the museum experience and the guide's interpretation, the research findings pointed to the significance of the **souvenir shop experience**. In many cases during participant observation, research participants purchased souvenirs with the spiral without any mention by me during the guided tour; participants were introduced to the spiral by the personnel of the ceramic workshops where we stopped after the museum visits. This was affirmed by the findings of both the in-depth interviews and the statistical analysis of the survey with questionnaires (**Graph 20**), which showed that a large percentage of the participants were influenced in their choices of souvenirs by the souvenir shop experience. For example, F. from Spain, purchased museum replicas of pottery vases and a bronze dish with the image of the Parthenon. He stated that he wanted to find replicas of museum objects that impressed him during his visit, but he also commented on the degree that the experience of the souvenir shop contributed to his decision:

“What I had in mind was to get a handicraft with the characteristics that I have already mentioned, but apart from that it was also that place, the pottery workshop that we visited during our tour as well as the Acropolis museum shop where I saw a replica that I really liked and I bought it” [my translation from Spanish] (6:7)

In some cases, the seller or owner “adopted” the role of the guide and introduced participants to the artistic style of the souvenirs which were inspired from chronological eras that the participants were not familiar with. P., who has worked as a seller in the museum shops of both the National Archaeological Museum and the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, explained how many visitors of the Byzantine Museum ask her for more information about the Byzantine era:

“They always ask us where Byzantium belongs to because they haven’t really clarified what exactly Byzantium was and what is the relationship between the Modern Greek state with Byzantium. So, we really need to put dates in order for the customers. They always ask how long (Byzantium) lasted; they might have heard of Aghia Sophia, but it’s a bit mixed in their minds. So we are asked to explain things and chronologies in a linear way so that they understand and clarify things and know the right sequence of events and different eras” [my translation from Greek] (72:4)

K. from USA “discovered” the Byzantine heritage of Greece because of her interaction with a jeweller:

“Interviewer: How for example did you decide to buy the Byzantine jewellery, was it as an object itself that made an impression?

K: The object itself was pretty, but I think here is the style when the jeweller was talking about how it is in the Byzantine style, that's what really grabbed my interest. I think that everything we bought was not necessarily unique to a souvenir shop but unique to the American idea of Greece. Byzantine jewellery is not what you would think of with Greece. The Minoan artwork definitely not what you would think of, we were going for a unique and tasteful

Interviewer: Who told you that it's Byzantine? Was it the seller, the owner of the shop?

K: Yes, the jeweler. I didn't know but after he told me that was the style, I began to recognize that style of jewelry as I walk by the shops.” (42:13-42:14)

Such a finding can be affirmed by the fact that the majority of the survey participants who purchased jewelry inspired by the Byzantine past were influenced by the souvenir shop experience and the interaction with its personnel in their choice (see Table 20).

Similarly, J. and I., a couple from Spain who have travelled in Greece several times in the past and have a great interest in Greece’s Classical heritage, explained that they have a preference for ceramic vases. During their trip in Greece, though, their choice of a museum replica was influenced by their interaction with the owner of a pottery workshop at ancient Corinth:

“J: Yesterday the owner explained to us that what we finally got was a vase with decoration from the Mycenaean period. He was explaining about the pottery style of the eighth century BC, when they had those geometric designs, I

am not exactly sure what he was talking about, but this style was quite old and then we finally got a vase of the Mycenaean period, I think he explained about the human figures on the pottery [...] it was a nice souvenir shop exactly next to the exit of the archaeological site of Corinth, a nice big shop, nicely set and decorated. The owner was painting the vases; he told us that the vases were manufactured by somebody else in a village workshop and that he was painting them afterwards” [my translation from Spanish] (53:15, 53:17)

J. and I., who have a special interest for the Classical heritage of Greece, were interested in acquiring a museum replica of a ceramic vase. Their visits at the archaeological sites and museums of Greece obviously influenced their choice, but it was their experience of this particular souvenir shop in Corinth and their interaction with its owner that determined their decision to purchase their Mycenaean vase. They actually admitted that later in the interview:

“J: Of course, he sold it to us, and he was the one to explain. He explained the three styles of decoration that he was making; they were based on three different historic periods with three different styles.

I: He had the workshop, he was painting, and he was selling, too. He is very clever” [my translation from Spanish] (53:18)

The two owners of pottery workshops at Mycenae, interviewed for the purposes of the present study, affirmed that their presentation and the architectural setting and spatial arrangement of the souvenir shop play a significant role in the purchase behaviour of their customers. They both own souvenir shops near the archaeological site of Mycenae. Their shops have an exhibition area where they usually make a presentation explaining about the different stages of production of museum replicas. Then they usually guide the groups to a backstage area where they explain the process of production of pottery by providing a short demonstration of the ancient techniques (see **Figure 7** in chapter 6). Such demonstrations include the production of a ceramic vase on the wheel and an explanation of the later stages of baking the clay and painting its decoration. Usually, an explanation of the different historical periods and the different artistic styles of Greece’s heritage is also involved. Both shop owners specifically emphasized that their customers are particularly concerned to know whether the souvenirs are manufactured in Greece. Therefore, the demonstration of the stages of their production affirms the provenance of their products and validates their authenticity.

E. a pottery workshop from Mycenae commented:

“I usually make a presentation and explain how these vases were manufactured in ancient times. I explain to them about the ancient techniques while my father is making a vase on the wheel [...]

T., a pottery workshop owner from Mycenae explains how such presentations have a positive outcome:

“the way we present the creation of a product, from the beginning until it gets to the shelf proves that it is manufactured in Greece and this makes its sale more successful” [my translation from Greek] (70:11).

E. argues that the majority of her customers are interested in the experience related to an object and not the object itself. She explained what renders the “*aryballos*”¹³⁴, so popular:

“When I explain to them that this specific ‘*aryballos*’ depicts an everyday scene of the art of weaving, that the art of pottery making and of manufacturing jewelry are continuous, in other words, that they haven’t stopped the last 4000 or even 6000 years, people get so surprised, even shocked I should say. So, they actually ‘buy’ the experience: the fact that they can buy a vase, which is decorated only with clay-as they used to do in ancient times- and it depicts an ancient art, a timeless art that still exists: the art of the loom, the art of weaving” [my translation from Greek] (70:4)

T. a pottery workshop owner from Mycenae explained what influences the purchase behavior of his customers:

“T: the customers have a question for everything: they want to know what the object is about, they need an explanation. What the statue is and in which museum they can find it; when they are interested in a museum replica, they want to know in which museum they can find the original object and the historical period it belongs to. For every object that they are interested in they want to know more. Before they buy, they want to know more information, and this is the reason why we are here: so that we can explain to them. [...] when you talk to them about the symbolism, you have probably achieved 50% of the sale. After you explain to the customers about the symbolism of the objects, they start to think differently. They have already seen something at the museum, they’ve got that in mind and then you explain to them about the symbolism. If the price is good, if it has a good value for money, then we proceed to the sale immediately” [my translation from Greek] (71:7)

T.’s souvenir shop covers a big space and the way the museum copies are presented resemble the museum displays (see **Figure 12** in chapter 7). All the products are exhibited in the same hall, but they are divided in different sections according to the historical period in which they belong. T. explained how his shop is arranged:

“The shop has been planned like a department store; it has many different sections. Every section has its own style; we arrange the museum copies according to the historical periods they belong to, and we have designed a different

¹³⁴ that is an ancient perfume vase

background for each section: a different background for the green bronze statues, and a different one for the white ones. We have a different section for “faux bijoux”, another one of the cheaper pottery vases, another setting for the T-shirts, different sections for the silver and gold. They are all carefully designed, it’s a kind of ‘store in a store’, it has the spatial arrangement of a department store. Every customer walks around and then decides what is the product that he/she is interested in” [my translation from Greek] (71:12).

The above extracts demonstrate that one’s preconceptions about the destination could possibly be renewed after the tourism and museum experiences during his/her trip. Many participants commented on how the museums re-established/renewed their prior knowledge of the Classical civilisation. These findings indicate that such preconceptions and the museum experience possibly influenced their souvenir purchase behaviour. The majority of the research participants who had a Classical educational background acquired or showed a preference in acquiring museum replicas or souvenirs inspired from museum objects from the Classical period. In this sense, the souvenirs purchased during the tour materialise such reaffirmations. We argue that the entanglement of reaffirmed cultural stereotypes, memories of the experience and personal meanings can all be embedded in a single souvenir and even contradict each other, as Grennan (2019) argues (see *Souvenirs and the Self*).

Apart from the experience at the souvenir shop or workshop, the above findings suggest that the interaction with the guide and the souvenir shop personnel influence the souvenir purchase behaviour. Although the research participants visited Greece in organised tours they had plenty of opportunities to meet with locals during their free time. The results of the research suggest that the **interaction with locals** is part of one’s travel experience and many of our participants reported that souvenirs would trigger the memory of such interactions. In most cases, participants’ choice of souvenirs was attributed to such interactions. For example, D., a university professor of medicine from Argentina, claimed that “it’s because I saw everyone in the street holding a *komboloi* (worry-beads) so, I got the idea to get one made of wood. I am going to hang it on my library” [my translation from Spanish] (15:5). This affirms a finding from the survey with questionnaires that indicated a possible correlation between the interaction with the locals and notions regarding the worry-beads and the evil-eye as representative souvenirs of Greece. It seems that the research participants were introduced into these items during their interaction.

Participant M., and his wife D., who are teachers from USA, travelled in Greece on a private tour and had plenty of free time on their own to mingle with the locals.

During the interview they explained to me how such interactions are important for the them and they commented about a previous trip to Italy :

“I think that’s what we often focus on is like what are people, what are they? Even the drink, the Campari drink. We were in Italy and everyone around us had this red glass. We’re like, ‘Wait, what’s that? We want that’. Then it became a memory for us and now it’s very special. We like the taste of it, but it’s also that memory of ‘we were there’ and we drunk it there” (2:71)

This extract illustrates that the drink activates the sense of taste which, in its turn, triggers the memory of M.’s travel experience in Italy, and at the same time shows the degree of the importance of the interaction with the locals as one of the main elements that leaves a strong imprint on the tourist experience.

And later on the interview M. and his wife D. from USA explained how the interaction with locals for selecting local music:

“M: I also, always try to find music where I go.

D: Yes, that’s true.

M: I usually try to find a music store, wherever I visit, and then I try to ask someone to help me pick something. It’s someone there that picks music for me to listen to. That’s fun too.

Interviewer: Local music?

D: Yes

M: Local or just something that. It’s not like I just pick something, or that I just got it from the?- because I can get the music from the computer. It’s a person, a Greek person, actually.

D: Told him what to get.

M: Talked to me about it and helped me pick something. That’s also nice.” (2:65)

In fact the results of the survey with questionnaires indicated that a high percentage of participants who valued the interaction with the local people in Greece were influenced by such interactions in their souvenir choices (see **Table 14**).

These findings suggest a strong correlation between the tourist experience and the souvenir purchase behaviour. Of course, we need to take into consideration the way that the tourism sector in Greece is organised to meet the demands of potential visitors. T., the workshop owner from Mycenae, commented on how decisions are taken regarding which souvenirs will continue to be on offer:

“In the old days we used to take decisions only related to the museum exhibitions. Nowadays, customers’ demands shape supply. If we bring a new product from a local Greek business we place it on the shelf and if it sells everything is fine. If it stops selling we look to see what’s wrong. We ask the producer to change its (the object’s) painting, to alter some specific things. If he/she changes it and is successful it will continue to sell; if not, we will withdraw it from the shelf. The only criteria for keeping a product in the shelf is to check if the customer buys it.” [my translation from Greek] (71:9)

Another point to consider is whether the professionals of the tourism sector of Greece are willing to change stereotypical ideas and preconceptions regarding the host culture. T. from Mycenae explained that the spiral and the Maeander remain representative souvenirs of Greece:

“When you enter a museum, the spiral and the maeander (Greek key) are everywhere. When people ask the guides what these are or when the guides offer the explanation themselves, the customers already know what these symbols are and what they are looking for. This is what they have learned, what they have come to know, what they see and what they are looking for. It’s simple as that” [my translation from Greek) (71:11)

In his words, T. summarises how the souvenir purchase behaviour is shaped: people arrive with their educational background and preconceptions (*what they have come to know*), the museum experience (*what they see*), the guide’s explanation (*what they have learned*) and the souvenir shop experience (*what they are looking for*). Apart from meeting the tourists’ demand, in many cases souvenirs seem to serve a higher purpose. As we saw earlier (see *Tourism, collective cultural identity and souvenirs*), souvenirs can embody the producers’ idea of their collective identities (religious, national and local identities). Interestingly, V. from TAP explained how she sees the museum replicas offered by the official museum shops:

“Our cultural heritage is promoted to the rest of the world through these small ambassadors, the mementoes of the official museum shops; I always have this in mind, that these are small ambassadors” [my translation from Greek] (75:5)

Such ideas of collective identities are negotiated at the tourist loci where the local and global elements meet (see *The tourist locus, its identity, and the hosts-guests interaction*): what local people regard as ‘ambassadors’ of the Greek culture and what tourists expect are notions that are negotiated during the tourist experience. Despite more recent efforts to offer alternative approaches to Greece’s heritage and experiences to the visitors of Greece, the tourism sector still emphasizes the Classical heritage. Souvenir purchase is influenced by such approaches. Moreover, collective identities are negotiated during the tourist-host interactions: tourists’ preconceptions and cultural

stereotypes regarding the Other are negotiated with the hosts' ideas of their collective identity. Such notions are either reaffirmed and/or altered during the encounter of hosts and guests in the tourist locus. The above findings suggest that in most cases they are reaffirmed but a few exceptions which demonstrated that cultural stereotypes can also be altered during the tourist experience (see above *Souvenirs representing other historical periods*). In the next section we will see how meanings are generated and attached to souvenirs when the latter start to get entangled with the life of their beholders and become more closely associated with their personal lives.

Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices

Trying to understand the processes by which meanings are attached to souvenirs when tourists start to engage with their souvenirs, the research participants were asked to refer to the parameters that influenced their souvenir choices. By researching these parameters, it became much easier to understand the criteria that participants considered when they purchased their souvenirs. According to the participants' responses (see **Graph 19**), the main reasons were the following: the representativeness of souvenirs; authenticity; aesthetics; utilitarian and historical value; the items' material properties; and the price/size of the objects.

The most popular reason for acquiring a souvenir was its potential to represent the destination visited or their **representativeness**. Participants reported that they desired souvenirs that they could clearly associate to the host country; either items which relate directly to the destination, like representational (fridge magnets, or t-shirts, postcards), or products which relate indirectly to the host country like food products, worry-beads and the evil eye. Souvenirs related to the Classical heritage of Greece were considered as representative of the host culture for a high percentage of the participants, while such souvenirs were more popular among the travellers who travelled to Greece for the first time. On the other hand, slight differentiations were noted on the souvenir purchase behaviour of repeat travellers who showed a preference for souvenirs like jewellery inspired from the Byzantine heritage, worry beads, guidebooks and tickets of public transport and archaeological sites (see **Table 41**). These travellers chose more representative souvenirs when these were intended to be given as gifts (see previous section *Landscapes, folklore, and food souvenirs*). It is not surprising that travellers who have visited Greece several times, tend to associate Greece less with its Classical

past and ancient Greek mythology and value more the Byzantine past, the cultural heritage diversity and the people of Greece (see **Table 7**). Thus, the differentiations in their souvenir purchase behaviour can be explained by the fact that travellers who have been to Greece before have already purchased what they regard as the most representative souvenirs, or that such souvenirs are no longer considered as unique and new as for the first time travellers. Similar results were noted by Kim and Littrell (1999, pp. 650–651) for American repeat travellers to Mexico. Another possible explanation is that the research participants who had visited Greece multiple times gave value to items such as pebbles and guidebooks which are not associated with the typical souvenir items.

Such attitudes towards souvenir purchase behaviour were also noted to travellers who are either more interested in immersing into the local culture or have more travel experience; these travellers showed less interest in souvenirs that bear salient features of the destination and were more likely to acquire souvenirs to which they can attach personal meanings. These findings are consistent with those of previous studies which have distinguished different attitudes towards **perceptions of authenticity** according to the type of tourists or the travel experience (see *The “authentic” souvenir* in Chapter 1). Love and Sheldon (1998) supported that travellers with more travel experience prefer souvenirs that they attach with more personal meanings while travellers with less experience choose souvenirs that bear salient features of the destination.

An interesting comment was made by one of our research participants, N., a philologist of Spanish from Spain. N. had travelled to various destinations with her husband, and she reported that they usually buy postcards and guidebooks. They visited Greece for the first time, and they were interested in the Classical world which was part of their education, as she reported. During their tour in Greece, they purchased more jewellery than they usually do in their travels. Walking around Plaka they also bought what they considered more typical souvenirs like soap bars, fridge-magnets and keyrings as gifts for friends and family. But for their own souvenirs they chose items that have a more personal meaning. N. referred to what a souvenir is for her:

“You bring the souvenir from the country, from the locals, from everything you have experienced there and sometimes you don’t have to buy a souvenir at a souvenir shop but just a small piece of stone that you find in the street and that you bring back as a souvenir; it has a value for what you experienced

there. More than anything else, it has the value of your personal sense of that place, the sense which was created at a specific moment during your trip” [my translation from Spanish] (69:2)

Similar attitudes were noted during the analysis of the participant observation and the interviews of other participants. People with travel experience usually seek souvenirs that they can fill with personal meanings and they have less interest for items that bear salient features of the destination, what Love and Sheldon (1998) called idiosyncratic authenticity. However, the ones who showed differentiation in their souvenir choices were the participants who had travelled to Greece several times (see **Table 41**). The ones who had travel experience but were visiting Greece for the first time purchased items related to cultural heritage, which they could attach with personal meanings. For example, MI. from Argentina who was influenced by her experience at the museum of Mycenae and my explanations of my role as a guide (see above *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*), purchased jewellery with the Mycenaean spiral. During her interview, she commented of what the spiral jewellery would mean for her life:

“MI: the meaning of the spiral; what you told us about the spiral made me feel very emotional, that life does not stop with death, but it continues. It made feel very emotional and this is the reason I looked specifically for a souvenir with the spiral

Interviewer: and when you will put it on will it remind you of the trip and which emotion exactly...

MI: it reminded me my mother, the emotions I have for life and death; it reminded me that. Yes, I think that I will remember the trip for this reason” [my translation from Spanish] (12:8-12:9)

Other research participants, who travelled less often and were also first-time travellers to Greece, or less interested in exploring the local culture, sought souvenirs that would be clear markers of the destination and that would bear salient features of the destination.

For example R. from USA did not have much travel experience and without a special educational interest in the Classical world, like other research participants. This was his first time in Greece, and he commented that he was impressed by the ancient sites and museum artefacts that we visited during his tour. Among other souvenirs, he purchased t-shirts that would bear something characteristic and could be easily associated with Greece:

Interviewer: Do the T-shirts have any image?

R: Yes, Greece. I got one that had the Parthenon on it. I'd like to get one that has Crete.

Interviewer: What do you think influenced you in order to buy these souvenirs, is it something you saw it in the museum?

R: Quality.

Interviewer: The quality.

R: The quality of the shop. A lot of the small shops basically have the same thing. I look at quality.

Interviewer: And would you prefer something which is not mass produced, something which is handcrafted for example?

R: Right, but if it says it's made in Greece because it got nice a little thing of the Parthenon, that's really nice, yes, made in Greece. (30:6-30:7)

We notice that for R. the main criteria he considered when he purchased the T-shirts were quality, the fact that they were made in Greece and that had a representation of the Parthenon as an iconic symbol of Greece. The above extracts from the interviews of N. and R. demonstrate that regardless of their travel experience and educational background, both travellers purchased souvenirs that were associated with the Classical world. For both types the tourist experience was crucial for the creation of meanings: in both cases the experience linked the past to the present. This can be explained by the fact that the tourist experience in Greece centres around the past or its revival: firstly, through the contact with the past through the visits at archaeological sites and museums, and secondly through the revival of ancient production techniques as part of the demonstrations in souvenir shops. In this respect, museum and cultural heritage professionals, official tourism institutions and souvenir shop retailers have constructed a 'heterotopia' in Leontis'(1995) terms, a topos that fulfils the desire of Western imagination for seeking its place of origins (see *The Hellenic identity and the role of Greek archaeology*).

Therefore, for both types of tourists the tourist experience is important: for those seeking a representational souvenir of Greece, the experience at the destination renders souvenirs of the Classical past both representative and authentic. And their perception of authenticity is influenced by external sources, like the interaction with a producer (see above *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*), as has also been noted by Love and Sheldon (1998). For those who seek more personal meanings in their souvenirs and deeper connections with the local culture, the tourist experience provides the link between past and present, and between them and the local culture. As a result of this contact, individuals create personal meanings

related to both their lives and their travel experience, like the above example of MI. with the spiral neckless shows.

For both types of tourists, a souvenir inspired from the Classical period can be both authentic and representative of the culture, and this is due to a great degree to the travel experience, as our study indicated. In both cases, the experience at the museum and the souvenir shop authenticates souvenirs: the museum authenticates the value of museum objects while the souvenir shop validates its replicas by demonstrating the process of production. Museums provide the “authentic” objects while souvenir shops the “authentic reproductions” (Bruner, 1991;Cohen, 1988). It seems that the construction of authenticity in these two different contexts leads to different nuances of perceptions of authenticity which are in constant negotiation. **The museum seems to authenticate** the souvenirs and enhance them with an “aura” of authenticity, while at the same time museum replicas add to the aura of the authentic museum objects. In this vein, the museum replicas are considered as ethnic souvenirs in Grennan’s terms (Grennan, 2019), something which enhances their authenticity in relation to other mass-produced souvenirs (see *Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies*). Thus, museums play an important role in shaping such perceptions of authenticity.

For J. the museum experience played an important role in his souvenir purchase. He acquired ceramic copies from the ceramic workshop at Mycenae, which would remind him his visit in Greece and his school years when he studied the Classical world, as he explained. An interesting point that J. made during his interview regarded the authentic character of Agamemnon’s mask. This specific artefact is still mentioned in many guidebooks, as ‘Agamemnon’s mask’, although it dates nearly three centuries before the time of Agamemnon. During the tour of Mycenae, when I was guiding J.’s group, I referred to the fact that the mask at the museum of Mycenae is a replica of the original kept in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and that the original mask dated three centuries before the time of Agamemnon. When J. gave the interview, he expressed his disappointment that this was not Agamemnon’s original mask and that this would be a discouraging factor for acquiring a replica of it at the souvenir shop. During the interview, J. stated:

“J: I would buy a replica of Agamemnon’s mask, but I was surprised that the mask is not of Agamemnon [chuckles]. This would mean that you would buy a replica

of an object that does not correspond to anything. Only if you saw it as an art piece.

Interviewer: Would it be important if you knew that this was Agamemnon's?

J: Of course

Interviewer: This mask is three centuries older than the time of Agamemnon and for this reason it has even more value for the archaeologists. But you are saying that for you the most important thing would be if you knew that it was Agamemnon's.

J: Yes, it would be important to know that this was the real mask of a great Mycenaean king. In the end, the value of objects is not simply its artistic value but its relation to something. If the relation is not there and you know that this is not Agamemnon's, then there is less interest" [my translation from Spanish] (18:13)

In this case the museum authenticates the replicas of Agamemnon's mask that one can find in the souvenir market. The labels of the National Archaeological Museum and the guidebooks give the correct dating of the mask, but still refer to it as the "Agamemnon's Mask". The Mask remains one of the highlights of the National Archaeological Museum and the replica of the mask is one of the highlights of the museum at Mycenae. And this is possibly the reason why many of its visitors seek replicas of Agamemnon's mask, as we reviewed earlier (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). In J.'s case, though, we clearly see that when he discovers the whole truth about the mask, he does not show an interest in purchasing a replica of it. What discourages him is the fact that the museum object becomes an ordinary object, if it is not related to the mythical king. The mask loses its aura and becomes an ordinary museum object. In this case, the recreated past. Another interesting point of J.'s statement is the value that people give to a replica versus a simulacrum (see *Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies*). In the above extract J. was disappointed that Agamemnon's mask was actually not Agamemnon's. In his case, the acquisition of a replica of this mask would be more of a simulacrum since it would replicate a mask that does not exist or "does not correspond to anything", to use his own words. The same attitudes were noted during the participant observation when the research participants were disappointed that the

Mask of Agamemnon at the Mycenae Museum is a replica of the original kept at the National Archaeological museum¹³⁵.

For other participants, the souvenir items available at the official museum shops were valued with a higher degree of authenticity. For example, D. from USA explained why she bought earrings with palmette decoration from the official museum shop of the Acropolis Museum:

Yes. And that's where -- well, two of the three places I bought jewellery -- where at museum shops and that's also what we had been told through some other reading, was that they were the ones that -- it might be a little more expensive but they were the ones that you could trust as far as real souvenir or other things.(31:12)

For D. the official museum shops adds value to the souvenir items since their considered as more 'real souvenirs'.

In the non-official souvenir shops, the research participants also valued the authentication processes that add value to their souvenirs. During another interview after a stop at a souvenir shop near Mycenae between the researcher and a couple from Spain, the participants commented on the importance they give to the authentication processes of museum replicas:

I: [...] the archaeological souvenir is always something timeless. We have seen much quality, especially in the last place we visited. We saw much quality, I can imagine that there are many replicas and the possibility of earning more if they could patent some objects and show, for example, that they are "Handmade" or "name of origin", I don't know if something like that exists. If a name of origin exists...

N: Yes, they told us that

I: that it was hand made? Is this official? [my translation from Spanish] (20:15)

Similarly, when R. from USA was asked of his choice of a Greek souvenir, he stated:

"I got two vases, one the black and red [...] and then the one that has a lot of the Greek symbol[s] on it. Beautiful pieces of work. The guy was certified with the museum, the big museum, quality hand painted." (30:4)

The above extracts indicate that many of the participants value the fact that the museum copies they acquire are certified by the museums. This is another way by which the museum authenticates the value of copies that can be found in the market. E., a souvenir shop owner from Mycenae, commented how she provides an extra guarantee for authenticating the museum replicas:

¹³⁵ Things become even more complex when I am asked if the mask is an authentic artefact or s an invention of Schliemann according to theories that see the features on Agamemnon's mask as characteristic of the time of Schliemann , implying that Schliemann forged it. In this case, the mask will be a simulacrum

“I told them that these pieces are not commercial and that we don’t make a profit; we manufacture them in order to continue this tradition and anything that they buy from the shop will help us maintain this tradition and continue. When they purchase copies of museum vases, I usually give them a guarantee which explains the techniques that were used to manufacture it. Moreover, I sign the replicas like any artist would do to sign his creations. [my translation from Greek] (70:12)

In other cases, the replicas can enhance the aura of the museum objects. V. the member of the management board of TAP also explained that the process of selection of museum replicas affects the museum exhibitions. The archaeologists, who usually carry out museum curatorship are the ones that send their proposals to TAP to decide which museum artefacts should be replicated. But in some cases, the artists of the workshop at TAP are the ones that contribute to those selection processes:

“Exactly because there was no proper planning everything was done ad hoc... the procedures are such that the designers and sculptors take initiatives; we give them a theme but many times it is them who choose. Many times it is as if they define the collection because they choose to replicate items and they become the stars of the collections and they choose them because of their aesthetics and not because of their archaeological significance”. [my translation from Greek](75:4)

The above finding indicates that museum artefacts become the ‘stars of the collection’ according to both archaeological and aesthetic criteria. And it becomes clear that the selection processes of replicas enhance the aura of the authentic museum artefacts which become the stars of a collection. Similarly, the consumption of a replica can enhance the museum artefacts. P., who has worked as a seller at the official museum shop of the National Archaeological Museum, explained how people get very interested in acquiring the replica of marble pigeons without having noticed the original artefacts and how the purchase of this specific item motivates them to go back and see the original:

“The area where the pigeons are exhibited does not attract much attention; they are not highlighted like the *Jockey of Artemisio* or *Poseidon of Artemision* but they (the pigeons) are exhibited in an area which is more like a passage towards the upper floor. Customers have never mentioned that they saw the pigeons upstairs at the galleries and look for their replicas in our museum shop; we (the sellers) tell them where the originals are located and after the purchase they go back to have a look at the originals. I think most of the customers come in and see a beautiful object, they see it as a nice memento to have without knowing from which part of Greece it is from. They definitely ask but they care less (for its provenance) and they are mostly interested to take back the replica with them, because they like the idea of the pigeon and what it symbolizes. Most people buy the pigeons for their symbolism and for the same reason they buy the *Eros and Psyche* and the *Hygeia*” [my translation from Greek] (72:2)

Apart from the authentication processes of the museums, the interaction with the local population of the host culture contributed to shaping perceptions of authenticity, as it has also proved important on influencing the souvenir purchase behaviour (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). A typical example is the *komboloi* or worry beads that visitors are not usually familiar with before their visit in Greece. S., a nurse from Australia, observed locals using the worry beads and when she stayed overnight at Nafplio as part of her tour, she was impressed by the number of worry-beads shops that one can find at this particular town. She said about her experience at Nafplio:

“Yes, exactly. And that was just so beautiful and authentic which is what I think most tourists are looking for something that’s authentic to that particular place. Yes.” (36:8)

Several informants actually referred to their experience at the souvenir shop and their interaction with the shop’s personnel regarding authenticity. K. and her husband E. from USA are of a higher educational level and economic status and were travelling on a private tour, to Athens and the Greek islands. They were interested in acquiring something not commercial but authentic; they finally chose a coaster with Minoan artwork and Byzantine jewellery. They said characteristically:

“E: I think that the thing that we liked to buy, they have to seem authentic. They have to seem subtle.

K: Not touristy.

E: Not obviously, saying that it might be from Greece. I think that if you would have a guest come into your house and see it they will ask, “What is this?” Then you will be able to tell them, but not something that would say ‘we love Santorini’. I think subtlety is a big thing for me.

K: Nothing kitsch or tacky” (42:4)

In the participants’ words, an authentic souvenir is a non-commercial, touristy, or tacky object. They emphasized “subtlety” in the sense that they did not wish to acquire a souvenir that would conspicuously mention the name of the destination. It is interesting to see their definition of authenticity in their choice of a souvenir. Even though they related Greece with the Classical civilisation, they did not desire a souvenir

relating to Greece so obviously that would render it touristy. The question that arises is what influenced their choice to acquire souvenirs from less well-known periods of the history of Greece. The participants reported that their choice of the coaster decorated with Minoan art was influenced by their visit at Knossos:

“It was unique. I guess everything we bought on this trip was the new things we learned, except for the Minoan little bull matador; we thought it was Knossos which is awesome, but besides that everything we bought have to do with things that were not what first comes to mind. We didn't buy any Greek gods or goddess statues, big togas or anything like that” (42:11)

Regarding the Byzantine jewellery they acquired, their choice was influenced by the local jeweller. K. stated characteristically that “I think that everything we bought was not necessarily unique to a souvenir shop but unique to the American idea of Greece. (42:13). K. and E. reported that they did not visit any Byzantine churches; in their case, it was their interaction with the owner of the jewellery shop in Crete that influenced their choice.

This study also found that the majority of the research participants valued handcrafted items which are locally produced as opposed to the mass-produced souvenirs manufactured in other countries that do not have any connection with the host country. A. from USA stated:

“A: It just depends. I like cute areas, like in parts of the Plaka. It's all about the merchandising. If it's like a really cute store and has authentic handcrafts of the area, like some stores I saw in Plaka. I just don't want stuff which are “Made in China”. (26:9)

A. emphasizes that she was looking for an authentic handcraft, one that is locally produced and not mass produced in China.

T, the pottery workshop owner from Plaka also explained:

“People that buy our creations are interested in our craftsmanship. They are impressed by the fact that our products are handcrafted by us. Sometimes they like to take photos of us with the object that we crafted; they really value that the crafted item was made by us, not like other souvenirs made in China” [my translation from Greek] (74:6)

G., a retired businessman from USA, usually buys clothes in his travels. His criterion is that they would be made locally from local materials. For W. from Australia, the name of the maker is also important:

“No, just pure classic, plain classic, and then there's the name of the maker. That was it, but beautiful bags, great bags, and I was surprised at how cheap they were. Because everything is made in China, where we come from, it's

cheap. And everything is made here in Greece, so that made it really quite special (39:9)

For C., a participant from USA, the style of the souvenir shop is important for acquiring an authentic souvenir: “I try to get mine at unique stores. I don't like buying them at the tourist stores. I like finding handmade stuff or stuff that's true culture” (28:1)

E., a souvenir shop owner from Mycenae, explained what she regards as authentic souvenir:

“The fridge magnets are usually Chinese. They definitely sell but you know what? I have already mentioned it earlier, what makes an authentic souvenir. There is no authentic souvenir for me, everything manufactured in Greece is authentic. Somebody might have taken pebbles from a Greek island and decorated them and sells them there. This is an authentic souvenir for me, because the artist has done some work, it is handcrafted, he has conceived an idea, he has been inspired.” [my translation from Greek] (70:21)

For R., a male participant from USA, working in telecommunications, an authentic souvenir is the one that is made by local people:

“I try to go for the local crafts, local people that done work, but I've gotten brown glass, porcelain, beautiful vases from Malta, Maltese glass, various things that a craftsman has done. I mean, it could be done in metal or stone, something in that effect, yes” (30:1)

These findings are consistent with those of Littrell et al. (1993) who recognized workmanship as one of the categories of tourists' perceptions of authenticity, especially for those tourists who belong to the “Ethnic, Arts, People” and “History and Parks” types (Littrell et al., 1993, p. 208). Similarly, our results also indicated the importance that the research participants gave to the interaction with local producers/artisans and its positive effect on their perceptions of souvenir authenticity. This finding also accords with the observation made by Yu and Littrell (2003, p. 147), that travellers with an interest in history, arts and culture, relate the authenticity of the crafts to cultural and historical contexts of the destination and to their interaction with the local producers/artisans. In our case, the contact with producers/artisans was in most cases through the “staged” demonstrations created by souvenir shop owners. What the research participants perceived as an “authentic” element of their souvenirs was that they were handmade, locally produced and had characteristic traits of Greece. A replica of a museum vase, for example, is made of local materials by local artisans with the application of ancient techniques. This is also true for souvenirs that are not museum replicas but are related indirectly with the cultural heritage of the country. X. an owner

of an art gift gallery at Plaka commented that one of the most popular souvenirs among her customers are espresso cups made of clay and decorated with the ancient Greek black figure technique (see **Figure 14**). For most travellers these features are sufficient for perceiving the vase as authentic. This is not surprising, if we consider that modern tourists are aware that what is presented to them is staged (Urry, 2002), or are simply not interested in total authenticity (Cohen, 1988) and accept an “authentic reproduction” (Bruner, 1991), of the museum object in our case. It seems that museum replicas that fulfil the above criteria emanate the ‘aura’ of the authentic museum objects (see *Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies*) while the importance given to the local materials and the craftsmanship of the museum replicas demonstrate that they (the museum replicas) allow potentialities (see Dudley use of the term in *Meaning created by museum exhibition*) through their material properties and enable engagements with their beholders (see *Souvenir actions*).

Figure 14: Black-figure style espresso cups



Source: Personal archive

Our study also showed that, apart from the museum replicas, the criterion of workmanship was also expected even for souvenirs that are mass produced like fridge-magnets and T-shirts. The findings from the in-depth interviews showed that participants defined as authentic products those that are unique and representative of the country and which are made by local materials. For example, when T-shirts were

made of local cotton and manufactured in Greece they were perceived as an authentic product of the country. Another interesting finding was that many informants regarded pebbles and rocks as authentic of Greece, reporting that this could connect them with the destination. This last finding indicates a tendency of some travellers for valuing the **material properties** of souvenirs which can connect them to the destination, the travel experience and the past. This finding affirms previous studies that noted that “piece-of-the-rock” souvenirs are the true metonymic ones as they serve literally as metonymy of the destination (Gordon, 1986). Apart from little rocks that tourists can collect from nature, pieces of marble can act as metonymies of Greece. X., the owner of an art gift gallery in Plaka, who offers a broad collection of alternative souvenirs created by artists, explains how popular souvenirs made of marble are (see **Figure 15**), exactly because of the association of this specific material with Greece:

X: these souvenirs (marble ashtrays) are made of marble from Tenos. The artist is from Tenos and many of his souvenirs were sold; tourists buy them a lot

Interviewer: is it because they like marble?

X. Yes, because they can't really find marble pieces in their countries. There is some in other European countries but Americans, Brazilians, mostly Americans I would say, and Germans love marble

Interviewer: you mean they love the material, it does not necessarily have connotations with ancient Greece

X. It does have connotations to Greece

[my translation from Greek] (73:6)

Figure 15: Marble ashtrays and painted pebbles from art gift gallery at Plaka



Source: Personal archive

It is possible that such a perception of authenticity related to marble as material is closely related to more general perceptions of what is considered as authentically Greek. Previous studies (Bunn, 2000, p. 172) have observed the importance of the role of the museum in shaping notions that perceive as authentic goods the ones that are made by local artisans and materials (see *The “authentic” souvenir*). In the case of Greece, such notions of authenticity related to marble and other local materials (such as clay) have their roots in the processes that gave shape to the nation-state of Greece, the emphasis on Classical heritage by the heritage and tourism sector (see *The Hellenic identity and the role of Greek archaeology*), and museum institutions. It is possible that marble is deeply engrained in the Western consciousness as an ‘authentic’ material of Greece, a notion which is negotiated during the tourism and more specifically the museum experience. Further research in this field would help us fully understand such associations.

Perceptions of authenticity were also associated with **food products** which were regarded as unique (e.g. ouzo) or representative (e.g. wine and olive oil) of Greece. Most of these participants reported that they do not tend to purchase typical souvenirs, like fridge-magnets, but they usually buy products which could be consumed, and which could also prolong and reinforce the experience of the trip because of their multisensory character (Altintzoglou et al., 2016). R, a male participant in his 20s from Spain, reported that he doesn’t like shopping souvenirs, but he likes to take back edible products that can be consumed. J. and B., a young couple from USA, stated:

“We buy wine everywhere we go. That's like our souvenir. If we want to remember the trip, then we can get it home. Sometimes in foreign countries, it's hard to get it home. When we travel in America, we must always buy a wine and take it back home with us. It's more a part of the living culture to buy something that you can use, instead of just put on your wall like a trinket or you put it away in a drawer.” (51:19)

Apart from the edible products many of the participants who appreciate the utilitarian value of souvenirs reported that they like to buy clothes, books, cosmetic products or jewellery either for their personal use or as gifts for their loved ones.

F., a female participant from Spain, working as university professor for lifelong learning courses, said:

“When you buy clothes or trousers that you can wear -in my case I can wear them at work- and you always stand out, it is a thing that—my trousers can last 10,12 or 20 years and every time you wear them you are going to remember the trip” [my translation from Spanish] (21:2)

Some interviewees attribute their purchase motivations to the **aesthetic qualities** of a souvenir. D., a female participant from USA, who travelled with her husband on a private tour, explained:

“For me, it was a nice object. And it was something that I would bring back and I know I would always 100% of the time I remember where I got it and when I got it. And to me that's important for a souvenir. For him, he loves the history, he loves the idea that the Lambda and those other objects were from the linear tablets” (43:2)

And when asked what determined their choices of the souvenirs they acquired in Greece she said:

“For me, it's aesthetics. For my husband, it's meaningful. In this case it's historically and that's very important to him. And he rarely buys jewelry, so I'm surprised he bought that. But yes, he really loved the linear tablet story that you gave on your pendant.” (43:4)

The above extract illustrates that people purchase souvenirs for a number of reasons, but their functional qualities could also determine their purchase behavior.

E., a souvenir shop owner from Mycenae, explained about the criteria that people have when they look for souvenirs:

“I always say to people to follow their instincts when they buy something. There are some Americans who have bought some vases of maroon colour because they matched the sofas of their living room. They told me: “We don't care that somebody thought of painting antelopes on a vase of the Geometric period style which is not authentic, not an exact replica of a museum piece but inspired by it” He told me that he would buy those two vases because their colour matched his sofa.” [my translation from Greek] (70:7)

Another reason that influenced the participants' souvenir choices was the **size and/or price of souvenirs**. A. from USA emphasized authenticity but also the size as the most important factors for her souvenir shopping:

“I'd like to buy authentic to the region souvenirs. But I also try to keep them small because I have too much stuff. So often I will try to be usable. So, I'll buy like potholders, anything that will just make me happy when I see it and it reminds me of the trip. So, lately I've been doing magnets because they're small and easy. But if I can bring back food, I like whatever is authentic to the area.” (26:1)

It seems that the large size, heavy weight, or expensive price can be prohibiting factors for acquiring souvenirs. For this reason, fridge-magnets and T-shirts, for

example, proved to be the most popular souvenirs because of their **portability** especially among participants flying long distance. This finding affirms previous research data reporting that portability is an important criterion for many tourists when purchasing souvenirs (Graburn, 1976; Hitchcock, 2000; S. Kim & Littrell, 1999).

Or food products which can be both authentic of the area and easy to carry around, as A. reported in the previous extract. However, food products need to be very well packaged and sealed, otherwise they can cause trouble to the travellers especially those flying long distance (Altintzoglou et al., 2016, p. 127).

Another excellent option for a souvenir which is easy to carry is jewellery, as T., a souvenir shop owner from Mycenae, explained:

“Byzantine jewellery doesn’t sell that much because it is very expensive; on the contrary, the maeander and the spiral, inspired by the Geometric and the Minoan periods, are light pieces. Silver is usually 2-3 grams, you just wear it and go, it doesn’t weigh, it doesn’t break, it’s easy to carry around. When you get that as a gift, the person who receives the gift can see the 925 stamp for silver and realises that this is silver. This makes it a valuable gift; it is easy to carry, and it is usually the first choice.” [my translation from Greek] (71:10)

B) Tourist-souvenir engagements

In the previous section we discussed the influence that the tourist experience had on the participants’ souvenir purchase behaviour and on re-establishing their pre-conceived ideas and cultural stereotypes regarding the host culture. We also examined the parameters that influenced participants on their souvenir choices in order to fully understand what people seek from their souvenirs before they start engaging with them. After their acquisition, souvenirs are attached with personal meanings and start to be even more entangled with their beholders. And when holiday souvenirs finally transform into household objects, they infiltrate their owners’ daily lives and they become part of the processes which construct personal and social identities (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). Considering the significance of the tourist experience in the construction of self-identity, the role of souvenirs on such processes (see *The tourist experience and its role in the construction of self-identity*) and the importance of the transaction between subjects and objects for the development of self (see *Human-Object biographies*) souvenirs can be viewed as “biographical objects” (Hoskins, 1998) and material manifestations of the tourist experience, generating a “constant (re)formulation of our identities” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 45; Σαμαρά, 2014).

The present research examined how people engage with their souvenirs during the tourist experience. Researching how people ‘converse’ with their souvenirs at their home environment would be beyond the scope of this study. However, the findings demonstrate how souvenirs start to be experienced at the moment when they enter the lives of their beholders. In the section that follows we will discuss the tourist-souvenir engagements at the tourist *locus* and more specifically:

- The processes that generate meanings
- How people experience their souvenirs and the effect of souvenir actions

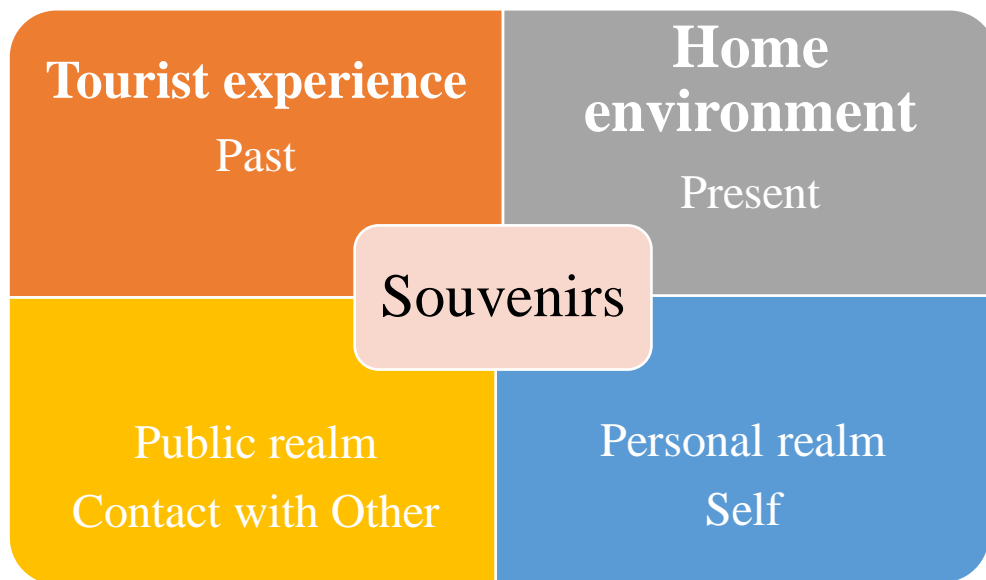
The processes that generate multiple layers meanings attached to souvenirs.

During the processes of souvenir production and consumption phase (Du Gay et al., 2013) producers, retailers and buyers apply different layers of meanings to them. In the production phase, souvenirs are encoded with meanings by their makers. Our research showed that most Greek souvenirs are inspired by the country’s cultural heritage, especially the Classical past. In the case of museum replicas, the meaning ascribed is related to the ancient Greek world through museum professionals (see *Souvenirs in their place of origin*).

Before a product reaches the consumer, there is usually a promotion stage between production and consumption, which aims at achieving successful sales (Du Gay et al., 2013, pp. 46–47). The meanings that an object carries can reflect all the stages of its life cycle. In this sense, souvenirs reflect place meanings and destination branding; in other words the desires of destination planners (Swanson & Timothy, 2012) and policies of official cultural heritage management bodies. A pre-tour narrative is usually included in a large array of sources accessible to the general public: tourist brochures, travel guides, airline companies, tourist bureaus (Bruner, 2005), or through the Internet (web pages, travel blogs, social media) and the media in general (newspapers, TV advertisements, posters). Therefore, ideas regarding Greece as a destination could reach future travellers and potential consumers of Greek souvenirs and could influence their souvenir purchase behaviour. The results of our research indicated that visitors to Greece not only had pre-conceived ideas regarding Greece as a destination, but they also reported that they had ideas about what kind of souvenirs they would try to acquire even before their arrival.

When the travellers finally arrive in Greece, they receive more information regarding the archaeological sites and museum artefacts (on site pamphlets of the Ministry of Culture, information by guides or locals), while further meanings are created during the travel experience and the “consumption phase” (Du Gay et al., 2013). Both the museum and the souvenir shop experience and the interaction with the locals produce meanings. Souvenirs are also encoded with traits of the host culture, the “Other” from the traveller’s perspective during such encounter; in this sense, the souvenir “seeks distance”, but at the same time it contracts the distance in order to “expand the personal” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 46; Stewart, 1993, p. xii). In other words, the souvenir that represents a foreign culture is appropriated by its consumers and enters their personal realm where it is ascribed with their personal memories, experiences and their view of the world (see **Graph 22**). In this way, the Other permeates our everyday lives through our interaction with souvenirs (Love & Kohn, 2001; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 46; Wearing, 2002).

Graph 22: Souvenirs as mediating objects



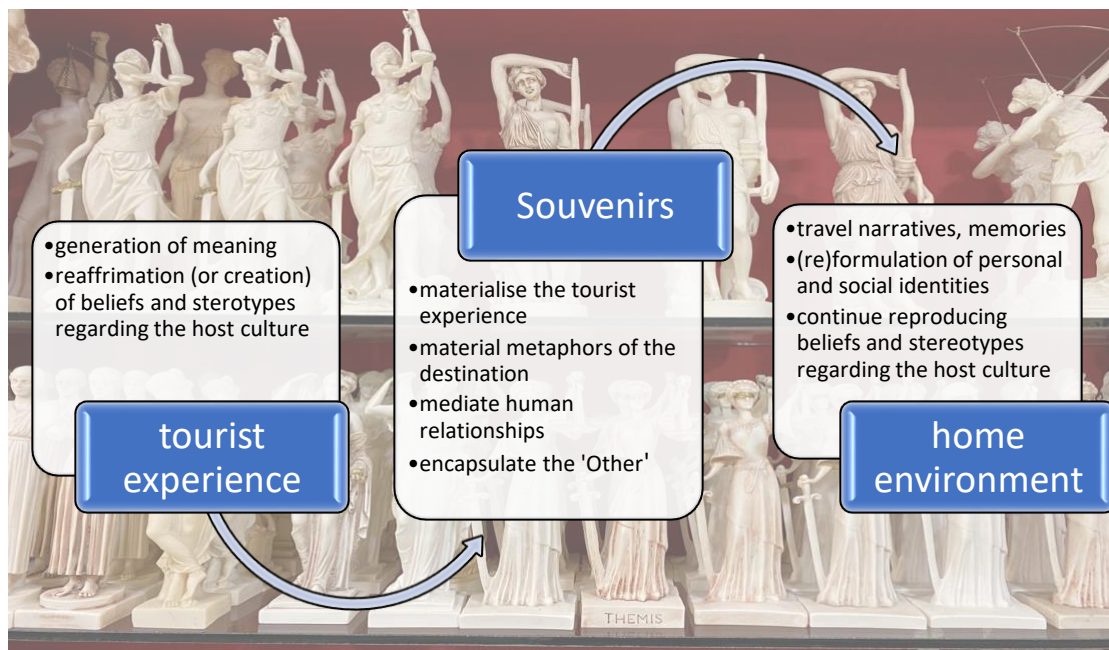
For example, D. from USA commented how the jewellery that she bought in Greece would encapsulate her experience in Greece and her contact with the ‘Other’:

I bought it in Greece and one or two pieces in Delphi. I always get art from an artist, and I haven't seen drawings or paintings or anything that the artist is actually doing, but I bought two pieces of gold and silver jewellery that are signed by the artist and I met him and we talked about it and we talked about the symbols that he used. When I wear it, it won't be just something pretty. It'll be, "Oh yes, this is

from Greece, and this is what this symbol meant and this is---It's by the artist and it's signed by him." (56:12)

At another point during her interview, D. mentioned that she had no prior knowledge regarding the Greek culture in general apart from films such as “My big fat Greek wedding”. In this case, notions regarding the Other are, thus, constructed as a result of the tourist experience and the contact with locals. In other cases, beliefs regarding the ‘Other’ are formed prior to the visit (see *Preconceptions prior to the visit*) and can possibly be re-established as a result of the tourist experience, as discussed earlier (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). Thus, souvenirs that encapsulate such notions can continue to reproduce such ideas regarding the host culture once they enter their users’ home environment (see Graph 23). As they become part of their users’ personal space and part of their lives, the meanings, beliefs and stereotypes which are deeply ingrained in the souvenirs are entangled in the same object in multiple layers. This finding affirms previous studies that observed the souvenir’s ability to reconcile different elements sometimes contradictory (Grennan, 2015, 2019).

Graph 23: Souvenirs as the conduit between the tourist experience and the home environment



In this sense, souvenirs will not only be a tangible proof of the tourist experience, but they will also be embedded with the visitors' personal interpretation of their experience linked to their life. For example, MI from Spain was intrigued by the Mycenaean spirals at the museum of Mycenae and by my explanations from my role as a guide as well as the souvenir shop's seller who explained the possible meanings of the spiral and its relation with life after death according to the Mycenaean religious beliefs. MI had recently experienced her mother's death and she decided to purchase a necklace with the Mycenaean spiral. In her interview, she explained that the spiral-necklace will remind her of her travel experience in Greece, the spiral at the Mycenae Museum, and the guide's explanation. In this sense, the spiral necklace will encapsulate the melding of Self and the Other (see *Souvenirs and the Self*) which was created during the tourist experience but it will also connect her with that crucial moment of her life and will even give her hope of an after-life for her mother, as she reported in her interview. Apart from this personal meaning the souvenir, in this case, serves as a conduit that would connect MI with the collective memory of the enchantment of the world (Goss, 2004) and the collective hope of a life beyond death (see *Souvenirs and the Self*).

MI's souvenir will also be mediating between the tourist experience and the destination and her home environment; in this sense it would be more a "biographical object" than a protocol object (see the relevant discussion in *Human- Object biographies*). When souvenirs are replicas of museum objects, or related to museum artefacts like in MI's case, they also mediate between the distant past in which the ancient artefacts belong, the recent past of the tourist experience and the present moment at the home environment. Thus, the 'Other' is located in both different time and space dimensions: The museum replica can stand both as a symbol of ancient Greek ideas and values, as a metonymy of ancient Greece and at the same time as a material metaphor of the tourist experience and a metonymy of Modern Greek culture (see **Graph 2** and **Graph 3** in chapter 4). In this sense, souvenirs can be viewed as "objects of transition" (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 46) demonstrating their potential as mediators between past and present, domestic and public (see **Graph 22**).

All these different layers of meanings and connotations converge into the same object and can emerge on the surface depending on the different modes in which subjects relate to their museum replicas at given moments. Such processes may be better understood through a phenomenological approach that can elucidate the various

ways in which travellers experience the multiple aspects and meanings of their souvenirs (see *Chapter 2: Experiencing objects*). The souvenir becomes a “thing” (see Heidegger, 2009), when it stops being an unimportant commodity and comes out from its anonymity acquiring substance, meaning and personal value for its users (Stewart, 1993), as it enters a new phase in its “social life” (Appadurai, 1986). Like the “thing”, which gathers the oneness of the fourfold in Heideggerian terms (Heidegger, 2009), a souvenir/museum replica can bring together different dimensions for its owner: past/present, self/other, home environment/destination, the outer world (social) and the personal world (see **Graph 22**). And the different layers of meanings attached to souvenirs can come to light depending on the phenomenological mode (present-at-hand or ready-to-hand) of the engagement between the subject and the object at given moments (see **Graph 1**).

When asked about the place where they would keep their souvenirs, a large number of participants reported that they would keep them at a visible communal space in their home environment (either a bookcase or a wall at the living room, dining room or kitchen); they usually keep souvenirs collected from various trips together with other mementoes of important life events. In Heideggerian terms, the assemblage of souvenirs and life mementoes at a home environment could form an equipmental contexture (see *The phenomenological approach*); when viewed with circumspection in their everyday dealings with their users, the latter can reach a deeper understanding of themselves. In this sense, souvenirs and life mementoes could contribute to the construction of self-identity. Following Giddens’s (1991) view on the importance of one’s biography on the construction of self-identity, Desforges (2000) pointed the importance of tourism biographies for the production of a post-travel narrative and its significance on self-identity (see *The tourist experience and its role in the construction of self-identity*). The selection of certain possessions endowed with a special meaning out of the total environment of available artefacts and the transaction with their owner contributes to the development of the self; objects materialise memories, experiences, values and relationships, giving their owner a sense of continuity (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p. 189).

Considering the role of travelling in transforming one’s self and broadening of one’s world views (Davidson, 2005; Desforges, 2000; Noy, 2004; O’Reilly, 2005), souvenirs can signify these moments of change and self-development. Thus, apart from embodying the travel experience, a souvenir can also “objectify” (Miller, 1987)

milestones of personal development, enlightenment and self-realisation. Referring again to the previous example, MI reported that her spiral-neckless will remind her not only of her trip in Greece, but also of that moment at the Mycenae Museum when the encounter with the spiral and the guide's explanations triggered the memory of her mother and signified the hope for an after-life. MI's souvenir will be embedded with all these meanings and each meaning will reveal itself to MI by the way that she will experience her souvenir each time.

Souvenir actions

When asked how they relate with the souvenirs already acquired at previous trips in their environment, or how they intended to relate to the souvenirs purchased in Greece, participants explained that their souvenirs would signify different things at different times, depending on the situation and the setting of those encounters: it will be a different experience when they are alone and focus their attention to the souvenir, recollecting moments of their tourist experience, or contemplating on personal moments related to their lives, as in the above example of MI. In other situations, for example when they invite friends, souvenirs can be the focal point for starting conversations, sharing memories and travel experiences or life events. The setting and the situation also influence the way in which the subjects would relate to their objects of travel: previous studies have noted the different post-trip narratives produced depending on the situation (Bruner, 2005, p. 27; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 47). The main (and probably most obvious role) of souvenirs is their ability to act as **memory triggers** of past events, the tourist experience and the destination visited (Gordon, 1986; Hitchcock, 2000; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2010). The informants of our research reported that the souvenirs they acquired during their stay in Greece would help them recollect their experience, people they met and important places of the host country. In conjunction with the souvenirs, they acquired from past travels and other life mementoes they would be part of the memory processes that produce personal narratives and life stories.

E. from Australia really stressed the importance of attaching a memory to each of the souvenirs she has collected from travelling: "Each souvenir has to have a memory attached to it. I won't buy anything unless I have a memory. A good memory" (34:2).

And some participants valued the souvenirs they acquired for their potential to trigger a memory easily without requiring a complex mental process but a rather easy association with the destination visited. For example, L. from Mexico, said:

“It is like a small piece of all the places that I visited. It helps me remember all these places because unfortunately, we usually look at the photos to remember. But then when I will look at the fridge-magnet I bought in Santorini, I think of the island, the donkeys, the sea, the cable car; it is a way to remember quickly the place without trying to remember hard” [my translation from Spanish] (7:6)

For other participants the memory triggered by their souvenir is related more to their personal life. For example, F. from USA commented on the importance of her coin pendant that she would wear on her history class:

“I think just a memory. Not only do I just love jewellery, I do love jewellery, but the memory that's attached to it too that I went there, or it's a replica of the coin and that it's. Yes, this probably, sounds silly, but I think I literally would pick it out, especially on the days that I was lecturing about Greece, that I would wear my coins on those days.”(2:20)

A memory of one's past is essential for the formation of self-identity, but at the same time the memory of a past experience is subjective, it is not an exact 'facsimile' of the events themselves but how people remember them; a new experience is processed by the brain based on pre-existing knowledge gained from past encounters (Schacter, 1996, p. 6). Remembering is therefore subjective and vital for shaping one's past which in its turn provides the sense of continuity of one's life, important for the awareness of the Self. Souvenirs play a significant part in such processes since they provide material evidence of one's past (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993; Kavanagh, 2000) and they contribute in the creation of one's personal narrative (Stewart, 1993).

Other participants emphasized the surprise element that certain mementoes can trigger to memory. For example, A. from Spain who keeps a collection of tickets for archaeological sites and public transport from past travels, commented:

A: they help me remember mostly because they have the element of surprise. Sometimes you take a book in which you placed a little paper without thinking about it, like an entrance ticket to a museum or a public transport ticket and when you open it you get a spontaneous memory. You don't remember placing it there but it helps you to remember something that you didn't intend to” [my translation from Spanish] (19:4)

In the above extract, A. values mementoes that were not intended to have such use simply because of their surprise element and their potential of triggering a spontaneous memory. This finding clearly shows the agency of souvenirs and their

potential of triggering human reactions without the necessity of a human intention (see *The recognition of agency to things*).

An interesting finding was the significance given to the multi-sensory character of a specific tourist experience and the role of souvenirs in triggering such memories. The customers of the ceramic workshop owned by P and T can make their own pieces of pottery that they can take back home as souvenirs. P. explained the importance of the experience for tourists:

“It (the piece of pottery) reminds them of their experience and the fact that they were here at the workshop and made it with their hands.” [my translation from Greek] (74:5)

Apart from their role as memory triggers, though, it is possible that the engagement of tourists in the production process demonstrates another way of experiencing the objects. P. and T. explained of how the production process allows a certain degree of agency to the objects:

P: We really like to allow freedom to the process since we are artists ourselves and we usually let something happen. You start creating an object which finally takes you somewhere else and then you think ‘it doesn’t really matter, this is the shape that it has taken’ and it can be much better than the initial idea that you had. Regarding the people that visit our workshop they are usually more tight and it is important for us to help them to let loose and liberate themselves from norms that they might have on their minds. They usually say that I can’t do it like that

T: Or that it didn’t come out straight or is quite crooked; such reactions are very common

P: we usually observe such reactions among students who participate on our workshops more often. In the beginning they say ‘oh, it is a bit crooked..’ but after a few seminars they start to relax more and they like that their pieces of pottery are a bit crooked. They like that their pieces of pottery has some imperfections

T: and we also tell them that if they wanted perfection, we could have used a mould

P: exactly

T: the attraction of the pieces that they make is that they can be crooked, that they can have a fingerprint

As P. and T. explained, in many cases the participants on their workshops liberate themselves from norms that they have in their minds. Thus, the objects themselves do have an impact on their creators (see Ingold, 2009). It is possible that the participation of tourists in the production process allows different ways of engaging with their souvenirs. Further research is needed in order to investigate further such engagements.

Apart from being able to participate in the production process or simply watch a demonstration of the production process in ceramic workshops, it is probable that

another criterion for selecting museum replicas (ceramic vases or jewellery) or souvenirs inspired or related to museum artefacts was their **utility**. During their interview, P. and T. the owners of the ceramic workshop in Plaka stressed the fact that most of their customers also value the fact that they can use the pieces of pottery for drinking and eating. Similarly, E., a pottery workshop owner from Mycenae commented:

“E: I think that what really fascinates people and especially Americans is the fact that they can use the vases. They can pour olive oil or wine and serve it on their table; and they get very excited about it. They feel as if they are becoming part of the ancient Greek culture, like a simulation of that era” [my translation from Greek] (70:13)

E. also explained her experience from participating in a workshop about ancient diet in Crete:

“They really like the fact that they can use the pottery. On this workshop in Crete, with K. the organiser of the workshop, we used prehistoric vases to cook. We literally cooked in the replicas of prehistoric vases [...] in order to understand the present, we need to know the past. The participants who took part in this workshop realised how people used to live, hunt and cook in prehistoric times [my translation from Greek] (70:14-70:15)

A possible explanation for experiencing souvenirs in such a way is that museums usually prevent the visitor from having a multisensory experience with the museum objects and especially from experiencing their physicality (see Dudley, 2010). In this sense, the use of museum replicas and souvenirs related to museum artefacts indicates an “anarchistic attitude” towards the formal classificatory approach as given by the museums (see *The silent revolution of museum materiality*). As we reviewed in chapter 4, the example of the replica of an ancient Greek vase can be both a metaphor of the travel experience, a metonymy of both ancient and modern Greece, but also a material metaphor of the Classical past. The use of the semiotic square of binary oppositions as given by Domanska and Shanks (see *Our past: The remote past, museum artefacts and their copies*) illustrates that the double negation of the non-fake (see **Graph 7**) renders a replica an “authentic reproduction” (Bruner, 1991). And as we reviewed earlier, the museum replicas are closely related to perceptions of authenticity than the simulacra (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*). In addition, the replica leaves a material vestige in the present which fills the gap of the absence of the authentic museum object. In other words, the need to have a tangible experience of the past through the museum artefact is not possible due to the

restriction in museums, but such a need is replaced by the “non-fake” replica. Identifying a museum replica as a non-fake in the semiotic square (see Domanska, 2006a; Shanks, 2012), recognises its lucid trace in the present. Museum objects being at a present-at-hand mode require a theoretical stance, an experience at a conceptual level. On the other hand, a museum replica, through its functional use as a drinking vessel allows a “ready-to-hand” experience which is important in order for the subject (or Dasein in Heideggerian terms) to achieve a deeper understanding of its own existence by connecting to a remote past (see *A phenomenological analysis of souvenirs*). And the human need to connect to the past is important for self-realisation through the understanding of a lengthier common human saga, for reaffirming timeless values but also for escaping from the present (Lowenthal, 2015, pp. 92–94). Participants showed a special connection to the archaeological sites and museum artefacts during their tourist experience in Greece. For example, MT. from Argentina explained her experience of the Acropolis:

“When we climbed the Acropolis, we were thinking that it is situated quite high; how would life have been for the inhabitants at that time? One would try to imagine how would they live, what would they do? Why did they construct their temples at such a high place? These are the kind of questions that come to mind when you visit the site. This is what impressed me the most: where past meets the present in the same place, this is what impressed me greatly” [my translation from Spanish] (4:23)

This special connection with the past is usually translated in collecting souvenirs of various forms from the archaeological sites. During her interview, MT mentioned her connection with the sites and her admiration of museum artefacts; for these reasons, she acquired a replica of a museum vase.

It seems that jewellery has the same function for many of our participants. For example, D., the art history teacher from USA, purchased a replica of a coin on a pendant that depicts Alexander the Great and explained the function of that piece of jewellery for her:

“Yes, this probably, sounds silly, but I think I literally would pick it out, especially on the days that I was lecturing about Greece, that I would wear my coin-pendant on those days. [chuckles] Not that I would brag and tell people, “Look, I’m wearing coins,” but it’s just that I feel like it would be- the aura of it while I was teaching about it. (2:20)

Her souvenir obviously serves its function as a memory trigger of the travel experience, but she also recognised an aura to the object. This finding also indicates the agency of the coin-pendant and the impact that it would have on the interviewee. A., a student from Puerto Rico also explained the reasons why she purchased a serpentine arm bracelet:

“I saw the arm bracelet at a window shop, and it looked genuinely Greek, I like it a lot. I am going to use it and when I am going to wear it on my arm it will help me remember how I felt in this place, setting my foot on Greek soil [...] Yes, I wanted something that I could have on me, something that I could see. I’ve got photos, I’ve got this and that, but I always want something to carry on me, something with energy. Having this serpentine bracelet on my arm helps me feel the energy” (44:22, 44:23)

As these results indicate, research participants who purchased jewellery emphasized the energy of the materials of their pieces of jewellery. Thus, besides aesthetic reasons, people acquire jewellery for its material properties.

In other cases, participants reported that museum replicas serve as mediums that connect them with the destination and the past. For example, A., a 40-year-old graduate of art history from USA, commented:

“Yes. It’s nice to take a piece of a replicated art from the museum back home. Again, because it is the history that I ‘m seeing from the museum, so bringing a piece of that home makes me feel like I ‘m actually taking a piece with me” (25:11)

A. feels as if she is carrying a piece of the destination and of the past; thus, the replica is embedded with the memory of the trip, her museum experience and a personal trait: her interest in history. A. stated that bringing the museum replica back home would make her feel as if she is carrying a piece of history. Her souvenir will connect her with both her travel experience and with the past.

A. from Puerto Rico shared the feeling of her visit of the archaeological site:

“Walking in the ruins, the ones that everyone speaks about, the most important ones, one feels very distant; and suddenly you are here and you feel so small. And you also think the future, you don’t really believe that these ruins have being preserved up to the present and you realise how important they are for the history of humankind and how many people work to preserve them” [my translation from Spanish] (44:6)

The majority of the interviewees actually referred to their special connection to the past through its material culture. As mentioned in the literature review, the past helps people transcend their short term time-span and understand the continuity of their lives (see chapter 4, and Lowenthal, 2015).

It seems that the physicality of the museum replicas allows their owners to have a “tangible” connection to the past. In addition, experiencing souvenirs through their material properties demonstrates alternative ways of connecting not only with the remote past but also with the destination. This probably explains the fact that many participants underlined the **physical properties** of mementoes, such as stones and pebbles. They reported that this kind of souvenir can carry the energy of the destination and help the recollection not only of the destination but also the sense and emotions of specific and unique moments of their tourist experience. Such a finding justifies the call of many scholars towards the recognition of the status of objects (Olsen, 2010), the importance of materiality (Miller, 2005; Tilley, 2007) and the material properties of things (Ingold, 2000, 2007, 2009). Recent studies (Giaccardi, 2012; Giaccardi & Plate, 2017) have noted that the advance of social media has enabled a more participatory approach to memory practices, to the construction of cultural memory, and a more active role of people in their interaction with heritage objects via the Internet, while such non-physical interactions have been recognised to have become more important than the ones with the objects in their materiality. On the other hand, the results of the present research indicate that the physicality of the museum artefacts, of their replicas and of the objects of travel remains significant, since they can be material metaphors of a destination or the past and materialize experiences because of the abilities that their physical properties offer. The experience that such properties of things evoke are not only located in the realm of the conceptual, but can also be found in the realm of the sensual and the emotional (see Boivin, 2008). The connection between the physicality of things and humans is not merely an interaction at a conceptual level; they are also entangled in the same fabric that consists the world, in a “meshwork” as co-occurrent entities (Ingold, 2012, pp. 437–438).

L., a 40-year-old pharmacist from Mexico, stated that she gets photos and souvenirs to remember her trip and travel experience but chooses little stones to carry the energy of the destination she visited:

“Since you told us that we couldn’t take little rocks from the archaeological sites, I took some pebbles from the beaches. We took those pebbles to take back with us the energy of that place. Every place has its own energy; In Egypt, it is the earth that impresses you, but here in Greece I felt an energy outdoors and this is what I wanted to take back with me. The little stones have an energy; what you call Gaia” [my translation from Spanish] (7:7)

Other participants mentioned their collection of samples of soil from the destinations they visit: I. and N. from Spain commented:

“N: my boxes are my treasure, I have boxes from many places. For example, from Greece I have a box that my brother brought with sand from Olympia and a branch of an olive tree

I: yes, the box contains a little sample from the country, we collect a little bit of soil [...] “my brother also asked me to do him a favour: ‘Please get me a stone, soil or anything else from Marathon because it is like bringing back something from the country to your home” [my translation from Spanish] (20:5-20:6)

The fact that according to the Greek legislation, it is prohibited to take stones from archaeological sites probably motivates visitors to take pebbles or seashells and sand from beaches or little rocks from nature instead.

Trying to explain the significance of the material properties of rocks, M., a 50-year-old doctor from Spain reported:

“I am not really sure, I am not a specialist in geology, but I am fascinated by rocks, I like them very much, they are proteins for the soul. They probably give me something positive, I think.” [my translation from Spanish] (23:6)

It seems that a large majority of the participants develops a special relationship with their souvenirs which form part of their **identity**. Participant D., a history teacher from USA, purchased jewellery which replicate ancient coins that depict Alexander the Great. Her souvenir has a dual function; it reminds her of her travel experience, but it also has a significance for her identity:

“Yes, I purposely chose the museum replica coin over the pretty fancy crystalline thing or something because of that history. I teach the art of history of Greece and so I’m super excited by it. It was that extra level of meaning for me, not just of the trip, but of the history and of the memory of what we did. Everything all together in that” (2:67)

D. purchased replicas not just to have a memento of her travel experience, but because it has a meaning connected to her educational and professional background, and the fact that she appreciates the museum objects for their historical value. In this sense, her coin pendant is closely linked to her personal identity: it objectifies her ideas, interests and educational background and, at the same time, materialises her travel experiences and becomes co-producer of her post-tour narrative. Once souvenirs are acquired, they become the material evidence of one’s narrative, essential for the processes of identity formation. In this sense, souvenirs are not merely “protocol

objects” (Hoskins, 1998), but develop into “biographical objects” since they become interweaved with their owner’s life (see *Human- Object biographies*).

Participant T., a curator of contemporary art from USA, experiences the objects of travel from another perspective:

“Maybe what I’m looking for is to collect experiences of an artwork [...] Sometimes I transform the memory into that kind of a souvenir but it’s more of -- [...] Once, one of my children who are now all grown, but when he was probably about 12 or more, he said, “Mom, what are you doing when you're looking at a painting?”

I thought, well at least he thinks I'm doing something, because he must have seen me stand there and look at a painting for a long time which most people don't do. I had to explain to him that-- I started by saying it was like reading. It was like I was reading the painting. Then I said, but I am also looking to the art object for the train of thought, the sequence of thoughts that I would have that are triggered by the artwork. That, I think, has something to do with the idea of the souvenir too, because you're talking about the object as a trigger for a memory or an experience, right?

I do look to objects for that, but what I usually look to objects for is-- I'm looking for experiences that come out of objects that teaches me something I don't know or suggests a train of thought or an area of thinking in a subject [...] I look to art-- [...] What I understand now having kind of completed my career is that art works and literature, these are ways that I expand my existence beyond the limitations of myself.

If I put myself in the position of the maker of the object, since I would never make that object, then I have a chance to think about what the maker of an object, what the motivation is for making the object, what the process is for making the object, why would you make the object. That's what I look at art and other things for is-- We talk about the other, some people think without the other, we can't be ourselves. I don't look at it that way. I have come to see other people as my proxies, as my guides to areas of thought, to thoughts themselves that I would not have on my own. Not to engage the experience of others is to live a very limited life. I'm grateful for those things.” (66:4)

T. reports that she is not a souvenir buyer in its narrow sense but identifies herself as a collector of experiences of artworks. From her perspective, as a curator of contemporary art, she desires to see the experiences that come out of the objects and expand her limitations by trying to understand the perspective of the maker of the object; in this sense, her souvenir has a mediating role between her and the maker of the object. We also observe how the travel experience and the narrative produced from it are closely linked to the development of the Self; and how objects function as material evidence of such experiences and as material milestones of changes of the Self.

M., a teacher from USA, reported that his collection of patches and miniature monuments, from places he visits, signify a trait of his character. He stated:

“For me, showing that I am open to different places and the ideas from those places and the people in those places. Going to those places, also, shows an

open-mindedness. I think as a teacher of lots of different kinds of students, I strive to present myself as accepting and open. I think those cheap little miniatures when they see, "I've been to all those places," those become little symbols of all the examples, the proof that I'm striving to go out and learn more and be open, and appreciate all those different places and be respectful to them. It's proof to the students.

That's something that in terms of those little trinkets it shows that's the kind of person that I am. Maybe I'm saying too much, but I think there's a level of that to-- They are just little pieces of plastic—[...] It's just small. It sits in behind my desk in my classroom, but the students notice and they ask about it, so I think that develops an atmosphere of open like everyone's respected and all these different places have their own special importance and we should learn about all of them. I'm the type of person that likes to do that too. We all should do that” (2:26)

For M. his souvenirs are important for showing his open-mindedness, a trait that he values as very significant for his work as a teacher. The souvenirs also serve the purpose of opening discussions with his students about all these places and especially for teaching the students the importance of being open-minded and respectful towards other cultures. At another point of his interview the same participant explained how the souvenirs connect him to his travel experience. Whether it is a piece of music or the patches that he collects, souvenirs would trigger a memory of the experience:

“M: It's a connection to the experience. Every once and a while, when I come home, I take my patch, my bag out and then sometimes my kids all go through, and it's like a starting point for a memory to, "Yes. I went there when I was your age." or, "My dad used to go on trips, and he would bring me home patches." [...] It's a connection to the memory of those things.” (2:22)

For these reasons, M. places his souvenirs in the classroom. Souvenirs act as triggers for memory which initiate discussions between the users of the souvenirs and their guests: they can share stories about their travel experiences. The souvenirs that they have chosen to be visible to their guests can represent traits of their personality like the open-mindedness that M. wanted to show to his students.

The above findings are consistent with previous studies (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993) that have shown that objects can signify the Self by revealing the self through time or demonstrating one's place in a social network or even making somebody's social status visible traits of one's self in a social network (see *Human- Object biographies*). Our study also indicated that in many cases, souvenirs and especially museum replicas can act as **symbols of the cultural capital** and markers of status for their owners. This explains the fact that souvenirs with an artistic or historical value

(such as ceramic vases or statues) or souvenirs that are clearly associated with the destination (fridge-magnets) are placed at a visible place (see Table 21).

Many of the interviewees commented on how they exhibit their souvenirs to friends and family, as J. from Spain explained:

J: I have a display where I keep all the souvenirs but I like them to be objects of a certain value. From the experience I've got when I buy souvenirs of little value which are just typical souvenirs that you can find everywhere, they end up being placed in a drawer or a box and they are not used. It is preferable to spend a little more money and get a souvenir that you can keep in a display [...]

I try to provoke [chuckles] my friends to ask me about my souvenirs; I show the souvenirs to them, I take them close to the bookcase so that they can ask me and that I can narrate my experiences of every trip" [my translation from Spanish] (18:2 and 18:4)

Similarly, D. an archaeologist from Spain, distinguished between the cheap fridge magnets that he keeps in his new house and emphasized museum replicas that he bought in official museum shops and keeps in his parents' house:

D: the majority (of souvenirs) are for gifts. I have some fridge-magnets on our fridge because I now live with my girlfriend. I used to live with my parents before and I had a display where I kept souvenirs which were more archaeological. For example, a reproduction of Rosetta stone or a reproduction of a Roman glass vase and a Greek bronze helmet, all these exhibited in a display [my translation from Spanish] (17:14)

J. from USA with a PhD in economics also emphasized that she expected to find more expensive items in the museum shop of the Acropolis Museum:

Interviewer: In Greece, did you visit any of the museum shops?

J: Well, I certainly did look at in the museum shop, in the Acropolis Museum. It's nice. It's not as related to the exhibits as it should be. They did have one book that was related to their Chinese exhibition. It was just one book that's all they had there. They didn't have a very extensive collection of publications on what was actually being shown. I thought they could have done that. I think could have had more higher, more expensive things that people would associate with what they were seeing. In some of the other museums, they were old and tired as if they hadn't been changed in decades. (62:6)

Previous studies have noted that objects of travel like jewellery, clothes or embroidered materials, can acquire "a hierarchy of authenticity" since they are made of high quality materials, while they clearly indicate the provenance of an ethnic group; in such cases, these items will function as "symbols of the acquired cultural capital of travel experience" (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 37). In the present study, a large percentage of participants with an educational background knowledge of the Classical world acquired either museum replicas or souvenirs related to museum artefacts ; they

reported that such items can connect them with their travel experience in Greece, the remote past and their personal interests. The fact that the museum replicas were purchased as commodities does not prevent them from being singularised (Kopytoff, 2000) and enter another sphere of their cultural biography (see Human- Object biographies). However, we argue that museum replicas can continue to function both as souvenirs and as art objects; previous studies have recognised the ability of objects to “mutate” and change from use-value to sign-value (Knappett, 2005). The results of the present study indicated that for many research participants, their souvenirs could carry all these meanings and acquire different kinds of value¹³⁶. At moments, they would contemplate at the aesthetics and the artistic value of their museum replica and they would be experiencing the objects in a “present-to-hand” mode from a phenomenological perspective; in this case, the “hierarchy of authenticity” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005) would have been acquired during the museum visit and the demonstration of its production process at the ceramic workshop. Especially the museum experience would have contributed to the authentication of the museum replica. Thus, it would have been ascribed with an ‘authentic aura’, as well as with an artistic and historical value. As we reviewed earlier, the research participants who had an educational Classical background appreciated the museum replicas they acquired for their authentic elements and their artistic and historical value (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*). In this case, the museum replicas add a higher social status to its owners, as previous studies have noted such as an ability to the objects of travel (Gimblett, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005).

Such attitudes were observed also in participants who did not have an educational background or a special interest in classics. For example, R. from USA purchased replicas of ceramic vases (among other souvenirs) and commented on the place that he would keep them at home:

Interviewer: And where do you usually keep those souvenirs?

R: In my house.

Interviewer: Do you have special place for that?

R: I’ve got them all over the house, in the bathroom and everywhere. [laughs]

Interviewer: And when your friends come to the house or your family, do they ask you about them or where you bought them?

¹³⁶ There are souvenirs that do have a literal use-value in an everyday context (key-rings, bottle-openers, or food products). However, when we apply the term “use-value” to souvenirs as a general category of objects, we refer to their metaphorical use-value as mementoes or memory triggers of the destination and the travel experience. When we refer to “the sign-value” this includes those souvenirs that can acquire an art-value, such as statues and ceramic vases

R: I say that I live in a museum. [laughs]
Interviewer: Do you guide them and explain?
R: No, they're not that interested in it.
Interviewer: So, you keep these objects to help you recall a journey that you did?
R: Yes, where I was, right. I get cards. If, right, the local work, I'll have a card or something attach to it as far as who did the work, statues, anything.
Interviewer: So that's a card of the information of this--
R: I place it under the--
Interviewer: So, that helps you remember where you bought it and in which street.
R: Yes.
Interviewer: Do you sometimes look at the objects and think of the trip?
R: Yes. Then I look at my photographs and say, "Wow, nice trip", yes.(30:2)

In this extract we observe the similarities between a museum exhibition and the way that R. exhibits his souvenirs. It seems that museums shape such attitudes even for people who did not report to have a special interest in museums in general. M., a doctor from Spain, reported that the majority of the souvenirs that she buys are for her loved ones. However, she acquires souvenir also for herself: either for her private collection of tickets (plane tickets, museum tickets) or a visible collection of rocks in a showcase at the entrance of her house. She remarked:

"Yes, in this case, I bought a plate with a Satyr and this is where I am going to keep the rocks; I will keep the dish at the showcase and I will remember my trip in Athens and the beach where I've been. [...]"

I have a big house with a garden and a swimming pool; there are usually many guests every weekend and I've got this showcase at the entrance. My guests see the rocks and they ask me, I've got rocks from all over the world, I love to show them to my guests" [my translation from Spanish] (23:3, 23:5)

C. from USA, who collects mugs, mentioned that her souvenirs serve a focal point that can initiate discussions among different guests:

"Interviewer: Would you invite friends or family at home, do you talk to them about the objects if you're asked about them?"

C: Absolutely.

Interviewer: Do you like talking about your trips or people that you met there?

C: Yes. We have a rather diverse set of friends, so we all have a different background and can add to the discussion" (60:6)

For several participants who have travelled extensively, souvenir **collection** has become a hobby. J. from New York has started a collection of plates which she hangs on the walls of her living room. On her last trip in Greece, she bought a plate with

Minoan decoration and this time she found a hand painted plate with island landscapes.

When asked whether she likes to show the plates to her guests she said:

“Interviewer: When you have friends that come in your house and they look at it and they ask you questions, do you like talking about it?”

J: I do, but I don't feel like pointing out necessarily where things come from because I don't want to brag. Like I've been here and there. It's funny when you're on a trip and people say, "I have been here, I've been there, I've been that." It's okay to talk about, but when your friends haven't been anywhere, maybe one trip in their lifetime, you don't want to brag about how many places that you've been. That's not really cool. [laughs]

Interviewer: If they ask you what's that? What do you usually say? Do you focus more on the aesthetic?

“J: No. If they open that up, I do. I say, ‘Well, that was when was at so and so, that's why I brought that back and now I have this memory’ (58:10)

It seems that even for those participants who do not wish to deliberately show the mementoes from their travels, their objects of travel act as memory triggers initiating travel narratives shared with their guests at social gatherings. At another level, the collection of souvenirs from different places around the world is the accumulation of a personal cultural capital, significant for self-distinction and self-definition, (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005, p. 41) or for acknowledging the self through the continuity of time (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993). J. also explained how she started collecting souvenirs: her parents used to travel a lot and she inherited their collections of mementoes from places around the world; later on, she created a collection of paintings and painted plates from her own travels. This possibly indicates another criterion for souvenir purchase behavior: it seems that a number of participants are looking for specific souvenirs that would match their souvenir collections and that would contribute to their personal magic encyclopedias.

K., a pharmacist from Australia, explained how she started her personal collection of souvenirs:

“I have a lot of wooden-- When I went to Bali I bought wooden statues to go in my room where I've got my wooden Buddhas and my wooden tables. I like to have things that match so I normally buy something that suit an area of the house if I'm buying it for the house, but I more buy gifts for other people, really. But I do want to collect masks, so I've got a mask from Venice that my mother bought me a years ago and from Bali that I've just been to. So I'd like to try and find a mask and I'd like to have a wall where I could feature these masks along as the history of where I've been.” (33:8)

MT from Argentina explained how she created her collection of snow crystal balls since a very young age:

“I love the snow crystal balls. They remind me the time when I was a young kid and they brought me a snow crystal ball as a gift. It had a little house and I used to shake it to see the snowflakes floating around. I used to say to myself that ‘when I grow up I will go to a place that has snow’. And this is why I got this hobby of collecting crystal balls. In every place I travel even if it does not have snow, I try to find those crystal balls, it is a kind of souvenir from my childhood. It makes me feel that part of me is that child” [my translation from Spanish] (4:8)

For MT and other participants souvenirs mark not only the places that they visited but moments of their lives, and they are closely related to one’s individual identity; for these reasons, such collections are usually kept in a private space. L., a young high school student from Spain, keeps a personal collection of rocks and coins from the places she visits. She keeps them in a special box in her room. MI, a female participant in her late thirties from Argentina, explained how she started a collection of dolls:

“Key-rings, spoons, plates, I also buy dolls dressed in a traditional costume because this is what my mum used to collect. She died and since she collected dolls, I continued her collections” [my translation from Spanish] (12:6)

A., a 30-year -old male participant from Spain, explained about the collection of tickets and brochures from the destinations that he visits with his wife:

“What I do is, after each trip, we make a folder with all the tourist brochures, the entrance tickets for museums and archaeological sites and most of the times we use it like a book with numbered pages. If you open a folder from ten years ago, we can see tickets from cinema or from journeys or train tickets, they help you remember things. We usually like to keep a folder with all the information about each trip, and every time we come back from one, we add everything that we have collected from the trip: maps, notes, restaurants etc. everything we can gather from each trip we keep it in those folders” [my translation from Spanish] (19:3)

The collection of tickets, leaflets and other non-tourist type of souvenirs is another practice that was observed among the research participants. R., a sixty-year-old male participant from USA reported that he has stopped buying souvenirs because of his age and that he keeps photos, notes and ephemera instead:

R: Well, I take my own photographs as reminders. I try to write notes, but I hate to say, at my age, I've given up trying to collect things because I already have a house full of things that I'm trying to unload on my children. Sometimes I do buy prints, etchings or things like that, but not small amounts. I really don't buy

anything, even for my grandsons. I don't buy anything.[...] This may sound strange, ephemera, pieces of paper from different things. I just stick them in books where I'm writing my notes about what I saw and other things, but some of them are very odd pieces of paper, trash almost. Again, don't ask me to explain.(63:5, 63:6)

D., a retired teacher in her seventies from USA, attributed to her age the fact that she reduced the number of souvenir purchases during her travels; she now acquires souvenirs mainly as gifts for her friends and family or items of utilitarian value for herself like tea towels, dishes:

“D: When we get to be old, we know we have to do this thing called downsizing which means moving all that stuff that we collected when we were 40 and 50. We have to move it along, give it to the next generation or just give it away. I have quite a collection of things that I used when I taught at school and I found that if I bring it to the local school, the teachers that are there now, ‘Wow, look what you’re giving me” (29:12).

These findings indicate that people of an older age or experienced travelers tend to be more selective with their souvenirs and avoid the typical tourist representative souvenirs. C. from Scotland who lives in Australia, is now in her seventies and commented on how her souvenir purchase behaviour has changed over the years:

“C: Yes, I buy souvenirs but I suppose earlier on when I travelled, you tend to just buy souvenirs that represented the country which just end up in the rubbish bin. So, I have been very choosy this time. I haven’t got nearly as many things as I would like. I see too many choices but too many things made in China, as well. I’d like to buy something that’s made locally and something that has a meaning. And I like to think of who I’m buying something for. I like to take them into consideration and they really like that. Will it be something that they will appreciate?” (37:1)

An interesting point that C. emphasized is that when she buys souvenirs for **gifts** she takes into consideration the taste and interests of the ones that would receive the gifts. And this seems to have been a common theme for many of the research participants.

Further down C. explains what she took into consideration when she chose gifts for her granddaughter and a friend:

“Yes, something that I can explain to them what it has meant to me and that will have meaning for them. Because I’ve got a lot of things that people have given me over the years like I’ve had a charm bracelet. I still have the charm bracelet and I’ve got things from all over the world and my charm bracelet, and every one of them I can tell you. And that represents my sister going to Rome because of that little statue of Theudas and just a whole lot of things and I’d like

them to be able to remember -- well like my granddaughter, for instance. I got this from my grandma when she went on a trip to Greece [chuckles].” (37:4)

V., a professor of Spanish literature in her late thirties from Spain, also explained her criteria for buying souvenir gifts for her friends:

“I got bracelets and necklaces for my friends that are not necessarily related to the local culture where I have been; I got them gifts that I know that are going to like and when they look at them they won’t think specifically of that country but they will remember that this was something that I brought them from that country. What I want, is that they will like the souvenir and that they will use it” [my translation from Spanish] (1:15)

It seems that participants consider the taste of their friends and family when they are searching for a souvenir as a gift. D. from USA reported that she was not aware of the Byzantine heritage of Greece, but discovered it during her stay in Greece and bought her mum a Byzantine icon, because she is religious and she will appreciate her daughter’s gift. Or F. from Spain explained about the gifts she purchased for her two siblings who are very different with each other:

“It depends, for example for my sister who studied philosophy I got her a T-shirt which is related to Academy of Athens. Obviously, this is related to the host country. If it’s something for my brother who hasn’t studied and is not really interested, I can bring him a T-shirt that says ‘Greece’, so that is evident that this was brought from Greece. For me, getting shoes that just indicate ‘made in Greece’ is enough” [my translation from Spanish] (21:3)

Chapter 8: Conclusions

The purpose of the present research was to investigate the processes during which tourists generate meanings and re-establish cultural stereotypes through their encounters, interactions, and engagements with souvenirs during their cultural tourism experience. More specifically, this thesis set out to assess:

1. The processes that generate meaning attached to souvenirs by their owners during their tourist experience.
2. The reaffirmation or rejection of cultural stereotypes during these processes.
3. The influence of the museum experience on the negotiations of perceptions of authenticity regarding museum objects, their reproductions and souvenirs related to the cultural heritage of the country.
4. The ways in which people experience their souvenirs not only through mental associations, but also through corporeal engagements that souvenirs allow through their material properties.

Significance for the field

The research findings of the present thesis have provided important insights into the linkages between souvenirs, museum artefacts, humans, and places. Previous studies have focused on souvenir purchase behaviour related to demographic characteristics and trip typologies (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; Soyoung Kim & Littrell, 2001; Littrell, 1990; Yoon-Jung Oh et al., 2004), purchase motivations (Littrell et al., 1993; Wilkins, 2010; Yu & Littrell, 2003, 2005), the meanings souvenirs convey for their owners (Baker et al., 2006; Hitchcock & Teague, 2000; Lasusa, 2007; Love & Sheldon, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Shenhav-Keller, 1993; Stewart, 1993), the role of souvenirs on the construction of personal narratives and the self (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2013), and the influence between souvenir design, production and cultural stereotyping (Grennan, 2015). Souvenirs have been studied through an object-person and an object-place perspective, in other words the ability of souvenirs for representing the experience for their owners and to act as metonymies of the destination visited; yet, with some exceptions (see Ramsay, 2008) a lack of a person-place perspective and the need for a qualitative methodology moving beyond consumer

behaviour studies for souvenirs has been noted (Swanson & Timothy, 2012, pp. 395–397). And although souvenirs have been studied for their ability to connect their owners with their individual past (life events or the tourist experience) there has been no research to date to address the capacity of souvenirs related to heritage objects to allow connections to a distant past.

The present study has attempted to contribute to the literature by studying the mediating role of souvenirs between humans, places, past and present. As the results of our research have indicated Greek souvenirs which are closely related to heritage objects and museum artefacts, have the ability to transcend spatiality and temporality since through their use they can connect the destination with the home environment, the Other with the personal, and the past with the present.

In order to better comprehend the “person-place”, “past-present”, “Other-Self” connections, I studied the processes which generate meanings from the tourists’ perspective during their experience at the destination. By investigating the initial stages of the relationship between souvenirs and their beholders, we can comprehend how tourists engage with their souvenirs, while a Heideggerian phenomenological perspective (see *Chapter 2: Experiencing objects*) can reveal the various forms that such engagements can take, depending on how the objects of travel are experienced by their users at given moments. Through their polymorphic character, souvenirs can offer a multiplicity of experiences: connections to the remote past, to the travel destination and to other people, triggering of personal memories and generation of meanings, and the reproduction of cultural stereotypes and beliefs regarding the host culture. In this respect, museums leave “their imprint” not only on their visitors but also on non-visitors and the general public, through the multiple expressions of a “public culture” that they inspire (see Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999; Σολομών, 2012). Moreover, as the present study has shown, museum replicas allow a wide range of more multisensory experiences for their owners that elucidate the various ways that people find in order to connect to the past, away from the “sterile”, detached experience that museums offer. In this light, the study of the engagements between people and museum replicas has contributed to a better knowledge of the relationship between people and heritage objects in general.

Summary of the research findings

This thesis has identified the influence of the tourist experience on souvenir purchase practices and the generation of meaning and cultural stereotyping attached to souvenirs. **Cultural stereotyping** can also be caused by other factors that are not necessarily associated with the tourist experience; the study has suggested that in many cases, these cultural stereotypes are formed prior to the visit and are influenced by one's educational background and interests, film and media, official tourism promotion campaigns and cultural policies at large (i.e. through the relevant official bodies such as a Ministry of Culture) or the dominance of nationalistic ideologies. Previous studies observed that cultural stereotyping is closely related to the making of souvenirs (Grennan, 2015, 2019). In this respect, souvenirs are encoded with cultural stereotypes during their production phase; this thesis explored whether cultural stereotypes are re-affirmed, re-established or rejected during the tourist experience from the tourists' perspective. The research findings pointed to the significance that visits to cultural heritage sites and museums, the guide's interpretation and the host-guest interactions had in re-establishing pre-existing ideas and stereotypes about the host culture. The heritage and tourism sectors in Greece emphasise the Classical heritage, and construct the 'Other' in a way that conforms to the Western imagination, which seeks its origins in the heterotopia of Hellas, to use Leontis's (1995) terms (see *The Hellenic identity and the role of Greek archaeology*). 'Hellas' is rediscovered during the tourism and museum experience; souvenirs which materialise such experiences bear all its characteristics; thus, it is of no surprise that the majority of the research participants showed an interest in purchasing souvenirs that relate to the Classical heritage, either directly (museum replicas) or indirectly (inspired from museum objects).

In a few cases, it was observed that visits to Byzantine cultural heritage sites and museums triggered an interest in souvenirs related to the Byzantine heritage. On the other hand, no interest in acquiring souvenirs from the Venetian or the Ottoman cultural heritage of the country was observed, since such heritage was not associated with the Modern Greek culture by the respondents. Such a finding indicates the tendency to identify specific chronological periods of a region's cultural heritage with modern nation-states. In our case, the informants associated the Classical period with Modern Greece, the Venetian with Modern Italy, and the Ottoman with Modern

Turkey. This explains why the majority of the respondents regarded souvenirs related to the Classical past as the most representative of the Greek culture.

Apart from re-establishing cultural stereotypes, the present thesis demonstrated that the tourist experience influenced or even shaped **views regarding perceptions of authenticity related to souvenirs**. The museum visits authenticated the validity of museum replicas, enhanced the “aura” of souvenirs inspired from heritage objects: being encoded with a special status and endowed with a high aesthetic value by museum professionals, museum objects add value to their replicas in the tourist market. Similarly, the popularity of some museum replicas among tourists, elevates the special status of certain museum objects. Many of the research participants referred to the museum replicas they acquired and stressed their authenticity, aesthetic value and relation to museum artefacts. In this sense, it was suggested that the acquired value of museum replicas heightens the social status of their beholders.

It was also observed that the tourist experience established the degree of authenticity of the souvenirs of Greece: souvenirs that relate to the cultural heritage of Greece were regarded to be more authentic and possess more value than other mass-produced souvenirs. The criterion for purchasing mass-produced souvenirs which are not necessarily manufactured in the host country such as fridge-magnets, was their representational capacity. This explains the fact that many of this type of souvenirs were chosen as gifts, destined to be given to people that have no prior experience or (possibly) knowledge of the destination. Thus, souvenir-gifts were expected by the respondents to bear an obvious and clear association to the destination while their materials and place of production were not important. And in many cases, the clear associations of Greek mass-produced souvenirs are indirectly related to the cultural heritage of the country, such as fridge magnets or T-shirts with representations of archaeological monuments and/or museum objects. On the other hand, souvenirs directly related to cultural heritage, which were also manufactured in Greece by local artisans and materials, were considered to have a higher value and to be more authentic by the research participants. In both cases, it was observed that the tourist experience as provided by both the cultural heritage and the tourism sector influenced perceptions of authenticity which are closely linked to the cultural heritage of the country. It was also noted that such attitudes and perceptions added to the ‘social’ value of souvenirs which became **markers of cultural and social status** for their beholders.

Apart from the ability to enhance authenticity, the present study identified the **importance of the souvenirs' material properties** in other contexts. As souvenirs start to get entangled with the personal lives of their beholders, their engagements can take many forms. Souvenirs can act as material metaphors for the destinations that people have visited. However, the term 'metaphor' does not only refer to souvenirs' representational capacities: their material properties also offer corporeal engagements that connect their owners with the destination, especially when souvenirs are made with locally sourced materials. In addition to souvenirs' ability to connect people to places, this thesis reveals their capacity to connect people to the distant past. Souvenirs that replicate or are inspired by museum objects demonstrate this particularly. Replicas of museum artefacts can function both as material metaphors of the past and as objects of utilitarian value by allowing for a more multisensory experience than the artefacts themselves. In this way, people not only relate to heritage objects in the usual context of a museum visit, but in more indirect ways. Thus, the study of the engagements between people and museum copies (or souvenirs that relate to museum objects) can suggest the different experiences that museums can offer to their visitors.

Though the public culture that museums inspire (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1999; Σολομών, 2012), museum artefacts are recontextualised into the everyday life of their owners. Souvenirs inspired from museum objects form a public culture that reaches people's households. Previous studies underpinned souvenirs' ability to bring the Other into the familiar home environment and influence the Self in many ways (see Love & Kohn, 2001). The findings of the present thesis indicated that **notions about the 'Other'** are negotiated or defined during the tourism (and museum) experience which are ascribed on souvenirs and entangled into lives of their owners; thus, the role of the heritage and tourism sector professionals is crucial in shaping such notions.

The present thesis also investigated the **enmeshment of all these different elements and meanings** ascribed on souvenirs by their beholders when these are initiated during the tourist experience. It was indicated that souvenirs can encapsulate the tourist experience, the destination, the 'Other' (temporal and spatial) and personal meanings related to one's life. Through a phenomenological perspective based on Heideggerian thought, the present thesis identified the different ways that humans can experience all these elements that co-exist on souvenirs.

Overall, by investigating the degree of influence of the tourist experience on the souvenir purchase practices and the generation of meanings, the present research

illustrated the multiplicity of meanings that souvenirs are encoded with and elucidated the polymorphic character of souvenirs.

To summarize, souvenirs:

- Are ascribed with meanings by producers, retailers, and salespersons.
- Are embedded with additional layers of meanings by their buyers: personal (relating to the life of their buyers) and social (relating to their tourist experience, the destination and interaction with locals and fellow travellers).
- Allow connections with the destination, the tourist experience and the distant past both through mental associations and corporeal engagements.
- Become active agents of negotiations of perceptions of authenticity and cultural stereotyping during the tourist experience.
- Mediate human relationships.
- Demonstrate remarkable mobility within spatial and temporal dimensions through both their representational capacities and material properties: home environment-destination, Self-Other and past-present.

Limitations

Several important limitations need to be considered. Firstly, the sample of both the in-depth interviews and the questionnaire survey is a **non-probability convenience sample** and may not represent the wider population. The origin of the informants was mainly from countries of the Western world and more specifically from Europe and the Americas, their age group being mostly over 60 years old and their education higher. Therefore, the limitations of our sample adds further caution regarding the possibility to apply the findings to the general population. To counteract such limitations, the adoption of a mixed method approach and the attempt to gather a larger sample for both the questionnaire survey and the in-depth interviews, aimed at providing results which can be indicative of trends of the phenomena studied among the wider population.

Secondly, the cultural tourism experience, examined in the present thesis, regarded **tours organized by travel agencies and tour operators**. The research participants travelled either as part of a group or individually in private tours. However, the study did not include any travellers that travelled independently and therefore the results cannot be generalized to the wider population.

Thirdly, the questionnaire survey used a **multiple response set** for providing an easy-to-use questionnaire, as questionnaires were distributed to the informants during the course of a tour (in coaches, on cruises or even on foot). Multiple response sets use multiple variables to record the responses to questions where the participants can give more than one answer. Therefore, there are some limitations when checking the relationship of two variables, which, in our case, can indicate general tendencies. Future researchers who wish to measure consumer attitudes, may benefit by adopting a rating approach, such as the Lickert scales.

Fourthly, our research examined the processes of the **generation of meaning attached on souvenirs from the tourists' perspective** during their tourist experience. However, due to the limited scope of a PhD research, the present study did not expand on the meanings generated from the retailers' perspective during the production phase of souvenirs and could not investigate how the generated meanings contribute to the creation of post-travel narratives and their role in the construction of the Self at the home environment of the informants in the long term.

Future research

The results of the present research may provide useful information for museum professionals, destination marketers and planners, souvenir shop entrepreneurs and souvenir designers who wish to investigate further: the links between cultural heritage and souvenir production, the role of souvenirs as part of the destination branding, the shopping behaviour and motivations of tourists in Greece, and important aspects of the engagement between souvenirs and their users. More work is required on retail analysis and on the production phase of the Greek souvenirs from a supply perspective.

Future studies should also examine more closely the linkages between museum objects and souvenirs which should be taken into consideration during the design and production phase of museum replicas available at the official museum shops of Greek archaeological museums as well as the souvenir shops of private souvenir retail industry. Research in this area could further address issues regarding the enrichment of souvenir production with elements from other historic periods apart from the Classical heritage, and also draw inspiration from other thematic categories other than cultural heritage.

Future studies should also investigate the degree to which souvenir production can be part of the destination branding and marketing policies of the Greek Ministry of Tourism. The study of such planning could also consider the possibility of a differentiation of souvenir production in different geographical regions of the country taking into consideration the different historical influences and the degree of historical cultural diversity in each region. From the tourists' perspective, there is opportunity for further research on souvenir shopping behaviour and the purchase motivations of the tourists in Greece aiming at a larger sample that could include non-Western countries.

Another possible area of future research would be to explore the different ways in which humans relate to their souvenirs at their home environment and specifically how the meanings generated during the tourist experience contribute to the creation of personal post-travel narratives and how they are enmeshed in their lives.

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Appendix 1

Table 3: Thematic categories and their codes

Before the visit	After the visit	Purchase motivations	Function of souvenirs	Tourist experience	Souvenir types	Parameters that motivated souvenir choices
Classical Greece	Classical Greece	Aesthetics	Display/ Proof of travel	Souvenir shop experience	Edible/ natural product	Museum/ guide and museum experience
Iconic landscapes	Byzantine-Ottoman	Authenticity	Identity/ narrative	Museum experience	Gifts	Interaction with locals
	Folklore-natural product	Meaning-symbolism	Memory	Interaction with locals	Museum replicas	Souvenir shop experience
	Iconic landscape	Price/size	Personal collection		Representative	
	Modern culture/people	Aura/energy/materiality				
	Open to souvenirs from other historical periods	Utilitarian				
Negative to souvenirs from other periods						

Table 4: Descriptive statistics of socio-demographic characteristics of the survey respondents (N=561)

Descriptive statistics	N (%)
Gender	
Male	207(37.2%)
Female	346(62.2%)
Transgender	2(0.4%)
Other	1(0.2%)
Age group	
10-18	45(8.1%)
19-30	32(5.7%)
31-45	66(11.8%)
46-60	135(24.2%)
>60	280(50.2%)
Educational level	
Primary education	20(3.6%)
Secondary education	170(30.4%)
Undergraduate studies	229(41.0%)
Post-graduate studies	114(20.4%)
PhD	20(3.6%)
Other	6(1.0%)
Economic status	
Up to 20.000\$	66(13.4%)
20.000-35.000\$	128(25.9%)
35.000-50.000\$	101(20.5%)

50.000-80.000\$	94(19.1%)
More than 80.000\$	104(21.1%)

Country of origin

North America	181(33.0%)
South America	158(28.8%)
Europe	207(37.8%)
Middle East	1(0.2%)
Asia	1(0.2%)

Country of residence

North America	189(34.9%)
South America	152(28.0%)
Europe	201(37.1%)

Table 5: Descriptive statistics of survey questionnaire (N=561)

Descriptive statistics of survey questionnaire	N (%)
Greece for me is	
Temples, archaeological sites and museums	497(25.0%)
Mythological gods and heroes	336(16.9%)
Sea, sun and the islands	330(16.6%)
Cultural heritage diversity	249(12.5%)
Delicious food	231(11.6%)
Its people	220(11.1%)
Byzantine churches	79(4.0%)
Modern architecture	24(1.2%)
Other	20(1.0%)
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through	
The history class at school	283(27.7%)
Greek mythology	265(25.9%)
Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	119(11.7%)
A photo of the Acropolis	104(10.2%)
A photo of a Greek island/beach	83(8.1%)
A film	80(7.8%)
Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	48(4.7%)
Other	40(3.9%)
What impressed you in Greece during your stay here:	
Ancient monuments	450(35.0%)

Museums and their artefacts	227(17.7%)
The islands	205(16.0%)
The people and their customs	145(11.3%)
Cultural diversity	137(10.7%)
Byzantine churches	64(5.0%)
Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	33(2.5%)
Other	23(1.8%)
If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?	
More islands	346(32.9%)
Classical antiquities and museums of the Classic period	214(20.3%)
Byzantine castles and monuments	158(15.0%)
Venetian castles and monuments	112(10.6%)
Culinary experiences	104(9.9%)
Ottoman mosques and baths	90(8.5%)
Other	29(2.8%)
Do you visit museums in general?	
Yes	466(83.8%)
No	90(16.2%)
Which museums have you visited in Greece?	
Acropolis Museum	408(33.4%)
Archaeological Museum of Delphi	298(24.4%)
National Archaeological Museum	246(20.1%)
Archaeological Museum of Herakleion in Crete	79(6.5%)
Archaeological Museum of Olympia	78(6.4%)

Other museum	46(3.8%)
I haven't visited a museum	22(1.8%)
Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens	21(1.7%)
Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki	14(1.1%)
Museum of Cycladic Art, Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris Foundation	6(0.5%)
Benaki Museum	4(0.3%)

Do you usually buy souvenirs on your travels?

Yes	458(82.1%)
No	100(17.9%)

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?

Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	222(13.0%)
Fridge-magnets	212(12.4%)
T-shirts	212(12.4%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	174(10.2%)
Guidebooks and books	169(9.9%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	151(8.8%)
Post-cards	144(8.4%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	120(7.0%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	104(6.2%)
Other	63(3.8%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	46(2.7%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	45(2.6%)
Worry-beads	45(2.6%)

What were/would be the reasons for getting these: souvenirs?

It is something typical/representative of Greece	361(31.7%)
I wanted something authentic of the place	241(21.2%)
For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	184(16.2%)
For their usability	172(15.1%)
For their historical or artistic value	106(9.3%)
For its price	58(5.1%)
Other	16(1.4%)

What influenced your choice of souvenirs?

Something I saw at a museum	212(28.6%)
Something that the guide mentioned	147(19.8%)
The way the souvenir shops was set up/its decoration	141(19.0%)
Other	78(10.5%)
The seller/shop owner	63(8.5%)
Something I saw on a film, poster, Internet	53(7.1%)
Something that the guide or a local was wearing or using	48(6.5%)

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you?

Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	264(31.8%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	236(28.4%)
Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	111(13.4%)
The evil-eye	107(12.9%)
Worry-beads	41(4.9%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	35(4.3%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	24(2.9%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	12(1.4%)

Are you visiting Greece for the first time?

Yes, this is my first time 441(78.6%)

No, I have been to Greece once before 82(14.6%)

No, I have been to Greece several times before 37(6.6%)

Do you travel often?

Frequently (once or more times every year) 424(75.6%)

Regularly(once every 2 years) 86(15.3%)

Less frequently(once every 5 years) 28(5.0%)

This is my first time 18(3.2%)

Seldom (once every 10 years) 5(0.9%)

When I travel...

I like to visit the most important sites and iconic monuments 492(65.5%)

I like to explore off the beaten track routes 259(34.5%)

Chi-Square tests for categorical variables

Crosstabulations and Chi-square tests were carried out for the evaluation of the research questions and the relationship between the different variables and the socio-demographic characteristics. Tables 4-37 depict the results of the statistical tests. The results are presented as following: The frequency of travelling and pre-conceived ideas about the host culture; The influence of the tourist experience on the souvenir purchase behaviour; Factors that influenced souvenir purchases; The function of souvenirs and socio-demographics; The souvenirs and notions regarding the host culture.

Frequency of travelling and preconceived ideas about Greece as a destination

Table 6: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the frequency of travelling and the question "Greece for me is..."

Greece for me is...	Do you travel often?				
	Frequently (once or more times every year)	Regularly (once every 2 years)	Less frequently (once every 5 years)	Seldom (once every 10 years)	This is my first time
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
sea, sun and the islands	248(16.4%)	56(17.8%)	15(17.3%)	2(9.5%)	9(16.4%)
temples, archaeological sites and museums	376(24.9%)	78(24.8%)	24(27.6%)	4(19%)	15(27.3%)

p-value<0.427					
Do you travel often?					
Greece for me is...	Frequently (once or more times every year)	Regularly (once every 2 years)	Less frequently (once every 5 years)	Seldom (once every 10 years)	This is my first time
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
delicious food	172(11.4%)	39(12.4%)	12(13.8%)	3(14.3%)	5(9.1%)
its people	167(11.1%)	34(10.8%)	8(9.3%)	3(14.3%)	8(14.5%)
Byzantine churches	61(4.1%)	13(4.1%)	1(1.1%)	2(9.5%)	2(3.6%)
modern architecture	17(1.1%)	3(1.0%)	1(1.1%)	0(0.0%)	3(5.5%)
cultural heritage diversity	198(13.2%)	34(10.7%)	11(12.6%)	3(14.3%)	3(5.5%)
mythological gods and heroes	256(16.9%)	52(16.5%)	14(16.1%)	4(19.1%)	10(18.2%)

p-value<0.427		Do you travel often?			
Greece for me is...	Frequently (once or more times every year)	Regularly (once every 2 years)	Less frequently (once every 5 years)	Seldom (once every 10 years)	This is my first time
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
other	13(0.9%)	6(1.9%)	1(1.1%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in the frequency of travelling as compared to the opinion of the participants about Greece (p-value = 0.427). Therefore, ideas about Greece as a destination are not really affected by the frequency of one's travels.

Table 7: Distribution of the participants’ answers according to the questions “Are you visiting Greece for the first time?” and “Greece for me is”.

Greece for me is:	Are you visiting Greece for the first time?		
	Yes, this is my first time N(%)	No, I have been to Greece once before N(%)	No, I have been to Greece several times before N(%)
Sea, sun and the islands	258(16.7%)	45(15.7%)	27(17.3%)
Temples, archaeological sites and museums	400(25.9%)	64(22.4%)	32(20.5%)
Delicious food	172(11.2%)	36(12.6%)	23(14.7%)
Its people	155(10%)	42(14.7%)	23(14.7%)
Byzantine churches	57(3.7%)	13(4.5%)	9(5.8%)
Modern architecture	18(1.2%)	4(1.4%)	2(1.3%)
Cultural heritage diversity	192(12.4%)	35(12.2%)	22(14.2%)
Mythological gods and heroes	277(18.0%)	42(14.7%)	17(10.9%)
Other	14(0.9%)	5(1.7%)	1(0.6%)

Contrary to the previous **Table 6**, there seems to be differentiation in the participants’ ideas regarding Greece between first time or repeat travellers to Greece, as shown at **Table 7**. The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between the question “Are you visiting Greece for the first time?” as compared to the opinion of the participants about Greece (p-value <0.001). Among the participants who visited Greece for the first time, the most frequent answer is “Greece for me is temples, archaeological sites and museums” (25.9%), followed by the answer “Greece for me is sea, sun and the islands” (16.7%). Regarding the participants who

had been to Greece before, 22.4% answered that Greece for them is temples, archaeological sites and museums and 15.7% that Greece for them is sea, sun and the islands. A similar conclusion was found for the participants who had been to Greece several times before.

An interesting finding is that the participants who are repeat travellers to Greece seem to value more Greece’s cuisine and its people than those who visit the country for the first time. This shows that both the cuisine and the food play an important role in the tourist experience of the country. In addition, for the repeat travellers the percentage of answers relating Greece to its mythological heroes and gods seems to decrease while the interest towards the Byzantine heritage increases.

Table 8: Distribution of the participants’ answers according to the questions “Is this the beginning or the end of your tour?” and “What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here”.

p-value <0.025 What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	Is this the beginning or the end of your tour?		
	Beginning	I am half way through	End
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Ancient monuments	84(36.8%)	197(36.6%)	168(32.6%)
Museums and their artefacts	42(18.4%)	86(16.0%)	99(19.2%)
Byzantine churches	11(4.8%)	27(5.0%)	26(5.0%)
The islands	24(10.5%)	85(15.8%)	95(18.4%)
The people and their customs	27(11.8%)	56(10.4%)	62(12.0%)
Cultural diversity	25(11.0%)	63(11.7%)	49(9.5%)
Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	8(3.5%)	17(3.2%)	8(1.6%)
Other	7(3%)	7(1.3%)	9(1.7%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test ($p\text{-value}=0.025$), we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants who answered that this was the beginning of their trip were impressed by ancient monuments (36.8%), followed by museums and their artefacts (18.4%). Similar results were found for the participants who answered that they were halfway through their tour; they were impressed by ancient monuments (36.6%), followed by museums and their artefacts (16.0%). A similar conclusion was drawn for participants who were close to the end of their tour. The findings of **Table 8** indicate that the visits to archaeological sites and museums are significant throughout the duration of the participants' tour

Table 9: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?".

p-value<0.001								
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through								
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose to buy (in case you didn't buy any)?	Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	78(9.2%)	86(9.9%)	19(7.3%)	18(6.7%)	29(7.7%)	34(9.2)	14(8%)	11(7%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	90(10.%)	97(11.%)	31(11.0%)	25(9.3%)	36(9.6%)	30(8.1%)	18(10.3%)	0(0.0%)

p-value<0.001

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through

What

**souvenirs did
you
choose/would
you choose to
buy (in case
you didn't
buy any)?**

Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)

Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	21(2.4%)	28(3.2%)	7(2.6%)	8(2.9%)	11(2.9%)	9(2.4%)	4(2.2%)	5(3.1%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	62(7.3%)	63(7.2%)	19(7.3%)	17(6.3%)	27(7.2%)	27(7.3%)	11(6.3%)	8(5%)

p-value<0.001

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through

What

**souvenirs did
you
choose/would
you choose to
buy (in case
you didn't
buy any)?**

	Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)

Fridge-magnets	103(12.2%)	105(12%)	26(10%)	32(11.9%)	51(13.6%)	36(9.8%)	25(14.3%)	12(7.6%)
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T-shirts	100(11.8%)	99(11.4%)	34(13%)	33(12.3)	45(12%)	46(12.5%)	24(13.7%)	0(0.0%)
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p-value<0.001

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through

What

**souvenirs did
you
choose/would
you choose to
buy (in case
you didn't
buy any)?**

Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)

Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	21(2.4%)	23(2.6%)	8(3%)	8(2.9%)	12(32%)	5(1.3%)	3(1.7%)	6(3.8%)
Worry-beads	18(2.1%)	18(2%)	16(6.1%)	8(2.9%)	8(2.1%)	9(2.4%)	1(0.5%)	8(5%)

p-value<0.001

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through

What

**souvenirs did
you
choose/would
you choose to
buy (in case
you didn't
buy any)?**

Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)

Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	106(12.5%)	120(13.8%)	24(9.2%)	35(13.%)	44(11.7%)	52(14.1%)	24(13.7%)	0(0.0%)
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Post-cards	75(8.9%)	62(7.1%)	25(9.6%)	26(9.7%)	37(9.9%)	32(8.7%)	14(8%)	0(0.0%)
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p-value<0.001

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through

What

**souvenirs did
you
choose/would
you choose to
buy (in case
you didn't
buy any)?**

Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)

Guidebooks and books	81(9.6%)	84(9.6%)	26(10%)	28(10.4)	37(9.9%)	41(11.1)	21(12%)	14(8.9%)
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Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	53(6.2%)	55(6.3%)	17(6.5%)	22(8.2%)	26(6.9%)	31(8.4%)	13(7.4%)	13(8.2%)
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p-value<0.001								
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through								
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose to buy (in case you didn't buy any)?	Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Other	34(4%)	28(3.2%)	8(3%)	7(2.6%)	10(2.6%)	15(4%)	2(1.1%)	4(2.5%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through” and “What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn’t buy any)?” (p-value <0.001). Among the participants whose first contact with Greece was through Greek mythology, 12.5% choose food products as a souvenir, and 12.2% fridge-magnets. Among the participants whose first contact with Greece was through their history class at school, 13.8% choose food products as a souvenir, and 11.4% choose T-shirts. Among most participants whose first contact with Greece was through a film, 13.0% choose T-shirts as a souvenir and

11.9% choose jewellery inspired from the Classical past. 13.1% of the participants whose first contact with Greece was through a photo of a Greek island/beach choose food products as a souvenir, and 12.3% choose T-shirts. Among the participants whose first contact with Greece was through a photo of the Acropolis 13.6% choose fridge-magnets as a souvenir, and 12% choose T-shirts. As regards the participants whose first contact with Greece was through ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy, 14.1% choose food products as a souvenir, and 12.5% choose T-shirts. Finally, the most frequent categories for the participants whose first contact with Greece was through ancient Greek artefact/museums were fridge-magnets as a souvenir (14.3%), T-shirts (13.7%) and food products (13.7%).

Table 9 also shows that fridge magnets are popular among those whose first contact with Greece was through a film (10%), a photo of a Greek island (11.9%) and a photo of the Acropolis (13.6%). A possible explanation for this may be that fridge-magnets usually depict iconic monuments or landscapes of Greece which could be more popular among those whose first contact with Greece was through films or photos. Guidebooks and books are more popular among those whose first contact with Greece was through ancient Greek literature (11.1%) and ancient Greek artefacts and museums (12%). Another interesting finding is that participants whose first contact with Greece was through Greek mythology, the history class at school, ancient Greek literature and philosophy and ancient Greek artefacts, chose souvenirs inspired from the ancient Greek world, like copies of ceramic vases (9.2%, 9.9%, 9.2% and 8% respectively) and jewellery inspired from the Classical past (10.6%, 11.1% , 8.1% and 10.3% respectively). Despite the fact that the majority of the participants purchased food products, fridge-magnets and T-shirts, the last finding indicates that those who had associated Greece with its Classical past before their visit, showed a preference for souvenirs inspired or related to the Classical past.

Tourist experience and souvenir purchase behaviour

Table 10: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through" and "What influenced your choice"

My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through:	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Greek mythology	113(53.3%)	72(49.3%)	21(44.7%)	64(45.7%)	26(41.9%)	26(49.1%)	39(50.0%)
The history class at school	117(55.2%)	80(54.8%)	20(42.6%)	68(48.6%)	34(54.8%)	36(67.9%)	38(48.7%)
A film	34(16.0%)	25(17.1%)	8(17.0%)	15(10.7%)	11(17.7%)	17(32.1%)	11(14.1%)
A photo of a Greek island/beach	28(13.2%)	27(18.5%)	10(21.3%)	22(15.7%)	14(22.6%)	11(20.8%)	6(7.7%)

p-value<0.001		What influenced your choice?					
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through:	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
A photo of the Acropolis	45(21.2%)	28(19.2%)	12(25.5%)	28(20.0%)	15(24.2%)	15(28.3%)	10(12.8%)
Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	50(23.6%)	32(21.9%)	9(19.1%)	26(18.6%)	12(19.4%)	17(32.1%)	22(28.2%)
Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	23(10.8%)	15(10.3%)	5(10.6%)	8(5.7%)	4(6.5%)	6(11.3%)	6(7.7%)
Other	10(4.7%)	9(6.2%)	4(8.5%)	15(10.7%)	7(11.3%)	3(5.7%)	14(17.9%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. The most popular answers to the question “My first contact with Greece was through” is the “Greek mythology” and the “History class in school”,

among the survey participants in general as we have already seen on **Table 5**. However, remarkable percentages were noted for participants who reported that they were influenced by the Greek museums on their souvenir choices and who had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology (53.3%) and the history class at school (55.2%). This finding possibly suggests a correlation between those with an educational background or simply an interest in Classics before their visit and an interest in the archaeological museums of Greece during their tourist experience. Similar results were observed for those who were influenced by something that the guide mentioned, something that a guide or a local was wearing or using, the way the souvenir shop was decorated, the interaction with the seller and something that they saw in a film, poster, the Internet and who had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology and the history class. The high percentages observed for participants who were influenced by something that the guide or a local was wearing and who had their first contact through a photo of the Greek island (21.3% and 22.6%) respectively). This finding possibly indicates that those who are more interested in island tourism possibly value the interaction with people during their tourist experience.

Those who were influenced on their souvenir choices from a film, poster or the Internet, had their first contact with Greece through a film (32.1%) and a photo of the Acropolis (28.3%), a finding that suggests that a film or images possibly have an influence on one's choices of souvenirs.

Table 11: Distribution of participants' answers according to the questions "Greece for me is..." and "What souvenirs did you/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)"

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Greece for me is:								
	Sea, sun and the islands	Temples, archaeological sites and museums	Delicious food	Its people	Byzantine churches	Modern architecture	Cultural heritage diversity	Mythological gods and heroes	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	85(8.0%)	136(8.9%)	67(8.6%)	69(9.3%)	26(9.0%)	9(9.9%)	64(8.1%)	94(8.8%)	2(3.3%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	109(10.2%)	158(10.4%)	82(10.6%)	76(10.3%)	31(10.7%)	12(13.2%)	87(11.0%)	101(9.3%)	4(6.6%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	30(2.8%)	42(2.7%)	19(2.5%)	18(2.4%)	12(4.2%)	3(3.3%)	21(2.6%)	22(2.0%)	1(1.6%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	76(7.1%)	109(7.2%)	44(5.7%)	43(5.8%)	12(4.2%)	5(5.5%)	48(6.1%)	90(8.4%)	3(4.9%)

p-value<0.001									
Greece for me is:									
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Sea, sun and the islands	Temples, archaeological sites and museums	Delicious food	Its people	Byzantine churches	Modern architecture	Cultural heritage diversity	Mythological gods and heroes	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Fridge-magnets	125(11.7%)	192(12.5%)	75(9.7%)	77(10.4%)	29(10.0%)	8(8.8%)	93(11.7%)	141(13.0%)	7(11.5%)
T-shirts	130(12.2%)	189(12.3%)	82(10.6%)	69(9.3%)	33(11.4%)	5(5.5%)	92(11.6%)	140(12.9%)	6(9.8%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	30(2.8%)	39(2.5%)	17(2.2%)	22(3.0%)	6(2.1%)	3(3.3%)	21(2.6%)	26(2.4%)	3(4.8%)
Worry-beads	33(3.1%)	39(2.5%)	21(2.7%)	19(2.6%)	12(4.2%)	5(5.5%)	19(2.4%)	20(1.8%)	2(3.3%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	154(14.4%)	198(12.9%)	122(15.7%)	111(15.0%)	30(10.4%)	8(8.8%)	110(13.9%)	139(12.8%)	9(14.8%)

p-value<0.001									
Greece for me is:									
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Sea, sun and the islands	Temples, archaeological sites and museums	Delicious food	Its people	Byzantine churches	Modern architecture	Cultural heritage diversity	Mythological gods and heroes	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Post-cards	86(8.1%)	130(8.5%)	67(8.6%)	67(9.1%)	24(8.3%)	11(12.1%)	69(8.7%)	88(8.1%)	7(11.5%)
Guide books and books	102(9.6%)	156(10.2%)	79(10.2%)	76(10.3%)	40(13.8%)	13(14.3%)	84(10.6%)	108(10.0%)	4(6.6%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	66(6.2%)	94(6.1%)	59(7.6%)	56(7.5%)	21(7.3%)	5(5.5%)	57(7.2%)	72(6.6%)	5(8.2%)
Other	41(3.8%)	51(3.3%)	41(5.3%)	37(5.0%)	13(4.4%)	4(4.3%)	28(3.5%)	42(3.9%)	8(13.3%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001) we concluded that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants who believe that Greece is sea, sun and the islands choose food products as a souvenir (14.4%) followed by T-shirts (12.2%). Participants who believe that Greece is temples, archaeological sites and museums, choose food products as a souvenir (12.9%) followed by fridge-magnets (12.5%). It is worth noting that a large percentage (10.4%) of the participants who select “Greece is temples, archaeological

sites and museums”, show a preference for jewellery inspired from the Classical past. Among the participants who believe that “Greece is delicious food”, 15.7% choose food products as a souvenir, followed by T-shirts (10.6%) and jewellery inspired from the Classical past (10.6%). 15.0% of the Participants who believe that “Greece is its people”, choose food products as a souvenir, followed by a 10.4% who chose fridge-magnets (). It seems that participants who value food and the locals tend to be the ones purchasing more edible products. Among the participants who believe that “Greece is Byzantine churches”, 13.8% choose guidebooks and books as a souvenir, and 11.4% T-shirts. Participants who believe that “Greece is modern architecture”, choose guidebooks and books as a souvenir (14.3%) followed by jewellery inspired from the Classical past (13.2%). Among the participants who value the cultural heritage diversity of Greece, 13.9% choose food products as a souvenir and fridge-magnets (11.7%). Finally, among the participants who believe that “Greece is mythological gods and heroes” choose fridge-magnets as a souvenir (13.0%) followed by T-shirts (12.9%). An interesting finding is that they also choose jewellery inspired from the Classical past (9.3%) and statues of mythological gods and heroes (8.4%). Therefore, participants who value Greece for its Classical heritage, tend to choose souvenirs related to it, like jewellery inspired from the Classical past and statues of Greek gods, as the results of the in-depth interviews suggest.

Table 12: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?" and "Greece for me is".

p-value <0.001							
What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?							
Greece for me is:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Sea, sun and the islands	122(18.2%)	117(16.5%)	147(15.9%)	227(17.3%)	59(15.1%)	35(16.1%)	9(12.6%)
Temples, archaeological sites and museums	155(23.1%)	166(23.4%)	220(23.9%)	326(24.8%)	90(23.1%)	51(23.5%)	14(19.7%)
Delicious food	84(12.5%)	95(13.4%)	116(12.6%)	155(11.8%)	42(10.7%)	28(12.9%)	13(18.3%)
Its people	82(12.2%)	83(11.7%)	114(12.3%)	145(11%)	49(12.5%)	27(12.4%)	10(14%)

p-value <0.001							
What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?							
Greece for me is:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Byzantine churches	22(3.2%)	25(3.5%)	38(4.1%)	51(3.8%)	15(3.8%)	10(4.6%)	2(2.8%)
Modern architecture	7(1%)	12(1.6%)	10(1%)	12(0.9%)	5(1.2%)	3(1.3%)	2(2.8%)
Cultural heritage diversity	84(12.5%)	82(11.5%)	110(11.9%)	160(12.2%)	56(14.3%)	23(10.5%)	9(12.6%)
Mythological gods and heroes	106(15.8%)	115(16.2%)	156(16.9%)	223(17%)	70(17.9%)	37(17%)	10(14%)
Other	7(1%)	12(1.6%)	9(0.9%)	12(0.9%)	3(0.7%)	3(1.3%)	2(2.8%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test ($p\text{-value} < 0.001$) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants who choose souvenirs due to their usability value Greece for its temples, archaeological sites and museums (23.1%) followed by sea, sun and the islands (18.2%). Among participants who choose to buy souvenirs for their aesthetics, 23.4% choose Greece for temples, archaeological sites and museums followed by sea, sun and the islands (16.5%). Participants who choose to buy souvenirs because they want something authentic of the place, choose Greece for temples, archaeological sites and museums (23.9%), followed by mythological gods and heroes (16.9%). What is interesting is that 12.3% of those who consider authenticity as an important factor for their souvenir purchase also value Greece for its people. It is possible that the interaction between locals and the survey participants defined their notion of what is authentic in Greece, as the results of the in-depth interviews indicate. Survey participants who prefer to buy typical representative souvenirs of Greece, choose Greece for temples, archaeological sites and museums (24.8%), followed by sea, sun and the islands (17.3%), while those who choose to buy souvenirs for their historical or artistic, value Greece for its temples, archaeological sites and museums (23.1%) as well as for its mythological gods and heroes (17.9%). Finally, among the participants who choose price as one of the main reasons for their selection of Greek souvenirs, 23.5% choose Greece for the temples, archaeological sites and museums followed by mythological gods and heroes (17.0%).

Table 13: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?" and "What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here".

p-value<0.001							
What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?							
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Ancient monuments	140(32.7%)	153(34.1%)	197(33.6%)	297(34.3%)	80(30.4%)	43(32.8%)	0(0%)
Museums and their artefacts	82(19.2%)	84(18.7%)	101(17.2%)	158(18.2%)	48(18.2%)	27(20.6%)	7(17%)

p-value<0.001

What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?

What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Byzantine churches	17(3.9%)	22(4.9%)	31(5.2%)	35(4%)	11(4.1%)	4(3%)	2(4.8%)
The islands	76(17.7%)	77(17.1%)	100(17%)	136(15.7%)	44(16.7%)	23(17.5%)	6(14.6%)
The people and their customs	59(13.8%)	55(12.2%)	68(11.6%)	101(11.6%)	32(12.1%)	18(13.7%)	7(17%)
Cultural diversity	40(9.3%)	40(8.9%)	65(11%)	98(11.3%)	32(12.1%)	13(9.9%)	4(9.7%)

p-value<0.001							
What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?							
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	9(2.1%)	8(1.7%)	15(2.5%)	22(2.5%)	9(3.4%)	3(2.2%)	1(2.4%)
Other	4(0.9%)	9(2%)	9(1.5%)	18(2%)	7(2.6%)	0(0.0%)	3(7.3%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value=0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants who choose to get souvenirs for their usability were impressed during their stay in Greece by ancient monuments (32.7%), followed by museums and their artefacts (19.2%). Similar results were found for the participants who choose to buy souvenirs “for their

aesthetics -it's a beautiful object”, “because they wanted something authentic of the place”, “because they wanted something typical/representative of Greece”, due to the “historical or artistic value” and “for its price”. An interesting finding is that the majority of those who valued the aesthetics, the authenticity and the representativeness of their souvenirs, were mostly impressed by the archaeological monuments (34.1%, 33.6%, 34.3% respectively) and the museums (18.7%, 17.2% and 18.2% respectively). It is also worth noting is the association between those who picked authenticity as one of the reasons for their choice of souvenirs and value Greece for its cultural identity (11%).

Table 14: Distribution of the participants’ answers according to the questions “What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here” and “What influenced your choice?”

p-value<0.001							
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Ancient monuments	184(36.6%)	127(32.9%)	40(31.4%)	105(31.4%)	49(32.8%)	45(36.5%)	0(0%)

p-value<0.001							
What influenced your choice?							
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Museums and their artefacts	103(20.5%)	69(17.9%)	22(17.3%)	55(16.4%)	24(16.1%)	21(17%)	0(0%)
Byzantine churches	28(5.5%)	21(5.4%)	6(4.7%)	18(5.3%)	7(4.6%)	4(3.2%)	7(3.6%)
The islands	68(13.5%)	64(16.6%)	19(14.9%)	59(17.6%)	26(17.4%)	19(15.4%)	0(0%)
The people and their customs	56(11.1%)	51(13.2%)	18(14.1%)	41(12.2%)	19(12.7%)	12(9.7%)	0(0%)

p-value<0.001							
What influenced your choice?							
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here:	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Cultural diversity	47(9.3%)	38(9.8%)	15(11.8%)	41(12.2%)	17(11.4%)	16(13%)	16(8.2%)
Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	9(1.7%)	8(2%)	6(4.7%)	7(2%)	5(3.3%)	5(4%)	8(4.1%)
Other	7(1.3%)	7(1.8%)	1(0.7%)	8(2.3%)	2(1.3%)	1(0.8%)	7(3.6%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “What influenced your choice?” and “What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here” (p-value =0.001). Among the participants whose choice was influenced by something they saw at a museum, 36.6% were impressed by ancient monuments, followed by 20.5% who were impressed by museums and their artefacts. Most of the participants whose choice was influenced by something that the guide mentioned, were impressed by ancient monuments (32.9%), museums and their artefacts (17.9%). Similar results were observed among participants whose choice was influenced by something that a guide or a local was wearing or using. Participants who were influenced by the museums and the guide, also claimed to be impressed by the people and their customs during their stay in Greece (13.2% and 14.1% respectively).

Among the participants whose choice was influenced by the way the souvenir shop was set up, 31.4% were impressed from ancient monuments during their stay in Greece, followed by the islands (17.6%). Similar results applied for participants whose choice was influenced by the seller/shop owner. Finally, the most frequent categories for the participants whose choice was influenced by something they saw on a film, poster, or the Internet were ancient monuments (36.5%) and museums and their artefacts (17%).

The findings show in **Table 14** are significant since they suggest a correlation between the participants’ tourist experience and their souvenir purchase behaviour. Participants who were influenced by the museum and the guide’s information in their souvenir purchase choices, reported to have been impressed by the archaeological sites and museums during their holiday. Participants who were influenced by the guide and the locals, also reported to have be impressed by their interaction with Greek people during their holiday. Therefore, their tourist experience is related to their souvenir purchase behaviour. This is further affirmed by the findings presented in **Table 35** that shows the relation between tourist experience and notions about what constitutes a representative souvenir of Greece.

Museum experience

Table 15: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "Do you visit museums in general?" and "Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)?"

p-value <0.001	Do you visit museums in general?	
	Yes	No
Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not):	N(%)	N(%)
Archaeological	377(46.8%)	56(47.4%)
Natural History	161(20%)	26(22%)
Contemporary art	88(10.9%)	4(3.3%)
Folk art	70(8.7%)	10(8.4%)
Medieval/Byzantine	95(11.8%)	12(10.1%)
Other museums	13(1.6%)	1(0.8%)
Not interested in museums	0(0.0%)	9(7.6%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between the question "Do you visit museums in general?" as compared to the opinion of the participants about the museums they prefer (p-value <0.001). Among the participants who like to visit museums in general, the most frequent answer is "Archaeological" (46.8%) followed by "Natural History" (20%). for the same applies to participants who do not like to visit museums in general. This indicates that the survey participants were more interested in archaeological museums irrespective of whether they are frequent museum visitors or not.

Table 16: Distribution of the participants’ answers according to the questions “Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)” and “My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through”.

p-value<0.001							
Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)							
My first contact with Greece(before my visit) was through:	Archaeological	Natural History	Contemporary art	Folk art	Medieval/ Byzantine	Other museums	Not interested in museums
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Greek mythology	221(26.6%)	94(24.1%)	45(22.7%)	40(23.9%)	57(23.9%)	10(41.6%)	3(20%)
the history class at school	224(26.9%)	106(27.2%)	51(25.7%)	39(23.3%)	63(26.4%)	5(20.8%)	4(26.6%)
A film	60(7.2%)	30(7.7%)	18(9%)	15(8.9%)	14(5.8%)	2(8.3%)	1(6.6%)
A photo of a Greek island/beach	60(7.2%)	36(9.2%)	20(10.1%)	18(10.7%)	17(7.1%)	2(8.3%)	2(13.3%)
A photo of the Acropolis	85(10.2%)	45(11.5%)	25(12.6%)	20(11.9%)	28(11.7%)	1(4.1%)	1(6.6%)

p-value<0.001							
Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)							
My first contact with Greece(before my visit) was through:	Archaeological	Natural History	Contemporary art	Folk art	Medieval/ Byzantine	Other museums	Not interested in museums
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	104(12.5%)	45(11.5%)	20(10.1%)	21(12.5%)	34(14.2%)	2(8.3%)	1(6.6%)
Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	45(5.4%)	21(5.3%)	13(6.5%)	9(5.3%)	18(7.5%)	1(4.1%)	0(0.0%)
Other	31(3.7%)	12(3%)	6(3%)	5(2.9%)	7(2.9%)	1(4.1%)	3(20%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two questions (p-value<0.001). More specifically, the majority of the participants who prefer archaeological museums are those who had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology (26.9%), whereas 26.6% of the participants had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology (p-value<0.001). Similar results were found for the participants who prefer natural history, contemporary art, folk art, Medieval/Byzantine and other museums.

Table 17: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "Which museums have you visited in Greece?" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?".

p-value<0.001											
Which museums have you visited in Greece?											
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Acropolis museum	National archaeological museum	Byzantine Museum in Athens	Museum of Cycladic Art	Benaki Museum	Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki	Archaeological museum of Delphi	Archaeological museum of Olympia	Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete	Other museum	I haven't visited a museum
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	108(8.4%)	64(7.9%)	7(9.4%)	2(16.6%)	2(20%)	2(5%)	75(8.2%)	11(4.6%)	16(6.7%)	20(12.9%)	7(12.2%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	127(9.9%)	77(9.6%)	10(13.5%)	1(8.3%)	2(20%)	6(15%)	87(9.6%)	20(8.4%)	23(9.6%)	18(11.6%)	8(14%)

p-value<0.001

Which museums have you visited in Greece?

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Acropolis museum	National archaeological museum	Byzantine Museum in Athens	Museum of Cycladic Art	Benaki Museum	Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki	Archaeological museum of Delphi	Archaeological museum of Olympia	Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete	Other museum	I haven't visited a museum
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	33(2.5%)	17(2.1%)	4(5.4%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	4(10%)	26(2.8%)	3(1.2%)	8(3.3%)	2(1.2%)	2(3.5%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	95(7.4%)	57(7.1%)	6(8.1%)	0(0.0%)	1(10%)	1(2.5%)	79(8.7%)	25(10.5%)	12(5%)	12(7.7%)	1(1.7%)
Fridge-magnets	160(12.4%)	107(13.3%)	6(8.1%)	1(8.3%)	1(10%)	3(7.5%)	125(13.8%)	44(18.6%)	21(8.8%)	13(8.3%)	7(12.2%)

p-value<0.001

Which museums have you visited in Greece?

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Acropolis museum	National archaeological museum	Byzantine Museum in Athens	Museum of Cycladic Art	Benaki Museum	Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki	Archaeological museum of Delphi	Archaeological museum of Olympia	Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete	Other museum	I haven't visited a museum
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
T-shirts	158(12.3%)	113(14.1%)	8(10.8%)	3(25%)	0(0.0%)	6(15%)	122(13.4%)	48(20.3%)	31(13%)	18(11.6%)	5(8.7%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	35(2.7%)	22(2.7%)	1(1.3%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(2.5%)	28(3%)	9(3.8%)	5(2.1%)	4(2.5%)	3(5.2%)
Worry-beads	26(2%)	13(1.6%)	3(4%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	9(0.9%)	3(1.2%)	8(3.3%)	2(1.2%)	3(5.2%)

p-value<0.001

Which museums have you visited in Greece?

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Acropolis museum	National archaeological museum	Byzantine Museum in Athens	Museum of Cycladic Art	Benaki Museum	Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki	Archaeological museum of Delphi	Archaeological museum of Olympia	Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete	Other museum	I haven't visited a museum
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	171(13.3%)	96(11.9%)	7(9.4%)	1(8.3%)	1(10%)	3(7.5%)	120(13.2%)	24(10.1%)	35(14.7%)	21(13.5%)	9(15.7%)
Post-cards	109(8.5%)	75(9.3%)	8(10.8%)	1(8.3%)	1(10%)	3(7.5%)	78(8.6%)	24(10.1%)	31(13%)	9(5.8%)	3(5.2%)
Guide books and books	120(9.3%)	74(9.2%)	7(9.4%)	1(8.3%)	2(20%)	4(10%)	82(9%)	13(5.5%)	18(7.5%)	21(13.5%)	4(7%)

p-value<0.001

Which museums have you visited in Greece?

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Acropolis museum	National archaeological museum	Byzantine Museum in Athens	Museum of Cycladic Art	Benaki Museum	Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki	Archaeological museum of Delphi	Archaeological museum of Olympia	Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete	Other museum	I haven't visited a museum
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	89(6.9%)	52(6.4%)	4(5.4%)	1(8.3%)	0(0.0%)	1(2.5%)	52(5.7%)	8(3.3%)	17(7.1%)	8(5.1%)	1(1.7%)
Other	51(3.9%)	34(4.2%)	3(4%)	1(8.3%)	0(0.0%)	6(15%)	21(2.3%)	4(1.6%)	13(5.4%)	7(4.5%)	4(7%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001), there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants who had visited the Acropolis Museum, chose food products as a souvenir (13.3%) followed by the fridge magnets (12.4%). Most participants who had visited the National Archaeological Museum, choose T-shirts as a souvenir (14.1%) followed by the fridge magnets (13.3%).

In addition, participants who visited those two museums showed a preference for purchasing copies of ceramic vases (8.4%, for the visitors of the Acropolis Museum and 7.9% for the visitors of the National Archaeological Museum) and jewellery inspired from the Classical past (9.9% for those who visited the Acropolis Museum and 9.6% for those that visited the National Archaeological Museum). Similar trends were observed for the participants who had visited the Archaeological Museum of Delphi and the Archaeological Museum of Olympia. As for the participants who had visited the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, the majority choose jewellery inspired from the Classical past as a souvenir (13.5%) followed by T-shirts (10.8%) and post-cards (10.8%). However, a 5.4% purchased Byzantine style jewellery, which is a higher percentage than participants who visited other museums; such a finding indicates a correlation between the visit of the Byzantine Museum and a preference for Byzantine jewellery. As for the participants who had visited the Museum of Cycladic and Ancient Greek Art, Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris Foundation, the majority choose T-shirts as a souvenir (25%) followed by copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases (16.6%). Among the participants who had visited the Benaki Museum, the most frequent answers were copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases (20%), jewellery inspired by the Classical past (20%) and guidebooks and books (20%). Moreover, participants who had visited the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, preferred jewellery inspired from the Classical past (15%), T-shirts (15%) and other souvenir (15%). Interestingly, the survey participants who reported to have visited the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki participated in an organised tour of the Northern part of Greece focusing more on Early Christian archaeological sites; therefore, the group's travel experience included more sites of the Byzantine heritage of Greece, and this possibly explains the fact that 10% purchased souvenirs related to the Byzantine heritage. Participants who had visited the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion in Crete, answered that they chose food products (14.7%), T-shirts (13%) and post-cards (13%). Finally, participants who hadn't visited a museum choose food products as souvenirs (15.7%) and jewellery inspired from the Classical past (14%).

Table 18: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)" and "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you".

p-value<0.002		Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)					
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	Archaeological	Natural History	Contemporary art	Folk art	Medieval/Byzantine	Other museums	Not interested in museums
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	222(33.8%)	93(33.8%)	46(30.4%)	29(26.3%)	54(30.5%)	9(40.9%)	2(15.3%)
Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	81(12.3%)	36(13%)	25(16.5%)	19(17.2%)	37(20.9%)	3(13.6%)	2(15.3%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	193(29.4%)	72(26.1%)	33(21.8%)	33(30%)	45(25.4%)	5(22.7%)	5(38.4%)
Worry-beads	34(5.1%)	16(5.8%)	9(5.9%)	4(3.6%)	9(5%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)

p-value<0.002		Which type of museums is more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)					
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	Archaeological	Natural History	Contemporary art	Folk art	Medieval/Byzantine	Other museums	Not interested in museums
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
The evil-eye	77(11.7%)	39(14.1%)	24(15.8%)	15(13.6%)	20(11.2%)	3(13.6%)	4(30.7%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	7(1%)	3(1%)	3(1.9%)	1(0.9%)	2(1.1%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	17(2.5%)	9(3.2%)	4(2.6%)	5(4.5%)	4(2.2%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	25(3.8%)	7(2.5%)	7(4.6%)	4(3.6%)	(3.3%)	2(9%)	0(0.0%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value=0.002) there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Among the participants who prefer archaeological museums, 33.8% answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, and 29.4% answered a miniature of the Parthenon. A similar conclusion was reached for the participants who prefer

Natural History museums, contemporary art museums, the Medieval/Byzantine Museum and other museums. However, the percentage of participants who showed a preference for contemporary art museums and selected the evil-eye (15.8%) is noteworthy. Also, those who found the medieval/Byzantine museums more appealing chose Byzantine jewellery as the most representative of Greece. These findings suggest a correlation between the participants' interests and souvenir purchase behaviour. Finally, 30% of the participants who prefer folk art museums, answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of the Parthenon and 26.3% a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, whereas among participants who are not interested in museums 38.4% answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of the Parthenon and 15.3% a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher.

Factors that influenced souvenirs purchase

Table 19: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?"

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?						
	For their usability N(%)	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object N(%)	I wanted something authentic of the place N(%)	It is something typical/representative of Greece N(%)	For their historical or artistic value N(%)	For its price N(%)	Other N(%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	36(6.4%)	55(8.6%)	71(8.4%)	111(9.1%)	43(11%)	8(4.5%)	1(2.3%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	62(11.1%)	78(12.2%)	94(11.2%)	117(9.6%)	43(11%)	22(12.4%)	1(2.3%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	13(2.3%)	25(3.9%)	28(3.3%)	29(2.3%)	14(3.5%)	4(2.2%)	0(0.0%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	35(6.2%)	38(5.9%)	56(6.6%)	90(7.4%)	41(10.5%)	9(5%)	0(0.0%)
Fridge-magnets	58(10.3%)	68(10.6%)	87(10.3%)	156(12.8%)	46(11.7%)	22(12.4%)	4(9.3%)

p-value <0.001		What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?					
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
T-shirts	76(13.6%)	65(10.2%)	97(11.5%)	142(11.6%)	36(9.2%)	24(13.5%)	4(9.3%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	13(2.3%)	20(3.1%)	29(3.4%)	32(2.6%)	14(3.5%)	3(1.6%)	1(2.3%)
Worry-beads	12(2.1%)	13(2%)	25(2.9%)	26(2.1%)	8(2%)	3(1.6%)	1(2.3%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	87(15.5%)	87(13.6%)	109(13%)	168(13.8%)	45(11.5%)	35(19.7%)	6(13.9%)
Post-cards	44(7.8%)	60(9.4%)	65(7.7%)	104(8.5%)	37(9.4%)	16(9%)	6(13.9%)

p-value <0.001		What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?					
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Guide books and books	52(9.3%)	56(8.7%)	83(9.9%)	124(10.2%)	34(8.7%)	8(4.5%)	6(13.9%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	39(6.9%)	48(7.5%)	62(7.3%)	78(6.4%)	18(4.6%)	10(5.6%)	3(6.9%)
Other	31(5.5%)	24(3.7%)	32(3.8%)	38(3.1%)	11(2.8%)	13(7.3%)	10(23.2%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between the two variables. Most participants who select souvenirs for their usability, choose food products (15.5%) followed by T-shirts (13.6%). Moreover, high percentages were noted for those who chose jewellery inspired from the Classical past (11.1%) and fridge-magnets (10.3%). Regarding the participants who reported that they wanted authentic items from the country, 13.6% chose food products, 11.5% T-shirts, 11.2% Classical jewellery, 8.4% copies of ceramic vases, but also pebbles and rocks (3.4%). As for the participants who value the aesthetics, 13.6% chose food products

and 12.2% chose jewellery as a souvenir. Moreover, from those participants who valued the representativeness of souvenirs, 13.8% chose food products and 12.8% fridge-magnets as souvenirs. Finally, among the participants who chose souvenirs for their historical or artistic value, 11.7% purchased fridge-magnets, 11% chose copies of ceramic vases, 11% jewellery inspired from the Classical past and 10.5 % statues of mythological gods and heroes.

What is interesting about the data in **Table 19** is that jewellery inspired from the Classical past was chosen by those who value usability, aesthetics, authenticity and historic or artistic value. It seems that participants chose jewellery for more practical reasons since it is lighter to carry around or simply wear it, as the results of our interviews also affirm (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*) There is also an interesting correlation between those who chose authenticity and purchased jewellery of the Classical period and copies of ceramic vases or simply acquired pebbles and rocks; participants consider such souvenir categories as authentic, as our interviews have also indicated (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*). Fridge-magnets and T-shirts are rated highly for their practical use and for their representativeness of the destination visited.

Table 20: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?" and "What influenced your choice"

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum N(%)	Something that the guide mentioned N(%)	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using N(%)	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration N(%)	The seller/shop owner N(%)	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet N(%)	Other N(%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	80(11.1%)	46(9.2%)	12(7.1%)	30(6.5%)	9(4.3%)	18(10.2%)	15(5.7%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	82(11.4%)	51(10.2%)	19(11.2%)	52(11.3%)	26(12.5%)	11(6.2%)	26(10%)
Jewelry inspired from the Byzantine past	14(1.9%)	13(2.6%)	5(2.9%)	15(3.2%)	8(3.8%)	3(1.7%)	6(2.3%)

p-value <0.001							
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	70(9.7%)	37(7.4%)	10(5.9%)	25(5.4%)	8(3.8%)	18(10.2%)	16(6.1%)
Fridge-magnets	86(11.9%)	53(10.6%)	16(9.4%)	50(10.9%)	26(12.5%)	31(17.6%)	29(11.1%)
T-shirts	76(10.5%)	67(13.4%)	23(13.6%)	62(13.5%)	24(11.5%)	24(13.6%)	23(8.8%)

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum N(%)	Something that the guide mentioned N(%)	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using N(%)	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration N(%)	The seller/shop owner N(%)	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet N(%)	Other N(%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	21(2.9%)	14(2.8%)	5(2.9%)	13(2.8%)	6(2.8%)	6(3.4%)	9(3.4%)
Worry-beads	15(2%)	15(3%)	5(2.9%)	10(2.1%)	1(0.4%)	6(3.4%)	5(1.9%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	74(10.3%)	67(13.4%)	21(12.4%)	61(13.3%)	32(15.4%)	18(10.2%)	44(16.9%)

p-value <0.001							
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Post-cards	61(8.5%)	37(7.4%)	16(9.4%)	43(9.4%)	21(10.1%)	15(8.5%)	22(8.4%)
Guide books and books	75(10.4%)	54(10.8%)	16(9.4%)	42(9.1%)	19(9.1%)	11(6.2%)	25(9.6%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	44(6.1%)	32(6.4%)	15(8.8%)	30(6.5%)	13(6.2%)	11(6.2%)	18(6.9%)

p-value <0.001							
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	What influenced your choice?						
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Other	19(2.6%)	14(2.8%)	6(3.5%)	24(5.2%)	14(6.7%)	4(2.2%)	22(8.4%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?” and “What influenced your choice?” (p-value <0.001). Among the participants whose choice was influenced by a museum, 11.9% answered that they bought fridge-magnets as souvenirs and 11.4% jewellery inspired from the Classical past, while 11.1% replied that they bought copies of ancient Greek vases and 9.7% statues of mythological gods and heroes. The most frequent answers for those whose choice was influenced by their guide was “T-shirts” (13.4%) and “food products (wine, olive oil etc.)” (13.4%), as well as copies of ceramic vases (9.2%) and jewellery inspired from the Classical period (10.2%). Among the participants whose choice was influenced by a guide or a local, 13.6% answered that they bought T-shirts as souvenirs and 12.4% food products. A similar conclusion was reached for the participants who give attention to the shop decoration. Moreover, participants whose choice was influenced by the seller/shop owner answered that they bought food products (15.4%) followed by jewelleries inspired from the Classical past (12.5%) and fridge-magnets (12.5%). Fridge-magnets (17.6%) and T-shirts (13.6%) were the most frequent souvenirs for those whose choice was influenced by a film, poster or internet. Finally, food products (16.9%) and fridge-magnets (11.1%) were the most frequent souvenirs for those whose choice was influenced by other reasons.

The data in Table 18 suggest a possible correlation between museum exhibitions and their influence on determining the souvenir purchases of replicas of ceramic vases and jewellery inspired from the Classical past. Regarding jewellery inspired from the Classical past, it seems that other determining factors are the guide's discourse, the interaction with locals and the shopping experience at the souvenir shop and the interaction with its personnel. A determining factor for purchasing food products seems to be the experience at the souvenir shop and the interaction with its seller.

Function of souvenirs and socio-demographics

Table 21: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "I am going to keep my souvenir in" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?".

p-value <0.001	I am going to keep my souvenir in			
	What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	A visible place so that people can see it (e.g. living room, kitchen etc)	A non-visible place (desk-drawer, bedroom etc.	I don't keep any souvenirs in my house/I only buy souvenirs for gift
		N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
	Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	143(9.8%)	10(5.7%)	8(4.9%)
	Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	142(9.7%)	22(12.6%)	19(11.6%)
	Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	41(2.8%)	3(1.7%)	3(1.8%)
	Statues of mythological gods and heroes	117(8%)	7(4.0%)	3(1.8%)
	Fridge-magnets	185(12.7%)	15(8.6%)	21(12.8%)
	T-shirts	172(11.8%)	19(10.9%)	26(15.9%)

p-value <0.001	I am going to keep my souvenir in			
	What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	A visible place so that people can see it (e.g. living room, kitchen etc)	A non-visible place (desk-drawer, bedroom etc.	I don't keep any souvenirs in my house/I only buy souvenirs for gift
		N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
	Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	39(2.7%)	4(2.3%)	2(1.2%)
	Worry-beads	40(2.7%)	1(0.6%)	6(3.7%)
	Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	191(13.1%)	24(13.8%)	22(13.4%)
	Post-cards	121(8.3%)	16(9.2%)	14(8.5%)
	Guide books and books	134(9.2%)	18(10.3%)	26(15.9%)
	Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	92(6.3%)	14(8%)	8(4.9%)
	Other	45(3.1%)	21(12.1%)	6(3.7%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. Most participants

who keep their souvenir in a visible place chose food products as a souvenir (13.1%), followed by fridge magnets (12.7%). Among the participants who keep their souvenir in a non-visible place, the majority chose food products as a souvenir (13.8%), followed by jewellery inspired from the Classical past (12.6%). Finally, the most frequent categories for the participants who bought souvenirs only for gifts were T-shirts (15.9%) and guidebooks or books (15.9%), food products (13.4%) and fridge-magnets (12.8%). This last finding suggests that T-shirts, fridge-magnets, books and food products are among the most popular souvenirs for gifts, as was also indicated by the results of our in-depth interviews (see *Landscapes, folklore, and food souvenirs*). This result may be explained by the findings of **Table 22** which suggest that a very high percentage of the survey participants chose representative souvenirs for gifts. Thus, the correlation of these findings indicates that T-shirts and fridge magnets which usually bear a clear marker of the destination are chosen to be offered as gifts. This is also possible for the food products as suggested by the results of the in-depth interviews (see *Landscapes, folklore, and food souvenirs*). Clear markers are much easier to relate to a destination even for the receivers of a souvenir as gift who did not have a tourist experience of it (that is the destination).

Table 22: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "I got/would get these souvenirs?" and "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?".

What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?	I got/would get these souvenirs		
	For my personal collection	As a gift for my friends and family	For remembering my holiday and the people I met
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
For their usability	85(15.9%)	145(14.5%)	96(13.3%)
For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	102(19.1%)	167(16.7%)	114(16.5%)

What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?	I got/would get these souvenirs		
	For my personal collection	As a gift for my friends and family	For remembering my holiday and the people I met
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
I wanted something authentic of the place	120(22.5%)	218(21.7%)	153(22.1%)
It is something typical/representative of Greece	145(27.2%)	316(31.5%)	231(33.4%)
For their historical or artistic value	49(9.2%)	93(9.3%)	66(9.5%)
For its price	23(4.3%)	53(5.3%)	29(4.2%)
Otherm	10(1.9%)	11(1.1%)	3(0.4%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “I got/would get these souvenirs” and “What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?” (p-value <0.001). Among the participants who got/would get souvenirs for their personal collection, the main reason why they get the souvenir was that it was something typical/representative of Greece (27.2%). The second most popular reason was that they wanted something authentic of the place (22.5%). A similar conclusion was arrived at for the participants who get souvenirs as a gift as well as for those who want to remember their holiday.

However, the very high percentages of those who choose something representative of Greece, when their souvenir is intended to be given as gift or kept as a memento (31.5% and 33.4% respectively), suggest that souvenirs which clearly relate to the destination, can serve such purposes, as we also noted earlier (see *Parameters that motivated participants on their souvenir choices*).

Table 23: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their gender and the question "Do you usually buy souvenirs on your travels?".

			p-value <0.001		Gender	
			Male	Female		
			N(%)	N(%)		
Do you usually buy souvenirs on your travels?	Yes		149(72.0%)	301(81.8%)		
	No		58(28.0%)	42(12.2%)		

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant difference in the answers of the participants as compared to their gender. Specifically, the percentage of females who usually buy souvenirs during their travels is 81.8% compared to the corresponding percentage of males which is 72.0% (p-value<0.001).

Table 24: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their gender and the question "Did you buy any souvenirs during your holiday in Greece?".

			p-value <0.052		Gender	
			Male	Female		
			N(%)	N(%)		
Did you buy any souvenirs during your holiday in Greece?	Yes		165(80.5%)	294(86.7%)		
	No		40(19.5%)	45(13.3%)		

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant difference in the answers of the participants as compared to their gender. Specifically, the percentage of females who buy souvenirs during their holiday in Greece is 86.7%, compared to the corresponding percentage of males which is 80.5% (p-value=0.052).

Table 25: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their educational level and the question "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?".

What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?	Educational level		
	Primary/secondary education	Undergraduate studies	Post-graduate studies
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
For their usability	44(13.1%)	67(14.5%)	57(18.8%)
For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	56(16.6%)	71(15.4%)	53(17.4%)
I wanted something authentic of the place	69(20.5%)	105(22.7%)	64(21.1%)
It is something typical/representative of Greece	114(33.8%)	153(33.1%)	88(28.9%)
For their historical or artistic value	40(11.9%)	42(9.1%)	22(7.2%)
For its price	13(3.9%)	24(5.2%)	20(6.6%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the educational level and the question "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?" (p-value =0.001). Participants with a primary/secondary education, answered that they chose souvenirs that were typical/representative of Greece (33.8%). A second frequent reason was that they wanted something authentic of the place (20.5%). Moreover, the above reasons were also the most popular for participants who had completed graduate and post-graduate studies. However, no other

significant differentiations were found between participants of other educational levels and the reasons for their souvenir purchase.

Table 26: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their age group and the question "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)"

p-value<0.001	Age group				
	10-18	19-30	31-45	46-60	>60
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	2(4.4%)	8(25.0%)	20(30.8%)	49(37.1%)	71(26.7%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	0(0.0%)	6(18.8%)	7(10.8%)	12(9.1%)	21(7.9%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	6(13.3%)	14(43.8%)	25(38.5%)	44(33.3%)	84(31.6%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	21(46.7%)	5(15.6%)	16(24.6%)	34(25.8%)	44(16.5%)
Fridge-magnets	31(68.9%)	9(28.1%)	37(56.9%)	48(36.4%)	87(32.7%)

p-value<0.001	Age group				
	10-18	19-30	31-45	46-60	>60
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
T-shirts	35(77.8%)	9(28.1%)	19(29.2%)	58(43.9%)	90(33.8%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	8(17.8%)	6(18.8%)	5(7.7%)	10(7.6%)	16(6.0%)
Worry-beads	0(0.0%)	1(3.1%)	4(6.2%)	19(14.4%)	21(7.9%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	7(15.6%)	18(56.3%)	36(55.4%)	56(42.4%)	105(39.5%)
Post-cards	19(42.2%)	5(15.6%)	23(35.4%)	21(15.9%)	76(28.6%)
Guide books and books	1(2.2%)	5(15.6%)	22(33.8%)	57(43.2%)	84(31.6%)

p-value<0.001	Age group				
	10-18	19-30	31-45	46-60	>60
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	1(2.2%)	9(28.1%)	18(27.7%)	24(18.2%)	52(19.5%)
Other	3(6.7%)	4(12.5%)	9(13.8%)	11(8.3%)	36(13.5%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between age group and the question “What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn’t buy any)” (p-value =0.001). Table 24 illustrates differentiations among the various age groups. T-shirts, food products and fridge-magnets are popular for nearly all age groups. However, a higher percentage in their preference for T-shirts (77.8%) and statues for mythological gods and heroes (46.7%) was observed for the 10-18 age group. A significant differentiation was also observed for food products between the first two age groups: 15.6% of the age group 10-18 and 56.3% of the 19-30 age group chose food products. No significant differentiation regarding their choices of food products, though, was observed for all other age groups. Moreover, the interest in copies of ceramic vases and jewellery inspired by the Classical past seems to be very low in the age group 10-18 (4.4% and 13.3 % respectively) while it increases in the next age groups. Jewellery inspired both from the Classical and the Byzantine periods seems to be higher for the 19-30 age group (43.8% and 18.8% respectively). Finally, a significant increase on a preference for guidebooks and books was noted in the age groups 46-60 and 60<.

Table 27: Distribution of the answers of the participants according to their age and the question “What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?”

What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?	p-value<0.006				
	Age group				
	10-18	19-30	31-45	46-60	>60
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
For their usability	9(13.0%)	12(15.4%)	21(15.0%)	46(17.0%)	84(14.5%)
For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	11(15.9%)	15(19.2%)	24(17.1%)	33(12.2%)	101(17.4%)
I wanted something authentic of the place	9(13.0%)	18(23.1%)	27(19.3%)	63(23.2%)	123(21.2%)
It is something typical/representative of Greece	26(37.7%)	21(26.9%)	46(32.9%)	95(35.1%)	173(29.9%)
For their historical or artistic value	10(14.5%)	8(10.3%)	13(9.3%)	24(8.9%)	51(8.8%)
For its price	3(4.3%)	1(1.3%)	7(5.0%)	7(2.6%)	40(6.9%)
Other	1(1.4%)	3(3.8%)	2(1.4%)	3(1.1%)	7(1.2%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the age of the participants and the question “What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?” (p-value =0.006). The most popular reason for purchasing souvenirs for all age groups is that they would like to acquire a souvenir that would be representative of Greece. Table 25, though, indicates some slight differentiations on the second and third choices of the different age groups. Among the participants of the age group 10-18 years, 15.9% answered that the reason why they buy souvenirs is their aesthetic value, while 14.5% emphasized their historical one. The second and third

choices of participants of the age groups of 19-30 and 31-45 years old were authenticity (23.1% and 19.3% respectively) and aesthetics (19.2%, 17.1%, respectively). Among participants aged 46-60 years, 23.2% selected authenticity and 17.0% usability. Finally, participants of the age group 60+ valued authenticity (21.2%), aesthetics (17.4%) and usability (14.5%).

Table 28: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their age and the question "What influenced your choice?".

What influenced your choice?	Age group				
	10-18 N %	19-30 N %	31-45 N %	46-60 N %	>60 N %
Something I saw at a museum	25(41.0%)	7(14.6%)	26(28.9%)	59(34.7%)	95(25.5%)
Something that the guide mentioned	8(13.1%)	12(25.0%)	22(24.4%)	35(20.6%)	70(18.8%)
Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	6(9.8%)	5(10.4%)	4(4.4%)	11(6.5%)	22(5.9%)
The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	5(8.2%)	14(29.2%)	13(14.4%)	29(17.1%)	79(21.2%)
The seller/shop owner	7(11.5%)	3(6.3%)	4(4.4%)	6(3.5%)	43(11.6%)
Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	9(14.8%)	2(4.2%)	8(8.9%)	15(8.8%)	19(5.1%)
Other	1(1.6%)	5(10.4%)	13(14.4%)	15(8.8%)	44(11.8%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the age of the participants and the question "What influenced your choice?" (p-value <0.001). Among the participants aged 10-18 years, 41.0% answered that their choice was influenced by something they saw at a museum and 14.8% by a film, poster or the Internet. The most frequent answer for the age group 19-30 was the way the

souvenir shop was set up (29.2%), while 25.0% was influenced by the guide and 14.6% by the museum experience. 28.9% of the participants aged 31-45, answered that their choice was influenced by the museum, 24.4% by the guide and 14.4% by the souvenir shop. Participants from the age group of 46-60 answered that their choice was influenced by the museum (34.7%), the guide (20.6%) and the souvenir shop (17.1%). Finally, most participants who are over 60-year-old were influenced by the museum (25.5%) and the guide (18.8%) as well as the souvenir shop (21.2%) and their interaction with its personnel (11.6%). These findings indicate that the museum experience plays an important role in determining the participants' choices of souvenir shopping. Part of the museum experience is also the guide's discourse which is the second most important factor for influencing the participants' purchase behaviour in nearly all age groups. The above findings also suggest that the souvenir shop experience is the second most important factor for nearly all age groups. The importance of both the museum and the souvenir experience has also been observed during the analysis of the results of the in-depth interviews (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*). Slight differentiations among the age groups should also be noted: the 10-18 age group rated highly the influence of films and the Internet (14.8%) in comparison with the other age groups. The 19-30 age group rated the souvenir shop highly (29.2%), something which affirms the findings of previous studies which indicated that younger tourists relate the meaning of their souvenirs to the shopping experience; . On the other hand, the 46-60 age group rated the museum and the guide highly, while the 60+ age group also valued the museum experience, but also the souvenir shop and the interaction with the seller of the souvenir shop (11.6%), a finding that affirms previous studies and the analysis of our in-depth interviews (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*).

Table 29: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their educational level and the question "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you".

p-value <0.005	Educational level		
	Primary/secondary education	Undergraduate studies	Post-graduate studies
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	73(26.4%)	118(33.4%)	69(36.1%)
Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	39(14.1%)	40(11.3%)	30(15.7%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	75(27.1%)	113(32.0%)	46(24.1%)
Worry-beads	21(7.6%)	14(4.0%)	6(3.1%)
The evil-eye	36(13.0%)	43(12.2%)	27(14.1%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	4(1.4%)	7(2.0%)	1(0.5%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	11(4.0%)	8(2.3%)	5(2.6%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	18(6.5%)	10(2.8%)	7(3.7%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the educational level and the question "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you" (p-value=0.005). Among the participants who had completed primary/secondary education, the majority answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of the Parthenon (27.1%), followed by the statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (26.4%). Participants who had completed graduate/post-graduate studies answered that a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher is the most representative souvenir of Greece (33.4%, 36.1%, respectively), followed by the Miniature of the Parthenon (32%, 24.1%, respectively). However, no significant differentiations were observed among the educational levels

of the survey participants regarding their views on which souvenirs are the most representative of Greece.

Table 30: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their economic status and the question "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?".

p-value<0.503 What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?	Economic status	
	<35.000\$	>35.000\$
	N(%)	N(%)
For their usability	63(15.6%)	95(15.7%)
For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	70(17.4%)	100(16.5%)
I wanted something authentic of the place	80(19.9%)	134(22.1%)
It is something typical/representative of Greece	133(33.0%)	184(30.4%)
For their historical or artistic value	41(10.2%)	56(9.2%)
For its price	16(4.0%)	37(6.1%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in reasons for getting souvenirs as compared to the economic status of the participants (p-value=0.503). This finding suggests that the economic level does not influence people's souvenir purchase.

Table 31: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their economic status and the question "What influenced your choice?".

p-value<0.348	Economic status	
	<35.000\$	>35.000\$
What influenced your choice?	N(%)	N(%)
Something I saw at a museum	68(29.8%)	119(33.9%)
Something that the guide mentioned	58(25.4%)	73(20.8%)
Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	15(6.5%)	28(8.0%)
The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	51(22.4%)	69(19.7%)
The seller/shop owner	16(7.0%)	36(10.3%)
Something I saw on a film, poster, internet	20(8.8%)	26(7.4%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant association between the factors that may affect their choice for souvenir as compared to the economic status of the participants (p-value=0.348). This finding suggests that the economic level does not influence people's souvenir purchase motivation.

Table 32: Distribution of the participants' answers according to their economic status and the question "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you".

p-value <0.001	Economic status	
	<35.000\$	>35.000\$
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	102(31.8%)	137(33.6%)

p-value <0.001	Economic status	
	<35.000\$	>35.000\$
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you	N(%)	N(%)
Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	31(9.7%)	66(16.2%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	100(31.2%)	107(26.2%)
Worry-beads	14(4.4%)	20(4.9%)
The evil-eye	37(11.5%)	55(13.5%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	8(2.5%)	1(0.2%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	11(3.4%)	11(2.7%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	18(5.6%)	11(2.7%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value=0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. To the question of “What would be the most representative souvenir”, 31.8% of the participants of a lower economic status answered, “a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher”, whereas 31.2% answered “a miniature of the Parthenon”. As for the participants of a higher economic status, 33.6% answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, whereas 26.2% said a Miniature of the Parthenon. Interestingly, 16.2 % of those of a higher economic status showed a preference for jewellery inspired by the Byzantine heritage.

Souvenirs and notions regarding the host country

Table 33: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "My first contact with Greece(before my visit) was through" and "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you".

p-value<0.001	What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:							
	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through:	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Greek mythology	145(28.5%)	51(23.5%)	120(26.2%)	15(18.7%)	52(24.6%)	3(12.5%)	9(21.9%)	16(22.2%)
The history class at school	140(27.5%)	66(30.4%)	120(26.2%)	22(27.5%)	55(26%)	7(29.1%)	11(26.8%)	18(25%)
A film	31(6.1%)	15(6.9%)	33(7.2%)	12(15%)	21(9.9%)	4(16.6%)	6(14.6%)	10(13.8%)
A photo of a Greek island/beach	30(5.9%)	18(8.2%)	33(7.2%)	9(11.2%)	26(12.3%)	4(16.6%)	4(9.7%)	7(9.7%)

p-value<0.001								
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:								
My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through:	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
	A photo of the Acropolis	51(10%)	25(11.5%)	59(12.9%)	11(13.7%)	19(9%)	1(4.1%)	3(7.3%)
Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	68(13.3%)	19(8.7%)	51(11.1%)	5(6.2%)	22(10.4%)	3(12.5%)	3(7.3%)	10(13.8%)
Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	26(5.1%)	11(5%)	26(5.6%)	1(1.2%)	7(3.3%)	2(8.3%)	4(9.7%)	2(2.7%)
Other	17(3.3%)	12(5.5%)	15(3.2%)	5(6.2%)	9(4.2%)	0(0.0%)	1(2.4%)	0(0.0%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you” and “My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through” (p-value<0.001). Among the

participants who chose that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, the majority (28.5%) answered that their first contact with Greece was through Greek mythology, followed by the history class at school (27.5%). Among those who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is Byzantine jewellery or the Christian cross, the majority (30.4%), answered that their first contact with Greece was through the history class at school, followed by the Greek mythology (23.5%). The participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of the Parthenon, had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology (26.2%) and their history class at school (26.2%). Among the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is worry-beads, the majority noted that their first contact with Greece was through the history class at school (27.5%) followed by the Greek mythology (18.7%).

Similar results were observed for those who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is the evil-eye, an artefact from the Ottoman period and a miniature soldier of a national-guard. Finally, among the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of a Venetian castle, the majority answered that their first contact with Greece was through the history class at school (29.1%), followed by a film (16.6%) and a photo of a Greek island/beach (16.6%).

The data in **Table 29** indicate that the educational background plays a significant role in determining the participants' choices of representative souvenirs of Greece from different historic periods. For example, participants who chose a statue of a god or philosopher and the miniature of the Parthenon as representative souvenirs had their first contact with Greece through mythology (28.5% and 26.2% respectively) and the history class (27.5% and 26.2% respectively). The same also applies to participants who had their first contact with Greece through their history class and who chose souvenirs were inspired by the Byzantine period (30.4%) and the Ottoman period (26.8%), as representative of Greece. On the other hand, there was a significant percentage of participants who selected the worry-beads as a representative souvenir of Greece and who had their first contact with Greece through a film (15%), through a photo of the Acropolis (13.7%) and a photo of a Greek island (11.2%). Significant percentages were also noted for those participants who chose the evil-eye as a representative souvenir of Greece and had their first contact through a photo of a Greek island (12.3%), a film (9.9%) and a photo of the Acropolis. These last findings possibly indicate that when

there is a lack of contact with the Classical past before the visit, people might be more open to choose the worry-beads, the evil-eye or a souvenir from the Ottoman or Venetian period.

Table 34: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece and "My first contact with Greece was through:"

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece:	My first contact with Greece was through:							
	Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	145(35.3%)	140(31.9%)	31(23.5%)	30 (22.9%)	51(28.7%)	68(37.6%)	26(32.9%)	17(28.8%)
Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	51(12.4%)	66(15.0%)	15(11.4%)	18 (13.7%)	25(14.0%)	19(10.5%)	11 (13.9%)	12 (20.3%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	120(29.2%)	120(27.3%)	33(25.0%)	33(25.2%)	59(33.1%)	51(28.2%)	26(32.9%)	15 (25.4%)
Worry-beads	15(3.6%)	22(5.0%)	12(9.1%)	9(6.9%)	11(6.2%)	5(2.8%)	1(1.3%)	5(8.5%)

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece:	My first contact with Greece was through:							
	Greek mythology	The history class at school	A film	A photo of a Greek island/beach	A photo of the Acropolis	Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy	Ancient Greek artefacts/museums	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
The evil-eye	52(12.7%)	55(12.5%)	21(15.9%)	26(19.8%)	19(10.7%)	22(12.2%)	7(8.9%)	9(15.3%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	3(0.7)	7(1.6%)	4(3.0%)	4(3.1%)	1(0.6%)	3(1.7%)	2(2.5%)	0(0.0%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	9(2.2%)	11(2.5%)	6(4.5%)	4(3.1%)	3(1.7%)	3(1.7%)	4(5.1%)	1(1.7%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	16(3.9%)	18(4.1%)	10(7.6%)	7(5.3%)	9(5.1%)	10(5.5%)	2(2.5%)	0(0.0%)

In order to have a clearer picture on the associations between the questions “What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece” and “My first contact with Greece was through”, a crosstabulation table was created which illustrated the distribution of the participants’ answers to these questions with the percentages displayed with the variable “My first contact with Greece was through” being the main one. Similarly, to the previous **Table 33**, the majority of the participants have chosen the statue of a Greek god or philosopher and the miniature of the Parthenon in high percentages, since these were the most popular choices from the total number of participants (see **Table 5**). For example, participants who

had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology chose the statue of the Greek god or philosopher (35.3%) and the miniature of the Parthenon (29.2%), followed by the evil-eye (12.7%). Similar results were recorded for those participants who had their first contact with Greece through the history class at school, a film, a photo of a Greek island, a photo of the Acropolis, ancient Greek literature and philosophy and ancient artefacts and museums. What is significant about the data in **Table 34**, though, is the high percentages of those who chose the statue of the Greek god as a representative souvenir of Greece and who had their first contact with Greece through Greek mythology (35.3%) and ancient artefacts and museums (32.9%). This finding suggests the influence of the educational background and of the museums visited on the choice of the statue from the Classical period as a representative souvenir of Greece. A significant percentage was recorded for those that had their first contact with Greece through the history class and chose the Byzantine cross as the representative souvenir of Greece (15.0%).

A significant percentage of the participants who had their first contact with Greece through a film, chose the evil-eye (15.9%), the miniature soldier of the national guard (7.6%) and the worry-beads (9.1%). Similar results were recorded for those who had their first contact with Greece through a photo of a Greek island: 19.8% chose the evil-eye, 6.9% the worry beads and 5.3% the miniature soldier of the national guard. A high percentage was observed for those that had their first contact with Greece through a photo of the Acropolis and chose the Miniature of the Parthenon (33.1%) as the representative souvenir of Greece.

Table 35: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during our stay here" and "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you".

p-value<0.001								
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here								
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	The islands	The people and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	231(33.8%)	119(33.8%)	27(24.7%)	95(29.5%)	69(30.2%)	59(27.9%)	19(31.1%)	9(24.3%)
Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	86(12.6%)	49(13.9%)	28(25.6%)	43(13.3%)	30(13.1%)	35(16.5%)	10(16.3%)	4(10.8%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	195(28.5%)	104(29.5%)	22(20.1%)	85(26.3%)	57(25%)	52(24.6%)	9(14.7%)	15(40.5%)
Worry-beads	33(4.8%)	17(4.8%)	7(6.4%)	20(6.2%)	15(6.5%)	13(6.1%)	8(13.1%)	2(5.4%)
The evil-eye	85(12.4%)	38(10.7%)	15(13.7%)	51(15.8%)	38(16.6%)	35(16.5%)	10(16.3%)	3(8.1%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	7(1%)	4(1.1%)	0(0.0%)	5(1.5%)	2(0.8%)	3(1.4%)	1(1.6%)	0(0.0%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	16(2.3%)	8(2.2%)	4(3.6%)	11(3.4%)	7(3%)	8(3.7%)	0(0.0%)	2(5.4%)

p-value<0.001								
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here								
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	The islands	The people and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture	Other
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	29(4.2%)	13(3.6%)	6(5.5%)	12(3.7%)	10(4.3%)	6(2.8%)	4(6.5%)	2(5.4%)

According to the p-value of Chi-square test (p-value<0.001) we conclude that there is a statistically significant association between two variables. The majority of participants who were impressed from ancient monuments, said that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (33.8%), followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (28.5%). Similar results were recorded for the participants who were impressed from museums and their artefacts during their stay in Greece. Participants who were impressed from Byzantine churches answered that Byzantine jewellery or the Christian cross is the most representative souvenir (25.6%), followed by the statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (24.7%). This finding illustrates the degree of influence of the tourist experience on the participants' view of what they regard as a representative souvenir of Greece. Interestingly, the findings in **Table 18** correlate an interest towards medieval/Byzantine museums with views regarding Byzantine jewellery as representative of Greece, while the findings in **Table 17** suggest a correlation between the purchase of souvenirs related to the Byzantine past and the visit of Byzantine museums. Participants who were impressed during their stay in Greece by the people and their customs answered that a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher is the most representative souvenir (29.5%) followed by the miniature of the Parthenon (26.3%). However, a large percentage of these participants (impressed by the people and their customs) chose the

evil-eye (16.6%); the association of this finding with the results of the in-depth interviews (see *The role of the tourist experience on shaping notions regarding the host culture*) suggests that the interaction between locals and the research participants possibly influenced their choice of the evil eye as souvenir. The participants who were impressed by the cultural diversity of Greece chose the statue of a Greek god (27.9%) and the miniature of the Parthenon (24.6%). Moreover, they chose other categories of representative souvenirs at a higher percentage than other participants who were impressed by different features of the Greek tourist product: for example, they chose the Byzantine cross (16.3%), the evil-eye (16.5%) and an artefact from the Ottoman period (3.7%). Such a finding indicates that participants who value the cultural diversity of the Greek heritage possibly tend to be more open to souvenirs which represent other historic periods of Greece. Finally, the participants who were impressed by modern architecture and modern-Greek culture answered that a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher is the most representative souvenir (31.1%) followed by the Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross (16.3%) and the evil-eye (16.3%).

Table 36: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you?" and "If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?".

p-value<0.001		What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you						
If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?	Statue of	Byzantine	Miniature of the	Worry-beads	The evil-eye	Miniature of	An artefact	Miniature soldier
	an ancient Greek god or philosopher	jewellery or Christian cross	Parthenon			a Venetian castle	from the Ottoman period	of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Classical antiquities and museums of the Classic period	129(23.9%)	45(20.6%)	95(20.5%)	13(14.1%)	31(13.9%)	2(11.7%)	8(16%)	11(17.7%)
Byzantine castles and monuments	84(15.6%)	35(16%)	72(15.5%)	18(19.5%)	31(13.9%)	3(17.6%)	4(8%)	10(16.1%)
Venetian castles and monuments	58(10.7%)	24(11%)	55(11.8%)	11(11.9%)	23(10.3%)	1(5.8%)	4(8%)	7(11.2%)

p-value<0.001		What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you						
If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewellery or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Ottoman mosques and baths	52(9.6%)	21(9.6%)	46(9.9%)	9(9.7%)	24(10.8%)	1(5.8%)	7(14%)	6(9.6%)
More islands	157(29.1%)	64(29.3%)	152(32.8%)	31(33.6%)	80(36%)	7(41.1%)	19(38%)	22(35.4%)
Culinary experiences	46(8.5%)	25(11.4%)	37(7.9%)	10(10.8%)	27(12.1%)	3(17.6%)	6(12%)	6(9.6%)
Other	12(2.2%)	4(1.8%)	6(1.2%)	0(0.0%)	6(2.7%)	0(0.0%)	2(4%)	0(0.0%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the questions “What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you” and “If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?” (p-value<0.001). Among the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, the majority answered that if they visit Greece again, they would like to explore more islands (29.1%), followed by classical antiquities and museums of the Classic period (23.9%), which seem to be the most popular answers. Similar results were observed the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is Byzantine jewellery or the Christian cross, a miniature of the Parthenon, an artefact from the Ottoman period and a miniature soldier of the national-guard. An interesting finding is that a large percentage (14%) of those who chose a souvenir from the Ottoman period as representative are the ones who showed a preference for visiting Ottoman monuments in the future.

Among the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is worry-beads, the majority answered that if they visit Greece again, they would like to explore more islands (33.6%), followed by Byzantine castles and monuments (19.5%), Venetian monuments (11.9%), culinary experiences (10.8%) and Ottoman monuments (9.7%).

Most participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is the evil-eye, said that if they visit Greece again, they would like to explore more islands (36%), followed by Byzantine castles and monuments (13.9%), Classical antiquities and museums of the Classical period (13.9%), as well as monuments from the Ottoman (10.8%) and the Venetian (10.3%) periods. Moreover, the participants who answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a miniature of a Venetian castle, frequently reported that what they would like to explore if they visit Greece again was more islands (41.1%), followed by culinary experiences (17.6%) and Byzantine castles and monuments (17.6%). Despite the fact that the islands and the ancient monuments are the most popular answers to the question “If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more?”, the aforementioned findings indicate that there seems to be a correlation between those who showed an interest to visit Byzantine, Ottoman and Venetian monuments in a possible future visit with their choices of the worry-beads, the evil-eye, the miniature of the Venetian castle and the Byzantine cross as the most representative souvenir of Greece.

Table 37: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you" and "What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?"

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?					
	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	77(30.9%)	87(30.5%)	117(31.3%)	182(31.3%)	54(31.2%)	29(36.3%)
Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	34(13.7%)	49(17.2%)	57(15.2%)	73(12.5%)	23(13.3%)	14(17.5%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	66(26.5%)	66(23.2%)	92(24.6%)	181(31.3%)	48(27.7%)	20(25.0%)
Worry-beads	13(5.2%)	16(5.6%)	21(5.6%)	25(4.3%)	6(3.5%)	4(5.0%)
The evil-eye	35(14.1%)	42(14.7%)	57(15.2%)	75(12.9%)	24(13.9%)	8(10.0%)

p-value <0.002		What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs?				
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you:	For their usability	For their aesthetics-it's a beautiful object	I wanted something authentic of the place	It is something typical/representative of Greece	For their historical or artistic value	For its price
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	4(1.6%)	6(2.1%)	5(1.3%)	8(1.4%)	7(4.0%)	1(1.3%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	7(2.8%)	10(3.5%)	9(2.4%)	13(2.2%)	6(3.5%)	2(2.5%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	13(5.2%)	9(3.2%)	16(4.3%)	25(4.3%)	5(2.9%)	2(2.5%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two questions (p-value=0.002). 30.9% of the participants who choose souvenirs due to their usability, said that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, (followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (26.5%). Participants who choose souvenirs due to their aesthetic value, answered that a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher is the most representative souvenir of Greece (20.5%), followed by the Miniature of the Parthenon (23.2%). 31.3% of the participants who wanted something authentic of Greece answered, “Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher”, whereas 24.6% selected the “Miniature of the Parthenon”. As for those who wanted something typical/representative of Greece 31.3% answered “Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher” and “Miniature of the Parthenon”. A similar conclusion was reached for the participants who choose souvenirs due to their historical or artistic value and their price.

Table 38: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you" and "What influenced your choice?"

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece:	What influenced your choice?					
	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	125(34.4%)	70(28.6%)	26(29.9%)	59(28.2%)	24(27.9%)	30(29.4%)
Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	48(13.2%)	27(11.0%)	14(16.1%)	35(16.7%)	14(16.3%)	12(11.8%)
Miniature of the Parthenon	105(28.9%)	75(30.6%)	19(21.8%)	55(26.3%)	22(25.6%)	30(29.4%)

p-value <0.005		What influenced your choice?				
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece:	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Worry-beads	12(3.3%)	16(6.5%)	5(5.7%)	12(5.7%)	4(4.7%)	7(6.9%)
The evil-eye	37(10.2%)	36(14.7%)	16(18.4%)	32(15.3%)	14(16.3%)	14(13.7%)
Miniature of a Venetian castle	8(2.2%)	2(0.8%)	2(2.3%)	3(1.4%)	2(2.3%)	2(2.0%)

p-value <0.005		What influenced your choice?				
What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece:	Something I saw at a museum	Something that the guide mentioned	Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using	The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration	The seller/shop owner	Something I saw on a film, poster, internet
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
An artefact from the Ottoman period	14(3.9%)	7(2.9%)	0(0.0%)	6(2.9%)	3(3.5%)	2(2.0%)
Miniature soldier of a national-guard	14(3.9%)	12(4.9%)	5(5.7%)	7(3.3%)	3(3.5%)	5(4.9%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two questions (p-value =0.005). According to the Table 36, the most popular choices are the “Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher” and the “miniature of the Parthenon”. More specifically, among the participants whose choice was influenced by a museum, 34.4% answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (28.9%). The most frequent answer for those whose choice was influenced by their guide was the “Miniature of the Parthenon” (30.6%), followed by the “statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher” (28.6%).

29.9% of the participants whose choice was influenced by a guide or a local answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (21.8%). Moreover, participants who give attention to the shop decoration answered that the most representative souvenir of Greece is a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (28.2%), followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (26.3%), the evil eye (18.4%) and Byzantine jewellery (16.1%). Those who claimed to be influenced by the souvenir shop's personnel chose the statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (27.9%), followed by a miniature of the Parthenon (25.6%), the evil eye (16.3%) and Byzantine jewellery (16.3%). Participants who were influenced by a film, a poster, the Internet on their souvenir purchases, selected the statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher (29.4%), the miniature of the Parthenon (29.4%), the evil eye (13.7%) and the Byzantine jewellery (11.8%).

These results provide further support to the hypothesis that the museum and the souvenir shop experience can possibly reaffirm notions and beliefs of what is representative of the host culture. More specifically, the above crosstabulation **Table 38**, shows high percentages for those who answered that they were influenced by both the museum and the guide on their souvenir choices and who also selected the statue of the ancient Greek god or philosopher (34.4% and 28.6% respectively) and the miniature of the Parthenon (28.9% and 30.6% respectively) as representative souvenirs of Greece. In **Table 20** we noted the influence of the museum experience and the guide's discourse on the souvenir purchase behaviour of the participants; participants who were influenced by the museum and the guide acquired souvenirs that relate to Classical antiquity. Moreover, in **Table 34** we observed how the educational background of the participants possibly influences their notions of what is a representative souvenir of Greece: participants with a Classical educational background usually select the souvenirs inspired from the Classical period as representative of Greece. The results of the Table above suggest that there is possibly a correlation between the museum experience and the reaffirmation of the beliefs of what is representative souvenir of Greece. In addition, we observe that participants who were influenced by the souvenir shop experience or by their interaction with locals and the souvenir shop's personnel selected the Byzantine jewellery and the evil eye as representative of Greece, a finding that reaffirms the results of the interviews.

Table 39: Distribution of the participants' answers according to the questions "What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?"

p-value <0.001		What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you						
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads)	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	101(11.6%)	30(7.8%)	77(9.7%)	11(7.1%)	35(9.1%)	3(6.4%)	8(11.0%)	9(7.7%)
Jewellery inspired from the Classical past	89(10.2%)	67(17.4%)	61(7.7%)	14(9.1%)	38(9.9%)	4(8.5%)	10(13.7%)	7(6.0%)
Jewellery inspired from the Byzantine past	15(1.7%)	28(7.3%)	15(1.9%)	4(2.6%)	14(3.6%)	2(4.3%)	3(4.1%)	3(2.6%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	94(10.8%)	18(4.7%)	65(8.2%)	6(3.9%)	19(4.9%)	6(12.8%)	5(6.8%)	9(7.7%)

p-value <0.001

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads)	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Fridge-magnets	98(11.2%)	45(11.7%)	115(14.6%)	17(11.0%)	47(12.2%)	10(21.3%)	9(12.3%)	16(13.7%)
T-shirts	97(11.2%)	36(9.3%)	108(13.7%)	18(11.7%)	43(11.2%)	7(14.9%)	8(11.0%)	21(17.9%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	22(2.5%)	9(2.3%)	26(3.3%)	2(1.3%)	17(4.4%)	1(2.1%)	2(2.7%)	3(2.6%)
Worry-beads	15(1.7%)	10(2.6%)	12(1.5%)	27(17.5%)	19(4.9%)	1(2.1%)	2(2.7%)	6(5.1%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	108(12.4%)	49(12.7%)	92(11.6%)	17(11.0%)	56(14.5%)	3(6.4%)	10(13.7%)	14(12.0%)
Post-cards	72(8.2%)	27(7.0%)	67(8.5%)	15(9.7%)	30(7.8%)	3(6.4%)	3(4.1%)	10(8.5%)

p-value <0.001

What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you

What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher	Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross	Miniature of the Parthenon	Worry-beads)	The evil-eye	Miniature of a Venetian castle	An artefact from the Ottoman period	Miniature soldier of a national-guard
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Guide books and books	85(9.7%)	33(8.5%)	84(10.6%)	9(5.8%)	23(6.0%)	3(6.4%)	9(12.3%)	12(10.3%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	50(5.7%)	22(5.7%)	47(5.9%)	10(6.5%)	30(7.8%)	4(8.5%)	2(2.7%)	4(3.4%)
Other	27(3.1%)	12(3.1%)	21(2.7%)	4(2.6%)	14(3.6%)	0(0.0%)	2(2.7%)	3(2.6%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two variables (p-value <0.001). Among the participants who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece was a statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher, 12.4% answered that they purchased (or intended to) food products as souvenirs, 11.6% copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases and 10.8% statues of mythological gods and heroes. From the survey participants who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece is the Byzantine jewellery or the Christian cross, 17.4% answered that they purchased jewellery inspired from the Classical past as souvenirs and 12.7% food products; however, a 7.3% answered that they bought jewellery inspired by the Byzantine past. According to the participants who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece was a miniature of the Parthenon, 14.6% answered that they bought fridge-magnets as souvenirs and 13.7% T-shirts. Worry-beads (17.5%) and T-shirts (11.7%) were the most frequent souvenirs for those who believe that the most representative souvenir of Greece were worry-beads. Food products (14.5%) and fridge-magnets (12.2%) were the most frequent souvenirs for those who believe that the most representative souvenir of Greece was the evil-eye. According to the participants who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece was a miniature of a Venetian castle, 21.3% answered that they bought fridge-magnets as souvenirs and 14.9% T-shirts. Moreover, the most frequent answer for those who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece was an artefact from the Ottoman period, 13.7% answered that they bought jewellery inspired from the Classical past as souvenirs, the same percentage answered food products, 12.3% fridge-magnets and 12.3% guidebooks and books. Finally, T-shirts (17.9%) and fridge-magnets (13.7%) were the most frequent souvenirs for those who found that the most representative souvenir of Greece was a miniature soldier of a national-guard.

Table 40: Distribution of the participants according to the question "What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here?" and "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose(in case you didn't buy any)?"

p-value<0.000								
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here?								
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	the Islands	People and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and Modern-Greek culture	Other
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	125(28,7%)	70(32,0%)	17(27,9%)	52(26,0%)	44(31,4%)	38(28,6%)	11(33,3%)	5(22,7%)
Jewelry inspired from the Classical past	147(33,8%)	74(33,8%)	29(47,5%)	76(38,0%)	45(32,1%)	46(34,6%)	13(39,4%)	7(31,8%)
Jewelry inspired from the Byzantine past	35(8,0%)	21(9,6%)	14(23,0%)	25(12,5%)	14(10,0%)	15(11,3%)	3(9,1%)	3(13,6%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	98(22,5%)	50(22,8%)	11(18,0%)	38(19,0%)	28(20,0%)	25(18,8%)	10(30,3%)	7(31,8%)

p-value<0.000								
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here?								
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	the Islands	People and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and Modern-Greek culture	Other
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Fridge-magnets	176(40,5%)	86(39,3%)	21(34,4%)	75(37,5%)	45(32,1%)	51(38,3%)	16(48,5%)	8(36,4%)
T-shirts	172(39,5%)	86(39,3%)	26(42,6%)	86(43,0%)	57(40,7%)	54(40,6%)	11(33,3%)	7(31,8%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	40(9,2%)	20(9,1%)	7(11,5%)	23(11,5%)	14(10,0%)	9(6,8%)	8(24,2%)	2(9,1%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	185(42,5%)	99(45,2%)	29(47,5%)	103(51,5%)	73(52,1%)	55(41,4%)	16(48,5%)	49(0,9%)

p-value<0.000								
What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here?								
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	the Islands	People and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and Modern-Greek culture	Other
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Worry-beads	34(7,8%)	17(7,8%)	12(19,7%)	27(13,5%)	14(10,0%)	16(12,0%)	7(21,2%)	2(9,1%)
Post-cards	118(27,1%)	75(34,2%)	19(31,1%)	60(30,0%)	44(31,4%)	41(30,8%)	12(36,4%)	10(45,5%)
Guide books and books	137(31,5%)	83(37,9%)	26(42,6%)	70(35,0%)	52(37,1%)	47(35,3%)	6(18,2%)	8(36,4%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	87(20,0%)	58(26,5%)	17(27,9%)	51(25,5%)	37(26,4%)	25(18,8%)	11(33,3%)	5(22,7%)

p-value<0.000		What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here?						
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Ancient monuments	Museums and their artefacts	Byzantine churches	the Islands	People and their customs	Cultural diversity	Modern architecture and Modern-Greek culture	Other
	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Other	45(10,3%)	34(15,5%)	6(9,8%)	26(13,0%)	21(15,0%)	14(10,5%)	3(9,1%)	9(40,9%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two variables ($p < 0.000$). The higher percentages are observed in those participants who acquired food products, fridge magnets and T-shirts since these were the most popular souvenirs in general. However, the crosstabulation shows some differentiations in their choices in relation to their impressions of the tourist experience. Among the participants who were impressed by the ancient monuments and the museums, chose jewelry inspired from the Classical past (33,8%), copies of ancient Greek ceramic vases (28,7% and 32,0%) and statues of mythological gods and heroes (22,5% and 22,8%). A large percentage of those that acquired jewelry related to the Byzantine heritage reported to be impressed by the Byzantine churches during their tourist experience (23,0%). The majority of the survey participants who purchased food products (52,1%) found the interaction with local people impactful during their tourist experience; similarly, those that valued Greek people also chose food products (see **Table 11**). These findings suggest a strong relation between such interactions and their influence with the purchase of food products.

Table 41: distribution of participants according to their frequency of travel in Greece and the question "What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?"

p-value<0.002			
Are you visiting Greece for the first time?			
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Yes, this is my first time	No, I have been to Greece once before	No, I have been to Greece several times before
	N %	N %	N %
Copies of ancient Greek ceramics vases	129(30,1%)	15(19,0%)	7(21,2%)
Jewelry inspired from the Classical past	138(32,2%)	24(30,4%)	12(36,4%)
Jewelry inspired from the Byzantine past	36(8,4%)	5(6,3%)	5(15,2%)
Statues of mythological gods and heroes	108(25,2%)	9(11,4%)	3(9,1%)
Fridge-magnets	173(40,3%)	29(36,7%)	10(30,3%)
T-shirts	174(40,6%)	25(31,6%)	13(39,4%)
Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches	39(9,1%)	2(2,5%)	4(12,1%)

p-value<0.002			
Are you visiting Greece for the first time?			
What souvenirs did you choose/would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)?	Yes, this is my first time	No, I have been to Greece once before	No, I have been to Greece several times before
	N %	N %	N %
Worry-beads	35(8,2%)	4(5,1%)	6(18,2%)
Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)	173(40,3%)	37(46,8%)	12(36,4%)
Post-cards	108(25,2%)	24(30,4%)	12(36,4%)
Guide books and books	136(31,7%)	20(25,3%)	13(39,4%)
Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites	80(18,6%)	15(19,0%)	9(27,3%)
Other	40(9,3%)	18(22,8%)	4(12,1%)

The Chi-square test indicates that there is a statistically significant association between the two variables ($p < 0.002$). Souvenirs such as fridge-magnets, T-shirts and food products are the most popular among the participants. It seems, though, that repeat travelers seem to purchase fridge magnets and T-shirts in smaller quantities. In addition, the triangulation of the survey with questionnaires with the findings of the interviews suggests that many of this type of souvenirs that are clearly associated with the destination were intended to be given as gifts (see *Landscapes, folklore, and food souvenirs*). Repeat travellers were observed to purchase less souvenirs related to the

Classical heritage, such as copies of ceramic vases (19% for those that have been to Greece once before and 21,2% for the participants who have travelled to Greece several times in comparison with 30,1% of the participants who travelled to Greece for the first time). Repeat travellers, though, purchased more jewellery related to the Byzantine heritage of Greece (15,2% of the travellers that have travelled to Greece several times in comparison with 8,4% of the ones travelling for the first time) . Similarly, those that have travelled to Greece several times purchased more worry-beads (18,2%) than those that were travelling for the first time (8,2%). A very high percentage was noted on travellers who had visited Greece several times and purchased guidebooks (39,4%) in comparison to first time travellers (31,7%).

Appendix 2

Survey questionnaire

1) Do you travel often?

- * Frequently (once or more times every year)
- * Regularly (once every two years)
- * Less frequently (once every 5 years)
- * Seldom (once every ten years)
- * This is my first time!

2) When I travel...(you can choose more than one answer):

- * I like to visit the most important sites and iconic monuments
- * I like to explore off the beaten track routes

3) Are you visiting Greece for the first time?

- * Yes, this is my first time to Greece
- * No, I have been to Greece once before
- * No, I have been to Greece several times before

4) Is this the beginning or the end of your tour?

- * Beginning
- * I am halfway through
- * End

5) Greece, for me, is... (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Sea, sun and the islands
- * Temples, archaeological ruins and museums
- * Delicious food
- * Its people
- * Byzantine churches
- * Modern architecture
- * Cultural heritage diversity
- * Mythological gods and heroes
- * Other (please specify)

6) My first contact with Greece (before my visit) was through (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Greek mythology
- * The history class at school
- * A film
- * A photo of a Greek island/beach
- * A photo of the Acropolis
- * Ancient Greek literature and/or philosophy
- * Ancient Greek artefacts/museums
- * Other (please specify)

7) What impressed you (or what did you like most) in Greece during your stay here (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Ancient monuments
- * Museums and their artefacts
- * Byzantine churches
- * The islands
- * The people and their customs
- * Cultural diversity
- * Modern architecture and modern-Greek culture
- * Other (please specify)

8) If you visit Greece again what would you like to explore more? (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Classical antiquities and museums of the Classical period
- * Byzantine castles and monuments
- * Venetian castles and monuments
- * Ottoman mosques and baths
- * Modern architecture in Athens
- * More islands
- * Culinary experiences
- * Other (please specify)

9) Do you visit museums in general?

- * Yes
- * No

10) Which museums have you visited in Greece? (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Acropolis museum
- * National archaeological museum
- * Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens
- * Museum of Cycladic Art, Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris Foundation
- * Benaki museum
- * Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki
- * Archaeological museum of Delphi
- * Archaeological museum of Olympia
- * Archaeological museum of Herakleion in Crete
- * Other museum (please specify)
- * I haven't visited a museum

11) Which museums are more appealing to you (whether you visit them or not)-(you can choose more than one answer):

- * Archaeological
- * Natural History
- * Contemporary art
- * Folk art
- * Medieval/Byzantine
- * Other museums (please specify):
- * Not interested in museums

12) Do you usually buy souvenirs on your travels?

- * Yes
- * No

13) Did you buy any souvenirs during your holiday in Greece?

- * Yes
- * No

14) What souvenirs did you choose /would you choose (in case you didn't buy any)? (You can choose more than one answers)

- * Copies of ancient Greek ceramic vases
- * Jewelry inspired from the Classical past
- * Jewelry inspired from the Byzantine past
- * Statues of mythological gods and heroes
- * Christian crosses and amulets
- * Fridge-magnets
- * T-shirts
- * Pebbles and rocks from the countryside or the beaches
- * Worry-beads
- * Food products (wine, olive oil etc.)
- * Post-cards
- * Guide books and books
- * Tickets of public transport or of archaeological sites
- * Other (please specify)

15) I got/would get these souvenirs...? (You can choose more than one answers):

- * For my personal collection
- * As a gift for friends and family
- * For remembering my holiday and the people I met
- * For other reasons (please specify):

16) What were/would be the reasons for getting these souvenirs? (You can choose more than one answers):

- * For their usability
- * For their aesthetics - it's a beautiful object
- * I wanted something authentic of the place
- * It is something typical/representative of Greece
- * For their historical or artistic value
- * For its price
- * Other (please specify)

17) What influenced your choice? (You can choose more than one answers):

- * Something I saw at a museum
- * Something that the guide mentioned
- * Something that a guide or a local was wearing or using

- * The way the souvenir shop was set up/its decoration
- * The seller/shop owner
- * Something I saw on a film, poster, internet
- * Other (please specify):

18) I am going to keep my souvenir in (You can choose more than one answers):

- * A visible place so that people can see it (e.g. living room, kitchen etc)
- * A non-visible place (desk-drawer, bedroom etc.)
- * I don't keep any souvenirs in my house/ I only buy souvenirs for gifts

19) What would be the most representative souvenir of Greece for you (you can choose more than one answer):

- * Statue of an ancient Greek god or philosopher
- * Byzantine jewelry or Christian cross
- * Miniature of the Parthenon
- * Worry-beads
- * The evil-eye
- * Miniature of a Venetian castle
- * An artefact from the Ottoman period
- * Miniature soldier of a national-guard

Personal details (for statistical purpose)

20) Gender:

- * Male
- * Female
- * Transgender
- * Other (please specify)

21) Age group:

- * 10-18
- * 19-30
- * 31-45
- * 46-60
- * 60+

22) Educational level:

- * Primary education
- * Secondary education
- * Under-graduate studies
- * Post-graduate studies
- * PhD
- * Other (please specify)

23) Economic status (based on annual income):

- * Up to 20.000\$
- * 20.000-35.000\$
- * 35.000-50.000\$

- * 50.000-80.000\$
- * More than 80.000\$

24) Please specify your country of origin:

25) Please specify your country of residence: