# Greek whisky : the localization of a global commodity

Bampilis, T.

# GREEK WHISKY

## THE LOCALIZATION OF A GLOBAL COMMODITY

TRYFON BAMPILIS

Printed by Wöhrmann Print Service


ISBN 978-90-9025132-5

# Greek whisky

## The localization of a global commodity

PROEFSCHRIFT

Ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 10 februari 2010
klokke 15.00 uur

Door
Tryfon Bampilis
Geboren te Athene, Griekenland
In 1978

**PROMOTIECOMMISSIE**

| | |
|---|---|
| Promotor: | Prof. Dr. P.Pels |
| Overige Leden: | Prof. Dr. P. Geschiere (UVA)<br>Prof. Dr. P. Spyer<br>Dr. G. Agelopoulos (University of Macedonia, GR)<br>Dr. P. ter Keurs |

This research was financially supported by a PhD fellowship in social anthropology
from the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece (IKY)

Για τη μητέρα μου και στη μνήμη του πατέρα μου

To my mother and the memory of my father

# Contents

# Acknowledgments

First of all I would like to thank my family and more specifically my mother, Anna, who was next to me during all this effort. My grandmother, Frosini Christodoulou has helped enormously by commenting on the ethnography of Skyros and by answering patiently all my queer questions. Without her, I cannot imagine what the progress of my work would have been. Many thanks also to my aunt Emmanuella Christodoulou for letting me stay in her place during my fieldwork and her sweet company and encouraging support. Michalis Christodoulou has also provided kind support and accommodation for this research.

I deeply acknowledge the kind economic and moral support of CNWS, which unfortunately ceased to exist as an institute during the end of this research. My beautiful working space with the amazing view to Hortus Botanicus became my home and a place of inspiration for more than three years. Without the warmth of Ilona Beumer who was almost a mother-like figure for everyone and the panacea for the cage of bureaucracy, namely Willem Vogelsang, my academic life in Leiden would have been difficult. Moreover the research institute became a web of significance and imagination in which I was lucky to have met many brilliant scholars in friendship and in love. Vincent Breugem, Dr. Alecos Lamprou, Dr. Els van Dongen, Dr. Umut Azak, and Özgür Gökmen have given me a lot of inspiration but above all a feeling of "communitas" during our liminal PhD candidacy, the rite of passage that bonded us all. Another source of inspiration and motivation in Leiden was the "group of young anthropologists". I thank all the colleagues who participated in our discussions and especially those who read and commented on parts of this book like Maarten Onneweer and Dr. Martijn Wienia.

This research would not be complete without the priceless discussions and outings with my good friends in Athens, Nikos Kondynopoulos, Giannis Christopoulos, Christos Chrissoulis, Panagiotis Sotiropoulos, Vagelis Tourloukis, Vicky Brousali, Maria Kouloumbi and Anastasia Makri. In addition many thanks to Skyros islanders who kindly entrusted me with their memories and ideas and more specifically to the owner of Rodon bar, Takis Georgoudis, who unfortunately passed away before the completion of this book. A great loss for Skyros. The endless nights we shared in Rodon next to the wooden stove in an empty bar, full of music and *kefi* are the sparkles that keep my heart warm. May you rest in peace Taki. My kind regards to Giorgos Ekseltzes who provided a lot of precious information and to his father Vagelis, the owner of *Makedonia kafenion* who showed me a new Skyros. Many thanks to Aliki Labrou the folklorist as Skyrians call her for her inspiring interviews and the Greek coffee with syrup sweets. Giannis Vernardis, "the photographer of Skyros" has also contributed a lot with his lively discussions and beautiful photographs. I would also like to thank Anastasios Kavasis for accompanying me in several outings on Skyros during the cold winters and sharing our thoughts next to the fireplace. Stathis Katsarelias, Giannis Fergadis, Marco Beltrame, Christos Sakkas, the "Kokalenia" family, Dimitris Tsakopoulos, Maria and Giorgos Katsarelias, Nikos

Kritikos, Nikos Tsalapatanis, Giannis Mavrikos, Manolatsis in *trifadi* are only a few of the islanders who provided precious information. I thank them all. Erna Van den Berg has also helped with introducing me to various islanders and sharing information and insights.

In Leiden I wish to thank my flat mate and good friend Dr. Giorgos Portokalidis who was real fun with his great humor, the great parties and bbq's and the nightlife fever. His hospitality in Cambridge was also very warm. Special thanks to Guy Loth who gave me a lot of enegy, inspiration and courage to carry on. The endless coffees we had with our focus on gender and sociology were very exciting. But my Leiden experiences would not be as rich if I had not met Dr. Aris Perperoglou. I wish to thank him for the moral support and the high quality entertainment we had together. Many thanks also to Laura Gonthier and to her parents for the wonderful time we had in Switzerland. They were very inspiring.

In London I am indebted to the warm hospitality of Nikos Tsaliamanis during the period I spent there. We had a fantastic time. In New York I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Christine Boyer and Anton for the kind hospitality as well as Dr. Dimitris Katsarelias and Vasilis for providing accommodation and introducing me to Manhattan.

This research would not have been possible without the economic support of the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece (IKY). The fellowship for social anthropology was an important source of funding for at least four years. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the department of cultural anthropology in Leiden. A one-year contract helped me with finishing this book. During the course of this research, Leids Universiteits Fonds (LUF) provided also support for participation in conferences and workshops.

I would also wish to thank those who read and commented on parts of this book and more specifically the unnamed entity who put in an enormous amount of work, my editor Miriam Lang who worked patiently on the main text, Prof. Peter Loizos gave me a lot of inspiration and very valuable comments, Dr. Giorgos Agelopoulos has supported this research from the beginning until the end, Dr. Charles Stewart has contributed with his discussions and support, Prof. Roger Just was interested in this work and kindly discussed my ideas, Dr. Lorraine Aragon read and commented on the proposal, Dr. A. Bakalaki read and commented on parts of the book and Dr. Eleni Papagaroufali supported the research through her position in IKY. I would also like to thank Prof. Patricia Spyer and Dr. Pieter ter Keurs for reading this book and giving excellent suggestions in order to improve the manuscript. Many thanks also to Prof. Peter Geschiere for reading with such passion on Skyros. I am sorry I was not there. Prof. Dimitra Gefou-Madianou also helped me with starting this research and read the proposal. She was the first to initiate me in cultural anthropology, a great teacher and an inspiring scholar.

Many thanks also to Dr. Andronikos Theoharidis for sharing the fieldwork experiences on Skyros and to Vincent Morris for designing the cover and the invitations. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the staff in the archive of the Association of Skyrians in Athens, the Marketing institute in Athens and the association of the Industry of alcoholic beverages In Greece.

Finally I wish to thank Dr. Amber Gemmeke who has been next to me during this endeavour and without her "soft character", the "magical" moments we shared and her sweet family that gave me an inside perspective to the social life in the Netherlands, life would be poor. The company of Zahra, Muffin and Cookie helped also in a lot of stress relief and brought creativity, enjoyment and warmth. With them the everlasting editing process became a "gezellige" experience.

# List of Figures

# Note on transliteration

The book has adopted a simplified method of transliteration, which makes the word recognizable and easily understood without losing the pronunciation. While most Greek keywords are written in Greek, this system of transliteration follows each word to make it easier for the reader to pronounce the language.

Consonants:

For this I follow the convention followed by most Greeks of attributing letters γ with g, δ with d and χ with ch. Ξ is represented by ks. Similarly the phonetics ντ, γκ/γγ and μπ are represented by d, g and b. However, the pronunciation of phonetics in the Greek language requires a good command of the language and the sounds cannot by any means be interpreted totally correctly with this transliteration system.

Vowels:

All vowels ι, η, υ and phonetics οι, ει are represented with i. Ο and ω are represented by o. Phonetics αι and ου are represented by e and u. Αυ and ευ are represented by av and ev respectively, but their pronunciation changes depending on the word. All words indicated follow the *monotoniko* system of modern Greek.

All translations are my own.

" We have had a mania for the ξένο (*kseno*: foreign) for a long time. We wanted to drink whisky instead of Greek-produced beverages. As a result, whisky has come to be a Greek beverage and *ouzo* a European one. We drink ξένα ποτά (*ksena* pota: foreign beverages). We look down on Greek drinks. You can't go to a bar and ask for an ouzo. They'll snub you. You'll say, give me a whisky."

Vagelis, owner of *Makedonia* coffeehouse on Skyros Island

# Part One

# 1. Introduction: The social life of whisky

Whisky is one of the favorite beverages of Karolos Papoulias, the president of Greece, and of most prime ministers of the last three decades including Andreas Papandreou and Kostantinos Karamanlis. In public discourse and lifestyle magazines, whisky has been characterized as the "the national drink of Greece" in contrast with *retsina*, which has been called pure "folklore" (Greek *Playboy* Magazine Jan. 1990: 136-141).[1] It is apparent that signs of "modernity" have developed at the expense of other objects that are thought "traditional", "backward" or "Greek". Furthermore the consumption of this imported commodity has clear connections with "popular" culture and music".[2] Apart from this, Greek sailors are always offered a bottle of whisky and some boxes of American cigarettes by the companies that employ them before they embark on their next voyage. Whisky can be found at high society parties and in *bouzoukia* music venues, in alcohol stores and supermarkets and in the household cupboards of Kypseli and Kolonaki. Whisky is not only a prestige good

[1] Ημερησία: http: //www.imerisia.gr/article.asp?catid=12305&subid=2&pubid=575128&tag=2617, Greek *Playboy* Magazine, Jan. 1990: 136-141, *The Independent*, 1.2.2003, "This Europe: Greece calls time on teens' taste for whisky", by Daniel Howden, *Καθημερινή* Daily Greek Newspaper 13-3-04 "Ουίσκι, το εθνικό μας ποτό", *Ημερησία* Daily Greek Newspaper.

[2] While the term "popular" might be highly misleading in Greek discourse, I use the term strictly ethnographically (*laiki kultura & laiki musiki*). "Popular culture" in Greece has been cited in relation to two major meanings, as various scholars have demonstrated; one is based on folklore studies (*laografia*) and the other on sociology (*kinoniologia*) (Herzfeld 1982, Δαμιανάκος 2003: 139-152). In both cases popular culture is problematic mainly because it refers to an objectified social category that considers culture as a unified system of values which is either found in specific islands of non-history and seeks to essentialize locality and nationalize localism (Herzfeld 1982), or is used to express an "authentic popular culture" (Δαμιανάκος 2003: 150), placed in the margins of a class society, which resists capitalism in a historical transition to total capitalistic relationships of production. In ethnographic terms the term "popular music" has been used in relation to the emergence of post-war *bouzouki* music (Οικονόμου 2005: 363). By building on this insight, I use the term "popular culture" in relation to the term "popular music" to refer to the new-post war style of night entertainment in *bouzoukia* where live popular Greek music is performed (Οικονόμου 2005: 383).

anymore; it has become a mass beverage that is part of the lives of Greeks, and it is here to stay.

In the summer of 1986, as a result of increased consumption (Stewart 1989: 99), the Greek government imposed a strict quota on the amount of whisky that could be imported into the country. The 'whisky boom' was at its height, with thousands of bottles consumed every night in a variety of spaces such as bars, nightclubs and households. Between 1981 and 1991 alone, the consumption of whisky in Greece increased by 279% (Kathimerini newspaper 12-10-2002).

In 1969 per capita whisky consumption in Greece was only 0.39 liters per year, but by 1980 this had risen to 4.55.[3] Within a decade the consumption of spirits had increased elevenfold, while the consumption of wine and beer remained steady and *ouzo- raki* had gradually declined.[4] More specifically, the total consumption of Scotch whisky in 1981 was 5.400.000 liters and by 2001 had risen to 23.274.000 liters.[5] The increased consumption resulted in the production of whisky by Greek companies, which named their spirits "Scots" whisky.[6] These companies tried to present the whisky they produced as Scottish and used several Scottish symbols on the labels of their bottles of "Scots", "blended" and "Greek" whisky. Lions, fake kilts and horseshoes were only a few of the so-called "Scottish" symbols. As a result, the Scottish Whisky Association petitioned the Greek court of justice to prohibit the production of any beverage marketed as "Scots" or "blended". [7]

Nowadays, popular culture and popular music have appropriated the beverage, which has become the main drink of choice in music venues where popular Greek music is performed live. Bottles of whisky can be found everywhere: in small music halls on the highways, in coffeehouses, in bars, in rural and urban spaces, inside and outside homes, and whisky is consumed by both men and women.

Most of the whisky consumed in Greece comes from Scotland, and brands such as Johnnie Walker, Chivas Regal, Dimple, Famous Grouse and Cutty Sark are widely available. Almost twenty years after the 'whisky boom', whisky is still one of the most preferred drinks and (in Athens) one of the most frequently consumed ones.[8] Greece is also one of the countries in Europe with the highest consumption of spirits and whisky.[9] In 2003 alone, 33.9 million bottles were sold in a country with a

---

[3] W.H.O. Official Internet site for adult per capita alcohol consumption 1961-2000
http:
//www3.who.ch/whosis/alcohol/alcohol_apc_data.cfm?path=whosis,alcohol,alcohol_apc,alcohol_apc_data&language=english.
Accessed Friday 11 June 2004.

[4] Information in Καθημερινή Daily Greek Newspaper 13-3-04. "Οικονομία και Αγορές".

[5] Information on Καθημερινή Daily Greek Newspaper on 8-9-2008. "Αλκοόλ: Το «νόμιμο» ναρκωτικό".

[6] Information on the case:
http: //www.kiortsis.gr/en/the_Scotch_whiskey_association.html
Accessed Thursday 17 June 2004.

[7] Legal representation by Kiortsis Law Offices, cases No. 3581/87, No. 8077/76, No. 3155/76, No. 1261/76 of the Court of 1st Inst. of Athens.

[8] *Kathimerini*, Greek daily newspaper in English, 28 April 2004, p. 21
Available on:
http: //www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_economy_1641409_20/04/2004_41925.

[9] W.H.O. Official Internet site for adult per capita alcohol consumption 1961-2000.
www3.who.ch/whosis/alcohol/alcohol_apc_data.cfm?path=whosis,alcohol,alcohol_apc,alcohol_apc_data&language=english
Accessed Friday 11 June 2004.

population of less than eleven million people.[10] This makes Greece one of the top three markets for Scotch, with the average person consuming nearly three liters per year.[11] In recent research by the National Statistical Service of Greece, it was shown that when most households in Greece spend on alcohol their first preference is to buy spirits, specifically whisky (ΕΣΥΕ 2007). This is striking if one recalls that before the Second World War, Greeks hardly consumed any whisky or other imported beverages at all. Greek brandy and ouzo have declined while imported beverages have become the major celebratory symbols. Whisky is still institutionalized in Athens in music venues with live popular music, where singers perform Greek popular songs. Visiting such a place requires literally booking a bottle of whisky. The first time I visited such a place a few years ago, I was surprised. There were many tables, some full, some empty, but each with a bottle of whisky on it. I was wondering what happens if a person does not drink whisky. A friend from my group answered:

> When I go to these places, I have to drink whisky even though I don't like it. It's a way of socializing. I avoid going there with my friends for that reason. But whisky is not only there. Even if I go to a birthday party, this is often the only drink that people serve and drink.

The price of whisky in *bouzoukia* music venues ranges from 100 to 200 euros a bottle, while the price of whisky in supermarkets is only 10 to 15 euros a bottle. Despite the high prices at evening entertainment venues, some Athenians spend money there as part of their leisure, and as part of a performative way of spending. People can also buy small baskets of flowers (ranging from 20 to 50 euros each) for throwing at the singers. The consumption of whisky and alcohol in general in modern Athens is thus embedded in excessive spending and is a symbol of lavish or slightly out-of-control entertainment.

On Skyros Island, on the other hand, where the other major part of my research took place, the consumption of whisky is associated with specific bars, coffeehouses and *poka* (a Greek version of poker) card playing by men. Generally speaking, it is more a conspicuous performance of modernness, which stands opposed to the commensal exchange of wine and *tsipouro*. Within this context persons make themselves through the beverage and the beverage is identified with specific networks. Surprisingly enough, there was no whisky on Skyros until the 1960s. Wine, *tsipouro*, ouzo and beer were the major alcoholic beverages in cafes and restaurants.

These processes of localization on Skyros Island and in Athens have been taking place side by side with the establishment of large multinational corporations, which have adapted their marketing to local tastes and have taken over most of the beverage market. Generally speaking, the commercialization of the Greek economy in recent decades can be interpreted as a success of multinational capitalism and an adoption of neoliberal economic policies by the state. The values that have shaped contemporary consumption are certainly influenced by the general context of the economy. However, this in itself would not be enough to explain the success or failure of a commodity that has been thought of as "Greek", "national", "part of the contemporary Greek popular music scene" or as representative of the values of "laborhood" on Skyros. In this study I propose to use whisky as a symbol of global connections (with

[10] Scotch Whisky Association. Public Relations Department.
[11] *The Independent*, 1.2.2003, "This Europe: Greece calls time on teens' taste for whisky" by Daniel Howden.

a focus on Greece, and more specifically on Athens and Skyros) that companies, consumers and the cultural industry use as a vehicle to negotiate their own styles. As such the use of the term 'global' in my title expresses the process of global connectivity of a commodity that is globally traded, projected and used and the general global diffusion of branded commodities that is evident in late modernity.

In addition, my study takes an ethnographic approach to terms such as "modern", "Western", or "European", which have hitherto tended to be used with a positive valuation. These terms are understood here within the context of larger political and historical processes that have been taking place in the Greek nation state. The case of whisky and imported beverages constitutes one element of these consumer goods that have been associated with the distinction of different classes. Nowadays the consumption of these things is related to the reproduction of different social identities, whether popular, national or local. Such commodities are not necessarily homogenizing our globalized world, as they are interpreted and used in different ways in different parts of the world.

Focusing on the consumers of imported alcoholic beverages—and more specifically on one category, whisky users—thus enables me to describe the production of meaning in various contexts: multinational corporations, the films of the golden age of Greek cinema, and contemporary Athens and Skyros.

While whisky in Greece is one of the most preferred alcoholic beverages, there are various other drinks that can be offered, ordered or consumed in a variety of social settings. Generally speaking, alcohol occupies a central position in the social lives of most Greeks as in many other cultures. However, until recently in Greece there was no culture of drinking alcohol without eating. This would take place only in cases of extreme poverty or in family rituals. The gradual establishment of imported beverages (and for our purposes, whisky) coincided with the development of a culture of drinking without eating or snacking, a definite influence from modern western European/American modes of consumption. By following Scotch whisky, I wish to research the extent to which the habit of consuming Scotch has affected the cultural worlds of the users I encountered and, in general, to discover if the relationship between the cultural industry and the consumers has fulfilled the disciplining desire to become a modern European emancipated person.

My personal experiences with alcoholic beverages in Greece and the research that I pursued both on Skyros and Athens led me to the main questions of this study:

i. What is the history of the importation of whisky into Greece and its production there, and what values have been shaped through the cultural industry in Greece (commercial Greek cinema, media and marketing)?
ii. Why did whisky become so successful among certain networks in the research localities? Has it been localized and, if so, how?
iii. How can we explain this process in an anthropological manner?
iv. What can this process teach us about the localization of a global commodity?

In this study, therefore, I examine how films, advertisements and consumers might culturally appropriate whisky and what meanings they might give to it. I pay special attention to the popular films produced in the 1960s, which have been shown on television after this period and coincide with the time when whisky consumption became commercialized in Greece. Projections of the beverage continued through the decline of Greek cinema and the establishment of marketing in Greece. My focus on marketing representations (specifically advertisements) aims to identify the strategies

used by marketers to transform whisky into "a hallmark of style", an object that connects the category of modernity with style and consumption.

Further, the study investigates two locations where performances of whisky consumption are highly appropriated and used in various ways. By examining the self-representations and the outings of my networks in the center of Athens, I draw upon the specific types of consumption that are interrelated with whisky, its relationship with popular culture and the locations where the beverage is localized. Similarly I follow the beverage on the island of Skyros, focusing on a network of laborers who express their masculinity through drinking whisky and who use whisky to perform the non-domesticated aspects of their values.

As a result, the overall study is divided into two main parts—one focusing on macro processes and history, and the other on micro processes and ethnography. It is not my intention to explain one as the result of the other. Despite the fact that there is a significant relationship between the establishment of alcohol-related multinational capitalism in Greece and the consumption of whisky, Greek cinema shows that whisky was fetishized much earlier and indeed served as an object for dreaming before the culture industry promoted it as such.

The major point, however, is that through this study I am trying to understand the meanings and the processes of meaning formation in relation to the beverage on different levels and in different spaces. The major analytical concepts are (but are not limited to) "trajectory", "style" and "consumption". These anthropological concepts are used with particular reference to their respective authors, Appadurai (1986), Ferguson (1999) and Miller (1995a, b). These concepts will be briefly discussed in this introduction; they will be unfolded and further elaborated in the following chapters.

## Materiality

From the beginnings of anthropology, objects have had a special position in the study of humans. Anthropologists such as Edward Tylor and Henry Lewis Morgan asserted that objects were expressions of the level of development of a given society and thus "signs of culture" from an evolutionary perspective. Morgan, for example, developed the idea of social evolution (from savagery to barbarism to civilization), which he partly examined through technological artifacts and houses (1881). The more complicated the technology and the objects were, the higher the level of progress and development.[12] This view influenced many thinkers who were in search of ethnographic data, including Karl Marx (Bloch 1983: 21-63).

The obsession with objects was evident in the activities of the Victorian collectors, a trend that had existed in Europe from the classificatory collections of the Renaissance. However, after the Enlightenment and within the context of colonialism and expansion of European empires, the collection of objects became a source of major symbolic capital and a source of knowledge for the educated elite. Museums

[12] The relationship between ethnography and material culture continued throughout the twentieth century and was expressed in the ethnographic collections of museums, anthropology departments and ethnographic archives. However, as Tilley and Miller argued, the critique of social Darwinism and the emphasis of Malinowski and the functionalists on the "social system" influenced the coming generations of anthropologists who neglected the position of objects in the social lives of the people they studied (1996).

and their collections were influenced by this mentality, which coincided with the emergence of the nation state and the effort to produce and invent "national traditions" (Hobsbawm 1983).

The display of objects in relation to cultural difference and technological achievement was another trend that emerged in the nineteenth century. The Great Exhibition in London in 1851 was based on a display of industrialism and early capitalism but also on a celebration of modernity through objects. As Buchli has stated,

> Objects were intimately connected with notions of progress—historically, technically and socially—in short, material culture as it was conceived in the nineteenth century was the modernist super-artefact and the supreme signifier of universal progress and modernity. (2002: 4)

Consequently, material culture has always been tied in with the determination of the nature of modernity. Since the end of the nineteenth century, for example, archeologists and anthropologists collected artifacts and imagined social evolution in terms of material culture achievements. The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford is an example of this anthropological adoration of artifacts. Moreover, several anthropologists focused on material culture in a social evolutionary way like Morgan (1881) and Taylor (1871). Such studies followed the progress of material culture and tried to understand the social organism in relation to the technological achievements. Within this context material culture became interconnected with the 19th-century intellectual paradigm of social evolution but with the rise of functionalism and structuralism, became marginalized and theoretically devalued.

The first study along the contemporary lines of following a thing or a commodity was the influential work of Fernadno Ortiz on the history of tobacco and sugar in Cuba, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcarhis* (1940). This present study is also situated within the wider field of material culture and anthropology, which has produced a number of monographs on the world history of commodities and has stimulated research on the social lives of things. Investigations of the histories of sugar (Mintz 1985), alcohol (Douglas 1987), Coca Cola (Foster 2008, Miller 1995), tea (Moxham 2003) and milk and cheese (Petridou 2001) are only a few of the many studies produced in recent times. This interest has also pushed popular genre writers to investigate commodities such as cod and salt (Kurlansky 1997, 2002), potatoes (Zuckerman 1998) and tobacco (Gately 2001) in a "follow the thing" approach (Marcus 1995).

This approach is a response to a growing literature on the effort to understand globalization and the fast movements of things across the globe (Foster 2008: 15). By following objects, anthropologists are able to construct and understand the networks created in motion as well as the shifting meanings of commodities in various cultural contexts. A large part of this discipline is based on prior work done on the social life of things and, more specifically, on the seminal essays found in the book titled *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective* (Appadurai 1986). A major contribution has been the introduction by Appadurai who argues that the source of value of commodities can be found in the "things in motion" (Appadurai 1986: 5). The notion of "things in motion" includes the potentiality to transform during their "social lives" and for this reason they have distinctive "trajectories". Appadurai argues that tracing the course of these trajectories allows us to estimate the human agency that becomes materialized in these things. To be more precise,

> For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things. Thus, even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context. (Appadurai 1986: 5)

One major advantage of this approach is the recognition that the same thing can potentially enter into a wide range of exchanges and practices, exactly as in the case of Scotch whisky in Greece. In this manner this study follows three distinct trajectories of the object with a major aim of unraveling the human motivations, calculations and intentions that activate and become embedded in Scotch.

Moreover, Appadurai's analysis of the commodity in *The Social Life of Things* demonstrates that the commodity is not defined by its materiality or production. On the contrary, the commodity is a stage that things come into and out of by changing their value and status in the process. By analyzing what kind of exchange commodity exchange is, he explores the trajectories that things take when they enter and exit commodity status. More specifically

> I propose that the commodity situation in the social life of any 'thing' be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature. Further the commodity situation defined in this way can be disaggregated into: (1) the commodity phase of the social life of any thing; (2) the commodity candidacy of any thing; and (3) the commodity context in which any thing may be placed. (Appadurai 1986: 13)

In this sense things can become commodities and commodities can move out of their commodity-hood. In parallel to Appadurai's approach, Kopytoff argues that we should also examine the career of the thing in order to be able to overcome the problematic relationship of 'thing' and 'person' (1986: 66). By tracking the culturally and historically specific "biographies of things" Kopytoff is able to define the ways that things become culturally constructed and are classified as "things". Moreover, the analysis of Kopytoff on things is not only related to their commodity-hood and cultural signification. The author argues that things can be much more than indicators of social exchange and cultural meaning; things are able to constitute the social person (1986). In a similar vein the last two trajectories of my analysis (on Skyros and Athens) research this possibility and inscribe the meaning of the "trajectory" with the "cultural biography of things". Consequently the meaning of "trajectory" in the course of this study is not only related to the work of Appadurai (and commodity-hood) but also to the implications of things in the constitution of social persons.

Another methodological strategy of following commodities has been the research on commodity chains or total trajectories (production, distribution, consumption), such as Ortiz's work in Cuba (1940) and Mintz's work on the sugar trade in the Caribbean (1985). Ortiz developed his book on Cuban history in two sections, the first of which is presented as an allegorical tale between tobacco and sugar and the second as a historical analysis of their development as the central agricultural products of Cuba. By treating both tobacco and sugar as commodities and as social vehicles in a historical process, Ortiz examined the changes in their roles within the context of

transculturation, a critical term that he developed to understand the complex transformation of cultures in the context of colonial and imperial histories. Similarly Mintz focused on sugar in a political and economic framework in the Caribbean. By tracing the commodity chain of sugar, Mintz analyzed the ways in which capitalism and colonialism influenced the Caribbean. Through the expansion of a system of agro-industry, a system of hierarchy was constructed. Such approaches have become valuable tools for analyzing economic changes that are related to wider processes.

A usual way of thinking about objects in Western Europe and North America has been the differentiation between things as objects and persons as subjects. Things are seen as matter that gains significance only through social actors while itself being denied a social life. This perspective has been criticized by a current thread of anthropology which places an emphasis on objectification, holding that "through making things people make themselves in the process" (Tilley 2001: 260). It is this particular perspective that tries to transcend simple dualisms to place the emphasis on transformation and process. Subjects and objects can be mutually constitutive; identities are expressed and objectified in persons, but also in things such as flags or state paraphernalia, photographs or landscapes or clothes.

Material culture studies investigate how things matter in an anthropological way (Miller 1998). Objects that seem trivial and not central to social life might have important effects in the lives of people. Objects therefore become a starting point of analysis for the study of culture and society. Interdisciplinary approaches are usual in such studies, combining a variety of disciplines such as media, marketing, history and social geography.

In recent scholarship, objects or commodities are seen not as passive reflections of the social order but as having agency themselves. Gell's (1988) "theory of agency", for example, emphasizes how art objects mediate as "agents" in social processes. Gell is careful to make clear that objects do not have a consciousness of their own but are understood as having a certain efficacy by virtue of the ways in which people use them. While Gell's theory is intended for the anthropology of art, it also has wider applications to the study of objects and material culture (Petridou 2001, Yalouri 2001).

According to Tilley, "material culture is a relational and critical category leading us to reflect on object-subject relations in a manner that has a direct bearing on our understanding of the nature of the human condition and the social being in the world" (2001: 258). The proliferation of studies of this kind has led to a wider trend towards an anthropology of material culture or materiality (Buchli 2002, Miller 2005, Tilley and Keane, Kuechler, Rowlands, Spyer 2006). Objects have become a central point of analysis in any approach towards the cultural, and their trajectories have brought together religious, political and social relationships. Studies range from ethnographic approaches to modernity (Miller 1994, 1995) to the politics of landscape (Bender 2001), science and nature (Latour 1993), religion (Keane 2008, Spyer 1998), materiality and cultural heritage (Rowlands 2002), border fetishisms and trade (Spyer 1998 & 2000), art (Kuchler 2002), the senses (Seremetakis 1996), alienable and inalienable wealth (Weiner 1992, Yalouri 2001), the relationship between the "local" and the "global" (Appaduari 2001, Foster 2008, Miller 1995, Wilk 1995), and consumption (Miller 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997).

The example of whisky in Greece demonstrates the persistence of films, advertisements and interlocutors in producing meanings, styles or dreams through materiality. Furthermore, it is my intention to use materiality as a point of departure for an understanding of the "webs of significance" of my interlocutors (Geertz 2000:

3-32). The bottle of whisky is not only a thing but also a material with which consumers imagine their lives, express their taste for modernity and negotiate their own styles. As such the beverage connects, in various ways, networks that might look unconnected at first sight: films and marketing, consumers and multinational corporations, and an island and the centre of a city.

## Mass commodities: the things of modernity

It has been demonstrated by various authors that "a singular modernity was never an empirical, historical fact except as a Eurocentric ideology of a universal teleology of the evolution of social systems" (Pels 2003: 29).[13] Therefore, theories that reduce human agency to a unilinear social model such as modernization or even globalization should be criticized and their inconsistency should be exposed ethnographically (Ferguson 1999, Tsing 2000). An anthropology of modernity needs to account for both the ideological and the practical effects of modernity, whether one takes modernity to refer ideologically "to the global (but not hegemonic) spread of a consciousness of radical temporal rupture" (Pels 2003: 30) or, practically, to social changes understood by Foucault's theory of discipline, Marx's theory of commodity production and consumption, Durkheim's collective consciousness or Weber's shells of rationalization and bureaucratization (Pels 2003: 30). Consequently the study of mass commodities within the context of modernity has two dimensions: one refers to their ability to express the ethnographic perceptions about modernity and the other, a historical dimension, refers to their history of production, circulation and consumption. It is the aim of this study to address both processes and discuss wider theoretical issues in relation to mass commodities.

My choice to study a mass-produced commodity was influenced by the intellectual paradigm of material culture studies that trace the social life of things in an effort to understand the processes of globalization and localization as well as the position of specific commodities in the lives of people. However, the specific choice of whisky was based on the persistence of my interlocutors in making themselves through the consumption of the beverage and its localization in various contexts. I should, therefore, note that not all commodities are fetishized in the same way; they do not have the same symbolic efficacy or the same results. In order to make clear the key concepts employed, I should start with a short analysis of these discussions. This discipline is placed within a wider debate about commodities, which has a long history and strong arguments.

The two key texts that have formulated our understanding of commodities are *The Gift* by Mauss (1954) and *The Fetishism of Commodities* in Marx's *Capital* (1867). Both texts investigate how specific objects incorporate a social life beyond their materiality, and argue that the characteristics of commodities and gifts relate to social practice. More specifically, Marx argues that commodities are part of capitalist production and that they conceal the relationships of production, as they are able to stand apart from this sphere and relate to other commodities and consumers. This independent agency is expressed by Marx as "fetishism". Fetishism arises out the peculiarity of capitalistic production and exchange and mystifies real social relations. As a result, commodities become objectifications of the social and material conditions

[13] For a general critique see Mitchell (2000: 1 -34).

in which they are produced. According to Keane, Marx's "fetish" is not a way of misunderstanding goods but a way that humans misunderstand themselves (Keane 1998: 13). In Keane's words, "in the process of attributing life to things, they lose some of their own humanity and come to treat themselves as objects in turn" (Keane 1998: 13). Furthermore, Burke has proposed that fetishism is

> More than (but includes) the meanings invested in goods; it is also the accumulated power of commodities to actually constitute, organize and relate to people, institutions, and discourses, to contain within themselves the forms of consciousness through which capitalism manufactures its subjects. (1996: 5)

It is this agency in the form of fetishism that manifests itself in the conceptualizations about Scotch whisky in modern Greece. However, this fetish is intimately linked to the history of trade in twentieth-century Greece as well as to the establishment of transnational capitalism. As such the fetish expresses relations of power that might not be visible at first sight. The meanings invested in Scotch whisky by the scenarios of the cinematic genre and the cultural industry in general and more importantly the marginality of Athenian *bouzoukia* and Skyrian laborhood are clearly expressing its fetishization.

However, other forms of exchange (such as gift exchange) might represent different forms of relationship. For Mauss, objects are "total social phenomena" that incorporate all aspects of society (1954). Mauss's main interest lies in the intriguing character of specific objects and their ability to affect social identity. Gifts, for example, in certain sociocultural contexts carry a part of a person's identity and obligations of return to the giver. Gifts are viewed as objects that are not alienating as certain moral obligations and relationships exist between givers and receivers. Other institutions such as the potlatch are also understood as religious representations that are centered on specific forms of gifts that orient social relationships.

These two approaches led to further debates in anthropology and other social sciences focusing on the dichotomies of gift/commodity, use/exchange value and inalienable/alienable wealth. More specifically, Mauss's concern with the gift in non-Western societies has affected cultural anthropology at large. Many anthropologists have tried to understand the societies they studied as gift-oriented, while the capitalistic Euro-American world was viewed as a commodity-based one (Gregory 1980). This distinction further influenced a view of gift economies as ruled by inalienable objects and commodity economies by alienable ones. However, the coexistence of both types of objects and relationships that is evident in most societies poses serious questions about such dichotomies.

The terms "use value" and "exchange value" were also at the center of an anthropological theory of commoditization which reproduced the problematic dichotomies of Western and non-Western societies. Though Marx never argued clearly that these two terms described only capitalistic or pre-capitalistic societies, several anthropologists tried to understand gifts and commodities in relation to the production process. These views reproduced the idea that precapitalist societies are based on exchange and capitalistic societies on commodities (Taussig 1980). More specifically, Taussig argued that in pre-capitalist societies the use-value of things is more prominent as it relates immediately to natural needs (1980: 21), whereas, in capitalistic societies exchange value is the heart of commodities and has to be understood in relation to the fetishism of commodities.

Both views and dichotomies are highly problematic because they essentialize the gift in "archaic" societies and the commodity in the Western industrial world (Carrier 1995). This has further complications, as the gift/archaic/inalienable/use-value and commodity/Western/alienable/exchange-value distinctions are mixed up in most fields of research and usually by the same actors. As a result, the processes of alienation and inalienability or of gift and commodity exchange are evident in any given society and they exist side by side.

A major critique of both arguments is made by Appadurai in relation to Mauss's gift theory, which holds a central position in the anthropological analysis of commodities (1986: 3-63). While many anthropologists have seen the commodity and the gift as separate and oppositional, Appadurai argues that commodities are not the monopoly of modern industrial economies and should be understood and examined within their exchangeability in each situation.[14] In this framework the paths of objects and the diversions of objects from these paths are affected by strategies, while the production of their value is a political process. Appadurai concludes by suggesting that commodities exist in various forms of exchange, and that their tournaments of value and calculated diversions lead to new paths of commodity flow, thus giving space to value shifts that express contestations of power, especially among the elites. Such contexts are the politics of diversion, display, knowledge, connoisseurship and so on. Appadurai argues, in other words, that value is not intrinsic to things but is contextually defined through exchange.

Appadurai's definition of a commodity is "anything intended for exchange" (1986: 13). In his view, "the commodity situation in the social life of any 'thing' can be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature" (1986: 13). Appadurai distinguishes between the commodity phase, commodity candidacy and commodity context of things. The commodity phase occurs when an object is being exchanged. From this perspective, people and even ideas might be turned into objects for exchange. The candidacy of the commodity is based on certain symbolic, classificatory and moral criteria that define the exchangeability of a "thing" in any particular social and historical setting. The context of any commodity is the social and cultural setting where objects pass from the commodity candidacy to the commodity phase of their careers.

Another major contribution to the debate is by Kopytoff, who argues that "the same thing may be treated as a commodity at one time and not at another. The same thing may, at the same time, be seen as a commodity by one person and as something else by another" (1986: 64). Therefore, commodities can be understood as things in a commodity phase, one stage of their career in their social life. These shifts in the cultural biographies of things question the simple economic assumptions that a given product has a certain economic value and can always be exchanged as a commodity. Kopytoff proposes a processual model of commoditization, in which objects move in and out of the commodity state (1986). From their production to their consumption, objects might change state and are not necessarily considered commodities. Tracing the cultural biography of things is a way of understanding that things can have radically different meanings according to the stages they have reached in their "life-cycles" (Tilley 2001: 264). It is from this perspective that the "career" of whisky is

[14] Appadurai cites Bourdieu (1977) and Douglas and Isherwood (1979) among others for their efforts to understand the cultural dimensions of exchange by being critical of the gift/commodity dichotomy. Burke and Weiss (1996) are also worth noting.

traced in this book and the phases of its cultural biography are analyzed, especially when the impersonal commodity of whisky transforms into a drinking or birthday gift.

Weiss has further contributed to our understanding of the anthropology of commodities by arguing that while the collapsing of the opposition between gifts and commodities is valuable, it has obscured real differences in the potential of objects to embody value (Weiss 1996: 14). Among Haya, for example, there are specific practices that are intended to prevent certain objects being equated with other kinds of commodities. Certain objects have different potentialities in the lives of people and distinct social lives. Thus "all objects have the potential for alienation or personification, for diffusing or condensing value. But not all objects do so in the same way" (Weiss 1996: 14). Commodities and commoditization are used in such a way as to pinpoint processes of sociocultural change in relation to particular objects. Commoditization is understood as a process that creates the capacity for equivalence or commensurability of objects, similar to the qualities of money. However, it cannot be applied universally because the cultural conception of specific objects does not always allow them to be candidates for commoditization. In Weiss's view, commoditization includes not only market forces and diffusion of commodities but also the possibility to make any object into a commodity in so far as it is transacted, whether in an appropriate or inappropriate manner. From such a perspective commoditization is not viewed as alienating the lived world, "for commoditization emerges within the process of inhabiting the world and commodities themselves derive their significance from being engaged in practices that make up this process" (1996: 8).

Anthropologists who have been more influenced by Marxist definitions of commodities and commoditization as the destruction of cultures and the influence of capitalistic processes use the term "resistance" (Comaroff 1985). Resistance is a way of localizing the commoditization processes under the gradual spread of capitalistic values and has to be understood contextually. It is a process of rejection when commoditization is at work and is demonstrated by a variety of ethnographic cases. Resistance can take the form of gift giving or the transformation of money into local cosmological systems, as most cases in the edited work of Bloch and Parry (1989) also describe. From this perspective, money is seen as a threat and as such has to be transformed into something different through kinship and ritual.

As Burke has argued, scholars who have studied Marx have followed "an interpretative tradition that sees fetishism as a process by which 'false needs' are made and 'real' relations concealed by the conscious agency of the ruling classes" (1996: 6). This present study differentiates itself from such a tradition and is positioned within the field of material culture that places emphasis on the process of cultural appropriation and self-creation. Moreover, by following Burke (1996) and Weiss (1996), I argue that Marx's definition of fetishism could be widened and should not be confined to the social relations of production alone. Other relations of domination are also concealed and differ by place, time and consumer (consumers having different cultural backgrounds). As such the notion of commodity fetishism can be extended to incorporate those social relations that are reified through exchange.

However, it is important to state that use values are socially and culturally constructed, both as products with their material origins and as products with meaning to those who use them (as well as products with different social meanings given by their producers). Within capitalism such use values have complex meanings that move beyond their exchange value and their cultural position might be a consequence

of non-economic factors. Therefore, objects do not arrive in the market as blank signifiers in order to receive their use value but they are also influenced by specific cultural patterns.

Moreover, by following Miller (1987) and Weiss (1996), I argue that the potentiality for personification and alienation is inherent in the process of objectification, the act of positioning Others as objects for the benefit of the Self (Hegel 1832). However objectification is not inherently alienating. That means that commodities in the context of hegemonic capitalism do not necessarily lead to alienation (Miller 1987). On the contrary, commodities might be entwined with the persons who posses them and they might be associated with processes of personification (Weiss 1996). Webb Keane, for example, has argued that anthropologists should "take seriously the materiality of signifying practices and the ubiquity and necessity of conceptual objectification as a component of human action and interaction." (2003: 223). In this sense he suggests that objectification is integral to human activity because "far from being only a disease of social science [objectification] is the very politics of everyday awareness and interaction" (2003: 239). In that sense objectification is neither good nor bad, not necessarily negative and alienating; the results of objectification depend on human action.

Weiss, for example, has demonstrated how an illness recently emerged among the Haya (1996: 154-178). The condition is found in infants and young children whose erupting teeth are said to be of plastic or nylon. If the children are left untreated they get fever and are unable to eat, and as a result the only remedy is expected to be the removal of their teeth. As Weiss has demonstrated, teeth are of major importance in Haya society especially because they are related to rituals of growing up, independence and nurturing. Plastic, by contrast, embodies a new form of political economy in which production is separated from village social relationships. As a consequence, Weiss argues that plastic teeth are an embodied image of the larger transformations that Haya are experiencing such as the collapse of the coffee market and the HIV epidemic.

Moreover, fetishism in a Marxist sense does not correspond to the complexity of value formation of the commodity in the modern capitalistic system. As Foster has argued, value formation is a process by which various agents evaluate a product. This

> Involves more than the labor of producers; it requires the (evaluative) work of consumers as well. Value creation occurs as a product circulates through the multiple hands of both producers and consumers. Likewise, the extraction of surplus value requires more than deploying the labor power of wage workers; it also requires capturing the use values attributed to products by consumers. (2008: xviii)

Similarly, Greek cinema and marketing have over-communicated a fetishization of whisky and have produced various sets of meanings, consciously or unconsciously targeting their audiences. While on Skyros and in Athens commoditization has been more evident in recent decades, money and commodities have long careers in these areas as a result of a general monetary system that existed in the Byzantine and later Ottoman empires. Within this context commodities might be transformed into "inalienable wealth" (Weiner 1992) as well as payment for labor. The commercialization of the economy and the advent of multinational capitalism brought new branded products and alcoholic beverages which, depending on the context, became appropriated. Cigarettes and alcoholic beverages especially became central

symbols of "style" employed in social life and were embraced as hallmarks of modernity. In order to understand these processes I now turn first to an anthropological understanding of consumption.

## Commodity consumption and globalization

It is the consumption of commodities that characterizes commoditization and the spread of capitalistic values, and as such this has been portrayed as a negative and non-socializing process. As Miller has argued, already from the 1950s commodities were seen by various anthropologists as changing forces for culture and local cosmologies (1995b). The study of commodity consumption as an anthropological subject has resulted in a transformation of the discipline because it has brought various new arguments and debates. Modernity is no longer understood as a force of cultural extinction but rather a process of objectification that results in the appropriation of things (Miller 1995a).

Consumption is intertwined with globalization primarily because globalization has been thought of as McDonaldization (Ritzer 2004), which entails: a world connected by trade and information technologies (Barber 1995: 4); a global village that consumes similar images and shapes similar identities (McLuhan 1964); a process of "time-space compression" with a major goal of speeding up globally the production and consumption of transnational capitalism (Harvey 1989: 147); and processes of "disembedding", which enables the circulation of commodities, the proliferation of consumption of the same products, and "re-embedding" that makes meaningful the appropriation of commodities (Giddens 1991: 21). As Inda and Rosaldo have put it,

> Globalization can be seen as referring to those spatial-temporal processes, operating on a global scale, that rapidly cut across national boundaries, drawing more and more of the world into webs of interconnection, integrating and stretching cultures and communities across space and time, and compressing our spatial and temporal horizon. It points to a world in motion, to an interconnected world, to a shrinking world. (2008: 12)

Commodities such as Coca Cola and whisky can be found almost anywhere in the world; music is becoming increasingly globalized; youth movements follow similar styles; and issues of global meaning, such as the environment, circulate around the world. At the same time the internet and communications technology, airplanes and fast trains have made it possible to communicate and travel anywhere in the world, at any time. There are fears of an intensification of a global culture and a prevalence of one homogenous modernity of capitalism, individualism and state power (Erickson 1999: 297).

The cultural economy of globalization has been viewed in the light of the theory of cultural imperialism and the homogenization of the world. These scenarios claim that "the spread of American/western cultural goods is leading to the absorption of peripheral cultures into a homogenized global monoculture of consumption" (Inda and Rosaldo 2008: 16). Furthermore, it has been claimed that globalization is a Western global hegemony that designates a unification of styles, attitudes, institutions, ideas, values and goods (Inda and Rosaldo 2008: 17). Goods such as branded clothes and beverages are circulating, appropriated and consumed by more

and more people; music, films and news have global audiences; and international institutions such as the Olympic Games or the International Court of Justice have a global reach.

According to some authors, mass consumption in this global world is nothing but a consumerism that assimilates different cultures and turns them into models of profit (Baudrillard 1990, Bauman 1990, Featherstone 1990). Other authors have argued that globalization is instead a double-sided process that on the one hand promotes global identities and creates consumers, but on the other produces difference and localization or "flow and closure" (Appadurai 1990, 1996, 2001, Meyer and Geschiere: 1999, Miller 1995). According to Tilley,

> The effects of globalization have in fact turned out to be cultural differentiation, 'revivals' and inventions of ethnicity. It has been shown that localized processes intersect in an increasingly creolized and hybridized world of people and experiences in which a search for cultural 'authenticity' seems particularly fruitless. (Tilley 2001: 267))

In recent years anthropological studies have shown a world where globalization results in reinventions of ethnicity, cultural differentiation and hybrids or "bricolage" rather than well defined homogenized entities (Appadurai 2001, Geschiere 1999, Miller 1998, Wilk 1995). The dialectics of "flow and closure", as Meyer and Geschiere have put it, are simply an aspect of globalization where goods and people might circulate more easily but identities tend to be imagined and reproduced much more as closed entities (1999: 2).

In addition Hannerz has argued that here is a new space of interaction among cultures, a "global ecumene" (Hannerz 1989, 1996): a space where flows from the center to the periphery come together, a process carried out by cosmopolitans who travel and live around the world. Such cosmopolitans, as they are on the move, bring along their cultural frameworks and these influence as well as integrate with other cultures.

In terms of economic capital, globalization has resulted in a spatialization of the world economy and, more particularly, in movement that occurs across national and political boundaries (Trouillot 2003: 48). This internationalization is nothing new, but the speed of the circulation of capital, commodities and markets is surprising and unique. Capital, labor and consumer markets create entangled spatialities and shape the world economy. Furthermore, the domination of financial capital shapes the main directions and trends globally and leads to increasing inequalities across countries. As Appadurai has noted, globalization indicates the circulation of people, capital, images and concepts across the globe along certain trajectories (1996). These trajectories (scapes) do not extend to all parts of the world, but their increasing presence characterizes global processes. "Financescapes" for example include capital flows; "ethnoscapes" include migrant flows; "mediascapes" include media and film flows; "technoscapes" are about technology flows; and finally "ideoscapes" relate to the flow of State or subaltern ideologies. Such flows constitute paths in which imagined communities or networks influence their own sense of belonging and social identity.

One of Appadurai's most important points is to do with de-territorialization, the idea that space has become less important and that this has brought about new sociocultural concepts. As Harvey has argued, it was within the twentieth century that the compressions of space and time as well as the fast movement of people, capital and technologies came to influence our existence to a great extent (1989). The flow of

ideas and values around the world, especially through print capitalism but also through other media, has also resulted in nationalism and the creation of imagined communities (Anderson 1983). It is through these processes that identities such as ethnicity, gender and class are redefined and negotiated on different levels. Consequently "ethnoscapes" and "mediascapes" with their interdependence on "imagination" have become the most decisive trajectories of globalization as they construct and reproduce social and cultural identities (Appadurai 1996).

A series of studies have tried to illustrate the process of the "indigenization" or localization of objects. Abu-Lughod has described how a scene from an American soap opera can be more relevant to villagers in Egypt than one based on the issues with which local elites are concerned (1995). Michaels has demonstrated how Hollywood videotapes among Warlpiri Aborigines are perceived in relation to the local meanings of fiction and how, as a consequence, interpretations are highly localized (Michaels 2002). In a similar manner Wilk has examined the production of local difference on a global level through beauty contests (1995). He states "we are not all becoming the same, but we are portraying, dramatizing and communicating our differences to each other in ways that are more widely intelligible" (1995: 118). Miller has argued in his study of Coca Cola in Trinidad that in local perception the drink is part of a wider classification of black drinks and as such has come to represent Black African identity (1997). Research in East Asia and Moscow has demonstrated how adaptations of McDonalds suit local circumstances (Watson 1997, Caldwell 2008). O'Hanlon's research in New Guinea argues that foreign advertisements or products are used to express issues of particular local character (1993) and research in Nigeria has demonstrated how Bollywood films have shaped other genres such as "Nollywood" (Larkin 2008). Another important contribution is Gandoulou's study (1984) of the Congolese sapeurs in Paris and their consumption habits. Such migrants manage to reach Paris after many difficulties, and once they arrive they work in order to collect a large amount of money to be spent on expensive fashion clothes. The clothes will be worn later on the streets of Brazzaville in order to express status, in a country where the sapeurs have no access to power. This conspicuous consumption has been characterized as "a way of challenging power by overcommunicating one's own superiority and success" (Eriksen 2001: 308).

Consumption has been analyzed as part of a cultural perspective in opposition to the homogenization, "Americanization" or "commoditization" argument (Appadurai 1990: 295). According to Appadurai, "what these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or the other way" (1990: 295). The views criticized also tend to overlook the fact that "westernization" or "Americanization" is only one perspective in a world where a politics of cultural assimilation has been promoted by states such as China, Indonesia and Brazil and smaller states such as Greece and Turkey. Anti-consumption movements coexist with organizations that protect the rights of the consumer. Therefore, there are reverse processes and for that reason it is useful to study the perceptions of consumption as different cultural perspectives—an anthropological task.

Along the same line of thought, Miller argues for an anthropology of consumption and commodities in order to avoid essentialization of these categories (1995a: 141-161). Miller suggests that to moralize in relation to commodities and commoditization is simplistic and that a closer anthropological examination should take place while keeping a critical stance vis-à-vis theories of modernization. In much ethnography the "authenticity" of the "Other" has been represented as existing far from the noise and

"pollution" of consumption. Miller, however, draws attention to "the equality of genuine relativism that makes none of us a model of real consumption and all of us creative variants of social processes based around the possession and use of commodities" (1995a: 144). Thus the examination of commodities within the context of consumption should be understood as a part of mass consumer societies that leads to a heterogeneous comparative modernity instead of a global homogenization (1995b).

This view privileges an anthropological approach to global commodities. The most important implication is that actors/consumers are not portrayed as passive beings who imitate consumer practices and consumption is conceptualized as "secondary production" (de Certeau 1984). The idea of using things creatively, dressing them with new cultural meanings, and making them at home (or not) has important implications for a theory of commodities and globalization. Furthermore, anthropologists recognize that commodities have cultural biographies even if they are mass-produced, and as such they enter into a commodity phase and come out of it again (Kopytoff 1986). This idea of Kopytoff's makes clear the qualities of things even when they move into global trajectories and contextualizes the relationship of the "Other" with imported commodities that has often been viewed as problematic.

While Miller puts forward a view of consumption based on creative freedom, Foster is more careful to differentiate his own approach from Miller's (2008: 8). He claims that consumption within the globalization process should be understood as a creative adaptation by which people make themselves, under circumstances of not entirely free choice. As he states, "the challenge for anthropologists considering the relationship among globalization, commodity consumption, and culture is to hold world historical structures and contingent, creative agency—as well as pessimism and optimism—in tension with each other" (Foster 2008: 10). My study also avoids viewing the processes of globalization as a naïve celebration of the creativity of people in localizing imported things, and tries to take a critical stance towards what the terms "local" and "global" mean and under what conditions they are produced. While the establishment of multinational capitalism and the proliferation of advertisements might influence consumers, the media projections of the cultural industry are not always aimed at a certain result (as in Greek cinema) and are not intended to produce consumers and sell the product. Neither are they interested in creating bonds and trust with the consumers. The genealogy of whisky in Greek media demonstrates how fetishism was reproduced in Greek films.

My research identifies clearly with Burke's (1996) and Weiss's (1996) argument that the reception and use-value of a certain product are influenced by the culture of a group. Burke's point, for example, is demonstrated by his research on Lifebuoy soap and Pond's lotion, products that have value in the cultural conceptualization of aesthetics and hygiene. It is this point that makes us think that commodities should not only be understood in their life cycles or career but that they also include (or not) a set of meanings historically accumulated as categories. As a result, "different commodities thus have different histories and require different accountings, both of prior meanings that shape their reception and of the competing supply—side interests that promote their production and consumption" (Foster 2008: 14).

My study is also set within a general framework of an anthropology of consumption (Miller 1995a, Appadurai 2005) and shares the view that "today consumption is at least as important as the practice through which people potentially make themselves (Miller 2005: 44). As Appadurai has stated, the discipline is in need of an equivalent sociology of consumption to the one that Marx gave us for

production (2005: 61), because classes are no longer created on the basis of production alone but also on the basis of consumption. In modern mass consumer societies, where people face the alienability of production under objectification, consumers appropriate commodities to make sense of their own self.

## Performances of consumption in relation to style

In his study of workers in the copper belt of Zambia, Ferguson used an interesting term to understand social and cultural differences among people residing in the same settlements and cities (1999: 93-122). As he stated,

> The concept of style can serve as a quite general analytic tool by being extended to include all modes of action through which people place themselves and are placed into social categories. Specifically I use the term cultural style to refer to practices that signify difference between social categories. (1999: 95)

Style in Ferguson's formulation refers to the accomplished performative qualities of the actor and as such has to be understood in the context of performance theory. For example, the ability to shift from a local dialect when at home to a widely used accent elsewhere expresses the learned capacity of the actor to negotiate and embody such performances.

Ferguson's approach enables a study to research commonalities and differences in the same group and to make sense of the shared consumption patterns in stylistic terms, relating to the performances and the practices associated with consumption. As he notes,

> Conceiving of cultural style in this way thus means significantly bracketing off, or at least holding open, questions of identities or commonalities of values, beliefs, worldview, or cognitive orientation within stylistic categories. That members of culturally-stylistically distinctive subgroups of a society share such commonalities is an unexamined assumption of great deal of subculture theory in anthropology and sociology. Such groups *may* of course have such commonalities. But the assumption that they *must*, or that shared experiences and values are logically or temporally prior to stylistic practice, is unwarranted and has caused an enormous amount of confusion. It is a way of turning specific shared practices into a posited shared "total way of life", "culture", or "way of thought", a way of converting particular stylistic practices into badges of underlying and essential identities. (1999: 97)

While the similarities of consumers of whisky in Skyros and Athens are evident in terms of lifestyle, the beverage is intertwined with more distinctive mentalities and practices in the two settings. Ideas about popular music, entertainment and Scotch whisky in Athens for example bring together different kinds of people; on Skyros ideas about shepherhood and laborhood are expressed in the consumption of alcoholic beverages and more importantly Scotch. As such, style encompasses the consumption habits of the interlocutors.

The style of the male interlocutors is also related to an expressive masculinity in both settings. This masculinity and its relationship to whisky are further elaborated in

expressive forms of Greek contemporary popular music. Style is able to connect the categories of gender and consumption. In the words of Butler, "consider gender as a corporeal style, an 'act', as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where 'performative' suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning" (Butler 1990: 139 quoted in Ferguson 1999: 99). In this view, gendered style is an enduring practice that has to be understood as more dynamic than essentialized understandings of gender and expressing the strategies and conscious negotiation of social identity, without leaving aside unconscious learned and embodied habits.

This view implies that styles have continuity over time and that long and difficult processes are involved in acquiring or rejecting them. Developing a style is a long, sometimes painful activity that requires devotion and concentration. The cultivation of a style encompasses ideological, aesthetic and corporeal qualities, and style is an asset or an investment that relates to the immediate social and economic contexts (Ferguson 1999: 100).

Sustaining a style is therefore partly an economic issue and as such style is limited to the resources of the actor. As Ferguson states, "cultivating a viable style thus requires investment, in a very literal sense, and the difficulties of cultivating more than one stylistic mode at the same time are formidable. Economic constraints thus work in favor of stylistic specialization" (1999: 100). This aspect of developing a style is immediately related to consumption, as several times when I asked specific interlocutors why they were not regular drinkers of whisky, they replied that they could not afford it. Similarly the consumption of whisky in Athens as part of leisure in music venues with contemporary live Greek popular music is a practice that not all persons are able to afford. In such a context consumption is understood as a major part of sustaining a viable style and, to expand on Miller's (1998) idea, a way of making oneself at home with style.

Finally, the localization process should not be examined as if it were an abstract absorption of the global into the local, as already noted. Localization is a process of locale creation, and any appropriation is a form of style negotiation in a given context. Style can therefore be a useful analytical tool for studying commodities.

## The cultural context of consuming alcohol in Greece

### *Recent history*

During the twentieth century, the development of the Greek economy was based on liberal ideas and (especially after the Second World War) on the foreign aid, foreign investment and remittances that flowed into Greece. However, the end of the Second World War in 1945 was not received with the same enthusiasm in Greece as in the rest of Europe. The civil war between liberals and communists continued until 1950 and resulted in the killing of thousands of people. The post-war reconstruction plan was pursued at the beginning by Britain and carried on by the U.S.A. On one hand this had a destructive effect on the communist groups, but on the other hand a long development plan helped the country's economy to start anew. That "affiliation" placed Greece within the sphere of Western European capitalism until 1990, far from Eastern European communist influence (Close 2005: 18). The British and American partnership deeply influenced the political life of the country from the end of the Second World War, when it became dominated by a powerful King and a politically

active army. This form of "democracy" was bound to collapse in 1967 when the 'the Colonel's regime' took over. This Cold War dictatorship brought a deep political crisis, oppressed the people and remained in power until 1974.

The period between 1952 and 1972 can be described as one of the most successful economically, with sustained growth and low inflation (Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002: 172, Stathakis 2007). From 1950 to 1974, Greece developed economically in the style of Western European liberalism. The majority of the population moved into cities, migration increased, production and consumption rose considerably and Greek industrialism was established. Although these processes were received positively, they had shattering effects for rural Greece. While a large part of social life had formerly been connected with rural production and relatively large communities, from the 1950s large populations left their villages and islands to go the city. This was the period when most Greeks became acquainted with imported commodities and consumerism.

In terms of social change, the period of the dictatorship (1967-1974) was the most decisive. According to Stathakis, the Greek economy shifted to a service-oriented form, which came after a long period of agriculture-based economy (2007: 7). Internal migration intensified and within a few years Athens was booming into a huge metropolis. This had devastating effects on the countryside, which was left without resources and employment. The city became the center of Greece, economically and in terms of population. This was also the period when the new Greek consumer society emerged, with the ideal example being the first supermarket, *Sklavenitis* in Piraeus St, in 1970 (Stathakis 2007: 12). New products such as Coca Cola, cars and blue jeans were massively imported and consumed by the emerging low-income professionals who migrated to Athens.

The petrol crisis of 1973-4 impacted on the economy and during the dictatorship an economic recession occurred. The succeeding Karamanlis government was faced with many problems and adopted a State intervention programme in order to manage the crisis and create a healthy economic environment. Despite the fact that Karamanlis's programme did not manage to solve Greece's economic problems, he succeeded in gaining Greek accession to the E.E.C. in 1980 (Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002: 175). After 1974, a new period began in Greece that became known as post-authoritarian or, in Greek, μεταπολίτευση (*metapolitevsi*) (Close 2005: 18-23). The decline of the dictatorship and the arrival of Karamanlis, the first post-authoritarian prime minister, brought new hope and faith in democracy among the majority of Greek citizens. The democratization process resulted in the gradual control of political power by the parliament, the absence of any political influence from the army, and the abolition of the monarchy after a referendum. Democratic citizenship, political freedom, a renegotiation of the relationship between church and state, a new educational system, independent universities, and independent local government were among the most important post-authoritarian policies.

In 1981 the socialistic policies of PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialistic Party) under the government of Andreas Papandreou ameliorated the lives of many women and absorbed a large number of leftists who had been politically marginal until this period. While mass consumption began during the 1970s, it was not until the beginning of the 80s that it rose considerably. Despite the controversial mixed socialistic and liberal economic policies of PASOK, middle class incomes rose. Moreover, PASOK had come into power with the slogan "Greece belongs to the Greeks" as an answer to Karamanlis' "Greece belongs to the West" (Clogg 1992: 179), and thus it differentiated its position from European capitalism.

With time, the large political gap between Left and Right diminished while the center of power remained with two parties. The political debates during the post-authoritarian period (1974-1989) continued to be structured as left-wing and right-wing arguments, especially in relation to the economy. However, both sides agreed that a transfer of power from the State to the other constitutional bodies should take place. These changes were possible in the last year of *μεταπολίτευση* (post authoritarianism) in 1989 that resulted in the free establishment and distribution of a private press and private television channels, along with the transfer of power to the Greek parliament, the Greek justice system, local government and independent state and E.E.C. institutions (Close 2005: 22). In the marketplace, the end of *μεταπολίτευση* resulted in a new form of neoliberalism under the auspices of the E.E.C. and later the E.U. Most members of the Greek parliament agreed upon liberalization of the market forces without the patronage relationships between State and market agents that had been evident in former times. In addition, the decline of socialism brought insecurity to left-wing members of Parliament and weakened their resistance. The neoliberal policies of the 1990s finalized the economic structures of the country and, despite the fact they had a large negative impact on middle and lower-class Greeks, stabilized inflation. That success met the requirements for E.U. membership and Greece was admitted to the Eurozone on 19 June 2000 (Close 2005: 20). According to Clogg, "an unspoken assumption underlying the enthusiasm of many Greeks for Europe was that membership would somehow place the seal of the legitimation on their country's somewhat uncertain European identity" (1992: 177). While Greece is geographically part of Europe, its identity has been highly debated as various authors have demonstrated (Skopetea 1992, Herzfeld 1987). As Nikos Dimou notes, "the roots of Greek unhappiness are two national inferiority complexes. One temporal—in the face of the ancestors, and one spatial—in the face of 'Europeans'. Maybe unjustifiable, but all the same real, complexes" (Dimou 1976: 34 quoted in Petridou 2001: 40).

The fact that both middle-class incomes and consumption rose in the 1980s does not explain people's preference for whisky, imported drinks and western consumer goods in general. The expression μέγγλα (*megla* meaning Made in England), is associated with the mentality of consuming "imported" goods. In particular, this refers to a product that is of high quality and *megla* effectively means "Made in England". In popular conceptualizations, when something is made in England it is viewed as having high standards and usually also as expensive. However, as the example of whisky will demonstrate, the place of production can be misinterpreted and a product of Scottish origin can be conceptualized as "American" or even "Greek".

Moreover, the belief that any "foreign" commodity is much better than a Greek one is prevalent among many Athenians. More particularly, middle and higher-class Athenians prefer to spend money on imported products, which are available in most neighbourhoods of Athens. This mentality is related to a long history of imported products in Greece and can be traced back to the first "high class" import shops in Athens such as the famous department store 'Sidney Noel' in the 1920s.

The mania for imported "foreign" commodities was so apparent in the 1980s that the Greek government decided to start a campaign against the consumption of imported commodities in order to support the consumption of Greek products. In 1984 the Association for the Promotion of Greek Products along with the Ministry of Economics started a campaign with the slogan "ο επιμένων ελλη-νικά" (*o epimenon elli-nika*) meaning "He who insists in a Greek way". The government's realization

that Greeks were living in a consumer society which would gradually have to follow E.E.C. guidelines on free trade along with the increased consumption of imported products raised fears about the future of Greek products. In the advertisements the word *elli-nika* was strategically spelled in that way, meaning not only "Greek" but also "winner". The television advertisement presented a famous actor claiming that he only wore and consumed Greek products (see Figure 1.1). At the end of the advertisement he would ask, "Who am I? Am I imported?" (Μα ποιός είμαι, εισαγώμενος είμαι;). His role was intended as a representation of the new low/middle class Athenians, but the advertisement's message was much wider and nationally encompassing. The overall conclusion was that the consumer had to insist on consuming Greek products, which would result in the "victory" of the underdeveloped Greek economy. The advertisements, presented in all media, pointed out the preference of Greeks for foreign goods and their ξενομανία (*xenomania*), a word which expresses the Greek practice of "adopting foreign products, ideas and manners and attributing to them superior value" (Petridou 2001: 43). This mentality is evident in the lifestyle of many Greeks who prefer to identify with imported products, international cuisine, ethnic music or American clothes. Therefore, the notion of the "West" is bound up with certain consumption patterns that have emerged over the last decades and the "West" is a concept that carries diverse meanings and modes of representing one's identity. The concept of "being modern" is almost synonymous with the "West" and often carries with it certain national concepts that are expressed through the localization of products in popular culture or media (as it will be demonstrated).

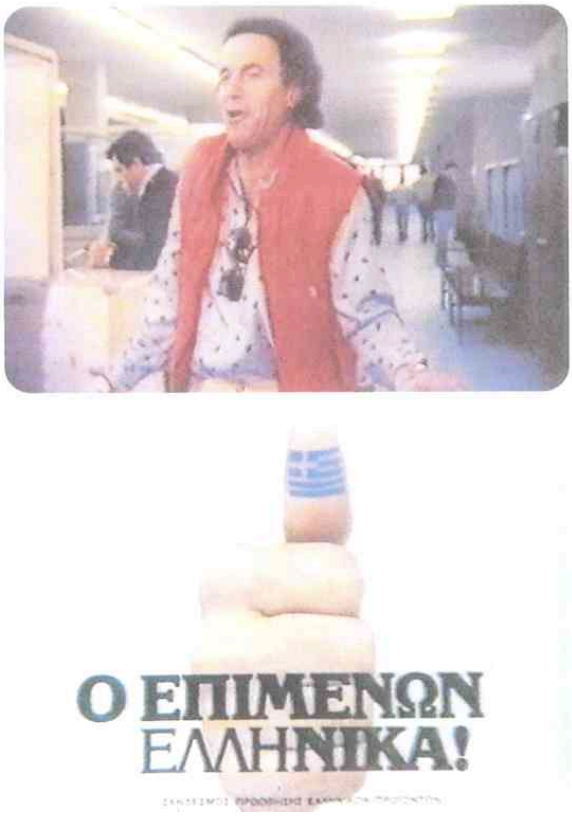


**Figure 1.1** "The one who insists on Greek" campaign (1984).

In general the fascination with globalized commodities and products that might be conceptualized as "Western" or "European" can also be understood under the theory of "*disemia*" developed by Herzfeld. According to Herzfeld, Greek identity is based on two representations, the Hellenic and the Romaic (1989). The Hellenic identity has been projected towards the world situated outside Greece since the creation of the nation state and is related to the ancient Greek heritage. The Romaic is the internal aspect of Greek culture and it is associated with the history of Byzantium, Greek-speaking orthodoxy as part of the Ottoman empire and Orthodoxy in general. It is not accidental that the opposition of "west" and "east" has been central to Greek modernity. The ambivalence of Greek identity and the paradox "of being the ancestor of Europe" and at the same time "situated at its margins" (1989: 1-27), as Herzfeld has pointed out, has been a continuing argument in various discourses in Greece. However, the effort to modernize Greece has been based solely on representations of "westernization" and "Europeanization", processes that are expected to develop the country economically and increase the standard and the quality of living. From the beginning of the Greek enlightenment the "West" has been closely associated with the civilized and the "modern" and the "East" with backwardness (Skopetea 1992). These conceptualizations of modernity in contemporary Greece should be understood in relation to Europe and the West. Greece has been placed at the periphery of the modernizing processes taking place in Europe including the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the Reformation, and as a result did not become modernized and progressive. As a result, modern Greek civil society was seen as in need of Europeanization, because Europeanization is taken as synonymous with modernization and progress (Kontogiorgis 2006: 71). Generally speaking the modern nation state was seen as in need of modernity to be a State and in need of tradition to be a nation, a fundamental paradox of modernity. These are views that Greeks share widely in contemporary Greece.

Europeanization has been a long process from the beginning of the century, as is evident in various spheres of social life such as literature and food. The famous cookbook by Tselementes Europeanized Greek gastronomy (Bakalaki 2000: 76), and Delmouzos stated in 1927 that

> Progress is to follow anything new in the European market, whether it suits us or not, whether our stomachs can digest it or not. Like this we get modernized; progress and modernization become one thing (…). as far as bringing from the West all the superior elements of its civilization even if we cannot assimilate them. (Alexandros Delmouzos 1927: 54 quoted in in Tziovas 2006: 56)

As Tziovas demonstrates, it was in the period between the two world wars that the terms "modern" and "modernization" were adopted into Greek discourse and came to express a wider debate in Greek society about the dichotomies of Greek and European, foreign and familiar, or old and new (2006: 20-25). This debate was to further influence the well-known literary generation of the 1930s who imagined itself as the carrier of national visions and the gatekeepers of the modern Greek language, the demotic language (δημοτικισμός - *dimotikismos*).

In contemporary Greece, European images of modernity continue to carry powerful associations. On Lesbos island, for example, the "French" restaurant was characterized as a successful "Western-style" one and quickly became a successful point of socialization for middle and higher-class islanders (Bakalaki 2000: 76). In general the consumption of what is considered "Western" has been a form of

symbolic capital for the elites (Bakalaki 2000: 76) and has resulted in the popularization of "Western" things among most social strata. This intensification of value formation in relation to imagined "Western" products has characterized the post-authoritarian period and the last two decades. More importantly, these processes of consumption should be placed in the general context of EU integration which is related to political, economic and consumerist agendas as well as market imperatives (Yiakoumaki 2006: 415).

All of these subjects that I have briefly discussed here will re-emerge in later parts of the book and will be continuously analyzed. The above topics—the associations of the "West" with the "modern", advertising, the media and the political and economic situation—and their relationships to the consumption of alcoholic drinks will be central throughout most chapters. It will become clear that these larger processes that I have mentioned have been influencing the social life within the settings of Athens and Skyros and have also affected the ways in which whisky, imported drinks and consumption goods in general are conceived and consumed.

## *Drinking alcohol in Greek ethnography*

While alcoholic beverages are not necessary for human survival as food is, they constitute one of the most culturally significant and social objects in the lives of humans. In many ways they are the glue of society. As such the ideas that relate to their consumption and the choices that people make express larger issues at stake. For example, Christianity embraces wine as a holy ingredient that transforms into the blood of Christ, and Scottish mythology associates whisky ("usquebaugh" in Gaelic or "aqua vitae" in Latin) with the prolongation of life, a sort of panacea.

One of the first books in anthropology that focuses on alcohol consumption from a socially constructive perspective is Douglas's *Constructive Drinking* (1987). In that edited work some authors stress that alcohol might construct the world as it is (Gusfield 1987), while others focus on the ways in which drinks create an ideal world (Bott 1987). In particular, Gusfield stresses that a change in drink also represents a shift in time and space. In Gusfield's analysis coffee, for example, is usually related to a working environment while whisky is part of leisure.

The view of alcohol drinking as constitutive of commensality has influenced most of the ethnographers of modern Greece (Cowan 1990, Damer 1988, Herzfeld 1986, Gefou-Madianou 1992, Papataxiarchis 1991). As Cowan has stated, "a centrally important context within contemporary Greek society for expressions of personhood, both as ideally conceived and as practically negotiated, is that of commensality, the sociable sharing of food and drink" (1990: 182). More importantly, the analysis of the drinking of alcohol found in the ethnographies of Greece is rarely outside of the context of commensality (except Abatzi 2004, Papagaroufali 1992, Papataxiarchis 1989), to the extent that Damer claims after his research in Sfakia that "as elsewhere in Greece, alcohol is never drunk without food" (1989: 298). Even if that is not true, it seems that a part of the anthropology of Greece would like to imagine Greeks as "traditional" beings who exchange Greek-produced food and drinks only commensally. While a general criticism of folklore studies has questioned the role of that discipline in the essentialization of national tradition (Herzfeld 1986), it is worth stating that the role of anthropology in such processes of objectification has been neglected. For example, the major focus on Greek alcoholic products—despite the fact that people make themselves through various imported beverages—has produced

rather contradictory understandings of contemporary Greece. In the literature, most of the drinks in focus are ouzo, raki and wine. New modes of consumption, such as drinking without eating, are rarely mentioned and alcohol is rarely approached in relation to excess or excessive behavior despite the fact that in certain contexts this connection is evident (Abatzi 2004).

Another problem of various approaches in Greece in relation to alcohol is the clear separation of the drinking gift or κέρασμα (*kerasma*) and the commodity or εμπορεύσιμο αγαθό (*emporefsimo agatho*). Usually local, non-imported beverages are portrayed as drinking gifts (Damer 1988, Herzfeld 1986, Gefou-Madianou 1992, Papataxiarchis 1991) versus the imported beverages/commodities. This division has further influenced two more ethnographic dichotomies, namely small community/city, local beverages/imported beverages, and inalienable/alienable relationships.

The focus of many anthropologists of Greece has been on gender and alcohol in a socially constructive commensal perspective (Gefou-Madianou 1992, Papataxiarchis 1991, Papagaroufali 1990).[15] Papataxiarchis and Gefou-Madianou have stressed the point that drinking as a social practice in Greece is a space of gender negotiation. In particular Gefou-Madianou has illustrated how the consumption of sweet wine and retsina unites or excludes men and women. According to her account, "wine creates boundaries between genders, separating them from one another, and defines the nexus between the mundane and spiritual worlds. It also indicates the unification of the genders" (1992: 124). The sphere of retsina reproduces masculine styles by excluding women from its production and consumption. As a result, women negotiate their own position with the production of sweet red wine and the offering of it to men. It follows that red wine transforms female sexuality to fertility and reproduces the household and the community.

Papataxiarchis has pointed out the importance of drinking gifts or treats in contemporary Greece (1992). In his study of the coffeehouse he examines *raki* as a "real gift" that might not include the Maussian obligation to return it. Κέρασμα (*kerasma*) does not follow the calculations of daily life and is a way to express the "real self". This is the reason that the men of the *kafenion* view *kerasma* as a right, not as an obligation.[16] These drinking practices take place among men and create a certain emotional atmosphere that corresponds to Turner's "communitas". This kind of "real gift" is an opportunity to share the same gender identity. Moreover the real "friends of the heart" are those who will enter into κέφι (*kefi*), an emotional state of freedom that suggests "an ideal mood of joy and relaxation achieved when the worries and concerns of this world are banished" (1992: 170-171). In this context *raki* is a major ingredient that initiates this transformation of sentiment and reproduces masculinities.

Cowan is more interested in the reproduction of gender identity through dancing, but states that "gender difference is codified through the foods and drinks that appear in these everyday exchanges. The association of men with pungent and salty substances and women with sweet substances is pervasive" (1990: 183). These drinks are referred to as "sharp, strong, red wine" or ouzo for men. Ouzo in particular is

[15] The subject of alcohol in Greece has been examined in the past from a more medical perspective by various anthropologists such as Allan (1985) and Blum and Blum (1964).

[16] Καφενείο (*kafenio*) is a type of coffeehouse where alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages are served. It has been an institution in most parts of Greece, a classic place of male socialization where political and other discussions take place and men play cards or '*tavli*' and drink alcohol. Nowadays a *kafenio* can at the same time be a mini-market, a tavern, telephone center, an Internet café or any other kind of business, depending on the investment of the owner. Rodon on Skyros is a bar that during the winter operates much like a *kafenio*.

central to an understanding of male conviviality and is opposed to the "womanly drink", the category of sweet brandies or sweet wine. Men drink ouzo with salty foods while sweet liqueurs are offered by women to women accompanied by sweets.

In a recent ethnography Sutton has investigated how food and commensality are intertwined with memory (2001). More specifically Sutton argues that the stories of Kalymnian islanders in relation to past, present and future events construct this relationship. The act of eating and drinking are understood as "embodied practices" that through "synesthesia" (the intersection of sensory experiences) become meaningful entities that express social, local and national identities, especially among migrants living abroad. Particularly interesting is the fact that the author contrasts the foreign exotic foods as a result of globalization to local products and concludes that they are not integrated or associated with memory in the same way. Interestingly, though, Sutton does not sufficiently analyze the imported exotic commodities or their disconnection from memory. In this way the reader is left with a presupposed socio-cultural transformation that assumes the alienation of the consumer by "foreign" commodities and the disassociation of memory from imported goods.

One of the few studies on imported beverages has been conducted by Papagaroufali. According to Papagaroufali, drinking practices can be a medium for gender redefinition (1992). Feminist women use drinking as "a violation, or resistance, or reversal, or transformation of the 'Establishment' and the legitimation of these women's actual and dreamed of interest: to become culturally visible the way they 'wished'" (1992: 66). In this way, imported alcohol drinking becomes an arena for a negotiation of gender identity. The space of the bar or the associations of women develop into spaces where drinking styles are expressed in various forms in order to challenge dominant views of womanhood.

Stewart has also conducted a short research project in relation to the position of imported beverages, and more specifically whisky, in Greece (1989: 77-104). In his analysis whisky should be understood in terms of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, as in his view the beverage is no longer used by the higher classes, while in the past it was considered a prestigious good. Following Bourdieu, he argues that the general tendency of social groups with different access to economic resources, wealth and generally power is to distinguish themselves by presenting different styles in everyday action and thought. However, these trends stand in relation to each other because each social group makes sense of its own identity in opposition to the others. According to Stewart, the relationship between these trends implies a historical dynamic, "for if one group's style changes then other groups are likely to adjust their style to account for that change" (1989: 78). The dynamic can be understood in Gramsci's terms, because hegemony implies consent with the powerful in the modern capitalistic world. This consent, however, does not guarantee the distinctiveness of the elite. Once a trend is appropriated by the majority, then the dominant groups embrace a new one in order to be differentiated. However, as the analysis of Scotch whisky consumption on Skyros and Athens demonstrates, people have a much more subtle and creative dynamic of appropriation than mere consent, as it will be demonstrated. In addition, Scotch whisky (single malt) still stands as a positional good for high class Athenians.

Abatzi in her PhD thesis has examined the commoditization of sexuality in the bars of Athens that are known as "bars with women" (2004). By establishing a role as a "woman who provides company in exchange for alcoholic drinks" in a specific bar, she is able to describe thickly the ways in which commoditization is produced in such contexts. Abatzi describes a highly commoditized culture of "drinking gifts" of imported beverages to the women who work in the bar. The "company" of women is

exchanged for "drinking gifts" that might represent excessive spending. The customers, who are usually whisky drinkers, negotiate their masculinity in the process of seduction and by buying drinks for them they try to influence the women working in the bar.

Only recently have scholars in Greece begun to research how consumption is entangled with social identities and materiality in the context of recent socioeconomic transformations (Bakalaki 2000: 67-90, Kotsoni 2003, Petridou 2001, Yalouri 2001: 101-135, Yiakoumaki 2006: 415-445). Yiakoumaki, for example, has examined how the projections of "ethnic", "rural" and "local" foods operate as a medium for negotiating the monocultural aspects of national Greek identity. The commoditization of locality within the project of a multi-cultural and diverse Europe and the political, economic and consumerist agendas of the E.U. are intertwined with these transformations.

Petridou has examined the commoditization of dairy food products and their association with the construction of Greek identity (2001). By following the commodity chain of these products she traces the production of meanings in various locations: the marketing administration, the retail sector and the spaces of consumption. In this way she outlines the agency of these products and their role in the reproduction of social relationships in the commodity chain.

A further contribution in material culture studies in Greece comes from Yalouri, who approaches the site of the Acropolis as major arena of global and local claims of heritage, identity and history. This contested monument emerges as a site of agency that informs the ways Greeks view their national identity. In Yalouri's words, her study "investigates the way Greeks and the Acropolis are engaged in a dialectic process of objectification, forming, transforming or reproducing each other" (2001: 17). Furthermore the inalienability of the Acropolis does not necessary mean that is not capitalized or consumed massively. One evident form of its commodification is in the sphere of marketing where global commodities such as Coca Cola try to appropriate the symbol and dress it with "civilization" and "harmony".

## To "follow the thing"

### *The scope of following things and commodities*

Research by "following the thing" refers to a wide spectrum of anthropological inquiry (Marcus 1998). According to Marcus, "this mode of constructing the multi-sited space of research involves tracing the circulation through different contexts of a manifestly material object of study, such as commodities, gifts, money, works of art and intellectual property" (Marcus 1998: 91). This chiefly requires the involvement of the anthropologist in a number of different contexts and spaces. The anthropologist follows the object or the commodity in motion through its various trajectories, phases or paths and in this way is able to understand the various aspects of the career of the thing. As Kopytoff (1986) has argued, things have cultural biographies. As he states,

> In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What

> had been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life', and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (Kopytoff 1986: 66)

Studies range from research in laboratories to cyber-space, and might involve investigation of commodity chains, artifacts, buildings or any other kind of object. One particular reason that an anthropologist might become involved in such a project is the expectation that objects are able to link a number of different spaces, communities or periods of time. In addition, such methodology emphasizes the problems of locally bounded ethnographies in a period where processes such as globalization, a global market and imagined communities have become increasingly significant. This kind of methodology can therefore be a productive tool for approaching localization.

This methodology is a reaction to a major question in recent anthropology about the ability of the anthropologist to study the complex movement of people and things across the globe within the context of globalization processes. The theoretical and methodological challenges that such research poses can be overcome by "following objects" as Marcus has suggested (1998). This suggestion is inspired by earlier thinkers who have worked in this manner, such as Mintz (1985), and who have built upon world system theory (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989). The capitalistic system has expanded and become highly complex and therefore more difficult to grasp. Most market processes in this context are not bounded to one locale but to various interconnected places and therefore the need to pursue multi-sited research is imperative. It follows that identity formation is constructed by multiple agents and in multiple contexts and places (Marcus 1998: 52). Ethnography is purposefully multi-sited so as to be able to illustrate more complex connections and multiplicities. "Following the thing" is part of a strategic construction of multi-sited fieldwork that brings the commodity into focus and illustrates the processes of capitalism.

Such methodologies are useful because, as Foster has argued, these "tracking exercises" aim to make visible the "sometimes obscure and often unanticipated networks through which everyday objects of consumption move, thereby mapping the linkages between people and places that define the social organization of globalization" (2008: 16). It is in such a context that an understanding of a whisky network might be useful. Furthermore, a multi-sited research on whisky in Greece is meaningful especially because it tries to overcome a strictly bounded form of ethnography. Petridou, for example, has demonstrated by following dairy products in various sites how these commodities "constitute mechanisms of cultural negotiation and change" (2001: 12). More specifically, by investigating the case of feta within the context of the commoditizing mechanisms of the E.U., she furnishes a clear example of food nationalization. Moreover her extended research into the production of marketing illustrates how the competition between Greek and foreign companies has produced a discourse about the dairy industry as an agent of progress and modernization.

Furthermore, my study includes what Foster has called "extended apt illustration", which is the investigation of a single commodity to trace cultural, economic and political aspects of globalization (2008: xiv). These aspects might include the consumption of branded commodities, the history of transnational capitalistic corporations and the formation of consumer citizenship, but they are not limited to

these. The overall aim is to describe "in a combination of historical, ethnographic and journalistic terms a particular instance of complex connectivity, of the actually existing and variously imagined linkages among people and things unevenly distributed across large swatches of space and time" (Foster 2008: xiv). Similarly, this study investigates the various linkages of whisky in Greece in time and in space. While spaces in this type of research might be distant, the two field locations that I have chosen, Skyros and Athens, are relatively close.

Moreover, it is worth stating that in recent years "the anthropological study of Greece's highly urbanized contemporary society is often set either in cities and large towns or is comparative and multi-sited" (Karakasidou & Tsibiridou 2006: 219). In late modern Greece the modernization processes, Europeanization and the neoliberalism of the market have pushed anthropologists who study Greece to take a critical stance and challenge dominant views of fieldwork. Probably another major factor has been the long line of research projects mainly on small communities on islands and villages that has produced high quality ethnographies but with limited horizons.

Finally, a "follow the whisky" methodology pinpoints the influence of the contemporary economy in creating possibilities of identity formation and style. By focusing on the production of the value of the commodity in various contexts, my study aims to shed light on the multiplicity of meanings produced by the various agents and the emerging relatedness of the consumers who make themselves through the beverage.

## *Research and fieldwork*

The material for the study was collected from December 2004 to September 2007. The information was gathered on Skyros and Athens from different kinds of sources such as libraries, import companies, nightclubs and bars. Several methods were used for gaining data, depending on the occasion. My central interest was to discover under what conditions whisky and other imported alcoholic beverages were consumed, how they were established, and what kind of perspectives people had regarding the drinks. However, I could not neglect the history of the alcohol industry in Greece and the role of advertising in localizing the drink. I therefore decided to gather as much material as I could on these subjects. A good reason for focusing on whisky and alcohol in Greece has been the centrality of drinking in people's lives. As one might expect, alcohol occupies a central position in many communities throughout the world, as numerous studies have demonstrated. Even more importantly, the focus on whisky has been legitimated by the increasing consumption in Greece and the localized character of the drink.

My choice of sites was based on numerous factors. The conscious choice to situate this ethnography in two fields by "following the thing" (Marcus 1998) and to illustrate some of the distinct trajectories of Scotch whisky (Appadurai 1986: 5) goes against the long tradition of a strictly bounded form of ethnography, which has been carried out in Greece by a line of anthropologists. Cowan has correctly commented on this issue by suggesting that anthropologists working in Greece have to re-examine the categories of "local" and "indigenous", otherwise they run the danger of objectifying them (1992: 129: 130). I would further suggest that the re-examination

has to include the categories of "urban" and "rural", which have also been central in the anthropological enterprise and have therefore obscured other power relations.

In ethnographic writing, the political and the poetical are inseparable—and social science is not objective or above the historical processes that influence human existence (Clifford & Marcus 1986: 2). Within this context "culture is composed of seriously contested codes and representations" and ethnographic writing must be critical and ethical in order to highlight the "constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts" (Clifford & Marcus 1986: 2).

My own position as a Greek Athenian and half Skyrian (from my mother's side) influenced my research and made things easier on several occasions. However, conducting research in a familiar place does not secure the position of the anthropologist. There is always the possibility that "interiority does not necessarily follow inclusion" (Panourgia 1995: 10). Issues of gender and class can always arise. In my position, for example, the fact that I am a man was extremely important in being accepted in the coffeehouse and in the bar and being excluded from several aspects of the female realm.

In addition my relationship with Skyrians was developed over many summers of my life since my childhood, and my identity as half Skyrian influenced my research and had a positive effect in collecting information and negotiating my relationships as an anthropologist. Among other things, I operated as a semi-local informant for other colleagues (anthropologists) who were trying to write an ethnography of Skyros island. A division therefore between "local" and "anthropological" understandings of knowledge became highly intriguing during my fieldwork. As Agelopoulos has argued, "distinctions between ethnographers, natives, native ethnographers and ethnographic natives" are never clear-cut and are highly fluid (2003: 249-263).

Generally speaking, both of my research fields have been changing. The island of Skyros is small and close to Athens. In terms of tourism, it began developing on a small scale over the last twenty years. Inhabitants have been producing and drinking large amounts of wine for a long time. However, several groups of people have begun to consume other alcoholic beverages. Whisky in particular is consumed in coffeehouses, households and nightclubs. It is notable that some groups do not "like" other spirits so much and therefore they do not consume any spirits other than whisky.

Similarly in Athens there are networks that consume mainly whisky, entertain themselves in clubs where whisky is the central drink, and claim popular styles. My own acquaintances and my experiences as an Athenian were invaluable in approaching the consumers of whisky and discussing (as well as participating in) various aspects of social life. The main network that I followed on outings was based on friends from school in Kypseli, the centre of Athens. However, I conducted interviews and participated in outings with various other groups and persons.

During my fieldwork I stayed in Athens for 6 months from January to June 2006. The time spent on Skyros was from December 2004 to April 2005, from July 2005 to December 2005 and the summer months (June to September) of 2006 and 2007. During that time I stayed in the house of my aunt Emmanuelle in the "old town" of the village. Skyros has always been my summer destination and therefore it was not hard to re-establish my relationships with people who live on the island. However, it was somewhat difficult to explain to my interlocutors what exactly I was doing. I had endless discussions about whether I was a psychologist or a folklorist, and people did not seem to understand the term "anthropologist" very well. Therefore, I decided to adopt the term sociologist, which might have become familiar in recent years through discussions on television. As a sociologist I was legitimately interested in a number of

topics such as weddings, gender relationships, food and drinking habits, tastes, professional life and local history. Thus, in daily discussions these themes were brought in without much resistance or skepticism.

Most material was collected through participant observation. I rarely spent time at home unless I had people visiting. Consequently I spent many hours in the village market where I could have many different discussions with people in the coffeehouse, in bars, restaurants, and in the alcohol shop (*cava*), and in many instances I was invited to dinner parties that came to be the most rewarding and enjoyable experiences. As a result, the period of my fieldwork was very pleasant—in opposition to the stereotypical idea of the suffering anthropologist.

In terms of information, I gathered a number of different notes, interviews, photographs, films, local books and newspapers. As I already noted, the fact that my mother is native to the island played a vital role in my own relationship the inhabitants of Skyros. I was able to meet informants through my family network and especially through my mother's brother, who was living on the island while I was conducting my fieldwork.

While on Skyros, I was lucky enough to be adopted by a family who owned a tavern, *Kokalenia*. Through them I was able to extend my network and meet many more inhabitants of Skyros who would go there to eat and drink. In addition, this was apparently one of the most popular places for tourists, so I also had the opportunity to meet visitors from Holland, Germany, France and England who went to Skyros regularly.

Besides gaining information from interlocutors, I was able to gather a lot of material from the Skyrian Association in Athens. The Association has published a monthly newspaper from 1976, which I came to research in depth. Furthermore, the Association owns a variety of books and papers about Skyros. All these sources have been invaluable in the anthropological enterprise. A particular reason for researching this material was the expectation that I would find the voices of people expressing their views on modernity, tourism and the arrival of new consumer values. In this way I came across many perspectives that I took into account. Through the Association I was also able to extend my network of Skyrian immigrants in Athens.

In the capital of Greece I was faced with several methodological problems. Despite the fact that I grew up in Athens, I do not claim to have walked all its streets. Athenians know better than anyone else how many neighborhoods and thresholds the city has. The diversity of a city of more than four million people is challenging enough for any kind of social research. Therefore I used a rather unusual way of conducting fieldwork. I tried to discuss and interview as many people as possible from different social and economic backgrounds. These included club owners, consumers of different ages, publishers, economists, historians, importers of alcohol and local Athenians. I also received a great deal of information from my own friends and former schoolmates. During these encounters I took notes and sometimes I used an mp3 recorder. The recorder was used when there was a time limit for an interview and therefore it had to be as brief as possible.

The most difficult information to access was in relation to the import industry. After considerable effort I was given the opportunity to interview a few people. However, the most important material was collected from economic reports and from articles in newspapers, journals and magazines. A possible explanation for the relatively uncooperative attitude I encountered is the strong competition between the multinational import companies. In that sense people were always careful about the kind of information they provided. Despite several obstacles I managed to come into

contact with some importers and multinationals through the Greek industrial association related to alcohol.

I obtained advertisements from television, magazines and newspapers from the 1970s onward in order to reconstruct the strategies of the import industry and understand the ways in which whisky was projected and promoted. *Kathimerini*, *To Vima*, *Eleftheorypia*, and *Eleftheros Typos* are the ones that I read and used the most. Much of my research took place in the archive of the Institute of Marketing and Communication. There, I managed to collect a number of advertisements from magazines such as *ikonomikos tahidromos*, *Status*, *Playboy*, *Athinorama*, *Gyneka*, *Man*, *Car*, *Marketing Age*, *Marketing Week*, and many more. I was also able to find additional material in the National Historical and Literature Archive of Greece as well as in antique shops in Plaka, the old part of Athens under the Acropolis.

During fieldwork I also gathered a number of Greek films from the 1960s, the golden age of Greek cinema. After happening to see some films during my fieldwork, I became increasingly aware that whisky was the main drink of consumption and was projected as a symbol of modernity, class distinction and western elitist habits.

The fact that most of this study was written in Leiden helped me to distance myself from the fields of research and think more reflexively about my fieldwork. I found this experience extremely rewarding as my surrounding friends and colleagues were unaware of most of the things I was describing to them. My work and life in Holland therefore shaped my ideas about this book.

Finally this study has been enriched by the insights of a critical anthropology that intends to share "coevaleness" instead of denying it and producing an "allochronic" discourse (Fabian 1983). For that reason the material is presented in historical form but several ethnographic parts employ the "ethnographic present". This usage is based on the realization that my own research is rooted in the present and my own presence as an ethnographer is contextual and time-specific, a kind of "temporal rootedness" (Pina-Cabral 2000: 341-348). This strategy does not aim at de-temporalization; rather, the researcher recognizes that it is a way of writing ethnography in the present tense while being conscious of changing sociocultural conditions. As Pina Cabral states, "we do not presume that the sociocultural contexts we study are stopped in time. In fact, we have learnt that there is no means of achieving anything like synchronicity in ethnographic reporting, as sociocultural life is multi-layered" (2000: 343).

## Argument and description of the parts of the study

The study is positioned within the anthropology of material culture and globalization. It argues that in this era of increased commodity flows, commodities might be localized in various contexts as far as the anthropologist is able to trace their distinct trajectories. It follows that this process of "recycling" is related to specific sociocultural circumstances and that certain commodities can be transformed into signs of social differentiation at multiple levels. The study argues that Scotch whisky can become a means of differentiation in various contexts: in mediascapes, in popular culture and entertainment in an urban landscape (Athens) and among middle-aged laborers on an island (Skyros). The example of whisky constitutes a source of information in relation to themes of modernity and tradition on various levels, as well as a sign that helped the author to think about issues of consumption and culture.

The total material that was gathered relates to a variety of different spheres. All these spheres are linked in various ways. The strategies of the industry and its history are directly linked to changes in the consumption of alcohol. Furthermore, a change of perception is also expressed in the Greek cinema of the 1960s, which marks the beginning of the drink's popularity. However, whisky became widely consumed and distributed only after 1974. This was the decade of the whisky boom, when the drink was promoted in various ways and came to be found in alcohol shops, in bars, nightclubs and households both on Skyros and in Athens.

Therefore, this study examines how the cultural industry (including commercial Greek cinema and marketing), the beverage importing industry, the consumers in Athens, and the consumers on Skyros all appropriate whisky. I pay attention to the projections of modernity and style evident in film and advertising and I argue that these processes of style/value formation are a necessary requirement in the embedding of the beverage in a network of localized social relationships. By developing and examining the key terms of the study, I follow whisky through three distinct trajectories, which relate accordingly to the cultural industry, Athens and Skyros.

The study is divided into two main parts, which correspond to the macro and micro processes of value formation. The first context is related to the development of multinational capitalism in late modern Greece and the shift from small importers to large corporations that compete to establish their own brands in the Greek market. This change is related to a gradual displacement of ouzo, retsina and brandy over several decades and an increase and final localization of whisky. I have chosen to begin with this outline, which makes clear the politics of importing in the political economy and highlights their relationship to the emergence of the consumer society after the dictatorship in Greece.

In addition, the first section examines the projections of whisky in the cultural industry from the 1960s onwards. The drink was first presented significantly in the popular Greek cinema of the 1960s and became a vehicle for dreaming about modernity, especially among those who wanted to claim a middle-class style. The scenarios of consumption in Greek cinema are examined in order to demonstrate the multiple and sometimes conflicting values relating to the beverage. Whisky becomes a starting point for future imaginations of modernity and as such also becomes a tool for social differentiation. The projections of whisky in advertising continued massively after the beginning of the 1970s when popular Greek cinema declined and gradually disappeared. In advertising, though, the commodity follows another aesthetic of modernity that has been gradually influenced by multinational capitalism as well as by culture.

The second part of the book deals with the position of whisky in the everyday life (De Certeau 1984) of people in the centre of Athens and on Skyros, mainly within the sphere of entertainment and leisure. In the chapter dealing with the trajectory of Scotch in Athens, I demonstrate how people's sense of themselves in relation to contemporary Greek popular entertainment affects their cultural identity, their modernness or traditionality, and therefore their style that is habituated by the movement of commodities. This part also deals with interrelated themes that emerge within the consumption of whisky, such as the development of popular culture, the emergence of music venues with live Greek popular music and bars, and the excessive character of the consumption of whisky.

On the other hand, in the chapter on Skyros I follow the trajectory of whisky in the space of the *kafenion*, where laborers make their own style by associating Scotch whisky with urbanness and modernness. Their use of Scotch is tactical as it opposes

the notions of shepherdhood expressed in the consumption of wine and *tsipouro*. By embracing Scotch as a symbol of Athens and popular culture, they try to negotiate their opposition to the matrilocal kinship obligations and the *soi*-based society of Skyros.

The selection of the two settings in Athens and Skyros aims to demonstrate the interrelation of specific networks with Scotch whisky and the association of social and gender styles with drinking alcohol. The drinking habits of both the Skyrians and the Athenians that I researched and the importance of alcohol in the lives of these people make whisky an ideal tool for investigating the issues of modernity and tradition, popular culture and style and, finally, consumption.

# 2. The imported spirits industry in Greece

It is well known that whisky has long been produced and consumed in the U.S.A, Scotland, England and Ireland. Even though whisky seems foreign to Greek tastes, in recent decades it has become part of the social fabric and, in certain contexts, localized. Interestingly enough, "whisky" in Greece usually refers to a broad category of Scotch.

Scotch whisky possibly first arrived in Greece with the British communities that moved into the country in order to play an active role in the political and economic life of the country after the Greek revolution in 1821. The relationship between the two countries has been on one hand a long romantic enterprise full of fictions and dreams, and on the other a story of political, economic and symbolic influence. Britain was instrumental in the creation of the modern Greek state, in large part due to their idealized notions of Greek culture and history. From the time of the creation of the Greek state, figures such as Alexandros Mavrokordatos actively supported British involvement in Greek affairs and the British have had the opportunity to influence, participate and promote their own interests in Greece.

After the creation of the nation state in Greece, British luxury goods became particularly prestigious and were considered much better than domestic ones.[17] The same mentality can be still found nowadays in the expression "αυτό είναι μέγγλα" (*afto ine megla*) which literally means "this is Made in England" in Athenian slang, the connotation being that the product referred to is of high quality. This view of a British modernity is also related to the concept of the West, which in many cases in Greece is tied to notions of high culture, style and progress.

In order to understand the trajectory of consumption patterns it will be necessary to describe the localization of whisky in terms of investment, trade and marketing. The success story of Scotch in Greece is different from that of Coca Cola (Foster 2008, Miller 2002). The Scotch-producing companies did not use the franchise system. On the contrary, Scotch whisky was and is still made only in Scotland and its production site is intertwined with the identity of the beverage. Moreover, even though Scotch has been a global commodity since the beginning of the twentieth century, its success was made possible by traders. Scotch whisky has been imported into Greece since the 1900s by small importing companies that gradually merged with multinational corporations in the post-Fordist era. This narrative of globalization is therefore intertwined with a form of flexible accumulation (Harvey 1989: 147).

As Harvey has suggested, globalization is characterized by an intensification of social and economic life, a sort of time and space compression (1989: 141). Within this context the shift to a post-Fordist regime of flexible accumulation is characterized

[17] Not only British commodities were considered prestigious. French, Italian and American commodities carried also a high-class style.

by the appearance of new sectors in the economy, increasing and new consumption patterns, new sectors of production, new markets and an intensification of information networks that aim to speed up the processes of consumption and production. In addition, in this era the flexibility of production, consumption and labor has been central in the establishment of a new form of capitalism. The speeding up of social and economic life has resulted in the expansion of large multinational corporations, especially since the 1970s. As will be demonstrated, Greece's beverage sector and the successful establishment of whisky can be interpreted in terms of the wide impact of flexible accumulation. The process of value formation of whisky from the side of the importers and the industry is intertwined with these economic and social shifts.

In what follows, I examine how importers and producers of whisky established the beverage in Greece, especially after the Second World War, and expanded the trade. This set of local relationships was a prerequisite of multinational capitalism and ensured that the process of value formation of whisky would be an ongoing enterprise in the commercial sense. This chapter examines the strategies used by both the importers and the producers of whisky in Greece to establish their position in the market.

## The industry in the twentieth century: the small importers

The primary focus of this section of the study is the history of the commercial localization of whisky and other imported alcoholic spirits in Greece. Specifically, it examines the social, economic and political conditions under which whisky was introduced and became widely available in Greece.

Several symbols of Britishness appeared in Greece after the revolution. The landmark hotel *Grande Bretagne*, for example, next to the Greek parliament in the centre of Athens, was founded in 1874 and became one of the city's most important buildings. *Grande Bretagne* became the central meeting place for those Greeks and foreigners who were shaping the political, economic and social life of the country. Industrialists, ship-owners, diplomats, government officials and journalists gathered daily in its reception rooms and restaurant while in the elegant apartments famous foreigners stayed and, in some cases, lived. The name of the hotel was carefully chosen and expressed the glory of the British Empire, a place where kings and queens could socialize and even sleep. English names expressed quality and style. *Café Splendid* was a coffeehouse in the centre of Athens where high-class Athenians would socialize (Papageorgiou 1985: 4). The British store *Sidney Noel* was one of the first department stores in Athens in the 1920s (Figure 2.1), where all kind of British products (including whisky) could be found (Papageorgiou 1985: 5).


**Figure 2.1** Advertisement for the British department store Sidney Noel in Athens in the 1920s. The text in the center reads "Sterling in quality and sterling in price - The most important English store in Greece" (Papageorgiou 1985: 5).

Despite the fact that whisky has long been a part of Greek social life, my focus in this part of the book is on the post-war era, and more specifically 1960 and onwards when such beverages were widely imported, promoted and massively consumed in Greece. In that time frame the commodity trade has undergone numerous

transformations, which continue up to the present day. Many small importing companies grew in size and many were acquired by multinational corporations. As a result, the distribution chain became more efficient but less profitable for small Greek importers and less competitive. Whisky nowadays can be found in supermarkets, neighborhood shops, bars, clubs and households. Most of the whisky consumed in Greece is Scottish in origin and some of the more popular brands include the well-known Johnnie Walker, Chivas Regal, Dimple, Famous Grouse and Cutty Sark.

In order to better understand how whisky and other imported drinks were established in Greece, this study examines the history of the industry in relation to economic and political processes. In terms of production and consumption, two distinct periods can be identified. The first spans the time from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the 1950s, while the other encompasses the development of the industry from the 1960s to the present. The primary characteristic of the first period was the production and consumption of brandy, ouzo and beer. Among these drinks, brandy, liqueurs and ouzo were projected as "traditional" and "Greek" because, according to their producers, they have been historically based on Greek ingredients such as grapes, Corinthian raisins and Chios mastic. Furthermore, their production has a long history and they are deeply embedded in Greek social and cultural life. Many of these beverages are still made today from recipes that have been passed on from generation to generation featuring special combinations of spices and aging techniques.

Ouzo was mainly produced and consumed by Greek-speaking populations living in Asia Minor and on the islands of Lesbos and Chios. Many family distilleries can still be found there, such as Ouzo 12 and Plomari. These distilleries date back many years despite the fact that nowadays they have evolved into commercial production units. Ouzo was also produced in Piraeus and in Athens but became even more popular and widely consumed after the arrival of the Greek speaking immigrants from Turkey in the 1920s who brought with them a variety of new tastes and foods that became incorporated into Greek life.

The production of brandy was based mainly in the Peloponnese and Athens and was associated with the local types of grapes that are grown in these areas. Furthermore, there was a continuous trade of brandies and liqueurs from Greek communities that were living in Alexandria, Asia Minor, Thessalonica, Volos and other cities on the Mediterranean. One of the first brandy companies was Metaxas, founded in 1888 by Spiros Metaxas. The brandy was made with grapes and spices and came in different ages. The drink became widely traded and consumed throughout Greece and abroad and in 1900 it was exported to the United States, which was the major destination for Greek emigrants.


**Figure 2.2** An advertisement for the Greek brandy *Kampa* from the beginning of the twentieth century (National Literature and Historical Archive of Greece).

On the other hand, the consumption of beer in Greece is associated with the arrival of King Othon of Wittelswach of Bavaria in 1833. Othon was followed by a number of bureaucrats, civil servants, entrepreneurs and troops when he first arrived in Greece. As one might expect, most of the newly arrived Bavarians were beer drinkers. One of them was Johan Ludwig Fix who set up a brewery in Athens, followed in 1864 by his son Charles and the foundation of the modern Fix brewery, which coincided with the appointment of King George Christian Wilhelm Glyxbourg. Since then beer has been widely produced and consumed in Greece and imported into Greece. An example of the social distinction conferred by the consumption of beer at that time is evident in the well known sketch by the Bavarian Hans Hanke in 1836, copying the original by L. Kollnberger (Clogg 1992: 52). The watercolor (Figure 2.3) depicts the *Ωραία Ελλάς* (*Orea Ellas*) café, which was for a long time the main centre of political discourse and, like all cafes, a place of male leisure. On the left of the picture there is a group of Greek men dressed in Western style, drinking beer like the Bavarian soldiers behind them. On the right the Greek men dressed in local kilts (φουστανέλα*: fustanela*) are drinking *raki* or *tsipouro*.

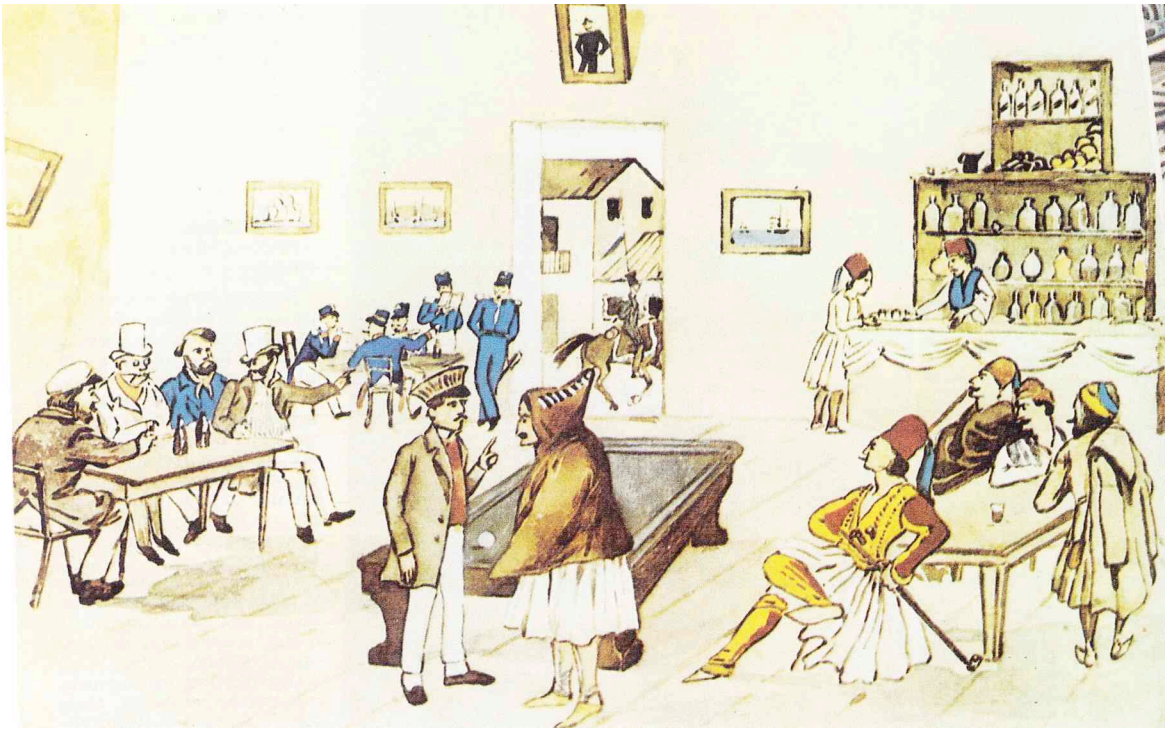

**Figure 2.3** Ωραία Ελλάς "*Orea Ellas*" coffeehouse (1836).

At the beginning of the twentieth century the negative performance of the Greek economy had a detrimental impact on commerce and trade (Kremidas 2000: 187). The government at the time was struggling to meet its public debt obligations, which had been incurred pursuant to the creation of the modern Greek state. As a result of these conditions the food and beverage industries came into crisis, much like the highly developed textile industry.

However, during the war period the food and alcohol industry experienced growth. One of the first import companies of that time was Καρακώστας και Γιαννάκος (Karakostas & Giannakos), which was founded in 1903 by Nikolaos Karakostas. The company started as a food and liquor store in the centre of Athens, situated at the corner of Athinas and Geraniou Streets. The shop imported a variety of wines and spirits, which became very popular among the western-oriented Athenians of the time. AMBYΞ (Amvix*)* is a similar company that was founded in the war period, specifically in 1917, by Albert Revah and two other partners. *Amvix* imported luxury food products and beverages and soon became one of the leading import companies in the sector. However, this was one of the most difficult periods for the imported beverages sector.

Turkish nationalism and the war of Asia Minor resulted in the retreat of Greek troops and Greek refugees from central and western Turkey. At the time the state had contracted with several companies for the provision of consumer goods for the army. Furthermore, the decline of international trade between 1914 and 1918 resulted in a sharp decline in imported commodities and a corresponding increase in domestic production. After 1922 one and a half million refugees fled to Greece. Several among them decided to invest in the liquor industry, while others sought to continue their family businesses in Greece.

The period between 1923 and 1939 was characterized by the development of many small industries, which was a result of the arrival of the large number of refuges from Asia Minor during the Greek–Turkish war. The economic crisis of 1929 did not

harm the Greek economy to the same extent as other countries, and this allowed industry to expand. Within this context the food and alcohol industry also developed, for similar demographic reasons (Riginos 2000: 204). It was also during this period that small quantities of whisky were first produced and consumed in Greece. The famous *Karoulias* importing company was established in 1940 and imported a variety of foods and drinks to Athens.


**Figure 2.4** The first whisky label produced in Greece by the Kalogiannis Brothers (Ouzo 12). The label dates from the inter-war period. (National Literature and Historical Archive of Greece).

During the Second World War the Germans imposed a harsh regime, appropriating all available food and alcohol sources and forcing the country to pay for all occupation costs. The result of this policy was a famine during the winter of 1941-1942, which caused the deaths of 100,000 people. Despite the fact that food was in short supply, the wealthy continued to have access to British, French and American luxury delicacies and specialty goods, including whisky (Clogg 1992: 127). In 1944, when the war was almost over, Winston Churchill and Josef Stalin made the informal "percentages agreement" which established British predominance in Greece and Russian predominance in Romania and Bulgaria (Clogg 1992: 138). Under these conditions the British forces played an important role in the repression of the insurgent communist forces and the establishment of a new national political framework.

After the war the British revived the economic life of the country by giving a loan of ten million pounds to the Greek government. However, a result of this was their active involvement in the political economy of the country. The U.S. government too, through the Truman doctrine, included Greece in their sphere of economic and

political influence. Due to the difficult years of the war in combination with the Greek civil war (1946-1949), the efforts of the United States to compete with the influence of the British coupled with the fear of communism made Greece a major recipient of aid through the Marshall plan. According to historians, "Between 1945 and 1950 Greece received U.S. $2.1 billion in all forms of aid, a sum greater than the total of all foreign loans contracted between 1821 and 1930" (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 172).

Under these conditions liberalism was promoted as the core economic system of the post-war period. Within this perspective, the state should not interfere in the market but rather should support and sustain the forces that enable supply and demand. Especially after 1954 this principle became central in the state's post-war policies (Hatziiosif 2000: 295).[18] Furthermore, the monetary reforms that took place during that time had a very positive effect on foreign investment. Through the effect of the Marshall plan and the promotion of further plans for economic support, the Americans became important agents in Greece to the extent that "few major military, economic or indeed, political decisions could be taken without American approval" (Clogg 1992: 146). That client relationship would dominate most of the second half of the twentieth century in Greece. Under these conditions of British and (even more) American patronage, trade between Greece and these two countries was further developed and expanded. It was no coincidence that after the war there was a massive flow of new products and commodities that arrived from both Britain and the USA.

After the Second World War the Greek alcohol and import industries developed massively. More particularly, the GNP per capita growth between 1952 and 1972 increased at an average rate of 7-8 percent and remittances flowed into the economy as a result of the high level of migration of Greeks to countries such as Germany and Australia (Koliopoulos &Veremis 2002: 174). Consumption increased considerably and new consumer goods appeared on the market. Furthermore, the companies that had traded in food and imported drinks before the war were further developed and became actively engaged in importing whisky. In 1951, for example, the company known as Karakostas & Giannakos (Καρακώστας και Γιαννάκος) was renamed Genka (ΓΕ.Ν.ΚΑ.). Genka imported a variety of whiskies, such as Ballantines and Canadian Club, into the Greek market after the 1960s.

In the 1960s more companies that were principally focused on the production and importation of alcohol and whisky invested in the market. In 1963 the Athenian breweries contracted with Amstel beer and a new factory was founded in Athens (Kerofilas 1997: 138). During that period the economy was booming and the first supermarkets, such as Vasilopoulos and Marinopoulos, were established in Athens. Coca Cola and other new soft drinks appeared on the market and a variety of standardized consumer goods became part of daily life. Athens started growing rapidly and the first luxury hotels, such as the Monte Parnes and the Hilton, were founded. The Karoulias Company expanded further into the alcohol and beverages sector and moved out of the food sector. It was during this period that Karoulias became the representative of Cutty Sark Scottish whisky in Greece. A characteristic example of the developments in this period is the joint corporation of Λίζας & Λίζας (Lizas and Lizas), the unification of two family distilleries, one in Pireus port and one in Kalithea. The company was created in about 1965 and continued producing spirits

[18] An important role in the development of consumerism during the 1960s and 1970s was played by Spyros Markezinis, head of the Ministry of Economics under the Papagos Greek Rally (Clogg 1979: 168).

for the Greek market, such as the liqueur Eoliki. During this period the company became increasingly aware that imported drinks were also becoming more and more fashionable in Greece and therefore they decided to import other beverages to sell on supermarket shelves.

The period after 1967 is known as the dictatorship, when the regime of the colonels took over the Greek democracy. After that period nothing would resemble the Greece of the past, either socially, economically or culturally. This was the time when Greece negotiated its political institutions and tried to develop and become modernized.

From the beginning of the dictatorship the colonels arrested more than 10,000 people, including all major politicians. Other people left the country for different European destinations in self exile. The main figure who could legitimize the group of the dictators was King Constantine. Under pressure he agreed to cooperate. However, under constitutional changes that started in May 1968 and amid the increasing violence and torture of citizens, the King stated, "This is not my government" (Gallant 2001: 199). King Constantine left in exile as all efforts to change the situation, including the coordination of a counter military coup against the colonels proved fruitless.

The colonels who organized the so-called "glorious revolution" were Giorgos Papadopoulos, Nikolaos Makarezos and Brigadier Colonel Stilianos Pattakos (Gallant 2001: 197). They were not so much interested in modernizing Greece as in saving the country from the "communist threat" and other hidden enemies who supposedly had as their target the "glorious Greek civilization". The colonels' conservative policies included the banning of mini-skirts and the imposition of a mandatory hair length for men. In addition, their overt nationalistic discourse was immediately expressed in their symbols. With the revolution the mythical phoenix was reborn as the Greek nation. The colonels had no clear plan or policies or even a coherent ideology, and in that sense they could not articulate a future political economy (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 174). Even so, the Greek economy went though a period of sustained growth and low inflation, the result of a longer process that had already started in 1952. Remittances flowed into the Greek economy from "guest workers" in Germany and other European countries (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 174). During this period tourism played an important role in raising people's incomes and strengthening the economy.

The regime wanted to attract foreign capital and industry to Greece and tried to bring Greek ship-owners back to the country by offering generous privileges. These actions, though, were not enough to keep up with the work of their democratically elected predecessors. The regime borrowed heavily to finance their schemes and this resulted in inflation that could only be kept under control by means of violent pressure on workers and trade unions, who could no longer negotiate their salaries and rights (Gallant 2001: 200).

The first country to accord official recognition to the regime of the colonels was the U.S.A. Under Richard Nixon the relationship between the two countries became tighter and Greece's position as part of NATO during the dictatorship became more important. The major reason for this diplomatic approach was the changing political and economic conditions in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean such as the coup of Qadhafi in Libya, the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict and the increasing Soviet influence in the area (Gallant 2001: 201).

In Greece after 1973 there was a worsening performance in most sectors of the state and the economy. This can be understood as a result of the seven-year

dictatorship and the world petrol crisis. Foreign and domestic investment declined and inflation increased (Close 2002: 170). The economic conditions favored importing, and as a result the trade deficit became much bigger than before. Brands emerged everywhere; household shelves became packed with supermarket products; and marketing was found in many different contexts. American cigarettes became popular and whisky was found at entertainment and social events. Vodka was not widely consumed, especially during the dictatorship, because it was considered "a drink for communists or for people who were leftist".[19] During the post-authoritarian period, more companies importing alcoholic beverages were established and there was an effort by several importers to produce whisky in Greece. The company Μπόικος (Boikos), for example, was founded in 1978 and represented William Grant whisky. Other imported drinks included Glenfiddich, the bourbon Old Huck, Whyte and Mackay and Havana Club.

With regard to the production of whisky during the seventies, the producer companies tried to present the whisky they made as Scottish and therefore depicted what they considered to be "Scottish" symbols on the labels of their bottles. Their beverage was named "Scot", "blended" or "Greek" whisky. As a result, the Scottish Whisky Association petitioned the Greek court of justice to prohibit the production of any beverage called "Scots" or "blended". According to the Scottish Whisky Association, the company Kissamos G. Koutsourelis ABE

> Produced and distributed onto the Greek market an alcoholic drink bottled in such a way that confusion was created regarding the kind of drink and its country of origin. The word "Scot" was written on the label of the bottle, there was a design depicting traditional Scottish dress, and under the design there was an English shield. Furthermore, most of the words were in English. Consequently, the consumers considered the above drink to be Scotch whisky.

Similarly the Greek firm Maria Katsarou - Alexandros Merzanakis OE produced an alcoholic drink on the label of which was the name "Golden crown whisky". Also on the label was a picture of an English Guardsman, at the bottom of which was written in Greek "Greek whisky". Another producer and distributor of whisky was *Apostolos Vamvounis*. Vamvounis produced whisky in a bottle labelled with the words "Black Lion, finest blended whisky" along with a picture of a lion's head together with the words "Ailisburn, the finest whisky" and the design of a unicorn and a coat of arms. The Greek company A. and G. Georga OE also distributed a drink on the Greek market, which bore no relationship to whisky. However, on the label of the bottle were written the words "Scotch Whisky" in Greek, and it was named "The golden horseshoe". There was also a design of a horse surrounded by a horseshoe.

Other companies that were engaged in the trade in whisky and other products in the food and beverages sector during the 1970s and 1980s included Nektar, Apka and Perseus. Nektar (Νέκταρ) was founded in 1976 as Kanelakis Bros (Αφοι Κανελάκη) and imported Dewar's, Bell's, Dimple, Haig and Classic Malts from 1985 to 1991. Nowadays Nektar imports a variety of other products such as ice tea, mineral water and soft drinks. Another small importing company was Perseus (Περσεύς), with whiskies such as Jack Daniels and Usquaebach. Apka (Άπκα) was also founded in 1985 and became the representative of the Russian vodka Stolichnaya.

---

[19] Interview with the president of Pernod Ricard Greece, C. Loutzakis, 22 February 2006.

After the 1970s multinational corporations, including producers of whisky and other beverages, became more aware of the new markets that were emerging globally and therefore tried to take advantage of these new economic conditions. In addition, they were confronted with the rigidity of Fordist and Keynesian policies and therefore new strategies had to be adopted in order to be able to deal with the global economy. As Harvey has pointed out, globalization entails the shrinking of time and space (1989). The capitalistic system has been through various phases, and its current phase began in the 1970s as a result of the crisis in the Fordist system of production (Harvey 1989).

The regime of flexible accumulation came after the crisis of overaccumulation of western capitalism and more specifically after the 1970s. Until that time the Fordist system of mass production of standardized products was so efficient that began to overproduce, resulting in massive unemployment and reduction of demand. The decline of consumer markets further influenced many sectors, corporations and government revenues. Many states decided to print more money in order to solve the crisis, but this created further inflation. Consequently, the Fordist system of production was affected by the crisis to such a degree that it was abandoned. The over-production of the standardized commodities of the system resulted in overproduction and over-supply, which reduced demand. This decline of the Fordist system pushed capitalists to re-examine the value of mass production in the form of long-term contracts between the state, employees and industries. Consumer markets declined, consumers could not buy the products that had been over-produced, and governments could not handle the escalating crisis.

"Flexible accumulation" became a strategic choice for many companies especially after the oil crisis of 1973 (Harvey 1989: 145). Under these conditions there was a shift to services, to more effective means of controlling and expanding commodity chains, to growing inequalities (such as the Nike factories in South East Asia) and to time and space compression which makes commodities circulate faster and more easily around the globe. Especially after the 1970s, the goal became to speed up both production and consumption.

At the end of 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, it was quite clear that the Greek whisky and alcohol market had grown large despite the small population of the country and the fact that tastes had for a long time been based on wine and ouzo. Furthermore, the low taxation policy for countries in the European Economic Community led to the development of larger corporations that could import and export their products in a much easier and more profitable way. The competition between small family companies that had been based on personal networking in distribution and in marketing was entering a new era.

## Transnational Capitalism: the multinationals take control of the market

For the most part the Greek economy was faced with many problems from 1980 until 1993. Average growth was among the lowest in Europe, with 1.3 GNP in 1980-82 and 0.5 GNP in 1990-93 (Close 2002: 168). Despite the fact that there was a large black market in Greece that was not represented in economic figures and therefore not captured in economic calculations, the E.E.C. standards for convergence between the

GDP per capita and the E.E.C. average were far too high for the country. According to Close, these figures

> Indicate that Greece had somehow failed to benefit from a massive influx of EEC subsidies and loans, for which its government had bargained forcefully, and had become the community's seemingly incurable invalid – a despised one at that, given the flagrant way in which Community aid had been wasted in corruption and vote buying (Close 2002: 169).

During the 1980s the socialist PASOK Party could not overcome the crisis and as a result the GNP fell to 1.6 per cent.[20] The second oil-price shock that caused international turbulence was moving the country into turmoil as the effects of inflation were found in all aspects of the economy. Despite the efforts of PASOK to support the welfare state and bring a more democratic social policy into practice, the country's economy did not become very competitive. In addition, "although EC membership revived foreign investment, the end of protectionism hit indigenous firms hard. High consumer demand had always outstripped domestic supply, increasing imports and inflation" (Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002). These were far from ideal conditions for negotiations between multinational companies and Greek distilleries or import companies.

A major problem within the imported beverages sector was the introduction by the Greek government of an import quota for alcoholic beverages, including whisky, during the 1980s. This import quota had a negative effect on the imports of Scotch whisky in Greece. Indeed during the 1983 a discussion began in the British parliament about the pressure of the government to Greece and to the E.E.C. The Hansard archive of the House of Commons provides an insight from this debate (Hansard Digitization Project):

Mr. Roger Sims

> Asked the Minister for Trade whether, in view of the restrictions already imposed on Scotch whisky by Greece, he will make representations to the Greek Government concerning their proposed introduction of quotas for imported spirits.

Mr. Sproat

> The Government made strong representations to the European Commission about the inclusion of whisky in the recent Greek request for quotas. But in view of the doubling of Greek imports of whisky since 1980 and a substantial increase in imports of other spirituous beverages the Commission has now allowed Greece to introduce an import quota for spirituous beverages including whisky for 1983 at levels slightly below 1982 sendings. We shall continue to press the Commission for early action against a variety of Greek fiscal measures which illegally discriminate against whisky. (HC Deb 14 February 1983. Vol. 37 c59W 59W)

[20] The PASOK (ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ.) or Pan-Hellenic Socialistic Party first came to power in October 1981 and was re-elected in 1985. During this period the founder of the party, Andreas Papandreou, became the prime minister.

Despite this debate in the House of Commons the restricted system of commodity flow (of Scotch) continued to regulate demand and by 1986 the import quota for spirituous beverages had increased several times (Stewart 1989). Particularly after 1985, Greek distilleries and import companies started discussions with the larger multinationals regarding cooperation or selling. According to one of the heads of a large import and production company in Greece, which came to be part of the Pernod Ricard Group

> Many people in the importing industry realized in the 80s that a large quantity of imported beverages and whisky was flowing into the country. In that sense we could foresee that after some years we were going to cooperate with foreign and multinational institutions. After 1984, when PASOK was already in power, there was no option. And I don't put it politically but economically. The market in Greece was far too small in comparison to Europe and we couldn't compete with any foreign institutions. With this perspective, our company merged with the Pernod Ricard Group in 1990 and since then we have all the company's brands in our hands.[21]

Pernod Ricard was founded in France in 1975 and became the world's second largest company dealing with the production and distribution of whisky and the first for aniseed drinks. The company trades in Scotch whiskies such as Chivas Regal and Ballantines, malt whiskies such as Aberlour and The Glenlivet, Irish whisky such as Jameson, Canadian whisky and Bourbon whisky as well. The company had already acquired the Campbell distilleries in Scotland in 1975, Austin Nichols in the U.S.A. in 1980, Irish distilleries in Ireland in 1988 and, in 1990, the *EPOM (Ε.Π.Ο.Μ.)* distilleries in Greece who were also importers of whisky. The biggest acquisition successes in recent years have been 38% of Seagram wines and spirits in 2001 and total control of Allied Domecq in partnership with Fortune Brands in 2005.

Similarly in 1992 the multinational Berry Bros and Rudd Ltd took partial control of one of the biggest alcohol import companies in Greece, Karoulias. Karoulias had been a major importation and distribution company in the Greek market from the 1960s. However, in 1992, Berry Bros (owners of Cutty Sark Scotch whisky) bought most of the shares in the company. Furthermore the company signed a deal with Brown Forman Co, the owners of Jack Daniel's and Southern Comfort, in 1994. In 1998 the company cooperated with Remy Hellas, part of the Maxxium Hellas group, and took control of their products which included Famous Grouse, Plomariou Arvanitou (Πλωμαρίου Αρβανίτου) ouzo, Cointreau and Remy Martin. In 1999 the company managed to gain control of the distribution of Metaxa in Greece. In 2000 Berry Bros acquired 100% of Karoulias. In recent years the company has been actively involved in the wine business by cooperating with Kir-Giannis (Κυρ-Γιαννη Μπουτάρη) distillery, Spyropoulos (Κτήμα Σπυρόπουλου), Sigalas (Κτήμα Σιγάλα) and United Distilleries of Samos (Ένωση Οινοποιητικών Συνεταιρισμών Σάμου). Some of their most popular products are Cutty Sark, Jack Daniel's and Famous Grouse.

The leading multinational in the alcohol industry in Greece is Diageo. The company's history in Greece (as Diageo Hellas) is related to the foundation of United Distilleries Boutari and the United Distilleries Greece. These companies merged in 1995 and acquired the business of United Distilleries Kanelakis. In 1997, when the

[21] Interview with the president of Pernod Ricard Greece, Mr. C. Loutzakis on 22 February 2006.

global merger of Guinness and Grand Metropolitan created Diageo, the Greek subsidiaries of the two companies IDV Metaxa and United Distilleries Greece merged into UDV. In 2001 the company was renamed Guinness UDV Hellas and in 2002 it adopted the name Diageo. Its products include the most popular whiskies on the Greek market, such as Johnnie Walker, Bell's, J & B, Haig, Vat 69, Black and White, White Horse, Dimple, Cardhu and a variety of Scottish single malts. Furthermore, many brands that were traded by smaller companies such as Nektar (Νέκταρ) from 1985 to 1991 finally passed on to Diageo. Today Diageo multinational has investments in more than one hundred and eighty countries.

These three multinational companies have come to control the majority of the alcohol market not only in Greece but around the globe (see Table b). In Greece alone, Diageo, Karoulias (Berry Bross), Pernod Ricard (ΕΠΟΜ), Bacardi- Martini Hellas, Amvix and Mantis take almost 80% of the gross profit of the market, while there have been at least two hundred and eighty-five companies competing to take a share.[22]

In conducting research relating to the above-mentioned companies, several themes became apparent that express their localized character over the past few years. Issues of nationality, for example, and the accumulated history of each company are expressed in the legal names attached to them. 'Pernod Ricard Hellas' is followed by the abbreviation EPOM (Ε.Π.Ο.Μ.), the name of the Greek subsidiary that merged in 1990, and Karoulias still has the same name despite the fact that Berry Bros and Rudd has taken total control of the Greek firm.

In terms of competition, the multinational corporations have fought to take as great a share in the market as they can by contracting with smaller importers and producers in Greece. According to the distributor for Diageo on Skyros and the president of Pernod Ricard Greece, this has been achieved by a "rationalization of distribution". The effectiveness of certain distribution strategies in recent years has resulted in easy and fast distribution to a variety of small communities like Skyros Island. The multinational corporations have employees responsible for different areas of Greece who travel regularly to specific destinations to deal with the local distributors and take their orders. These employees usually work under the "sales department". They offer detailed catalogues of all the products of each company, usually with photographs. The local distributor just fills out the order form and within a short time the products are sent to him or her. The actual distribution is contracted with particular distribution companies that specialize in this sector. The main characteristic of this "rationalization process", as Mr. Loutzakis put it, is that "in the past, production and distribution were pursued by the same means of operation, while now distribution employs different means such as experts on logistical operations".

[22] These data are changing continuously due to new deals and mergers in the food and beverages sector. They are based on an economic report in the *Elefterotypia* (*Ελευθεροτυπία*) daily newspaper, Economy section, 25-05-2003 under the title "Ανθεκτικά τα κέρδη".

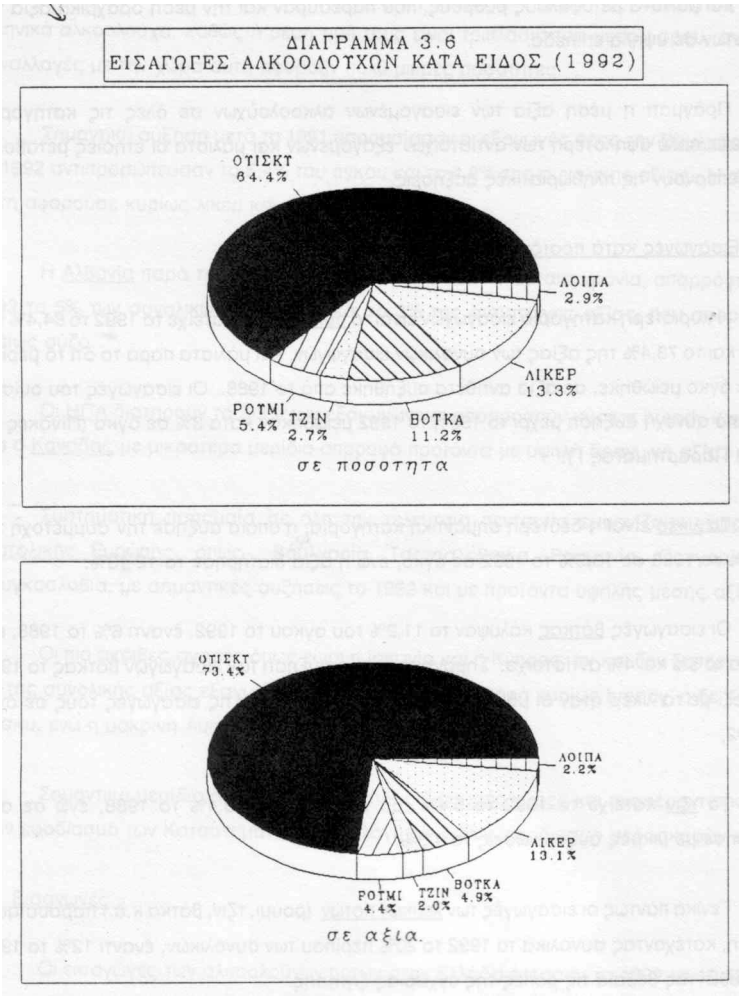


**Figure 2.5** Imports of alcoholic beverages into Greece (1992). The dark section of the pie corresponds to Whisky and the other sections to various other imported beverages. The first pie relates to quantity and the second to economic value. Source: Foundation For Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE), Greece.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, when the multinational firms took hold of the market, the amount of imported whisky has increased. That can be understood in terms of the effectiveness of the strategies used and the decreasing number of competitors. During this period the market for whisky in Greece has become the largest one in terms of imported drinks. This is illustrated in figure a, where the dark section of the pie corresponds to whisky in terms of quantity and the second one in value in comparison to other alcoholic drinks that include rum, gin, vodka and liqueurs. The country of origin of these imports has mainly been the United Kingdom, with 70% of quantity and 78% of value of the total imports of alcoholic beverages (IOBE 1993). Similarly the consumption of alcohol in Greece in 1999 and 2000 was approximately 6.4 million boxes of twelve bottles totaling nine liters per person. This quantity corresponds to 40% of the total consumption of alcohol. Since then there have been small changes in these numbers, but still today Greece occupies seventh position in the total consumption of whisky globally with 31 million bottles of 70 ml. (Scotch Whisky Association).


**Figure 2.6**. Scotch whisky export markets in 2007 in terms of value in British Sterling.
Source: Scotch Whisky Association.

Despite the fact that in recent times new beverages (such as the ready to drink products) have been promoted, whisky still holds the biggest share of the market. The market for white drinks such as vodka, tequila and rum has also been increasingly developed of late. However, this process is related to the establishment of the commodity chains of the multinational companies that are trading in a larger variety of drinks in a more efficient way and have larger marketing budgets for these products than in the past.

The promotion and marketing of whisky has been an important concern for the companies that have been trading in the drink over the last decade. It is worth stating that most of the multinational companies have recently developed marketing departments, taking into consideration local and national factors relating to consumption. Greece is the only country in Europe where the advertising of alcoholic drinks by almost every means is permitted. There are no legal constraints on the marketing of alcoholic beverages; restrictions on marketing rest solely in the hands of the companies themselves, and they are actually able to decide on their own "moral code". As a result, there is a large quantity of advertising in the mass media, in public spaces and other contexts.

| Year | Investor | Target | Result |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1988 | METAXAS | KALOGIANNIS BROS (ΑΦΟΙ ΚΑΛΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ Α.Ε.), ΟΥΖΟ 12 | 100% was bought |
| 1989 | GRAND METROPOLITAN | METAXAS | 100% was bought and 35% of ΟΥΖΟ 12 |
| 1989 | 3 E, LEVENTIS GROUP | BOTRYS | |
| 1989 | ALLIED LYONS | GENKA (ΓΕ.Ν.ΚΑ.) | 35% was bought; in 1993 90% |
| 1990 | PERNOD RICARD | LIZAS & LIZAS | 90% was bought |
| 1990 | GRAND METROPOLITAN | ΟΥΖΟ 12 | 70 % was bought |
| 1991 | BOUTARIS GROUP | KAMPAS (ΚΑΜΠΑΣ) | 67% was bought |
| 1992 | BOUTARIS GROUP | HENNNIGER HELLAS A.E OF BSN GROUP | 67% was bought |
| 1992 | BERRY BROS and RUDD Ltd. "Cutty Sark" | KAROULIAS AEBE (ΚΑΡΟΥΛΙΑΣ) | 100% was bought |
| 1992 | BOUTARIS GROUP | UNITED DISTILLERIES BOUTARIS | 50% was bought |
| 1993 | BOUTARIS GROUP | BOTRYS | 100% assets were bought |
| 1993 | BOUTARIS GROUP | DISTILLERIE OF AEGEAN (ΖΥΘΟΠΟΙΙΑ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ) | 100% was bought |

**Figure 2.7** Table of mergers and cooperation in the Beverages sector, 1988-1993. Source: Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE), Greece**.**

## From local trade to transnational capitalism

This short history of imported alcoholic beverages in Greece demonstrates the shift in ownership from local producers of alcohol and local importing companies to global corporations and multinational capital. This shift is nothing new; such processes are taking place in various forms everywhere and are entwined with globalization (Appadurai 2001). However, this story does not suggest that the shift is a unilinear process that can be found in all markets. Various scholars have suggested that the opposite direction, i.e. from global corporations to localized business operations, is also possible (Foster 2008: 71, Miller 2002: 252). Coca Cola, for example, is one such case of a localized network with its franchise system.

The transnational alcoholic beverage companies that appeared in Greece profited largely from their investments in the Greek market as the consumption of Scotch and other beverages raised considerably. Their decision to invest was based on the fact that the end of the 1980s signaled also the end of the *metapolitefsi* when transnational private capital investment was largely supported by the State and new private media

such as television channels, radio stations and newspapers were established for the first time in Greece.

The speeding up of the processes of production and consumption during the 1990s resulted in the subcontracting and merging of Greek companies with the largest global competitors in the alcohol business, namely the Diageo, Pernod Ricard and Berry Bros companies. These companies in turn managed to gain control of almost 80% of the market within a few years, taking advantage of the local knowledge of their subcontractors and their associates in Greece. The companies used new technology and new production methods, but more importantly they established new distribution methods that made it possible to move the commodities faster from the production site and the import location to the retail store and the consumer.

As Appadurai has argued, "globalization from above" as defined by corporations, multinational agencies, policy experts and national governments is a complex and powerful force of change (2001: 19). Within this context,

> Global capital in its contemporary form is characterized by strategies of predatory mobility (across both time and space) that have vastly compromised the capacities of actors in single locations even to understand, much less to anticipate or resist, these strategies. (Appadurai 2001: 17)

However such theoretical perspectives raise questions about the effectiveness of commercial strategies on consumers. One could argue that elite owners of the means of production and distribution of alcoholic beverages as well as those who are producers of cinema imagination and marketing do not leave consumers much space for resistance. As Adorno has argued, the cultural industry creates a form of mass deception and as such consumers are disciplined to become modern European emancipated persons, a form of instrumental rationality that makes people submit to its authority as domination (1991: 98-106).

De Certeau, on the other hand, has suggested that powerful strategies such as these practices of powerful industrialists and media producers do not necessarily dominate the contemporary consumers (1984). Strategies are practices calculated by capitalists, organizations or bodies of expertise that have power over others and are able to claim a space of their own, like the multinational whisky corporations. A tactic, by contrast, is a calculated practice of the disempowered and of those who do not have a protected space from which they can operate and are therefor forced to act within the territory of those who hold power (de Certeau 1984). Consumers in that sense have tactics in their everyday life. Rather than being simply consumers they are potentially secondary producers. Such resistances will be investigated in the coming ethnographic chapters of this study.

Furthermore, large-scale economic globalization is not necessarily a process from above. Local businesses want to become part of global corporations and actively search for these possibilities. In the words of Mr. Loutzakis, president of Pernod Ricard Greece, who was the owner of the family alcohol business Lizas & Lizas, "the big corporations were in search of us just as we were in search of them, and that's how in 1990 our company got married to Pernod Ricard" (interview with C. Loutzakis). The "marriage" of local business to global corporations continued in various other contexts of the market and characterized many other businesses.

A reorientation from large-scale globalizing strategies to the "everyday" actions, movements and sensations of the ordinary people (de Certeau 1984) is able to bring more insights into the disempowered space of consumption as the second part of the

study suggests. However in order to gain a better understanding of the meanings of Scotch in contemporary Greece, I first turn to the cinematic scenarios of commercial Greece cinema and the strategies of marketing and advertising in relation to Scotch whisky.

# 3. Dreams of modernity: Imagining the consumption of whisky during the golden age of Greek cinema

## Scenarios of the future

The development of cinema and the film industry in Greece came long before marketing and television advertisements. This meant that new commodities were seen for the first time in scenarios that had usually been produced in Greece by the film industry. The refrigerator, the washing machine, the car and the bottle of whisky were only a few of the many commodities projected in films. These fetish-like commodities would appear on the cinema screen similar to the way they would stand in a shop window: polished, new and shiny. One could argue that they were presented with certain ambivalence: as entailing various forms of alienation (not always, however), or as investing consumers with a modern style.

During the period between the end of the civil war in 1949 and the end of the colonels' regime in 1974, Greece was transformed in various ways. External and internal migration, the massive urbanization and expansion of Athens and the post-war liberal economic policies resulted in a new social landscape. Within this context cinema consisted mainly of comedies and melodramas, with scenarios inspired by social realistic contexts. These scenarios represented social change and the consumption of modernness, along with various themes: migration from the countryside to Athens; the destruction of what were considered to be traditional houses and their replacement by apartment blocks; social inequality expressed in luxury goods (and specifically whisky); new American or British forms of entertainment and music; and the struggle between traditional and modern attitudes in social life. This symbolic conflict was a major preoccupation in most films and the arrival of modernity was expressed in various ways: new and fashionable clothes, sexual freedom, consumerism, continuous night entertainment and the consumption of imported alcohol. In that sense the film scenarios recorded and expressed a sociocultural transformation, the transformation into a consumer society, a society of spectacle and a society that was trying to get modernized.

However, such scenarios were and still are a "particular kind of performance" (Williams 1954: 25) that does not ensure the consumption of the projected commodities by audiences simply because those audiences can absorb them. On the contrary, recent studies have challenged this view by arguing that "the meaning of texts or objects is enacted through practices of reception" (Ginsburg, Abu Lughod and Larkin 2002: 6). As various anthropologists have demonstrated, mass media (including cinema and soap opera) do not necessarily modernize, Americanize or commoditize their audiences (Abu Lughod 2002, Miller 1992, Wilk 2002). The

scenarios of films and television series can be related to an active self-production and appropriation by the audiences who incorporate them into their life worlds. For example, Michaels has demonstrated how Hollywood scenarios are incorporated into Walpiri Aboriginal values (2002). In Walpiri cosmology all stories are true and fiction does not exist as a category for making sense of the world. The scenarios are re-valued and reproduced by the actors who try to make sense of the missing information of each story.

In this historical part of my study, my aim is to illustrate the "structures of feeling" (Williams 1954: 33) existent in the cinematic genre of the 1960s and to examine these film scenarios as potential material for imagining selves. The scenarios are stories about possible, alternative futures that integrate human diversity and uncertainty (Ginsburg, Abu Lughgod and Larkin 2002, Appadurai 1991, Hannerz 2003) but at the same time they constitute scripts/texts circulated by mass communication in the "public sphere" (Habermas 1989). Within this context a major form of scale making is evident in these scenarios. Scotch is presented as a "modern", "urban" and "local" beverage, a sort of a modern "Greek" drink.

One of my main goals is to reveal the distinctiveness of the relationship between the Greek commercial cinema of the 1960s and modernity as this is expressed in whisky. Whisky became a central symbol of a happy or a melancholic modernity; in many scenarios Scotch is liked not because it tastes good but because it tastes modern. By elaborating on this relationship, I wish to suggest that the scenarios projected are rather different from their Western European counterparts because of the distinctive socioeconomic conditions under which they were produced. In order to understand the valuation and re-evaluation process of whisky in Greece and the projections of the cultural industry in relation to the beverage, I will follow whisky in the scenarios of Greek cinema produced mainly between the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s, the golden period for the production and consumption of Greek cinema and the decade that preceded the emergence of Greek consumer society. This chapter is based on viewings of more than 100 films from the mentioned period; whisky is consumed or used in various ways in the vast majority of the films.

The massive number of tickets sold during the decade of the 1960s is a reminder of the appeal and success that Greek films had for their audiences. From 1963 onwards annual cinema ticket sales were the highest in Europe, with one hundred million tickets sold, while the population of the country at the time was less than seven million (Σωτηροπούλου 1995: 44). Furthermore, the average number of film productions in the 1950s was 50 per year and in the 1960s almost a hundred (Σολδάτος 2002: 73). Consequently the Greek film industry was a post-war miracle that expressed a specific "structure of feeling" of its modernist authors and directors.

This part of the study seeks to bridge cultural studies and social anthropology by borrowing theoretical insights from both disciplines. The work of Raymond Williams is particularly relevant to the aims of this chapter and I have consciously employed his term "structures of feeling" to describe the culture that is exhibited in the scenarios of Greek films of the 1960s. Williams uses this term to refer to the culture of a specific historical moment and suggests a common set of perceptions and values that are shared by one generation and expressed in artistic forms and esthetic criteria and conventions. As Williams stated, with a large emphasis on cinema, "It is in art, primarily, that the effect of the totality, the dominant structure of feeling, is expressed and embodied" (1954: 33).

Furthermore the structure of feeling of the film industry seeks to describe the "cluster of dominant images, meanings and sentiments in a specific culture" and the

"taken for granted aspects of social life" (Hughes 1998: 7). The structure of feeling in William's terms is "as firm and definite as structure" yet it "operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity" (1965: 64). It is "not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity" (1997: 132). This is very evident in the film scenarios referred to above, as whisky emerges in the most subtle and unobtrusive forms. Bottles of whisky transformed into candleholders or actors surrounded by persons drinking whisky while they enjoy a night out are details that may go unnoticed, yet they encapsulate the core of feeling of the golden age of Greek cinema. In addition, Williams has noted that the structure of feeling is not possessed in the same way by different individuals and it is not "not uniform throughout society" (1965: 80), but rather is constructed through power relations and expresses ideals that are most interrelated with norms and experiences of the most powerful social groups within society (Williams 1965: 80). The film industry in post-war Greece was one such powerful elite that influenced the social, economic and political life in various ways.

Various historians have tried to approach cinema as a historical source under certain conditions (Ferro 1988). Ferro has argued that cinema represents various aspects of a given society such as ideology, value system and political establishment. However, the most important aspect of a film analysis is that the film industry can be viewed as a carrier and a producer of the "structure of feeling" of a specific time and place. This process might be on a conscious or unconscious level when the production takes place, as Williams has argued. In either case the contexts produced are culturally influenced, especially when the themes projected are void and unimportant. For example the clothes, the food and beverages and the music can be very interesting contexts of information regarding the social life of each period. In this sense, film scenarios can be viewed as generators of mentalities, expectations, dreams and future alternatives.

Films on the screen also include commodified images that affect the perception of audiences/consumers by proliferating their desirable selves and daydreams and creating an imagined reality of a better life (Benjamin 1977). This imagined better life was a major preoccupation of many cinematic consumers in Greece who had experienced the depressing effects of the Second Word War, the Civil War, migration (internal and external), unstable political life and poverty.

Moreover, by borrowing from the anthropology of media (Ginsburg, Abu Lughod and Larkin 2002), the notion of the "imaginary" (Appadurai 1991) which was built upon Lacan's psychoanalytic notion (1968) and Anderson's "imagined communities" (1991), I seek to comprehend the values projected in the film scenarios and to demonstrate that whisky in Greece was not fetishized by marketing or multinational corporations but rather came to express certain imagined visions of future modernity in post-war Greece. In other words, Greek films became the means for the development of future scenarios of modernness and commodity fetishism. That process was a necessary requirement and condition for the localization of the beverage in Greece, especially because it provided the material for dreaming and imagining about the future.

The significance of imagination in the production of culture and social identity has been extensively noted by Appadurai (1991), who points to the role of "mediascapes" in influencing national and transnational processes. It is through mediascapes that imagined communities come together or fall apart and reproduce their sense of identity, culture and belonging. "National imaginaries" can be produced

by the nation state or by commercial agents and can have a wide impact as technologies of personhood (Ginsburg, Abu Lughod and Larkin 2002: 5).

The golden age of Greek cinema during the 1960s, and especially between 1960 and 1967 (precisely before the dictatorship in Greece), was a major source of consumer and modern imaginaries, and not only of whisky. These modern imaginaries have been materializing since at least 1970 with the end of the golden age of Greek cinema and the emergence of a Greek consumer society (Stathakis 2007: 11-16). In this sense the film scenarios express a sociocultural transition that was actually taking place, but at the same time they express the visions and imaginaries of the film industry.

Urban middle or higher-class authors who were well educated and very much preoccupied with modernism and modernity wrote the scenarios of most films. Within this context the subjects of tradition and modernity were represented in various forms and became central characteristics of the genre. More importantly, the constant opposition of these themes as expressed in traditional Greek beverages vs. whisky illustrates that these cinematic scenarios were scenarios about the future and artistic dreams of modernity.

## Greek cinema

The invention of moving pictures at the end of the nineteenth century by Thomas Edison in the United States and the Lumiere brothers in Europe represented one of the most celebrated of modern technologies. Cinema was to be not only the offspring of modernity, however, but also the recording device of social and economic change, a tool of propaganda but also of interpretation, a vehicle of marketing but also of political and social critique.

Though cinema came into being in Greece very early, when the brothers Yannis and Miltos Manakia filmed in the area of Macedonia in 1906, the development of Greece's own cinematic industry came much later. The first cinema in Athens was established in 1908 and within a few years cinemas multiplied. The first Greek films were made during the First World War and they were limited to short news reports produced by well-known directors such as Georgios Prokopiou and Dimitris Gaziadis. *Golfo*, one of the first Greek feature films, was released in 1915 and presented a love story set in rural Greece. *Villar*, one of the first commercial successes, was shown to Athenians in 1920. The scenario of *Villar* was written and directed by the comedian Villar (Nikolas Sfakianakis) and was shown at the women's bath at Faliro. One of the first Greek film companies, known as Doug-Scenarios, was established between 1927 and 1928 and produced a number of well-known films such as *Love and Waves* (1928), directed by Gaziadis, and *Daphnis and Chloe* (1931), directed by Laskos. The first Greek-made picture with sound was *The Lover of the Shepherdess* directed by Tsakiris. An early attempt with sound (played on a gramophone behind the screen) that proved successful was the *Apaches of Athens*.

During the Second World War, Filopemen Finos founded Finos Films (1942), which became one the most successful film companies in the industry within just a few years. The post-war period saw the activities of the production companies Finos Films, Anzervos Films, Novak Films, Spentzos Films, Karayiannis-Karatzopoulos, and Damaskinos-Mihailidis, all of which created an extraordinary number of films within just a few years.

However the advent of television, the international economic crisis, the dictatorship and the poor performance of the Greek economy were all causal factors in the general decline of Greek commercial cinema in the 1970s. However, the films produced during that time would continue to be re-broadcast in times to come, on televisions in every household.

The post-war cinema of the period that came to be known as the 'golden age' of Greek cinema has been criticized for being non-political, especially because the films did not narrate the past (the civil war, the German occupation, post-war economic policies) and did not touch upon troublesome issues such as the King's role in the political life of the country or the involvement of Britain and the U.S.A. in Greece's affairs. On the contrary, the scenarios of that period were mostly fixated on the present and the future, the arrival of 'modernity' and its outcome. The films told stories of rapid urbanization, massive migration, family life and – more importantly – social relationships. It is worth stating, though, that themes were necessarily limited because all films made between 1965 and 1975 were subject to censorship as a result of the dictatorship (Σολδάτος 1999: 53). Thus many films were banned, while priority was given to "light" comedies and romantic dramas. For this reason, productions of this period have been characterized as "low quality" and "petit bourgeois" oriented, and they have been neglected by scholars until very recently (Δελβερούδι 2004: 19).

In many scenarios the youth of the 1950s and 1960s were projected as the carriers of social change when faced with the crisis of adopting new "modern" values. This led to conflict with their parents and their 'traditional' surroundings. Young people were considered the social group that was influenced more than anybody else by the arrival of modernity. Though youth was the central theme in relation to modernity, it gradually became clear by the 1960s that many others would emulate their "new" life. As Delveroudi has noted, while in the 1950s middle-class families were trying to cover their basic needs as food and clothing, in 1960 they were projected on screen as copying the elites, dressing in fashionable clothes, living in comfortable houses and entertaining themselves in nightclubs (Δελβερούδι 2004: 68).

In these scenarios commodities expressed social positioning, especially within the context of traditional and modern approaches towards life. However, Kapsomenos' observation that the "posh" Anglo-American lifestyle in Greek urban environments should not be regarded as a social norm, since it belonged only to the world of on-screen scenarios and the world of the elites, should be taken seriously into account (Καψωμένος 1990: 218). The commodity-object in the film scenarios emerged in a dream-like atmosphere, which could not necessarily be emulated by the viewer but could be consumed to the extent that the viewer identified with the protagonists. Despite the serious questions that such a critique poses, the consumption patterns projected in the film scenarios of this period should influence the consumer imaginary. In the films of that period, the 'modern' commodity-object became fetishized to the extent that its use-value was overshadowed by the conspicuous projection of the commodity. The refrigerator was placed in the living room as part of the furniture, as was the television; imported beverages were regularly seen on the tables of *bouzoukia* (music clubs with live popular Greek music, see chapter 5) whether they were consumed or not; American cigarettes were smoked by the protagonists and ballet dancers performed with whisky bottles in their hands. Shots of the city were usually of people walking at a fast and agitated pace, and there was constant traffic noise and the sound of construction work in the background. The countryside was set in diametrical opposition to the urban contexts and projected as a

nostalgic setting untouched by the advent of modernity. Films set in the countryside presented villagers as pure, unspoiled by liberal ideas of profit and individualism, and showed them becoming alienated when they visited or were touched by the city. The urban and cosmopolitan styles shown in most scenarios would stand as polar opposites of the rural ones, and the difference would be expressed through language use (Georkakopoulou 2000: 119-133), profession (Kartalou 2000: 105- 118), clothing and consumption habits. The styles projected can further explicate the "structure of feeling" of modernity performed by the actors. Georgakopoulou has argued that many Finos Films are about four basic characters, all caricatures that express age, gender and class: the newly rich; professionals; blue-collar workers; and nightlife types or small-time delinquents (2000: 122). These types can be further divided according to gender and age; the newly rich are usually young men or middle-aged women; professional types are middle-aged men; blue-collar workers can be men or women; and nightlife types and petty criminals are usually men. These characters express various symbolic struggles: between foreign and Greek culture; between modernization and tradition; between conservative and progressive; between high and low classes; between educated and uneducated; and between marginal and mainstream. I would further argue that whisky is used as a major marker of these oppositions. Whisky usually stands as a symbol of foreign influence, of modernization, of the progressive, of the educated, and of both the marginal and the mainstream. Other characters might include Greek migrants or students from the U.S.A. or the U.K. who usually drink whisky and might be young or middle-aged men and women; villagers who express ignorance in relation to consumer goods when compared with urbanites; and industrialists who are usually middle-aged or older males who drink whisky.

The fact that the cinema industry was producing such a massive number of films during that period resulted in low-budget productions with similar plots. The main characters also included various female types ranging from women who would fall in love and be seduced by evil men to women who lost their virginity and ended up as prostitutes, and also fathers who tried to preserve their daughter's moral values in changing urban contexts. In general the films showed a struggle for honesty, honor and values with the advent of modernity. However, despite the fact that most films either tried to be very "modern" or made fun of a new "modernity", the plots remained within the context of Greek values; the ultimate success or the happy ending was usually a wedding, honesty would always prevail and be rewarded in the end, the main context of socialization was kinship relationships, and the norms of the majority of the characters were based on traditional Greek practices (dowry, extended kinship, masculine domination, patronage and hierarchical relationships). As a result the plots tended to be either very comic or very tragic – melodramas or music-centered films that reproduced cultural patterns in an imaginative modernity.

Even though the films did not receive very positive comments in the media of the time because of their low artistic quality and the repetition of similar scripts, the industry proliferated and generated a "star system" (Σολδάτος 2002). Certain actors repeatedly performed almost the same roles and these became crystallized in the popular imagination. Kostantaras, for example, would play the humorous father and Iliopoulos the low-income public servant or the poor junior clerk; Hatzihristos was the amusing "pure" peasant who left his village to visit Athens, Voutsas the amusing youth and victim of beautiful women, Kourkoulos the serious young womanizer. Fotopoulos was always the masculine, macho figure. Female actors likewise had their own distinct roles: Vougiouklaki was the carefree young woman in love, Vourtsi took

the "party animal" and the funny woman roles, Mavropoulou and Zilia were usually good-hearted prostitutes or badly treated housewives, Karezi was the melodramatic heroine suffering difficult relationships, and Laskari played the dangerous woman or the young, fun-loving wealthy daughter.

Within this context whisky emerged as a symbol of modernity that was consumed by young characters on the move, by alienated individuals and by successful wealthy Athenians. In addition, the fetishism of the product exercised a certain alienating quality in relation to several characters in the plots to the extent that Scotch was projected as an "evil" drink of the underground world and of the alienated foreigners or Greek Americans. In this manner Scotch became the symbol of either a celebratory or a melancholic modernity. To use gadgets and live in modern houses, to dress and talk "foreign" was not enough; the ultimate change was to embody modernity and its tastes, as tastes reproduce social inequalities and hierarchies and are the ultimate form of distinction, as Bourdieu has argued (1984). The expression "you have taste", for example, refers to the habitual refinement of a person and reminds us that taste as a sense is socially and culturally influenced.

## The "evil" drink. Trespassing and destroying our selves

Greek cinema reached its peak in the 1950s and 1960s. The rapid modernization, urbanization and socioeconomic change are depicted in the cinema of the period in various ways and the new city life inspired the various scenarios. During this period films such as *Ena votsalo stin limni* (*Ενα βότσαλο στην λίμνη*, Μήλλας Φιλμ, 1952*), I Kalpiki lira (Η κάλπικη λίρα*, Ανζερβός, 1955), *O Drakos* (*Ο Δράκος*, Αθηναϊκή Κινηματογραφική Εταιρία, 1956), and *To prosopo tis imeras* (*Το Πρόσωπο της ημέρας*, Αφοί Ρουσσόπουλοι, 1965) were shown to Greek audiences and became extremely popular. All four deal with urban-cosmopolitan and rural styles in similar terms. The first is about a cosmopolitan immigrant from the U.S.A. and a local married man with traditional values. The second is about a traditional engraver and a modern ring; the third is about an honest traditional employer and a gang; and the last is about a rural man and an antiquities smuggling ring. In all of these scenarios whisky and imported beverages are depicted as part of a modern way of life; sometimes they are projected as forces of alienation or as drinks with a criminal association. In that sense commodity fetishism (the belief that value inheres in the commodity instead of being added through labor) is clearly expressed in whisky, leading to alienation (see introduction). As a result, this form of alienation is presented as a rupture with the traditional values, the moral cosmos of the protagonists and the world around them. However, these scenarios do not necessarily imply that alienation is a result of commodity fetishism. On the contrary, whisky is personified by the modern urbanite, and in certain scenarios, the underground world and the prostitutes. In this sense, as Weiss has argued, commodities produced for the market might be involved with processes of personification rather than leading to a split between persons and things (1996: 13). Therefore, all objects have the potential for objectification or personification, but not all objects enact this in the same way (Weiss 1996: 14).

The structure of feeling expressed in several scenarios is loss, alienation and seduction. There are plots that present "divided" persons as a result of modernity rather than individuals in possession of themselves, a scenario found in various forms of screen technologies (Pels 2002: 91-119). As Pels has argued, there is one distinct

modern form of alienation that identifies modernity itself as an alienating instance (Pels 2002: 111). This alienation has been conceptualized as a form of division between people who are not alienated and those who are imagined as self-possessed. Scenarios range from villagers who lose their selves and identify with the influence of urbanites, to Greeks who are seduced by foreign habits and commodities, to moral and rational male individuals who become immoral, irrational, feminized and divided, and finally to women who turn to prostitution and seduce honest male individuals.

A characteristic scenario, which demonizes whisky and objectifies it as a destructive force that alienates and threatens the moral values of the middle-aged rational male individual under certain circumstances is *Ena votsalo stin limni (Ενα βότσαλο στην λίμνη*, 1952*)*. The penny-pinching, hard working and conservative Manolis is married and lives a moral life. His wife asks for certain gifts that Manolis is not willing to offer her, as he is very stingy. However, the course of events will transform him into a generous man who is happy to buy and consume. One day a cousin of his wife's arrives, who lives in the United States. Manolis has never met her and so does not know what she looks like. The following morning Manolis's colleague tells him that he has met an American woman (who, ironically enough turns out to be a friend of Manolis's wife's cousin). The colleague sets up a date with the two women and invites Manolis to come along. On the evening of the date the two women arrive at Manolis's office to go out and have a few drinks. Manolis meets his wife's cousin but has no idea who she really is. He calls his wife and pretends he is busy working, then spends the time with the Greek American woman who – unbeknown to him – is his wife's cousin. The colleague offers the women whisky to drink, but there is not enough whisky so he and the other woman leave to buy some more. During their absence Manolis drinks whisky with the Greek American woman while she does her best to seduce him. However, Manolis is not used to the drink. The woman downs her whisky in one gulp and when Manolis imitates her he chokes and exclaims, "What is this thing? What burning sensation is that? Is it produced on Vesuvius?" (τι πράμα ειναι αυτο, τι καούρα ειναι αυτή, στο Βεζούβιο βγαίνει το ουίσκυ;). Manolis and his colleague take the women to various *bouzoukia* for entertainment and much whisky is consumed. The more drunk Manolis becomes, the more bottles he orders, and he spends a huge amount of money in an irrational manner. The end result of this frenzied night is that Manolis is left by his friend completely drunk at the entrance of his apartment, where the neighbors find him and carry him to his flat. In this context the loss of control by the male individual as a result of alcohol may be interpreted as a kind of feminization, a widely shared view in Greece (Papataxiarchis 1991: 221-234). The next day Manolis pretends that he remembers almost nothing, thanks to the devilish beverage. Then the American cousin arrives at the house and, to her surprise, encounters Manolis. The cousin understands the tragic coincidence that has occurred but she decides not to reveal her date with Manolis to his wife.

The main character in *Kalpiki lira* (1955) is Anargiros, an honest engraver of metal who has his shop in the center of Athens. A man working in the investment agency where Anargiros puts his earnings tries to persuade him to collaborate in producing counterfeit money. To this end he arranges for Anargiros to meet up with a woman who is to play a "Trojan horse" role to break into his honest life and persuade him to become a counterfeiter. In this context the woman uses whisky to relax Anargiros and create an intimate atmosphere. In other words, whisky is a tool for creating a false consciousness and a dishonest life. The woman is shown as an immoral agent who aspires to a modern way of life and seduces innocent men.

Anargiros, who is conservative and traditional, is inexperienced with women. As a result he is finally seduced by the woman and is later caught by the police. The connection of whisky with a modernity that consists of fake money and false consciousness suggests that there should be an authentic self that is not alienated and divided. The non-alienated self uses authentic money earned by non-alienated labor, and cannot afford to be seduced. The seduction of "traditional" subjects by "modern" ones is a scenario that is repeated in many films and expresses an ambiguity about the outcome of modernity as well as a fear of being fundamentally changed by modern objects and subjects.

In Koundouros's dramatic film *Drakos* (1956), whisky and other imported beverages are the main alcoholic drinks in an underground jazz club situated close to the harbor where American seamen and the demi-monde of Athens hang out. In this bar jazz bands and Latin orchestras perform while whisky is consumed in a frenetic atmosphere. In the background some smugglers of Greek antiquities are figuring out how to illegally export pieces to a wealthy American now that the head of their ring has been arrested. An innocent man who resembles the head of the ring accidentally becomes involved with the gang, as his resemblance confuses the criminals. By consciously faking his identity he indulges in the nightlife of the bar. This results in total alienation. The man is blinded by the small degree of criminal power that he acquires in the ring and forgets himself. By concealing his real identity, he commoditizes the cultural heritage of Greece – only to be unmasked to the ring at the end of the film. The gang kills him in the end when they realize that he is not the boss as they had thought. Whisky is again placed on the side of the non-authentic self, which is deeply divided by a modern coincidence. Consumer modernity not only alienates the self here but also alienates the inalienable Greek heritage (which is linked to the Greek tradition) by commoditizing it. These opposite poles of alienable consumerism and inalienable Greek heritage are central to any understanding of contemporary Greek culture (Yalouri 2001: 101-137).

**Figure 3.1** *Το πρόσωπο της ημέρας*, 1965.

A similar plot is narrated in the comedy *To Prosopo tis Imeras* (*Το πρόσωπο της ημέρας*, 1965, Figure 3.1) with Kostas Voutsas. Grigoris, the main protagonist, lives in a small village in rural Greece. In a radio competition he wins a fifteen-day trip to Athens to stay in one of the best hotels. He leaves his village with his suitcase, which happens to resemble a suitcase belonging to a smuggler of Greek antiquities. When he

arrives in Athens, members of a criminal ring confuse Grigoris with the smuggler and he ends up drinking whisky in the house of a female partner who tries to seduce him and persuade him to cooperate. Members of the criminal ring are also seen drinking whisky with dancers in a jazz club. Grigoris tries to escape the ring in a frantic chase, with all the gangsters believing that he is carrying an ancient Greek statue in his suitcase. Along with the central opposition of city/consumerism and country/moderation, another opposition is added in this scenario, that between tradition and modernity. Traditionality is clearly rural and is related to Greek beverages, while modernity is urban and is expressed through whisky.

Whisky is also portrayed as a decadent beverage in the film *Kalos irthe to dollario* (*Καλώς ήρθε το Δολλάριο*, Ανζερβός, 1967) starring Giorgos Kostantinou and Niki Linardou. The Blue Black bar is situated close to the harbor of Piraeus in the bad neighborhood of Trouba in Athens, where prostitution, strip shows and the consumption of alcohol are all to be found. The main protagonist is an honest teacher of English. The prostitutes of the bar want to employ him to teach them to speak English, as the sixth fleet of the American Navy is approaching the harbor. The teacher accepts the offer, even though he does not like it, as he is short of money. The American soldiers finally arrive and visit the bar to drink whisky and have sex. One of the women working as a prostitute falls in love with the teacher and tries to seduce him with whisky. The teacher has no idea about the beverage, however, and when it is served he drinks it at a gulp, his face clearly expressing his negative reaction to the taste. His sensation of taste is clearly one of uneasiness, surprise and disgust, because he is innocent and not cosmopolitan enough to know about and appreciate whisky. The woman, surprised at his ignorant way of consuming the drink, states that "Whisky needs to be consumed slowly" and she orders (in local) dialect two "cups" or "detonators" (*skagia*, σκάγια). With the help of the beverage the woman seduces the honest man and they both fall in love. This scenario clearly connects whisky with a decadent and supposedly Americanized way of life that commoditizes sex and human relationships. This feeling of a loss of innocence through modernity is related to certain historical circumstances. Trouba was indeed an area characterized by prostitution and cabarets where whisky was served during the 1950s. Furthermore, this area, which was visited by other foreign seamen as well as the American navy, is very likely one of the first places where whisky was regularly drunk and became localized. In that sense, part of the cultural biography of whisky is clearly connected with the decadence of prostitution and the commoditization of women. Similarly, several underground *bouzoukia* after the 1980s were also connected to prostitution and "consummation", the practice of buying the company of women in exchange for alcoholic beverages. As chapter 5 demonstrates, this commoditization of *bouzoukia* during the 1980s was in parallel development with the commercialization of contemporary Greek popular music and the establishment of Scotch as a celebratory beverage.

Whisky has also been projected in various scenarios as a decadent beverage consumed by the "spoilt" young people of wealthy families. Gender is extremely important in this context, as women would rarely play a decadent role despite the fact they were portrayed as drinking or even getting drunk. In most films the alienated persons were young men or middle-aged men who enjoy partying and seducing women. Women were not portrayed as independent persons who are able to be in control of their life and, more significantly, to live in a bohemian cosmopolitan style. An exception to this was Vlahopoulou's role in the *Mia treli sarantara* (*Μια τρελή σαραντάρα*, Finos Films, 1970). The protagonist is a bohemian woman in her forties

who challenges the conservative attitudes of her family by spending her money on nightlife and drinking whisky. Within this context whisky is presented as the modern beverage that disrupts conservative family values and the traditional practice of match-making. She falls in love with a violin player in a nightclub while her brother is trying to arrange a marriage for her with an old wealthy Greek man who lives in London. One night she returns home drunk with her boyfriend and upsets her family who happen to visit her that same night. The next morning the couple leaves the house in order to get married. The importance of marriage and family life is central even in scenarios that purported to criticize the conventions of conservative or traditional social life. In this context whisky is shown threatening family values by projecting an alternative bohemian modern lifestyle. The importance of marriage and the family in modern Greece has been noted by many ethnographers, who have specifically outlined how personhood is shaped by these values. Even today Greece has one of the lowest divorce rates in Europe and the rite of passage of marriage is seen as transforming young people into adults and social persons.

A male figure representative of the "spoilt" young man is Kostantinou in the *O anthropos gia oles tis Doulies (Ο Άνθρωπος για όλες τις δουλειές*, 1966*)*. Whisky dominates the entire film. The story begins with the main protagonist waking up next to a bottle of whisky (VAT 69) and an unknown woman. His father, a wealthy ship-owner, is deeply disappointed in him because he is not able to run the family business on account of his drinking and constant craving for entertainment. The young man decides to give up his old lifestyle, make his own living and quit drinking and partying. He leaves his father's house and moves to a new place where he starts working in a hotel as a waiter, but unfortunately he is pushed again to drink whisky by a Greek American customer with whom he has developed a good relationship. While drinking, the Greek American talks about the problems in his life. When the waiter finally manages to leave the room of the Greek American, who has persistently tried to make him drink more and more whisky, he is faced with a customer who has ordered whisky in the hotel lounge but cannot pay for it. The waiter lets this young man go, after berating him with the words "What do you want with whisky and a luxurious life?" (Τι τις θέλεις τις ουισκάρες σου και την μεγάλη την ζωή;). This expression is intended to be a "lesson" to the young man who can not afford to pay for the Scotch and who should focus on constructive activities instead of drinking whisky.

The connection of Greek Americans with whisky is evident in various other scenarios and it is repeated throughout the films of the golden age of Greek cinema. Greek Americans are shown as alienated from their own Greek culture and traditions; they might be presented drinking alone, even sometimes to the extent of alcoholism, and in the case of women they might be shown enjoying an overt expression of sexuality. Both of these scenarios can be deeply condemned in a traditional Greek context as drinking alone is a stigmatized activity. The moderation (in alcohol and sexuality) that is the ideal for women in Greece is also shown in opposition to the expressive sexuality and hard drinking of the Greek Americans.

The structure of feeling of commercial Greek cinema is therefore intertwined with the processes of modernization and, more specifically, urbanization of Greek society during the 1960s. Within this context alienation is felt as a form of disruption of the traditional values of Greek society, a feeling of loss of community values, and a corruption of morality. Indeed, the social changes taking place in urban and rural Greece during this period are clearly portrayed in the films of commercial Greek cinema. Such feelings of the alienation of the modern man have clearly been

described by authors such as Marx, who argued that in the modern capitalistic world men are indeed alienated from their own environment and from their own labor. In the films under discussion, this form of objectification takes place with whisky, which is fetishized and comes to reify relationships of symbolic domination between the modern Western world and the margins of Europe. However, such forms of objectification are not necessarily viewed as relationships between objects. There is also a process of personification at play. Those who are at the margins of the society, the petty criminals, the frequenters of parties and those who violate traditional Greek values (like the Greek-American immigrant characters) are personified with Scotch whisky. However, this objectification is not necessarily an alienated instance; as will be demonstrated, the objectification of Scotch in the scenarios of commercial Greek cinema is also related to a celebration of modernity.


**Figure 3.2** *Ο άνθρωπος για όλες τις δουλειές*, 1966.

## Modernity in a bottle

In various films the alienation entailed in whisky drinking is replaced by a feeling of modernness. This modernness is not necessarily negative; in many cases it can in fact be presented as very constructive. The cosmopolitan styles found among those main characters who are emigrant Greeks returning from their new lives in America, the newly rich or industrialists, and middle or upper-class Athenians are demonstrated in foreign accents, foreign words and the conspicuous consumption of American or British products: cigarettes, cars, whisky and expensive clothes. However, the foreign accents and the use of foreign words and language in many films are not surprising given that in the literature of the time heteroglossia was re-emerging after a long period of "monological linguistic representations and enforced unifications" (Georkakopoulou 2000: 127 in reference to Tziovas 1994). That suppression was a result of a long effort by the State to suppress local dialects and introduce the "clean language", the *katharevusa*. In this context, whisky as shown in in the scenarios of the film industry came to represent the future and the consequences of modernity at large. These included the rapid urbanization of Greece, the individualization or commoditization of the self, migration to the U.S.A. or other European countries,

class inequalities in post-war liberal Greece, and the marginalities that were emerging in a highly commodified world.

In 1960 the Thessalonica Film Festival was established with the aim of presenting a panorama of European and Greek cinema and honoring the best directors and actors. The Festival had long-standing effects on the production of cinema and would, in time, become one of the best known in Europe. In the same year Greece participated in the Cannes Film festival with the film *Never on Sunday*, directed by Jules Dassen. The film was a great success and its main star, Melina Mercouri, shared the award for best actress with Jeanne Moreau. The following year the same film received five Oscars, including best director for Dassen and best music for Manos Hatzidakis with the song "Children of Piraeus".

*Never on Sunday* was a landmark in modern Greek cinema. It narrates the journey of an American writer into what is presented as a true and authentic Greekness which finds material expression in ouzo and dancing. It is possible that Melina Mercouri, Dassen's wife, the star of the film and later the Minister of Culture in the 1980s and 90s, influenced her husband's representation of this "Greekness", traditionality and Greek heritage, which is the main preoccupation of the film (Tsitsopoulou 2000: 80). An American classical scholar called Homer (not by accident), who has a stereotypical image of Greece, travels in the country and is charmed by a beautiful Greek woman who expresses her sexuality freely and is in the service of men as a prostitute. Homer falls in love with the Greek woman while he is preaching at her according to his ancient Greek standards and ideas taken from history and philosophy books, lecturing her on the proper Greek moral values and what the Greeks are and should be. This colonial-type attitude is presented ironically as Homer does not speak modern Greek and is shown as unable to understand Greek modernity. Amid the film's energetic atmosphere he is alienated because he does not understand that dancing and drinking are not so much entertainment for the Greek characters as important emotional values. Therefore

> Music does not bring the two main characters of *Never on Sunday* together, on the contrary it emphasizes the distance that separates them. Only at the very end of the scenario after imbibing a considerable amount of ouzo, is Homer finally able to join the dance in the Taverna. (Tsistopoulou 2000: 83)

This scenario, intended for an international audience, stands in sharp contradiction to the films of Greek directors of the same period who were projecting whisky as a symbol of a particular modernity for their Greek audiences and totally neglected ouzo.

*The Aunt from Chicago (Η Θεία απο το Σικάγο*, Finos Films 1959*)*, directed by Alecos Sakkelarios, is a comedy which became extremely popular during its release. A retired brigadier has four daughters who are of an age to get married. However, his military discipline and strict manners do not leave his daughters any chance to meet anyone to marry. The arrival of an aunt from Chicago, a refugee from the family who is living abroad, shakes the brigadier to his traditional and conservative foundations as he has to follow her eccentric wishes. This modern aunt's first wish is for a bottle of whisky, which the brigadier buys to the surprise of the owner of the neighboring shop; "You don't take this kind of beverage in your house, Sir" says the grocer. The brigadier replies, "Just wrap it well so people can't see the bottle". The aunt with the progressive modern ideas smokes and drinks whisky while she tries to transform the house into a "modern" place. She replaces the old cupboard with a mini-bar and dances to jazz music with her nieces. Throughout the film the father is preoccupied

with marrying off his daughters, but the daughters cannot meet anyone as they stay at home most of the time and their father is very strict. The aunt therefore comes up with a tactic to lure potential bridegrooms into the house: by pouring jugs of water from the balcony as if by accident, she manages to bring prospective husbands into the family's home. Each time, the prospective husband is served whisky while he waits for his coat to be ironed and the prospective wife dances to jazz music to entertain him. In this way the aunt manages to find husbands for all four daughters within just a few weeks. Whisky in this context is projected as a symbol of modernity and change. Though the brigadier criticized the modern techniques of the aunt at the beginning of the film, the aunt with the help of whisky and jugs of water has succeeded in marrying off all of her nieces.

**Figure 3.3** *Τρείς κούκλες και εγώ*, 1960.

In 1960 Iliopoulos played the leading role in the film *Three Babes and Me* (*Τρείς Κούκλες και εγώ*, 1960, Αφοί Ρουσσόπουλοι). The main protagonist is a clothing salesman who travels with three models around the islands of the Aegean during summer to promote his products. During their trip they meet a wealthy Athenian disguised as a middle-class person, who invites them to stay in one of the two rooms he has booked in a hotel. The salesman and the three girls all accept and a new acquaintance is established. During the time they spend on the island, the disguised wealthy Athenian gradually falls in love with one of the models. The Athenian likes to drink whisky and introduces the drink to the salesman, who thoroughly dislikes the taste of this strange new beverage he has never tried before. But he accepts the offer of something he does not like because he would rather "be disgusted in a wealthy way than suffer in a poor way" (Καλύτερα να υποφέρω πλούσια παρά να αηδιάζω φτωχά, Figure 3.3). The disgusting taste of something foreign to Greek palates is embodied in whisky, and it is accepted and appreciated by the protagonist especially because it is expensive and tastes modern. In other words, whisky is accepted as such – not because it tastes good (as the film demonstrates) but because it is a sign of a successful life, an expensive modernity in a bottle. As the film progresses, both men become involved in affairs with the models and the wealthy Athenian gets engaged to one of them. It is only at the end of the film that the wealthy Athenian reveals his real identity, to surprise of his fiancée and his new friends. By disguising himself he has

made sure that his social relationships throughout the film are untainted by financial interest and that people do not want to be with him just because he is wealthy.

Whisky is also the predominant alcoholic beverage in the film *Isaia mi horevis* (*Ησαία μη Χορεύεις*, 1969). The niece of the owner of a matchmaking agency (a conspicuously modern form of socializing for people interested in getting married) in Athens is in love with a young man and they want to get married. Her uncle, however, a very austere individual, believes he will find the right husband for his niece through his agency. The couple therefore creates a plan so that they can get married. In order for the plan to be realized, the boyfriend comes to the uncle's matchmaking agency to find the right bride. The boyfriend pretends to be a very successful young professional and also pretends that he does not know the owner's niece. The owner thinks this is just the right man for his niece and decides to marry her to him. He therefore arranges an evening out in a jazz club, where whisky is the predominant drink, and orders whisky for himself and his niece. The whisky comes in long glasses for the uncle and the niece, but the prospective husband orders only lemonade and the uncle praises him for his abstention. Obviously the owner of a very modern type of agency will drink whisky, but the young man pretends not to drink the beverage – or any alcohol at all for that matter. This performance by the prospective bridegroom is intended to persuad the uncle that he is honest, hard-working and traditionally oriented, at least in relation to the values of marriage. In this context whisky stands in opposition to the values of productivity, honesty and traditionality, and that is the reason the young man does not order it. The owner of the agency, on the other hand, can afford to drink whisky as he is already an old and respectable successful businessman in the privileged position of deciding who is the right man for his niece. The couple's plan finally succeeds and the two marry at the end of the film.

## Modern aristocrats drink whisky and poor men drink wine. Class in the cinematic cosmos.

The imagination of hierarchy and social class in most of the films discussed here was deeply influenced by the social conditions of the production of these scenarios in post-war Greece. As already noted in the introduction, the decades of the 1950s and 1960s in Greece were focused on rebuilding the country after the Second World War. That period saw a positive economic performance and very successful economic development despite the deep social and political crisis. The liberal ideas that were successfully pursued by the post-war governments did not solve the social problems of poverty and social inequality. On the contrary, access to the means of production remained in the hands of a few, a characteristic example being the figure of the successful Greek ship-owner and industrialist such as Aristotle Onassis. These inequalities would influence the film scenarios of the formation of social class. It is no accident that in the majority of films the "rich" are not upper middle-class but instead wealthy capitalists who own villas and have servants. Class conflicts would be symbolized by the consumption habits of the "wealthy" and the "poor". Such differences were imagined to be the future of modernity in many films that feature the consumption of whisky and the final outcome of the post-war reconstruction. In this context whisky incorporated distinction and an expectation of a class-oriented society. Feelings of success or disappointment as a result of upward or downward social mobility are evident in a number of films in this period.

The film *Modern Aristocrats* (*Μοντέρνοι Αριστοκράτες ή Λεφτάδες και*

*Φτωχαδάκια*, 1961) with Nikos Stavridis and Mimis Fotopoulos clearly shows the different consumption habits of rich and poor. More importantly, as the title of the film makes clear, the aristocrats are modern, expressing the expectations of a class-oriented modernity. The wealthy bourgeoisie of Athens is placed in opposition to the working class of Piraeus. The expression of this differentiation is embodied in the roles of the two main characters, who are both poor (one is from the poor neighborhood of Piraeus) and are competing to marry a young, beautiful and wealthy woman. The two prospective bridegrooms visit the bride's family to establish their interest. As soon as they arrive they are offered whisky by her wealthy mother; "What do you think – shall we stay inside, or shall we take our whisky on the patio?" (τι λέτε να κάτσουμε εδώ ή να πάρουμε το ουισκάκι μας στην βεράντα;). The amusingly competitive relationship between the two men arouses the young woman's sympathy. The two men are ready to fight over her and indeed a conflict erupts. The woman finally manages to reconcile the two men and re-establish their relationship by persuading them to accompany her to a *bouzoukia* to enjoy the live music of the singers Linta and Hiotis. Their celebratory beverage is clearly whisky (Johnnie Walker, Figure 3.4), accompanied by fruit. As chapter 5 demonstrates, the social realism exhibited in such scenarios is in accordance with the commercialisation of night entertainment and music that took place during this period in *bouzoukia*. In this context Scotch became a major celebratory beverage of live popular Greek music and entertainment.

**Figure 3.4** *Λεφτάδες και Φτωχαδάκια*, 1961.

Certain actors were filmed drinking whisky precisely because the roles they embodied were of wealthy men. One particular example is the actor Kostantaras, who usually played the role of the father (*Ο μπαμπάς μου και εγώ,* 1963). The actor was filmed drinking whisky at home while playing cards, in nightclubs accompanied by beautiful women, or in hotels on holiday. The masculine character of Kostantaras was combined with a womanizing charisma in various films, always in bourgeois contexts.

In his films Kostantaras usually had housemaids, a large office, fashionable clothes, and a car, but he also had also moral values and a good sense of humour. Consequently his taste in whisky expressed his social status and urban background, as was characteristic of many other characters in Greek cinema in the 1960s.

The consumption and entertainment practices of wealthy Athenians is also a central theme in the film *Otan lipi i gata* (*Όταν λείπει η γάτα,* 1962) starring Avlonitis and Vlahopoulou. The ship-owner Zeberis goes on a cruise with his family and various guests. This is an ideal opportunity for the three people who work in the service of his household to wear their bosses' clothes, take their car and go out to a *bouzoukia*. In the *bouzoukia* whisky and champagne are the main drinks. The servants' preferences, clothing and car confuse the owner of the *bouzoukia*, who thinks that the servants are the ship-owner's actual family. Another level of deception is introduced when the unknown singer who is performing there pretends he is a famous singer (while the real singer has in fact left on the cruise with the ship-owner and his family). The poor and unknown singer tries to seduce the supposed daughter of the ship-owner. The result is total confusion, which ends when the deception is exposed by the ship-owner and the real singer. The unknown singer and the housemaid who pretended to be the daughter of the ship-owner get married anyway after a romantic interlude.

Upward social mobility is expressed through the consumption of whisky in the context of *bouzoukia* in various other films. One example is *O ahortagos* (*Ο Αχόρταγος*, 1967), with Gionakis as the main protagonist. A man who has been unemployed and extremely hungry all his life is hit by a rich factory owner's daughter in her car. The factory owner offers him a position in his company as compensation for the accident. The factory owner's other daughter falls in love with the poor man and soon they get married. Their marriage is an opportunity for the couple to spend some of the rich family's money, especially when the daughter pretends she is pregnant. The couple spends money on whisky in the *bouzoukia*, which clearly expresses their economic mobility. The story ends in conflict between the main protagonist and the factory owner as a result of the former's greed.

The distinction of the wealthy is also expressed in the film *Mia kiria sta bouzoukia* (*Μια Κυρία στα μπουζούκια,* 1968*)*. A poor footballer has a sister who has a secret romantic relationship with another member of his team. However, this relationship has no future; the brother informs his team-mate that he has already arranged that his sister should marry a friend of his uncle who is living in the United States. One night a rich woman comes to a poor local *bouzoukia* with a friend. She orders whisky, while the poor company of footballers at the next table is drinking wine. In the course of events, the rich woman develops a relationship with the disappointed team-mate. The woman he had loved (the other footballer's sister) is deeply hurt and decides to participate in a beauty contest. That same night the team-mate arrives at the beauty contest and they re-establish their relationship. At the end of the film both footballers marry the women they love.

Such forms of distinction are clearly related to the idea of habitus as argued by Bourdieu (1984), and they express through taste the class inequalities evident in modern capitalist society. The taste for whisky is clearly developed by education, as various scenarios, suggest and their preference for the beverage expresses the social position of the actors in each case. This form of distinction is intertwined with the structure of feeling of the generation of the 1960s that transformed gradually into urbanites, salaried workers and capitalists who distinguish themselves with the modern taste for Scotch whisky.

## Materiality, consumption and imagination

The earliest trajectory of Scotch whisky within the context of mediascapes began with the commercial Greek cinema during the 1950s. From that period until the dictatorship (the beginning of the 1970s), the scenarios of commercial Greek cinema constituted the material for imagining selves and became stories about possible alternative futures that integrated human diversity and uncertainty. In addition, commercial Greek cinema expressed the structure of feeling of modernization and change in the Greek society of the 1960s, which was viewed as an inevitable stage of Greece towards progress and urbanization as well as a moment of rupture. A major preoccupation in all these scenarios was the consequences or the potentialities of modernity for the self. In many cases modernity was expressed through imported commodities such as automobile, fridge, television, Scotch whisky, fancy clothing and interior design. The consumption of such commodities lent the actors a modern style and reproduced social inequalities such as rural/urban, poor/wealthy or traditional/modern. Furthermore, the consumption of imported commodities could be portrayed as an alienating force that might corrupt the morality of the person and as such might realize fears about modernity. Consequently, their consumption in the films of commercial Greek cinema expressed an uncertainty about the outcomes of modernity and a plurality of future potentialities.

The imaginary that was expressed in the scenarios of the golden age of Greek cinema appropriated whisky in various ways. Whisky was projected into the public sphere through mass communication (cinema and television) but at the same time expressed the "structure of feeling" of modernity. The structure of feeling expressed through whisky is highly ambivalent and can be described as alienation, consumerism and a loss of innocence, while on the other hand the beverage is full of the taste of modernity, of optimism expressed in upward social mobility, and of celebratory companionship. Within this context Scotch whisky becomes a fetish capable of making and unmaking humans.

As Pels has argued, the fetish indicates the crossing of categorical boundaries, "a border zone where one cannot expect the stability of meaning that is routine in everyday life" (1998: 13). This relationship dissolves the Saussurian relationship of signifier and signified which a large body of the modern discourse of representation has built upon. It is this discourse that has maintained the dichotomy between a material signifier and an ideal signified and has understood the one as a result of the other.

For example, when Manolis spends a fortune in an evening in the film *Ena votsalo stin limni*, Scotch is blamed for unmaking his moral values. By contrast, Scotch whisky is imagined as a constructive and optimistic "modernity in a bottle" in *The Aunt from Chicago* (1959). Within this context Scotch is a positive force of change for traditional and backward values. It replaces traditionality with an aura of cosmopolitanism, upward social and economic mobility, successful migration to the U.S.A. and respectability. Moreover, the theme of upward social and economic mobility is repeated several times and establishes the distinction between "modern aristocrats" who drink whisky and poor men who usually drink wine.

Such contradictory scenarios did not claim to represent the future but to imagine it, as most forms of artistic expression did. However, at the same time they encapsulated the structure of the feelings and dreams of the period, which constructed the views of modernity shared by commercial cinema in Greece. These views preceded what can be described as a consumer society in post-war Greece and

influenced the way in which Greeks felt this deep socioeconomic transition.

By 1967 the deep political crisis, the King, the involvement of the British and American partnership in the political life of Greece, and the politically active army together brought an end to the unstable democracy of post-war Greece. The democracy collapsed in 1967 when the 'Colonels' regime' took over. Their dictatorship tore the country apart and brought a deep political crisis that remained until 1974. In this period Greek commercial cinema would come to an end, as one production company after another closed down. The emergence of television during the dictatorship, the censorship that films had to undergo, the limited State support, the difficulties of filming under a dictatorship – all of these factors marginalized Greek commercial cinema and finally led to its decline.

By contrast, a different mediascape – that of marketing – started developing. Marketing companies and professionals proliferated. In 1966 the Association of Advertising Companies called EDEE (ΕΔΕΕ-Ένωση Διαφημιστικών Εταιριών Ελλάδος) was founded and played a major role in promoting advertising in Greece, creating a legal and structural context for its development. In the following years marketing agencies multiplied and created a professional context for the promotion of imported beverages and whisky. Consequently the career of Scotch whisky in Greece would come into a new era, the era of promotion and marketing in post-authoritarian Greek society.

# 4. "Keep walking": whisky marketing and the imaginary of "scale making" in advertising

"Keep walking"

Political statement in English by G. Papandreou (MP and president of PASOK) in the mass media (*Eleftherotypia* daily newspaper, 7 March 2008), adopting the slogan of Johnnie Walker advertising campaign into the national political discourse

## Imagining the "global" and the "local"

While commercial Greek cinema was busy with the nationalization of modernity and tradition, marketing and advertising have been more inspired and excited by the "global" and the "local". However, both mediascapes of the Greek cultural industry constitute a distinct trajectory of the localization of Scotch whisky in modern Greek imagination. As Appadurai has argued,

> Mediascapes, whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places. These scripts can and do get disaggregated into complex sets of metaphors by which people live (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) as they help to constitute narratives of the Other and protonarratives of possible lives, fantasies that could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement. (1996: 27-47)

Generally speaking the mediascape is the full panoply of distributive mechanisms, institutions, media technologies, and the images they carry. Both mediascapes (cinema and marketing) have focused on the image of Scotch whisky in their own ways; they have used narrative to tell their stories to their audiences and they have offered character types such as the cosmopolitan, the urbanite or the successful male as food for imagination. In addition, these mediascapes have circulated widely-imagined modernized and globalized lives and have based their techniques on the seduction of acquisition and consumption. Their distinct difference lies in their use of ideology, which is also time specific. From the end of the 1950s to the period of the dictatorship, commercial Greek cinema produced narratives of modernization as that was the period when several major social transformations were taking place. Urbanization, economic development, capitalistic commoditization, youth movements, migration and a consciousness of rupture with traditionality emerged in various forms. Marketing and advertising, on the other hand, was established as a professional career in 1966 and capitalized on various forms of "scale" making.

Recent scholarship has argued that an emphasis on the terms "global" and "local" or "national" and "foreign" can be understood as a form of "scale making" (Tsing 2000: 327- 360). The "ideology of scale" that is, "cultural claims about locality, regionality, and globality", "stasis and circulation" and "networks and strategies of proliferation" has been apparent in marketing and advertising projections (Tsing 2000: 327-360). Scale making is "a key issue in assuming a critical perspective on global claims and processes in the making of scales—not just the global but also local and regional scales of all sorts" (Tsing 2000: 327-360). Such scale making is manifested in the mediascapes of Scotch whisky and, more specifically, in the "project" of marketing and advertising in the last decades.

Now that mass media have become a part of people's daily lives, the efficacy of marketing and advertising cannot be underestimated. The quantities of images and discourses relating to products, commodities, ideas and (more recently) services are growing ever larger with the arrival of new forms of communication and information such as the Internet and mobile technologies. This is a period in which almost nothing is excluded from the sphere of marketing and advertising. Moreover, "mediascapes" have become increasingly influential as they refer

> Both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media. […] What is most important about these mediascapes is that they provide (especially in their television, film and cassette forms) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to the viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed. (Appadurai 1996: 104)

Such images can directly impact upon social landscapes that have become filled with neon advertisements and large wall posters, and they are able to influence the way audiences perceive reality (Baudrillard 1988: 166-184) and live in their "imagined worlds" (Appadurai 1996: 103). These landscapes are multiple worlds constructed by the historically situated imaginations of groups and persons around the globe. These imagined worlds can in some cases influence and even challenge official and widely held views. However, although the "project" of marketing is very powerful, we cannot presuppose its ability to remake the social world according to its ideas.

Marketing agents are among the producers of such images that constitute mediascape formations of imagined worlds. It follows that their major products, i.e. advertisements, express their imagination and the values that they want to project to consumers. More importantly, advertisements express their "ideology of scale", which is historically and culturally specific. Any effort to understand it and situate it outside of the social conditions in which it was produced is bound to collapse (Tsing 2000: 85). The social life of whisky in advertisements should therefore be understood as a continuous process of evaluation and reevaluation from the side of the marketing agents.

Moreover, the development of marketing in Greece was based upon a globalized paradigm of "consumerism as an inclusive formal system that strives to appropriate—and thereby also produce—local cultural difference as content" (Mazzarella 2003: 4). Locality, nationality and globality have been invested with various meanings and have been intertwined with a marketing ideology of consumerism.

In his well-known work about the history of sugar in the Caribbean, Mintz makes an important distinction between "inside" and "outside" meanings (1985: 167). Inside meanings are the multiple meanings that consumers give to a product. These are placed in opposition to outside meanings, which are to do with the significance of a product for colonies, political institutions, commerce and law. Similarly, De Certeau has argued that the powerful "strategies" of commercial institutions such as the cultural industry aim at projecting such "outside meanings" in Mintz's terms to the consumers (1984). However, consumers give their own "inside" meanings to the products they consume and within this context they practice a tactic against the strategies of the powerful industry. While both sets of meanings are important for an understanding of globalized commodities, this chapter of my study examines the "outside meanings" or the strategies of projecting whisky in marketing and advertising and how they have become an "ideology of scale" and a concrete "project" (Tsing 2000: 85). More specifically, by analyzing the materiality and discourse of whisky advertising in Greece, I seek to illustrate how whisky has been imagined and valued by marketers and by the marketing agencies involved in creating their advertisements. I argue that these advertisements are "exercises of imagination" on the part of corporate officials and marketing agents, to imagine the consumers they are seeking (Foster 2008: 72) and constitute "mediascapes" that express and form "imagined worlds" (Appadurai 1996: 103). However, these exercises of imagination not only express the cultural industry's imagined conceptualizations of a product but also tend to construct and give legitimacy to a "discourse of authenticity" and cultural knowledge (Mazzarella 2003). This "discourse of authenticity" can be expressed in the making of global, local or even national scales (Tsing 2000: 86)

Anthropological approaches to marketing have shifted from understanding it as a "rhetoric of persuasion" to more complicated models where the overall result is affected by a number of different agents and practices (Lien 1997, Miller 1998, Foster 2002, Moeran 1996). Some anthropologists have tried to understand the "production" of the "culture of marketing" as expressed by marketers and other agents who cooperate in marketing agencies and projects. Their work has indicated that decision-making at this level is not necessarily based on rational choices and reasoning but is influenced by the value systems and social codes within such contexts.[23] Miller, for example, has examined marketing in an ethnographic perspective to conclude that "it is the actions of rival companies rather than the actions of the consumers that is the key to understanding what companies choose to do" (2002: 251). Furthermore, O' Hanlon's research in New Guinea demonstrates how foreign advertisements or products are used to express issues of particular local character (1993).

Rather than focusing upon this continuum (of production), marketing and advertising can be examined as "ideologies of scale" (Tsing 2000: 85). By examining marketing and advertising discourse in Greece on a large body of advertising in print media and on television from the end of the 1960s (when marketing was established in Greece) to the present, I argue that the product (whisky) was "caught up" in a "project" deeply intertwined with the concepts of the "national", the "local" and the "modern". These meanings are based on the globalist fantasies of marketers (articulated in their products) and their abilities in "scale making", and they are

[23] The relationship between audiences and media is much more complicated. Ethnographies have presented a world where the messages of the industries are not always circulated and internalized according to their strategies and where advertisements have come to signify more diverse meanings than sociologists and anthropologists had claimed (O'Hanlon 1993, Miller 1998).

socially and culturally specific. However, this is not to say that they do not follow international trends in the discipline of marketing.

As Lien has argued, marketing is both a practice and a discipline (1997: 11). Marketing as a practice is to do with the production process, which is the context where actual actors engage in practicing this profession with their own cultural notions. Marketing practice and products can be localized, always depending on the circumstances of their production. The discipline of marketing, on the other hand, is an expert system, a discourse of strategies that aim to commoditize and sell a product (De Certeau 1984). As such, marketing is a western liberal discourse that operates within capitalism and has deeply influenced the formation of contemporary multinational capitalism internationally.

## From making brands to advertising

Brands of whisky have been in existence for a long time. The oldest distillery dates back to 1608 in Ireland and its product is still known as Bushmills (Jackson 1998: 9). Brands such as Johnnie Walker, Jameson, Bell's and many more have been exported and widely distributed for more than one hundred and fifty years. These brands were based upon the family names and history of ownership of the distillery of production. However, there are also brands such as Cutty Sark that were inspired by historical circumstances.

Brands first appeared in the food industry in mass-produced standardized commodities like Heinz pickles, Campbell's soup and Quaker Oats cereal "in an effort to counteract the new and unsettling anonymity of packaged goods" (Klein 2000: 6). Familiar, everyday personalities and attributes were projected through brands that replaced the anonymous food products of small neighborhood shops. In the same manner, the moment that whisky was exported and widely distributed in other countries in a standardized form, the brand had to be part of the package. Within a few decades most anonymous standardized products had been transformed into brands.

Nowadays there are few standardized products that are not branded. Even small production units try to brand their own commodities and present them to their consumers in a friendly way. Brands are now necessarily bound to commodities, but they can also include services, means of transport and even international institutions or non-governmental organizations. It is therefore instructive to see how brands, which emerged as signs of particular products, have evolved into a world of symbolism.

More particularly, the power of branding has become more pervasive through the commercialization of fashion clothing. Before the 1970s the logos on clothes were placed on the label inside the garment and were not visible. Gradually this trend changed, with Lacoste's crocodile and Ralph Lauren's Polo horseman taking the lead (Klein 2000: 28). Logos were placed visibly on the outside, and this made clear the price that the consumer had to pay to obtain these products. This was the beginning of the brand mania that has extended to most commercial standardized clothes all over the globe. The trend is so powerful that within a few years "fake" brands appeared on the market, copying the logos of the original brands and making 'brand-name' clothing accessible to people of any social stratum.

Whisky brands are imagined by marketers as "global brands" or "megabrands". That means they are available in most countries in the world; they share the same

structure and administration principles as well as similar marketing and advertising choices, and they carry the same logo everywhere (de Moij 2005: 14). They are also regarded as single-product brands or "monobrands" because they represent one particular product and nothing more. However, this trend has been changing in the alcohol sector with ready-to-drink (RTD) beverages such as the products of Smirnoff and Bacardi. The basic characteristic of any brand is the deep symbolism that it carries. The meanings that are attached to a brand involve a lengthy marketing endeavor that requires both time and money. The effect of this process is always ambiguous and the success of any product is a combination of social, historical and economic factors.

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s individual brands in the beverage sector moved a step further to become actively engaged in cultural branding. Through marketing and advertising, brands of whisky in Greece became associated with "high culture" and art (as in the case of Haig), with sophistication (like Johnnie Walker), with spaces and sponsoring, and even with particular personalities. Thus the brand began to occupy various aspects of social life. Typical examples are the branded whisky ashtrays found in coffeehouses and bars all over Greece, along with cigarette lighters and playing cards, bar towels, glasses and various other objects.

The branding of whisky as a strategy began in Greece with the expansion and popularity of bars in Athens and other areas. On Skyros most bars opened in the 1980s, though the first bar had appeared at the beginning of the 1970s. This expansion coincided with the development of tourism and the pursuance of state policies and construction plans for several areas of Greece both during and after the dictatorship. Under these conditions the bars became standardized products for the mass consumption of alcoholic beverages, where the importers would invest in branding. Through the bar the first branded objects appeared that were given to the owners by the retailers. Still today the towels bartenders use, the ashtrays on the bar and mirrors in the bar are all branded products. On Skyros as well as in Athens there are few bars that do not display products branded with whisky logos. More surprisingly, coffeehouses that "traditionally" did not serve any imported beverages (and especially not whisky) nowadays serve whisky in branded whisky glasses. Nightclubs are also extensively branded, with small logos added next to their advertisements or with an advertisement for whisky on their façade.

Despite the strategies noted above, advertisements of whisky brands in recent years have also been based on abstract ideas and, in some cases, the commodity as such has gradually disappeared, to be replaced by landscapes, people, other objects, slogans or information about the product. The commodity yields its position to images in a virtual form and usually moves into the background or to the side or even disappears completely.

The creation of a brand by a corporation is intertwined with marketing and advertising, so that the brand becomes recognizable and associated with specific values that can influence consumers and relate to their lifestyles. In order to understand how specific brands have been projected in Greece and how marketing agents have imagined the values projected through these images, I will now trace the social history of the different styles of advertising.

## Advertising in Greece

The cultural industry in Greece was expanded when the professional discipline of the advertiser and marketing agent appeared on the public scene in the 1960s. The development of the marketing profession in Greece coincided with the decline of commercial cinema and the emergence of a consumer society. Especially at the end of post-authoritarianism, the gradual development of private media and television developed marketing and advertising. One of the main reasons for the expansion of marketing and advertising was the foundation of Greek national television (EPT) and the establishment of the two private channels ANT1 and MEGA in 1989.[24] It was not until the 1970s that the national television broadcaster became widely available to the Greek public. The first public television broadcast was in 1968. It took the form of a journalistic interview of the two of the most popular Greek cinema actors of the time, Aliki Vougiouklaki and Dimitris Papamihail. During the interview the guests were offered Scotch whisky, which they drank with the journalist while discussing their careers and relationships. The offering of alcohol in this context was intended to create a more intimate and relaxed atmosphere, while the choice of whisky represented the particular view of the director and the journalist regarding the "modern" beverage that should be offered to these movie stars. No doubt this instance of localization of marketing was unintended; it had not been designed by marketing directors and no import company had sponsored the program and supplied the drinks. The style of the first television interlocutors and the journalist as modern Athenians, the very first to be broadcast on Greek television, encompassed whisky as the appropriate beverage to consume.

Marketing agents, like their associates in the film industry, used mediascapes to express their imagination and to deal with the emerging concepts of imported commodities, style and consumption. However, there is a clear difference between them and their predecessors in the film industry: the marketing agents did not project whisky as an alienating force. On the contrary, the "project" of marketing and advertising invests Scotch with a positive modernity, a "national" character, a "global" aura and a "local' meaning.

The marketing and advertising of imported alcohol and whisky in Greece has been a long endeavor by various importers and, more recently, multinational corporations. This project of communicating consumption patterns and commodities to the Greek public has been more successful since the establishment and development of television and new technologies of communication after the 1970s. The fact that alcohol is the "glue" of Greek society, in combination with the absence of any legal prohibition on marketing and advertising alcohol in mass media and television, has given rise to a certain impunity in marketing. This impunity can easily be observed nowadays when watching evening films or soaps on any private television channel where the programmes are interrupted for advertisements. It is no coincidence that a large number of these advertisements are for whisky brands and a few other imported alcoholic beverages.

---

[24] Greek radio broadcasting began in 1938, leading to the foundation of EIR ( E.I.P. Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Ραδιοφωνίας). In 1965 the first experimental television programme was broadcast from Zappio; in 1966 came the first news report; and in 1968 the first journalistic programme was presented to the Greek public. In 1970 EIR was renamed EIRT and in 1987, under law 1730, the radio and television stations merged to create ERT (Ελληνική Ραδιοφωνία και Τηλεόραση), the national broadcaster of Greece.

Furthermore, the strategies of marketing can be experienced in various other ways in the Greek capital: in an outing to an Athens jazz club where the sponsor is Scotch whisky, in a Greek music club which has been transformed into an advertisement for whisky (Figure 4.1), on advertisements in boulevards, on ashtrays in coffeehouses and bars, in magazines, at public events, in the streets, and finally within Greek households with the glasses, ashtrays and lighters used there. The extent to which whisky brands are projected and promoted in daily life is striking. However, even more striking is the fact that most people take this for granted—especially because this phenomenon has been part of their lives for quite some time now.


**Figure 4.1** Entrance to a club with live Greek "quality" music known as ''*stavros tu notu*'' (Σταύρος του Νότου). The club represents "modern" Greek "arty" (έντεχνη) music. The façade of the club has been completely transformed into an advertisement**.**

According to one of the major brand managers of whisky in Greece, whisky has the highest consumption rates because "it was one of the first spirits imported into the country and the one with the biggest advertising budgets over the years".[25] As a result, the marketing of whisky has major significance for the importers (Σύγχρονη Διαφήμηση 17-23, 1992, v. 528). The fact that Greece is the only country in the European Union where there are no restrictions on alcohol marketing has resulted in a massive number of campaigns by various companies (European Association of Advertising Agencies 2003). The field is so diverse that new ideas and concepts are

[25] Interview with the brand manger of Johnnie Walker, D. Kalfa, Athens 17/01/06.

constantly being put into practice and more local Greek advertising companies are taking the lead. In recent years there have been whisky advertisements made in Greece by Greek advertising companies, and these are exported to Portugal, Spain and other countries.[26] While there are no restrictions and no state regulation, the industry has created a self-regulatory code, which is based on the idea of "moderate and safe drinking".[27] As a result, many advertisements include slogans such as "drink with responsibility" (απολαύστε υπεύθυνα).

This development in Greek marketing in recent years can be understood as a result of the arrival of multinational companies. These companies have been focused on their corporate citizenship and their own marketing strategies and some have been eager to create their own marketing departments. Within this context, "local" national symbols, familiar places and aspects of cultural heritage have repeatedly been used in marketing in recent years (Foster 1995, Yalouri 2001). In Greece as elsewhere, the "national" and the "local" are concepts that are strategically used, reused and recycled, while also comprising important ideological categories in daily life (Appadurai 2001: 6, Miller 2002: 256).

In recent decades, and more particularly since the 1990s, the belief that advertising should be "localized" has been prominent among many marketers and multinationals all over the world (de Moij 2005: 26). In that sense, a new trend has been emerging, which can be described as "strategic localization" (Coe, Neil M; Lee, Yong-Sook 2006), a form of "localism". Despite the fact that many whisky advertisements and campaigns are still standardized for global markets, it is no surprise that new strategies have been used in different countries, taking the supposed "local" into consideration. More specifically in Greece, various Greek and international marketing agencies have been producing an extraordinary number of Scotch whisky advertisements, not only for Greece but also for other Mediterranean countries.

One of the few ethnographies that has paid special attention to the issue of marketing in Greece has been the study by Petridou, *Milk Ties, A Commodity Chain Approach to Greek Culture* (2001). In this rather experimental work, Petridou examines the way commodity chains such as the milk and cheese industry in Greece construct and reproduce social relationships. By approaching marketing departments as cultural contexts with certain values and principles, she elaborates on perceptions of tradition and modernity from the side of the industry and that of the actual consumers. Marketing in this context is the means for expressing certain socioeconomic processes; for that reason, her analysis illustrates how conceptions of "modernity" and "tradition" have been invested with particular meanings throughout different decades. In fact, the projections of industrial progress and computerized technology in TV advertisements after the 1980s were associated with the "modern" despite the fact that during the first half of the twentieth century milk and cheese were advertised as "traditional" subjects. The main reason for this change has been the fact that the industry conceived itself as the torchbearer of modernization because it had to struggle to establish itself in political and economic structures that did not favor the industry's development or its neoliberal values.

[26] One characteristic example is the campaign for Grant's Scotch whisky designed by LoweAthens in 2006.

[27] Personal communication with the general secretary of the Greek Alcoholic Beverages Association, Mr. Kardaras (interview in Athens 22-12-2005).

Similarly, Greek marketing of whisky has invested in the meanings of "modernity" as well as in "globality" and "locality" during different periods. "Modernity" and "globality" came first during the 1960s, to be followed by "locality" much later.

## Distinction. The emergence of the main advertising themes in Greece in the 1960s and the 1970s

This part of the study examines the way in which local and global advertising in Greece has been projecting whisky since 1970, the period when the drink became widely promoted and distributed. After the Second World War a number of Greek advertising companies were founded and engaged actively in the Greek market. Some of the most famous are Adel (1946), which came to be connected in 1987 with Saatchi & Saatchi advertising, Alector (1947), Olympic (1958), Delta (1965) and Ikon (1974). However, most advertising companies were founded after the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s. The Association of Advertising Companies, called EDEE (ΕΔΕΕ-Ένωση Διαφημιστικών Εταιριών Ελλάδος), was founded in 1966 and played a major role in the promotion of advertising in Greece, creating a legal and structural context for its development.


**Figure 4.2** Haig and King George IV whisky advertisements in the *Kathimerini* (*Καθημερινή*), a daily newspaper in 1963. The bottles are clearly depicted. The first caption reads "Superior whisky all over the globe" and the second "Supplier to His Majesty the King of the Greeks". This latter phrase symbolically corresponds to the British phrase "By Royal appointment" found on various products.

During the 1960s the marketing of whisky was mainly based on advertising in magazines, newspapers and posters and it was concerned with the clear projection of the commodity (in contrast to the gradual disappearance of the commodity from advertising images nowadays). Advertisements at that time had very limited space in which to circulate their meanings and most of them were very simple and small. Promotion was limited to the printed media and radio, and slogans were not widely

used. The emphasis would be on the cosmopolitan "global" nature of the drink, its "global" appreciation (as in the White Horse campaign of the 1960s (Figure 4.3), or the beverage's prestigious connotations to the King of Greece and the "global" preference (Figure 4.2). More importantly Scotch is projected as a beverage of class distinction in various occasions.

Many whisky advertisements in the 1970s and the 1980s were adapted to Greek standards. In this adaptation process the marketing agents would take the main advertising theme (i.e. the photograph or the style of the portrait), which had usually been created for the British and American market, and change the text to adapt it for a Greek audience. The meaning of the advertisement would change as a result. This process of localization of the text by marketing agents was also followed in other countries.

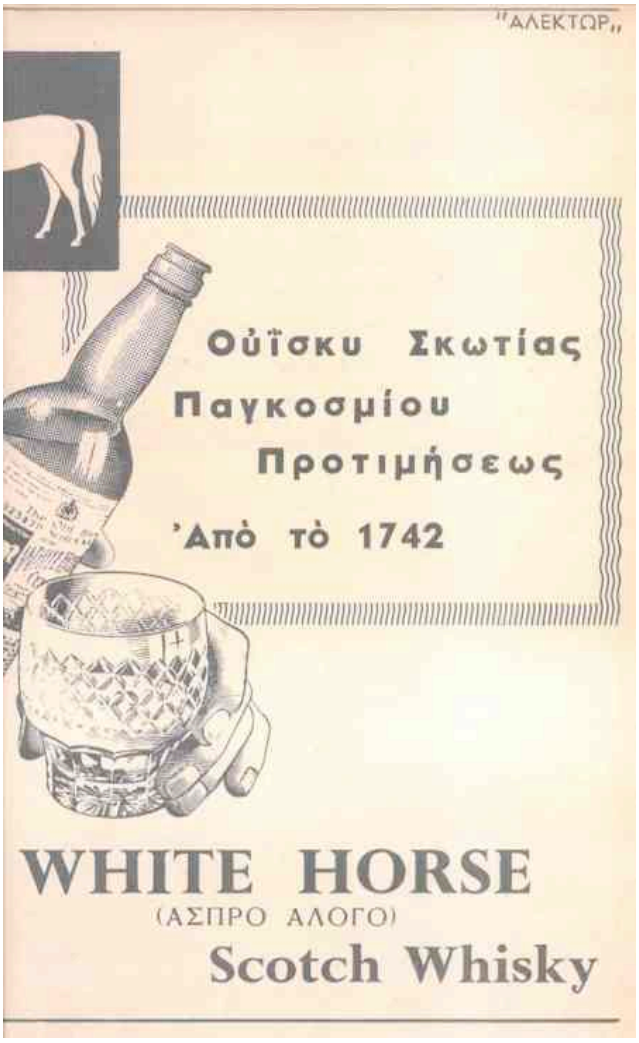


**Figure 4.3** "Scotch whisky of global preference since 1742". Advertisement for White Horse from the 1960s.

One of the first advertisements actually made for the Greek market, by the advertising company Alector, was for White Horse whisky (Figure 4.3). In this simple sketch there is a horse at the top; further down, one hand holds a whisky bottle while the other holds the 'proper' whisky glass. The hands are masculine and well groomed, and thus there is a clear representation of a certain class and gender. The whisky glass

is made of crystal, short and old-fashioned but also quite luxurious. In this way the knowledge of how and in which glass the drink should be served emerges. The old-fashioned glass also has the connotation of something classic and durable. The advertisement is one of the few that presents the name of the whisky translated into Greek. However, the translation is probably there because the whisky was not yet popular or well known. The advertisement reads "Scotch whisky of global preference since 1742". "Scale making" is again used to invest the "global" with a cosmopolitan and high-status aura. Similar "global" themes also emerged in a variety of advertisements for other brands, such as Johnnie Walker, and not only during the 1960s.


**Figure 4.4** Johnnie Walker, "The whisky of absolute superiority" (1960s).

Advertising for whisky was based on an initiative of the importers in cooperation with the company that owned the whisky label or was associated with the importer. The design of the advertisements usually focused on an image of the bottle, the name of the whisky and a comment about how famous, superior, cosmopolitan, "global" and popular this whisky was. Most of the advertisements for Johnnie Walker from this period, which were reproduced in various forms, are typical examples (Figure 4.4). Usually they place Mr. Walker in the centre, and under the name of the whisky

is written: "The whisky of absolute superiority" (1960s) (Το ουίσκυ της απολύτου υπεροχής). This phrase characterized the whisky for a long time, establishing the brand and creating a distinctive placement for the product: whisky was projected as a "distinctive" drink for "superior" people. The word "superiority" also expresses the superior character of the whisky in relationship to other beverages.

Since that period, various other whisky brands (including Haig, Chivas Regal, Dimple, Special Malts and others) have also projected an image of whisky as "superior" and "distinctive". It was no accident that a similar trend was projected in Greek cinema in the sixties. In several films whisky was projected as the drink of the wealthy while wine and ouzo were the drinks of the poor. Economic and social differences were thus expressed through consumption habits and, more particularly, alcoholic beverages. The word "superior" is thus bound to the economically "superior" person who is able to spend more money on alcohol.


**Figure 4.5** Pronunciation at the "threshold of perception": In both advertisements the "right pronunciation" is given in Greek at the bottom of the page. The first one is a Dimple (1987) and the second a J&B (1980).

During this same period in Greece, the right "accent" often appeared at the "threshold of perception" (Figure 4.5). At the bottom of the adverstisement, below the name of the whisky (which was always written in English), the pronunciation of the name would be given in Greek script. The focus on the right pronunciation of the whisky presented was an important characteristic of these advertisements. Even though people who would not be able to read the name of the whisky in English did not speak English, there was an effort to pronounce it correctly even by non-English speakers. The importance of this advertising technique lies in the transfer of actual "knowledge" to the consumer which can be valued when it is practiced as a form of distinction of consumption. The knowledge of how to pronounce the name with the "right" accent in English (and in foreign languages in general) carries a heavy

ideological significance in Greece that is associated with the status and distinction of the actor. To speak a foreign language is a sign of education and therefore a form of distinction. Ever since the foundation of the Greek state, Greek education has included the promotion of foreign languages; in recent decades courses in French, German or English have been obligatory in public schools. In addition, the preference for international-cosmopolitan education is expressed in the variety of French, German, British and American schools in the Greek capital as possible educational choices for the children of middle and higher-class Athenians.

This technique should be understood in general within the context of the use of foreign languages in Greek-made advertisements, where phrases, words or dialogs appear in English. In recent decades almost half of the slogans for whisky have been in English, thus pursuing a form of distinction (Papanikolaou 1999: 34). This awkward trend of Greek-made advertisements that insist on the use of English indicates an effort on the part of marketers to identify whisky with a certain notion of something "foreign" and "distinctive". Moreover, the use of foreign languages, including the "English accent" seen in the advertisements above, appeared during a period when Greece was emerging from linguistic homogenization and enforced unification of the State. As such the linguistic style of these advertisements (with a specific focus on English) was not strange to the literary production of the time, which expressed a "heteroglossia" (Tziovas 1994). Similarly, Greek films produced during this time of the golden age of cinema included an extraordinary linguistic spectrum that incorporated English, French, Italian and even Turkish expressions depending on the occasion and the characters (Georgakopoulou 2000).

The use of foreign words and phrases can be seen in many contexts within social life in Greece. Apart from placing the social actor within the social stratum of the middle or upper class, it is connected to a certain notion of being "modern", progressive and knowledgeable. Already from the 1960s in Greek cinema words such as "Daddy" and "bye" were widely used in many films to satirize the adoption of these words by high-class Athenians. Furthermore, the number of non-Greek names of clothing shops in many areas of Athens, such as the shopping areas of Kolonaki (Κολωνάκι) and Patision (Πατησίων), is striking. Names are usually in English or French, or Greek names may be written in Latin script. Even more surprisingly, shops that sell Greek commodities might transform their names into English or Latin versions so as to connote transnationality, Europeanness and modernity.

Since the 1970s, when advertising became the norm with the advent of television in Greek households, television advertisements have been based on a particular set of economic and legal relationships involving three agents. The first is the client, which is usually the importer of the alcohol and has a set of expectations for the marketing of the product. The client is also aware of the different strategies that can be used, but the design of the overall project is within the control of the contractor, i.e. the advertising company. The advertising company has as its responsibility the actual creation of the scripts for the television advertisements and the design of the other means of marketing, in collaboration with the client. However, advertising companies in Greece do not usually have the means to direct and film television advertisements. Therefore, the third agent takes over, namely the production company. The production company contracts with the advertising company to film and produce the script. Usually the client supervises the process of filming, but the completion and success of the advertisement is the responsibility of the production side. When the project is completed, it is handed over to the advertising company to be presented to

the client. The client inspects it and suggests possible changes that should be made, or accepts the advertisement as is.

The creation of the advertisement is thus a continuous collaboration between director, client and advertising company and is characterized by different aesthetic, cultural, and consumption criteria. According to a director of television advertisements who was interviewed during my research (and whose identity is kept anonymous)

> The advertising company supervises the filming. Therefore the director is always restricted and often in disagreement with the supervisors. However, there has to be some kind of consent between the parties. Personally I have had many problems directing advertisements, but in the end it has to be filmed according to the client's wishes.

Although many of the television advertisements made for the Greek market before the 1990s were designed elsewhere and adapted for Greece, in recent years more and more companies have decided to create their own television advertising in Greece.

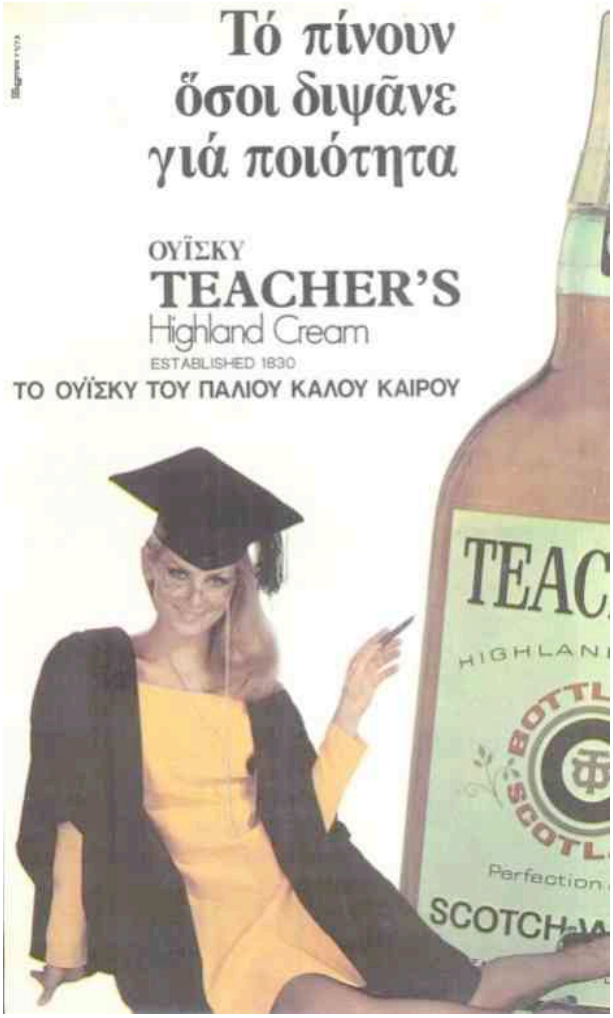


**Figure 4.6** Teacher's (1973): "It is drunk by those who are thirsty for quality."

Along with the language theme, a second theme that emerged in various advertisements for whisky during the 1970s and later is that of female emancipation.

More particularly, women were projected as stylish persons through the consumption of alcohol, as well as "modern" and independent beings. A classic example from this period is the advertising campaign for Teacher's in 1973 (Figure 4.6 with a text adapted for the Greek market). The idea of a woman in the position of a male academic teacher was used in various countries, but the text was changed for the Greek audience. In the centre of the poster is a woman dressed in British academic dress, just like the man pictured on the brand's logo. The advertisers preferred to replace the old man with this glamorous woman, who is projected as British-educated and a teacher; she is blonde and charming but at the same time very sophisticated, and above all she has : quality". The slogan invented for the Greek market was "it is drunk by those who are thirsty for quality" (Το πίνουν όσοι διψάνε για ποιότητα), thus distinguishing the female consumers of the beverage who are presented as having elevated taste.

It should also be noted that Britishness is associated with quality, a tendency that is observable in Greek social life. The connection of Britishness with whisky is apparent also in the actual consumption of whisky in Greece, expressed in the total control of the market by "Scotch". The idea that "women who are thirsty for quality" and who are "modern" and independent can consume Teacher's whisky as an expression of their identity is obvious. Such themes emerged in many advertisements, especially in the 1970s and 1980s when feminism was at the centre of public discussion. However, since 1990s whisky advertisements have focused more on a projection of "masculinity" rather than "femininity". Whisky has been presented as a masculine drink in various other countries as well as Greece, and this is expressed in most advertisements around the globe. This globalized and standardized projection of "masculinity" is concerned with images of "economic success", "maturity" and "leisure", while other themes are combined in different cases. Views similar to those of marketers elsewhere are also evident in Greece and are articulated clearly in the fourth theme that emerged after 1990s, namely 'lifestyle' and sexuality.

The third theme, sexuality through drinking, was already appearing in a variety of advertisements from the 1970s. A Ballantine's poster of 1976 (Figure 4.7), for example, presents several heterosexual couples dancing close together while at the center of the poster a happy, smiling female face emerges. The slogan is "Carefree life—good whisky necessary" (Ξένοιαστη ζωή...Απαραίτητο ενα καλό ουίσκυ). The "carefree life" refers to a life without problems, a life young people know how to enjoy and that brings them together—and whisky is a "necessary" ingredient. The possibility of meeting a partner through drinking at a party or out dancing has been projected by various other whisky brands, including Johnnie Walker, Haig and Cutty Sark. Indeed alcohol, including whisky, has been a means for meeting sexual partners or engaging in relationships throughout Greece as elsewhere. Bars and clubs are spaces where alcohol consumption is encouraged and they provide possible socializing spaces for both genders. These "modern" spaces where men and women can easily mix stand in opposition to the "traditional" male spaces such as coffeehouses where access by women is restricted in most parts of Greece, including Athens. In that sense whisky, like other imported beverages such as vermouth, have been presented since the 1970s as part of a lifestyle where people socialize in "modern" places with "modern" drinks and meet possible partners. This trend emerged after the Second World War with the popularization and standardization of night entertainment, but became even more apparent during the 1960s and 1970s.


**Figure 4.7** Ballantine's (1976) SIGMA. "Carefree life—good whisky necessary."

A fourth theme evident since the 1970s is related to the production of the product. In magazine advertising the focus was on the way in which whisky is produced. This standardized form of advertising has been used in global campaigns in various ways, though it has not always been very successful. "Knowing how" the whisky is made, and with what processes it is preserved and aged, has also been a consideration for marketers in the Greek market, especially in recent decades when single malt whiskies have become more popular and distinctive. A variety of whiskies (such as Jack Daniel's, Glenfiddich, Grant's, Dewar's aged whisky and Jameson) have used their own production heritage as a symbol. More specifically, issues of "tradition", time spent maturing, knowledge of the family of producers, and issues of love and care for the spirit are articulated. Kinship is also a major subject in this type of advertisements. Usually the story begins with the founder of the whisky brand and the continuation of the "tradition" by the family—despite the fact that most distilleries are owned by multinational companies.

The final theme, "lifestyle", emerged during the 1990s. This involved an effort to relate the product to a certain social identity. For example, at the beginning of the 1990s J&B presented a campaign with an interesting use of language. One magazine advertisement read (Figure 4.8): "Modern men, dynamic ones, those who know how to live fully and enjoy every moment of their lives, have their own whisky, J&B. Rare

moments do not just come. Create them". The concept of "lifestyle" can be articulated as a set of concepts and practices, a "way of doing and being" in the world, which has been clearly projected in various advertisements of the 1990s and 2000s. Brands like Johnnie Walker and Cutty Sark project leisure as a distinctive paradise for a certain class of people who "know how to live their lives" and engage in yachting and skiing. Whisky is thus connected with successful people, usually men who are aged between thirty and sixty and have a "modern" image. The "modern" is presented as upper class and close to what could be considered "distinctive" forms of leisure. Furthermore, certain localizations are expressed in these advertisements—such as the appearance of the whisky-cola cocktail, which is very popular in Greece, especially among women.


**Figure 4.8** J&B (1990). "Modern men."

The economic prosperity and the modernity expressed by the characters in such advertisements is also intertwined with the theme of "success". Success is a target fulfilled by modern men—whisky consumers—who have a distinctive style. Whisky is indeed a symbol of success to the extent that consumers can afford it. "Success" is also presented as a masculine attribute in most advertisements of the 1990s.

A similar case can be found in advertising for Haig, which since that period has been projecting an identity closer to art, thus distinguishing the consumers of the beverage. One of the first advertisements to set this trend had the caption "Famous friends of art at openings, in company with John Haig". The poster presents a man and a woman in their thirties who are visiting a gallery and drinking whisky. Since then Haig has maintained this same attitude by supporting cultural events, cooperating

with jazz clubs and publishing jazz news leaflets. "ART IS REAL" is a monthly leaflet covering jazz news, concerts in Greece and new jazz releases. The whisky logo is dominant in most parts of the leaflet and the front cover always features the most recent advertisement for the brand. Furthermore, at the first jazz club of Athens (called Half Note), Haig is a major sponsor of many "ethnic" and "international" events, thus claiming a "global" and "cosmopolitan" identity . Similar techniques have been used by Jameson, which sponsors jazz events in the other jazz club in Athens, Bar Guru Bar.

Since the 1990s single malt and special brands have also begun to be circulated in the Greek market by the various multinational corporations that nowadays own these distilleries. Single malts have been booming internationally, especially since the 1980s, as a result of the purchase of the distilleries by multinational corporations. It was during that period that many forgotten distilleries were reopened and single malt whisky was reinvented. Diageo owns, for example, Caol Ila from the Island of Islay, Cardhu from the Highlands, Clynelish from the Highlands, Cragganmore from the Highlands, Lagavulin from Islay, Talisker from the Isle of Skye, Oban from the Highlands and many more distilleries all over Scotland.[28] Pernod Ricard owns Laphroaig on Islay, Aberlour in Speyside, Glenallachie in Speyside and many more. Single malts have been promoted in Greece in various ways in recent years. These whiskies appeal to connoisseurs who have already been drinking whisky for a long time and are interested in expanding their "taste"; they are presented as top-quality Scotch whisky, targeting consumers who will continue to drink whisky but who want to be distinctive, especially in a country where blended whisky is highly popular.

## Localisms

As noted in the first part of this chapter, the Greek market for imported drinks grew larger during the 1990s as a result of the arrival of huge multinational corporations. The corporations tried to expand their own products, including whisky, through various strategies. Marketing departments became part of these companies, and advertising (especially on television) was increased. In this context advertising became more competitive. Despite the fact that the consumption of whisky was already high during that period and individual brands were well known and very popular, advertising became more intense as a result of the competition.

In recent years, and more particularly at the first conference on alcohol marketing in Greece in 2001, a number of issues have been articulated from the perspective of the marketers.[29] These have included conceptions of "masculinity", "success", "maturity" and "modernity" and the values of "tradition", "friendship", "honesty" and "devotion". These themes still appear in a number of advertisements made in Greece or adopted from abroad and in that sense their localized character is ambiguous. However, according to the brand manager of Johnnie Walker in Greece, the issues of "modernness", "success" and "masculinity" have emerged as central concepts in Greece. According to her, whisky expresses masculinity in Greece and the beverage "is promoted as a sophisticated drink for modern people who know what they want in

[28] Most of the single malt whisky distilleries in Scotland are owned nowadays by Diageo and Pernod Ricard. For more information on ownership and distillers of Single malt whisky see Michael Jackson's *Malt Whisky Companion* (published by Dorling Kindersley Limited).
[29] Report on the first marketing conference in Greece 2001.

their life and succeed in achieving their goals" (interview in Athens, D. Kalfa 17-01-2006).

Though these themes appear continuously in a variety of advertisements, in recent years and more particularly after the 1990s the theme of "lifestyle" has been emerging. Furthermore, during this period 'localism' has become part of marketing, which has extended to nationalization in several advertisements.

Until the beginning of the 1990s several companies tried to advertise their own products all over the world with a single advertisement or similar advertisements. Characteristic of this period were the advertisements for Jack Daniels, Cutty Sark and Johnnie Walker that were also adapted for the Greek market. Despite their wish to minimize advertising costs by using the same idea everywhere in the world, some companies decided that marketing should be adapted to "local" circumstances and that local advertising companies within the importing countries should produce the advertisements for their own markets. Coca Cola, for example, has tried to adapt in numerous cases, as Miller has demonstrated (2002: 253). This trend emerged in a period when companies were becoming more concerned about the "local" and were trying to suit their strategies to the specific case in each country. In Greece, advertisers for the beers Heineken and Amstel, for example, had already been trying since the 1980s to associate their products with an "authentic" Greek life in their television advertising and had paid close attention to their "ideology of scale" (Tsing 2000: 85). At the end of the 1980s the plot of an Amstel advertisement was as follows:

> A shepherd is sitting in a cafe in a mountain village square drinking beer.
> The square fills up with his flock of sheep.
> The shepherd continues to drink his beer, relaxed, while the villagers complain.
> The shepherd praises Amstel beer.

In contrast to beer, whisky emerges in advertisements as the ideal "gift" (*doro*). This is accurate enough, as whisky has been in recent decades an appropriate and prestigious gift for birthdays and name-day celebrations. Alcohol is a very common gift in Greek social life. More recently, at Christmas time, baskets of champagnes and special whisky have become common gifts between professionals in companies. The Greek shipping companies in particular, which own one of the largest fleets in the world, send baskets of whisky and champagne to the families of their employees. In addition, whisky gifts regularly appear in a number of magazines, such as *Epsilon* (Έψιλον) (in the Sunday newspaper *Eleftherotypia*) and *Athinorama* magazine, during Christmas (*Eleftherotypia* Dec 18, 2005, *Athinorama* Dec 8, 2005). The same theme also appeared on television in 1991 in an advertisement for Chivas Regal:

> Focus on the bottle of Chivas Regal
> Voiceover:
> "Expensive gift? Of course! But when you give someone this gift, they will always remember you".

The same technique has also been used for more than a decade in magazines and on posters, a characteristic example being the advertisements for Johnnie Walker Black Label. The text of the advertisement is "Give the most personal gift with just a phone

call" (Figure 4.9 Κάντε το πιο προσωπικό δώρο με ένα μόνο τηλεφώνημα). On the advertisement there is a phone number which people can call to specify the name and the message that they would like printed on the whisky label and have the gift sent to the recipient's address. Also on the label in the advertisement is written "Long live John" (Χρόνια Πολλά Γιάννη), a wish that is articulated at name-day celebrations and on birthdays. On the actual bottle there are dozens of Greek names, making it clear just how 'personal' this gift is. According to the brand manager for Johnnie Walker this advertisement has not been used in any other country, because in Greece whisky is characteristically "local".


**Figure 4.9** Johnnie Walker Black Label (2005). "Give the most personal gift with just a phone call."

Another popular localizing strategy has been the use of particular places that carry cultural or national significance, another form of "scale making" (Tsing 2000: 86). Several imaginaries have employed the "national" scale in an effort to address patriotic feelings and follow the "local" ideology of marketing. A characteristic example is the television advertisement for J&B (2003) that was filmed on the Athens metro a few years after its opening in March 2000. The Athens metro opened at about the time that Greece gained official entry into the European Monetary Union and that relationship added prestige to the new transport system and its opening. Consequently the metro system was projected by the Greek government as one of the biggest achievements in post-authoritarian Greece, and it was used as a persuasive argument for the city's capacity to host the Olympic games in 2004. The metro system gained

public approval and it became the most recent symbol of Greek modernity and modernization (Calotychos 2003: 7). The metro advertisement was filmed in English and shown with Greek subtitles despite the fact that it was made for the Greek market.

The use of recognizable spaces and their strategic projection can be found in a number of other magazine advertisements for whisky. In 2006 the LowAthens company created a campaign for Grant's whisky. Among its advertisements was one which presented a structure designed by the famous architect Calatrava for the Olympic stadium in Athens in the context of the Olympic games of 2004, which was intended to be a landmark of modern Greece (Figure 4.10). More specifically the stadium was celebrated as the trademark of the Greek Olympics and came to represent meanings of "Greekness", "Europeanization" and "cosmopolitanism" (Traganou 2008: 185). The advertisement reads, "When everybody could see only bones, somebody could see architecture". The connotation is that the competence of some people can be extraordinary because they "view" the world in a different way. In the same way consumers are encouraged to "try a different angle" and "view" a different reality with the "angle" of Grant's. Within this context localism embraces a landmark of the "nation", a symbol of "Greekness, in order to invest Grant's with a "local" aura.

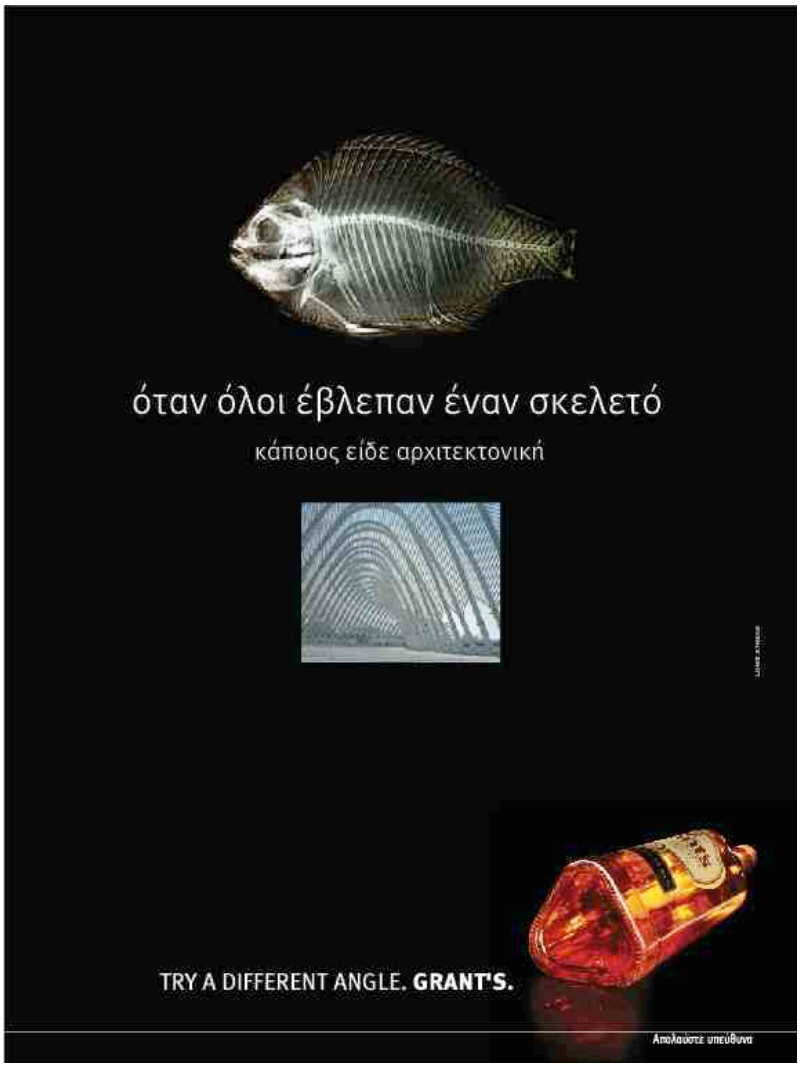


**Figure 4.10 Grant's** (2006) by LowAthens. "When everybody could see only bones, somebody could see architecture."

More recently the theme of national scale making has been projected by several brands, a characteristic example being the Famous Grouse advertisement shown while the European Football championship was taking place in 2004. Nationalization as a strategy aims at the association of the product with certain national characteristics. It can appropriate certain "key-symbols" such as flags, national colors or cultural heritage. The famous Grouse was presented in this way for the Greek audience (Figure 4.11):

> Grouse with its head bent behind a football.
> Slowly straightens up while turning its face to the front.
> Its face is painted with the national colors of Greece, blue and white, and the characteristic cross that forms part of the Greek flag.
> Walks slowly.
> Slogan states: Think different, Think Greece.

**Figure 4.11** Famous Grouse television advertisement (2004).

The advertisement was greatly appreciated as an expression of the popularity of whisky in Greece and as a tribute to the Greek team in the European championship. Again localism and an "ideology of scale" had tried to appropriate and materialize "Greekness" and nationality in a clear case of scale making (Tsing 2000: 86)

However, this has not always been the case with national scale making attempts in advertisements. In 1992 an advertisement produced by Coca Cola depicted Coca Cola bottles replacing the columns of the Parthenon. This generated widespread dissatisfaction, expressed in the mass media and political discourse, because one of the "sacred" symbols of Greece had been compromised by a symbol of Americanization and U.S hegemony. Yalouri (2001: 110) describes how issues of the distortion of the actual form of the Acropolis, of commodification, Americanization and the dislocation in Greece of power over the Greek past are associated with such unsuccessful practices.

## Marketing, advertising and scale making

An understanding of marketing and advertising requires an already established knowledge (in Chapters 2 and 3) of the cultural and economic interactions that initiated and reproduced this initial trajectory of Scotch whisky within the context of the strategies of the cultural industry. The mediascapes of commercial Greek cinema and of marketing and advertising are filled with exercises of imagination about various themes such as "modernity" and "tradition", the "local", the "global", and the "national". More specifically, the imaginaries of marketing and advertising have shifted from the ambiguous identity of Scotch whisky evident in the cinematic genre to clear techniques of scale making (Tsing 2000: 85).

This chapter discussed the cultural claims of locality and nationality as forms of scale making (Tsing 2000: 85). By shifting away from approaches of marketing and advertising production, I have examined the concepts of scale making in marketing and advertising discourse to conclude that the terms "national" and "local" have excited and inspired the imagination of marketers. Moreover, Scotch is projected as a superior distinctive beverage for high class people who have taste. Following Bourdieu, I argue that distinction in advertising is a way of concealing and reproducing social hierarchies and inequalities (1984). The distinction is reproduced by education, which is expressed in the use of the English language and in the accent at the threshold of perception. Generally speaking, the use of the English language in the marketing of Scotch has been a longlasting pattern that claims a higher status in Greek society and expresses cosmopolitanism and distinction. Within this context it has been appropriated by public discourse and has even been used in political messages (such as "Keep walking", A. Papandreou).

Moreover, distinction in the marketing and advertising of Scotch is evident in the terms of "art" and "lifestyle". These two features became entangled with an upper class style and were expanded to the themes of culture and arts. Haig, for example, has become the "arty", "jazz" and "ethnic" drink, Johnny Walker the "scientific" and "serious" beverage (sponsoring talks by scientists and intellectuals such as the astronaut Neil Armstrong) and Cutty Sark the "sporty" and "dynamic" beverage.

Distinction was followed by "scale making" with a specific focus on the categories of local versus foreign and national versus Scotch (Tsing 2000: 85). The "local" is expressed by transforming name days or Christmas celebrations into occasions for gifts of Scotch whisky. More specifically, names and name days (*giortes*) can be engraved on the bottle of Scotch (Johnny Walker), thus personalizing the impersonal realm of the commodity.

In addition, the national can be seen in the use of various landmarks that are deployed strategically as symbols of the Greek nation. The metro system, for example, a recent symbol of Greek modernity and modernization which was projected by the Greek government as one of the biggest achievements in post authoritarian Greece and became a persuasive argument for the city's capacity to host the Olympic games in 2004, has been used in a strategic localist manner. The 2004 Olympic stadium that was celebrated as the trademark of the Greek Olympics and came to represent meanings of "Greekness", "Europeanization" and "cosmopolitanism" has been incorporated in a Scotch whisky advertisement (Figure 4.10). Finally, the Greek flag adorned the body of the grouse of Famous Grouse Scotch whisky during the European football competition in 2004 (Figure 4.11).

# Part Two

# 5. The social life of whisky in Athens. Popular style, night entertainment and *bouzoukia* with live Greek popular music[30]

Δεν κοιμάμαι τώρα πια τα βράδια,
Σβήνω στο ουίσκι τα δικά σου τα
Σημάδια

I can no more sleep at nights,
I get rid of signs of you with whisky

Popular song by Christodoulopoulos

[30] The term "popular music" is a rendering of the Greek *sinhroni laiki mousiki*. It is related to *bouzouki* music, a style of music widely adapted and adopted especially by the "lower" social strata in post-war Greece (Οικονόμου 2005: 363). I use the term *bouzoukia* to refer in general to spaces where night entertainment takes place, encompassing the Greek terms *pistes*, *nihterina kentra, bouzoukia* and *skiladika*. I use the term in relation to clubs where live popular Greek music is performed. However, it is not my intention to essentialize this category of evening entertainment, which is very diverse and might be connected with completely different 'lifestyles' and social groups in the capital of Greece. When I refer to particular details and social relationships in relation to *bouzoukia*, the reader should keep in mind that my conclusions are based on participant observation and are therefore bounded by ethnographic particularity. In that sense *bouzoukia* is used ethnographically and refers to the above-mentioned type of clubs where live music is performed, even if the music is not always based on *bouzouki*, the stringed musical instrument. *Bouzoukia* or *bouzoukzidika* in that sense is a metaphor for well-known or unknown clubs with live Greek contemporary popular music.

## Introduction

Leisure in Greece (as in most other areas of the world) is interconnected with the consumption of alcohol. This is visible in most leisure spaces such as *kafenion*, taverns, restaurants, bars and clubs, as well as on social occasions such as gatherings of family and friends, celebrations, public festivals, weddings and funerals. In each location and on each social occasion certain types of alcohol are consumed (as noted in the introduction). This part of the study deals with the locations in which the consumption of whisky has become institutionalized, especially after the period of post authoritarianism in Athens. More specifically, it examines the *bouzoukia* and *skiladika* where live Greek popular music is performed and certain lifestyles are negotiated.

While this chapter of the study focuses on the history and ethnography of whisky consumption, it is a continuation of the first part that dealt with the macro processes of localization in the spheres of the alcohol industry, commercial Greek cinema and marketing. As already noted, these processes of the establishment of multinational capitalism and the development of the cultural industry laid the foundation for the consumption of whisky and its localization.

Even though many scholars have viewed localization as a process from above (Appadurai 1991, Miler 1996), I argue that the appropriation of whisky and finally its localization is a complicated process that is intertwined with various political, cultural and historical patterns. As such it is not entirely influenced by multinational capitalism, the cultural industry, marketing and advertising. The localization of whisky from above, as in the case of the cultural industry of marketing and advertising, has not invested in the association with Greek popular culture and music. There have not been any advertisements of Scotch in Greece that involve *bouzoukia* or Greek popular music. On the contrary, the media projections of Scotch are usually Greek visions of Europeaness, nationality and locality, identified as strategies of scale making.

Therefore, this part of the study examines a second trajectory of Scotch whisky, different from the strategies of the cultural industry investigated in the first part of this study. The following chapters focus on the "tactics" of the consumers in relation to Scotch whisky consumption in De Certeau's sense of the term (1989: 29-42). Scotch has emerged from a music scene and a form of entertainment from below, that was commercialized and popularized in post authoritarian Greece. It is argued that within the context of the commercialization of entertainment in *bouzoukia*, Scotch whisky was institutionalized and became associated with a representation of a popular style of entertainment in Athens. In many cases, style is related to a process of self-identification and self-presentation within the context of consumption (Ferguson 1999). Such processes are characteristic of urban landscapes where social identities are constructed or negotiated on the basis of mass consumption (Miller 1991). However, the appeal of the beverage has been much wider and as a result it has also been widely consumed in bars, clubs and households. Within this part of the study I focus mainly on the consumption of the beverage in the spaces of *bouzoukia* and *skyladika* to elaborate on the localization processes and the cultural meanings that the beverage has among my informants. In addition, this chapter seeks to identify the cultural specificity of the consumption of the beverage in these locations and thus to elaborate on the distinctiveness (or not) of such consumer practices. The practices of the groups identified are examined ethnographically in various contexts through participant observation. In order to understand the position of whisky in relation to the

consumption of night entertainment in Athens, I trace an anti-domestic discourse which has been reproduced in the context of popular music and entertainment. The social history of Greek popular culture, music and leisure in Athens is linked with the marginal scene of *rebetiko* that became nationalized and profoundly influenced post-war popular Greek music and entertainment. Within this context I argue that the anti-domestic discourse that was an integral part of *rebetiko* has been reproduced and popularized in contemporary Greek popular music and leisure in *bouzoukia*. This discourse is interpreted historically and accompanies various practices that have been related to whisky consumption and night entertainment in modern Athens.

The emergence of contemporary popular Greek music is interconnected with a commercialization of music and entertainment in general. The commercialization of night entertainment in the capital of Greece should be understood in the wider context of consumer society that emerged in post-authoritarian Greece. As noted in the introduction to the study, it was at the beginning of the 1970s that the first supermarkets appeared in the urban landscape and consumer goods, including whisky, began to circulate widely. Within this context the emergence of the popular singers of *bouzoukia* known as *firmes* (literally brands, metaphorically the "big", well-known singers) coincided with the proliferation of branded clothes, commodities and beverages in general including Scotch. It is the aim of this part of the study to investigate the relationship between the emergent consumer society in Greece and the excessive practices accompanying the above-mentioned forms of entertainment.

The emergence of the Greek consumer society in post-authoritarian Greece reproduced the social and economic inequalities that were already existent in Greek society. However, the consumption of commodities and services was accessed by larger parts of the population who had not had this opportunity previously. Despite the significant class/socioeconomic differences, the consumption of nightlife and of Greek contemporary popular music influenced the category of a style of modernness as a form of social identification and signification that cuts across the poles of class as well as other poles in society. Therefore, in this part of the study the "micro- practice" of an urban popular style based on contemporary Greek music and night entertainment is examined with the aim of elaborating on the distinct trajectory of consumer practices in such contexts and their relationship to social differentiation and entertainment in general.

Hence the questions addressed in this chapter can be summarized as follows: a) How did contemporary Greek popular music emerge in Athens, what is its relationship to *bouzoukia* and the Athenian consumer society, and did how Scotch whisky become intertwined with these spaces? b) How is whisky localized in *bouzoukia?* c) What is the cultural specificity of practices associated with the consumption of Scotch in these spaces? d) How does Scotch relate to the style of modernness among my interlocutors?

## The changing face of night entertainment in Athens. From *rebetadika* to *skiladika* and *bouzoukia* with contemporary popular live Greek music

The night life of Athens was already booming from the beginning of the twentieth century, centered on music venues that served champagne, brandy and imported wines and that offered live music, dance and occasionally food. These were the clubs

of the Athenian elite, standing in opposition to the lower-class taverns and smoky basements, the *rebetadika,* the places where marginal, underground and popular music known as *rebetiko* was forming. *Rebetiko* music was a result of migration of Christian Orthodox, Greek-speaking refugees who came to Greece from Asia Minor and other areas of the Ottoman empire due to Turkish nationalism and the consequences of the First World War. In addition, *Rebetiko* expressed a deep melancholia that was related to the changing and uncertain conditions of the social life of immigrants and this "structure of feeling" profoundly influenced the popular music of Greece.

The development of the genre of *rebetiko* was also influenced by the rapid urbanization in the early twentieth century and as such was an urban culture (Κοταρίδης 1996: 21).[31] Ironically enough, this music that was stigmatized and characterized as the "music of the underground world" and of hashish users (*hasiklides*) was to become essentialized, nationalized and even part of "Greek heritage" (Ανδριάκαινα 1996: 225-257). As Andriakena has demonstrated, the process of the popularization of *rebetiko* was first pursued by Greek intellectuals who were in search of new forms of Greekness and post-war fantasies (Ανδριάκαινα 1996: 225-257). Within this context, live Greek popular music as entertainment culture was gradually developed. Taverns were slowly transformed into successful music scenes and the music from the "East" was appropriated to express particular urban styles.

The processes of commercialization of the genre of *rebetiko* profoundly influenced post-war popular music. However, the music as well as the style of entertainment had to become as Europeanized as possible—especially because *rebetiko* and *bouzouki* music was associated with Turkey and the Ottoman occupation, concepts which were related to the dark ages of the Greek nation.[32] As a result, the meanings of modernness in urban entertainment coincided with a Europeanization of the style of this genre and of the spaces where *rebetiko* was performed. Within this context music changed, the style of nightclubs was refined, wine was replaced with champagne and whisky, and the marginal style of the music was appropriated by various new musicians and clubs. As a result, modernness was materialized in Europeanized, "European-like" or "American" symbols that were (like Scotch whisky) adopted and adapted and became widely consumed with the emergence of consumer society.

As demonstrated in the first part of the study, a process of localization had already started after the Second World War and, more specifically, during the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the first wave of importation, commercial Greek cinema and

[31] For more information on *rebetiko* see Kotaridis 1999, Damianakos 2003 and Petropoulos 1991.

[32] While "Orientalism" in Europe has been a way of exoticizing the "Other" for many centuries, in Greece an ambivalent relationship with the "East" created the "superior" meaning of the "West" or "Europe" and the familiar Otherness of the "East". Herzfeld has argued that Greece has been viewed as a "polluted vessel", on one hand the "cradle of civilization" and on the other the country that was part of the barbaric, exotic "East", the Ottoman Empire (1987). This "European" view of Greek culture profoundly influenced the way in which Greeks view themselves and also the way in which employ the concepts of the "West" and "Europe". The essentializations of Europeans became part of a selective memory in Greece and "Western" products and ways of thinking and behaving colonized first the elites and then the rest of the population. The Greek word "xenophile", denoting the liking for *xeno* (things that are foreign) expresses the passion for Otherness that is manifested in consumption, representing the materialization of the symbolic domination of modern Greek identity and the ambiguities that social identities entail in everyday life.

advertising. Within this context Scotch was projected as a symbol of modernness (sometimes ambiguous) which represented post-war consumer dreams and fantasies.

In order to understand the second trajectory of localization of Scotch whisky in *bouzoukia, skiladika* and *ellinadika*, I should first mention how these clubs were influenced by the genre of *rebetiko* and under what conditions an anti-domestic mentality became representative of the nightclubs of *bouzoukia, skiladika* and *ellinadika*. *Rebetiko* began forming at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century when the first migrants from Turkey arrived in Greece (Δαμιανάκος 2003: 142). Immigrants moved to the harbors of Greece and stayed there, either seeking employment or lacking the resources to move to other areas. The music that first formed in these harbor cities (such as Smyrna, Syros and Piraeus) was influenced by the populations of Anatolia and was based on a mixture of many styles and sounds, just like the mosaic of the Ottoman empire that included a vast number of cultural groups. The music was simple, based on a *bouzouki* (stringed instrument) and a *baglama* (small stringed instrument), with slow and sometimes sad rhythms. The lyrics were also simple, expressed in the colloquial language of the immigrants that was based on a mixture of Ottoman Turkish and Greek. Major points of knowledge transmission for these migrants in Greece were neighborhoods, prisons and *tekedes*.[33] The music in many cases was self-taught; the composers were mainly anonymous; transmission was oral; and written notation was rarely used. Groups that identified with this music were the marginal and stigmatized networks of the society including drug addicts, pimps, petty criminals, prisoners and in general people who were discriminated against and lived in poverty. Family women, wives or any kind of woman who was not a prostitute or a singer were rarely allowed to enter the male-dominated spaces of the *rebetadika* (Πετρόπουλος 1991: 132). Gradually *rebetiko* became a part of the urban subcultures and by the time of the Second World War could be found in small taverns (Δαμιανάκος 2003: 146). However, a family man or families in general would avoid entering these spaces until the 1930s, as they were considered dangerous and the "lowest" form of entertainment for those on the margins (Δαμιανάκος 2003: 146). In addition, most songs expressed an anti-domestic discourse and were highly critical of social conventions and appearances.

According to Varouhaki (2005), there were three phases in the emergence of modern Greek music that correspond to different kinds of nightclubs and entertainment in post-war Athens. The first phase was between 1950 and 1965, related to the transition from *rebetiko* to 'popular' music (*laiko*).

After the Second World War in Athens a variety of places such as "Stelakis" (Στελλάκης) in Haidari and "Vlahou" (Βλάχου) in Aigaleo offered live music and food along with wine and beer (Περπινιάδης 2000). The music in these places would vary from *rebetiko* and folk to more popular songs, and the role of the band/orchestra was very important in shaping the identity of each music tavern. Even more important was the artist's name, a major investment for the success of a business. The patrons of these establishments were usually middle and lower-income working-class Athenians, and the geography of this kind of entertainment also reflected the poor and working

[33] *Tekke* in Turkish is a building used as a retreat and a spiritual centre by the Sufi or Tariqa brotherhoods. The term was adopted into *rebetiko* slang and signified the semi-illegal socializing places of musicians and other *rebetes*, where alcohol, hashish and other drugs were sometimes consumed. Possibly the term was adopted in this manner because the Orthodox Muslims of Turkey did not identify with the mysticism and the values of Tariqa; thus the *tekke* was stigmatized as a place of sin of those Sufi who were imagined to consume alcohol and hashish, going against Muslim tradition.

class neighborhoods of Athens. Kokinia, Haidari, Trouba and Kalithea were only a few of the neighborhoods where music taverns offered alcohol, food and music.

This period (the 1950s) coincided with the restructuring of Greece under the Marshall plan and the slow development of the night entertainment industry. Taverns and restaurants that used to be stigmatized by the presence of underground working-class musicians or *rebetes* gradually became trendy and transformed their programs to attract a wider audience. The music of the *bouzouki* that had been a monopoly of *rebetiko* slowly colonized the high-class entertainment clubs that became known as *bouzoukia* (*bouzoukia* is the plural of *bouzouki*) and a new post-war "popular music" began to form. Names such as Tsitsanis, Perpiniadis and Zambetas emerged in this period, which was vividly represented in the "golden age" of Greek cinema in the sixties.

It was after the Second World War that entertainment in Athens became increasingly influenced by the visions of modernity employed by the night industry and the performers. This new modernity brought a shift up-market and a Europeanization of the entertainment and music produced at that time. This was a slow but effective process that affected music, food, clothing, language and alcohol. The sound of orchestras became electrified and sound systems were installed in various *bouzoukia* (Βαρουχάκη 2005: 24). The western major scale replaced the eastern tonalities and the music became softer and more European-sounding. A characteristic figure of this period was Tsitsanis, who adopted a European style of playing and abandoned the traditional Turkish scales that had been central to popular *rebetiko* music before the War. As he stated in one of his interviews in 1976, a shift towards Europeanization of music began in 1937 when the Greek State decided to censor the lyrics and the rhythms of the music produced in Greece.[34] More specifically, lyrics that were about drugs, sexuality or shocking subjects were cut from the songs and any rhythms that sounded Eastern had to be removed. In post-war Greece the music of Tsitsanis and his songs dominated the night entertainment scene and his popularity grew greater as a result of the "refinement" of his sound. While this type of music was taking shape and growing in popularity, the musicians who had remained faithful to the old styles and tonalities did not enjoy success. Musicians such as Marcos Vamvakaris played music in poor taverns for a living when the jukebox replaced the expensive orchestras that small restaurants could not afford.

Rather surprisingly, the commercialization of night entertainment gave a boost to Greek music, which had not been very popular among the upper strata of Athens until that time. The *bouzouki* gradually came to represent Greekness and was projected in films for international audiences (*Never on Sunday*, *Stella*). Popular music expanded into soft (*elafri*) and heavy (*vary*) popular categorizations and was represented by star singers such as Kazantizidis. The domination of "European" and "foreign" music gradually declined and popular Greek songs gained larger audiences.

The commercialization of the new version of *rebetiko*, the formation of a new popular music, and the domination of the *bouzouki* led to the well-known debate about the value of the *bouzouki* in Greek music during the sixties (Οικονόμου 2005). The fact that the *bouzouki* was associated with the underground *rebetiko* music that was played by marginal groups of immigrants who had adopted Turkish and Eastern sounds attracted harsh criticism from various intellectuals. This debate was similar to

[34] The interview with Tsitsanis was included in the television series *Paraskinio*, broadcast in 1976. The musician stated "*kovame ta bemolia*" (κόβαμε τα μπεμόλια—we would avoid eastern climax) in relation to rythms that would undergo censorship.

the language debate (*glosikon zitima*) at the beginning of the century which Herzfeld (1987) has described, when certain intellectuals argued for a "pure" or purified use of the Greek language while others argued for the use of the demotic language that the majority spoke and wrote. Accordingly bouzouki was viewed as a polluted vessel of Turkishness in contemporary Greek culture that was brought in the country by immigrants and should not be related to any aspect of Greek music. Especially the association of the musical instrument with hashish (mainly because there were *rebetes* who had produced music with lyrics that praised hashish) produced considerable unease among the Athenians who imagined the hashish users as outcasts and criminals. While this marginalization of the musical instrument lasted only until the 1960s, the connotations of music played with *bouzouki* in the popular imagination of the European-oriented Greeks persisted. This created a tension with the contemporary popular music that internalized *bouzouki*, a symbol of the East (variations of *bouzouki* are known to be of Turkish Ottoman origin).

In general during this period the simple style of the taverns was transformed; stages and electric sound systems were added and previously unknown artists grew rich. The new "popular" music became commercialized, the first recordings were made by American companies (His Master's Voice and Columbia were some of the big record companies) and artists such as Hiotis, Bithikotsis and Mery Linta appeared on the scene. Such people would perform at music restaurants where food and wine could be ordered and the clientele were entertained with music and other performances.

By contrast, in the same period high-class Athenian clubs in the center of Athens with a "Western" aesthetic and music included bands, singers and performers from abroad in their entertainment programs (Καιροφύλας 1997). These clubs would also sometimes include stripper performances, and the main alcoholic drinks consumed there were whisky, vermouth, champagne and other imported beverages. Such clubs, which had emerged in Athens at the beginning of the century (Καιροφύλας 1997), expressed a "refined" aesthetic. The style of the customers was clearly elitist and European; their clothes would follow the trendiest fashions, the music was always foreign, and the performers either were from abroad or had foreign names (usually nicknames).[35] Taverns or *bouzoukia* did not have this kind of clientele and did not serve imported beverages. According to one Greek historian, already during the carnival of 1965 several changes had taken place in the night entertainment of *bouzoukia*—such as the replacement of retsina with whisky in many places (Καιροφύλας 1997: 310). The consumption of whisky was already popularized among high-class Athenians who spent time at parties in the King George Hotel or nightclubs. In addition, the *bouzoukia* where the popular singers of the time performed institutionalized the breaking of plates. A historian who witnessed this transformation states,

> New Year's day in 1966 was celebrated by Athenians in taverns and nightclubs and that was an opportunity to notice the social transformation that was taking place. Entertainment had changed. The parties (γλέντια) of high and low-class Athenians had changed […] The plates that people were breaking for entertainment ran to tens or hundreds. There was also a technique. Customers

[35] Examples of this kind of club were Embassy (situated in Panepistimiou and Amerikis St.), Ritz (located in Stadiou 65), and Arizona. Of Ritz, Kerofilas writes: "it was a nightclub with German staff occasionally, a magnificent juggler and the 'queens of sex', Sabine and Iris" (1997: 205).

> would ask the waiter to bring the plates, then he could place them on the table or on a chair and then somebody among the company of people would throw them on the floor. Immediately after the event another waiter would come to clean up the mess so this kind entertainment could go on […] This kind of entertainment was popularized not only in popular clubs (λαικά κέντρα) but also in expensive places where the ship-owners and the 'new rich' could entertain themselves and show off their wealth. (Καιροφύλας 1997: 349)

Though nightlife was now a mainstream phenomenon, the practices outlined above were still characteristic of a genre with its roots in underground sectors of society. The breaking of plates, the assertive masculine dance of *zeibekiko*, the assertive feminine dance of *tsifteteli*, the burning of money, and the performative destruction of wealth were all characteristic of the underground clubs that were situated on the peripheries of the city. The practices taking place in these clubs were not widely accepted and indeed carried a stigma. The styles of dance, for example, were popularized with the commercialization of *bouzoukia*. *Zeibekiko* is a male solo dance that has its immediate origins among the Zeybek warriors of Anatolia. It came to Greece along with the post-1923 population exchanges following the Treaty of Lausanne. In the past the dance was associated only with *rebetes* but gradually the commercialization of music brought wide popularity to the dance. This highly performative and individualist dance, which is performed with the arms held horizontally at shoulder level in an almost cross-like figure, has been described as an anti-domestic and anti family-discourse (Cowan 1990: 185). *Tsifteteli* is considered a typically female dance with its origins in various areas of the Ottoman empire, which came to Greece with the Greek-speaking immigrants from Turkey and was institutionalized in the genre of *rebetiko*. *Tsifteteli* is a very common dance in *bouzoukia* and is danced by women in a seductive manner. The arms are held wide open, expressing the eroticism of the subject, and mostly stay in a vertical pose while the palms move in circular motions. One very performative act is the ability to move the hips with a twist of the bottom. These movements are done at a fast tempo, following the music, and are considered highly arousing.

Doubtless the breaking of plates was also a characteristic *rebetiko* practice that symbolically opposed the household, the feminine sphere of food and the family values. According to Petropoulos, the breaking of plates was practiced among *rebetes* in taverns where small groups of musicians would perform at the beginning of the century in Athens (Πετρόπουλος 1991: 132). They would smash either glasses or plates that were used for food. On a symbolic level this practice can be associated with the plate as a symbol of the household and family values; breaking plates can be understood as a way of breaking out of this system of obligations and social restrictions. Still today the expression "Let's break them" (*na ta spasoume*) means "Let's entertain ourselves". A similar phrase is "Let's burn it" (*na to kaspoume*). According to the *rebetes*, the fans of the genre of *rebetiko*, there were particular ways of breaking plates. Petropoulos states that among the *rebetes* the "rituals" of breaking glasses and plates were different (1991: 131). The glasses that were to be broken were short tavern wine glasses and water glasses. Other glasses, such as beer glasses or short ouzo glasses were not to be broken because the base of the glass was thick and such glasses would not break easily. Older *rebetes* broke glasses with the blade of a knife and the younger generation started breaking them with their palm on the table. Throwing glasses on the floor was highly inappropriate as this could be dangerous for others. Plates were broken by being thrown onto the stage where the musicians were

situated. Each time there would be no more than a single plate thrown. However, the plates had to be thrown in horizontal position so that when they touched the floor they would break evenly and without creating danger.

Despite the popularization of these marginal practices of *rebetiko*, the *rebetes* and their genre declined and almost disappeared in post-war Greece. The music that followed would be produced under very different socioeconomic conditions and as a result would not resemble the music of the past. The slow commercialization of the first period within the context of *bouzoukia* produced a genre that would borrow musical elements from the past *rebetiko* and combine them with new motifs.

The second period spans from 1965 to the end of the 1970s and corresponds to the creation and gradual commercialization of "popular music" (*laiki musiki*). Within the second period whisky became the main drink for consuming without food, the consumption of flowers to throw on the singers and the breaking of plates became institutionalized, and the focus shifted gradually to the singers so that the orchestra was placed at the back of the stage. The music varied from "light" popular songs (*elafra laika*, ελαφρολαικό) to "heavy" popular songs (*varia laika,* βαρύ λαικό) while *rebetiko* was minimized. The audience became much broader-based and more numerous than in the past. The night entertainment was accordingly divided among large clubs situated at the city center, where famous artists performed, and "underground" clubs situated at the periphery of the town, where unknown singers made their appearances.

*Bouzoukia* slowly became popular, replacing the music taverns and the high-class Athenian clubs (κοσμικά κέντρα) that remained in the center of the city. Sometimes famous artists would perform in the music taverns in the outskirts (e.g. Tsitsanis and Bellou in the well-known *bouzouki* venue '*Harama*'). Customers in *bouzouki* halls would vary from laborers to people in middle-strata jobs such as sailors (Καιροφύλας 1997: 349). The clubs situated in the center of the city, on the other hand, kept their "Western" character and appealed more to middle and upper-strata Athenians.

Particularly during the 1970s, the commercialization of entertainment into a more mass phenomenon resulted in several changes in the capital's nightlife. A well-known popular singer coming from a family of *rebetes* who worked into this sector from the 1950s described the situation in 1971 as follows:

> The "night" and entertainment in general were already changing. The singers did not sit for eight hours on the stage like in the old times. Five or ten songs at the beginning, the same in the middle of the program, and the night would finish with all the performers together. The breaking of plates that had already started in 1964 was institutionalized almost everywhere. One time my shoes were cut through because there were so many broken plates on the stage. Another night they hit my legs. They apologized of course, it was not on purpose. What can you say, and how can you stop it—especially if the shop owner is waiting to make money out of this? Likewise nowadays the same happens with flowers […] Along with the fashion of breaking plates around 1964-1965, there was no kitchen and no food served and we passed to whisky with ice and dried nuts. I have never understood how you can enjoy only drinks and no food. (Περπινιάδης 2001)

Within this context a new form of consumption emerged in nightlife. Hard spirits and more specifically whisky replaced wine and food; the breaking of plates and the

excessive aspect of entertainment were institutionalized; and the anti-domestic discourse of *rebetiko* which was represented in the dances, the breaking of plates and the lyrics of the music was reproduced.[36]

The establishment and commercialization of *bouzoukia*, especially during the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1973), was accompanied by the emergence of a consumer society (Stathakis 2007). Consumption and mass commodities became central in the social lives of Athenians. These included television, cars, apartments, tourism and hygiene products. Traditional professions such as shoe-making and tailoring became almost extinct and the salaried worker emerged. The average salaried worker as well as the middle social-strata would be interested in spending their salary on homogenized mass commodities that were for the first time available in massive quantities.

According to Oikonomou, it was at the end of the 1970s that much of the music of the first period was rediscovered by intellectuals and wider audiences (2005: 361-398). The music that had been neglected after the Second World War was classified as *kapsourotragouda* (meaning songs of the *kapsura* or "love songs"; for information on *kapsura* see the last part of the chapter) or heavy popular songs in opposition to *elafrolaiko* or *arhotnorebetiko*, the "light" version (Οικονόμου 2005: 378). The rediscovery of "heavy" popular music resulted in an objectification/essentialization of this music that was expressed by singers such as Kazantizidis. Within this context a "popular music" and a popular style of entertainment began to emerge.

A shift in entertainment and music from a "European"-oriented style of music to an "Eastern" one after the dictatorship has been addressed by various scholars writing about this period. Papazahariou argues that the "Eastern" shift in music and entertainment should be understood as a reaction to the westernization and Americanization of Greek society (1980: 249). More importantly, this trend emerged in post authoritarian Greece in the context of strong anti-American feelings that developed as a result of the American legitimation of the dictatorship. Within this context the middle and lower social strata reacted to a trend that characterized Greece throughout the twentieth century and adopted a new style or a new aesthetic that could be personified in singers such as Glykeria, Lefteris Pantazis, Stratos Dionisiou and Antypas.

The shift towards the commercialization of the *bouzoukia* where contemporary popular music was played during the 1980s coincided with the gradual disappearance of the practice of breaking plates and their replacement with flowers. The breaking of plates had been abolished in *bouzoukia* during the dictatorship but it had carried on secretly and illegally. The breaking of plates, as a potentially threatening act of freedom and a practice that represented anti-domesticity, was against the fascist and family values that the dictatorship had promoted.

The "modern" *bouzoukia* dominated Athenian nightlife after the 1970s and the less popular *skiladika* appeared on the scene. The term "dog clubs" (*skiladika*) has come to refer to a number of *bouzoukia* with popular Greek music on their programs and as a neologism is widely used in popular discourse to refer to the lesser-known *bouzoukia* or sometimes *bouzoukia* in general. Though the term is used nowadays to

[36] It is very possible that whisky was also the main drink of consumption in cabarets and "sex bars" in various areas of Athens and more particular in the area of Truba before and after the Second World War. The "sex bars" are spaces where the company of women is exchanged for the offering of alcoholic beverages by the customers. According to Abatzi "the bottle" of whisky was found in various "sex bars" before the dictatorship (2004: 58).

refer to a broad category of *bouzoukia*, there are several theories regarding how the word first appeared and what it means. The popular myth about the origin of the term *skiladika* relates to the "low quality" of the singers and the music in the *bouzoukia*. For example, in an article about Athens in the *New York Times*, we read

> Today, Iera Odos is packed with dance-until-dawn live-music clubs devoted to *skiladika*—the Greek bouzouki-backed music, both reviled and beloved, that, because of its singers' tendency to howl agony-filled lyrics of set-me-on-fire love, literally translates as "the place of dogs. (21 January 2007 by I. Kakkisis)

This simplistic view of *skiladiko* as referring to a low-quality expressive form and leisure spaces were singers "howl" is widely used by those who differentiate themselves in relation to the term and do not identify with this style of entertainment. Those who prefer opera or the *entehno* (artistic) Greek music, for example, might deny that there is any quality or artistic value in contemporary popular music.

According to Oikonomou the word "*skyladiko*" was used widely after the 1970s in reference to commercial popular music in Greece and the underground, "second-class" *bouzoukia* that became popular during the dictatorship (2005: 360-398). However, the author stresses that the term is much older than that. According to various sources, it was used after the Second World War to refer to small, "hidden" taverns that offered a bit of food, wine and a single *bouzouki* performer and occasionally had connections with prostitution and the smoking of illegal substances (a sort of music tavern of the first period). These places were called dog clubs because "dogs" (*skili*), meaning street urchins (*magas*), were regularly to be found there.[37] According to other sources, the word "dog" might have referred to a man who danced only *zeibekiko*. Other sources claim that these places appeared after the 1950s in Trouba, a neighborhood with a bad reputation close to the harbor of Piraeus. This area was full of "cabarets" and prostitutes who were called "dogs" (*skiles*). No matter when and how the term came to be invented, "dog-clubs" were *bouzoukia* for a working-class or low-class audience. One of my informants from Aigaleo who was a regular customer in *skiladika* since the 1950s stated,

> I still remember several dog clubs here in Aegaleo after the World War when I was a child. There were people coming from Athens to entertain themselves. The "dog clubs" were mainly halls with live music but they were called "dog clubs" because anybody with any kind of clothes could get in. You could see people with their working clothes on, with their dirty boots. It wasn't neat men that came there; there were men who were like dogs (*skilia*), *skiladika*.

Nowadays the term "dog club" refers to *bouzoukia* with live popular Greek music where the artists who perform are not as famous.[38] The term might also refer to certain practices and consumption habits which were widely popularized in post-authoritarian Greece and can now be found in almost any *bouzoukia* where contemporary Greek music is played (as noted).

---

[37] According to Cowan (quoting Petropoulos), "*magas*" was a masculine identity constructed by Greek immigrants from Asia Minor who lived at the margins of Greek society and who would criticize all aspects of conventional social values. For example, he would never get married and never hold his girlfriend's hand in the street. He never wore a tie and never had an umbrella; he smoked hashish, hated the police and regarded it as an honor to go to jail (Cowan 1990: 183).

[38] Examples are Floriniotis, Kafasis and Terlegas.

During the third period, and more particularly after the 1980s, what is known as "Greek contemporary popular music" (*sihrono laiko tragoudi*) was established (Βαρουχάκη 2005). Artists who had been performing on the outskirts of the city moved into the central *bouzoukia* of Athens. The music that had been characterized as *bouzouki*-hall music gradually became commercial, despite the stigma that had been attached to it and especially to the practices associated with it. The performances and music of artists who were part of this scene became mainstream and a new style of modernness emerged. Artists such as Pantazis and Antzela Dimitriou became *firmes* and there was an increasing number of *bouzoukia* where "popular music" could be heard. The debate relating to *skiladika* and the "quality" and the "taste" of the practices associated with the new popular Greek music arose during this period.

In Greece a number of newspapers, magazines and intellectuals referred to the phenomenon of *bouzoukia* with disgust by criticizing the "meaningless" character of the excessive consumption practiced there. For example, a 1988 article in *Oikonomikos tahidromos* (Figure 5.1), a weekly magazine that circulated widely in Greece in the 1980s and 1990s, blamed the *bouzoukia* mentality (meaning expensive whisky and hundreds of broken plates for entertainment) for the decline of modern Greece and the Greek economy (Oikonomikos 1988: 30). The article concluded by stating that the underdeveloped Greek economy would not prosper as long as such phenomena of waste and irrational economic behavior are practiced in Greece.


**Figure 5.1** "Larisa. Our economic development is calculated in plates" "Οικονομικός Ταχυδρόμος" magazine 14 Απριλίου 1988. The photograph shows a pile of broken plates from *bouzoukia*. Empty whisky bottles are placed purposefully on the top of the pile in reference to this style of entertainment. The article refers to the decadent practice of Greeks breaking plates and drinking whisky.

It was during this period that the "Omonia sound" (*o ihos tis omonias*) was created. This musical scene was so named because most of the tapes of such artists were sold in Omonia, in the centre of Athens. The advent of the CD and the development of the music industry in Greece after the 1980s further developed the

Greek contemporary popular music scene. More and more recordings were made, CDs could be easily recorded, and more music stores were established.

A major form of legitimation of popular music was its use by PASOK. The PASOK political party, which came to power in 1981, adopted popular music in public appearances by Andreas Papandreou who was himself a fan of *vari laiko* music. This adoption of popular Greek music signaled the political "turn" of PASOK toward the lower-income strata of Greek society. Papandreou as well as other PASOK members of parliament entertained themselves regularly with popular Greek music in *bouzoukia*, drank whisky and listened to artists such as Stratos Dionisiou and Rita Sakelariou. The political slogan that PASOK and Papandreou adopted during this period was "Greece belongs to the Greeks"—in opposition to the slogan "Greece belongs to the West" that Karamanlis had used after the dictatorship. PASOK realized the disadvantage of always basing Greek identity upon a European and Western reference point and stressed instead an inner, Greek identity. The denial of the dependency of Greece on Europe was actively promoted on various political and ideological levels, as in the collaborations and exchanges of Papandreou with Libya and Palestine during the 1980s. Within this context Papandreou and PASOK gave an alternative to European-oriented post-authoritarian politics and took advantage of the growing popular music and culture that was very appealing to lower and middle-class strata. Thus a major differentiation between cultural styles that identify with European, Western or Europeanized music and cultural styles that identify with Greek music was reproduced.

With political legitimation, *bouzoukia* gradually grew more popular, and along with them the habit of consuming whisky. Members of parliament made public announcements in *bouzoukia* and threw flowers to their favorite singers. Vagelis Giannopoulos was one of the many members of parliament who regularly patronized *bouzoukia* to enjoy live popular Greek music.

Despite the large economic and social inequalities in post-authoritarian Greece, the income of the lower middle class rose considerably during the 1980s (Βαρουχάκη 2005: 18). More public servants were employed by the State in Athens in an effort to rebuild the public sector. Rising salaries in 1982 increased the average consumption of salaried workers and led to more spending on leisure and evening entertainment (Karapostolis 1983).

During the 1990s more *bouzoukia* clubs moved from the periphery to the center of Athens as a result of the growing popularity of contemporary Greek popular music. The fact that *bouzoukia* proliferated and gained public acceptance during the 1990s (Βαρουχάκη 2005: 26) is also associated with the growing influence of multinational capitalism over Greece's alcohol market and the gradual promotion of this genre by the cultural industry. More particularly, the private television channels that have been sponsors of various social events have massively promoted whisky and have taken an active role in shaping *bouzoukia* and the nightlife of the capital. Shows like "MEGA-star" on private television have been promoting *bouzoukia* singers for almost a decade now. Other television channels, such as ANT1, have taken promotion a step further by cooperating with—or even co-owning—*bouzoukia* in Iera Odos. One of their most popular television programs, "The X-Factor", has created some new careers in *bouzoukia* with its music and singing competition. The winners are awarded a contract with a music company and nightclubs where they can sing live.

Under these circumstances this form of entertainment has entered the mainstream of popular culture and *bouzoukia* can even be imagined as a representation of

contemporary Greekness, as the closing ceremony of the Olympic Games in August 2004 demonstrated with its performances by the big names of this genre.

The mainstream culture of *bouzoukia* reproduced the consumption of Scotch. More particularly, Oikonomou has observed that whisky is entangled with the culture of modern Greek popular music (2000). According to him, whisky has come to symbolize the out-of-control party atmosphere in *bouzoukia*. Furthermore, the domination of whisky has excluded the category of food; whisky is consumed with just a few fruits and dried nuts in *bouzoukia* and *skyladika*.

In the context of the developments outlined above, the widely shared perception of the high value of Greek contemporary popular music, the consumerist dreams embodied in the singers or the fans of this genre, the excessive consumption in the outings of such networks, and the signification of Scotch by the patrons of *bouzoukia* with this style of entertainment will be discussed in the following sections.

## The consumption of whisky in relation to cultural style

While researching the meaning of imported beverages among the networks of my school friends in the center of Athens in Kypseli, I participated in several outings and gatherings in *bouzoukia* centered on popular Greek music. My interlocutors were mainly men between their late twenties and early thirties. Most of them lived in Kypseli in the centre of Athens, some working in small family businesses and others in private companies or the public sector. My methodology was based on qualitative social research including open interviews and participant observation, for six months in total during 2006. My primary questions were associated with the cultural practices in night entertainment, the position and symbolism of imported beverages in the lifestyles of my interlocutors, and the establishment of whisky as a celebratory drink in popular music and discourse.

A major problem in urban research is the diversity of the urban population—the multiplicity of the neighborhoods people live in, the differences in economic and educational backgrounds, and their diverse professions. The anthropological parameters of age, gender and nationality further complicate our understanding of urban processes, especially within the context of increased migration, an early age of drinking alcohol and the multiple femininities and masculinities to be found in urban landscapes. Despite the fact that there are clear spatial divisions in Athens (such as central, northern and southern) that might correspond to middle, upper and lower classes, these divisions are totally subjective and do not correspond to any clear-cut social groups.

The use of 'subculture' or 'social group' could not be anything other than problematic in a city like Athens which has a population of over four million people, flows of hundreds of thousands of migrants on the move who bring their villages and islands into the city, diasporic Greeks and expatriates, new cosmopolitans and illegal workers. In addition, the process of mapping "quarters" or "neighborhoods" might be highly deceptive given the diversity of urban landscapes where people walk, eat, sleep, work and entertain themselves in totally different areas. One has only to walk in the city, as δe Certeau argued, to realize the diversity and plurality of human trajectories (1984: 91- 110). If we could follow the monthly trajectory of just one person who lives in Athens, that would be enough to give an impression of the complexities of space, place and social networks.

In order to discuss the socioeconomic differences that are embodied within my informants who entertain themselves in *bouzoukia* and *ellinadika*, I employ the term "style" as an analytical tool to to cross-cut the poles of social class and social group (see introduction). Cultural style refers to practices that signify social differences between social categories and, as such, style as a term does not refer to "total modes of behavior but rather poles of social signification, cross-cutting and cross-cut by other such poles" like class and gender (Ferguson 1999: 95). In Athens, for example, masculinity and femininity constitute opposed poles of style but this does not imply any unitary masculine or feminine pattern of behavior. The style of masculinity exhibited in *bouzoukia* derives from a lower, working-class style (from *rebetes*) that is learned, acquired and performed. This style of masculinity is different from the masculine style performed in the gay clubs of Athens or in the jazz clubs where upper middle-class styles are usually the case. As a result, an upper middle-class masculine style might be completely different from a working-class style. Therefore, cultural style emphasizes the performative aspects of the practices of the person and is related to his or her performative competence.

Furthermore, to conceive of cultural style as a performative competence and a "practical signifying activity" (Ferguson 1999: 96) that positions the actor in relation to social categories implies being cautious about questions of identities, commonalities of values, shared world views or cognitive orientation in taste. As Ferguson has argued

> That members of culturally-stylistically distinctive subgroups of a society share such commonalities is an unexamined assumption of a great deal of subculture theory in anthropology and sociology. Such groups *may* of course have such commonalities. But the assumption that they *must*, or that shared experiences and values are logically or temporally prior to stylistic practice, is unwarranted and has caused an enormous amount of confusion. (Ferguson 1999: 97)

Likewise, my interlocutors might be united by a shared style of entertainment but the meanings in their lives, their values and their everyday practices might differ radically. In addition, there might be large socioeconomic differences among my informants but an "inner" style of entertainment which is based on *bouzoukia* unites these differences in a similar way. This mainstream style cross-cuts the class and gender differences and, more importantly, conceals the large economic inequalities in contemporary Athens. As will further be demonstrated, those who adopt the same inner popular mainstream style of *bouzoukia* are divided by large spatial (the neighborhoods where they live) and economic (the salaries they receive or the amount of money they earn) gaps. It is therefore important to state that " those participating in common stylistic practices are united in sending similar stylistic messages, but they may at the same time have very diverse motives, values, or views of the world" (Ferguson 1999: 97). Describing an inner style of entertainment, therefore, does not mean defining a set of values or a subculture; it is a "mode of signification" (Ferguson 1999: 97).

A major way of socializing in Athens is "going out" (*pame ekso*, *vgenume*) with a group of friends. "Going out" is not synonymous with the actual action of going out from one's home, which might include such activities as going for a coffee, visiting friends or going to the supermarket. "Going out" refers to a night outing to a restaurant, bar, club or music venue. Night outings are related to a person's lifestyle, which usually corresponds to one or more music scenes. Techno, house or electronic

music is played in large and small neighborhood clubs; jazz, soul, funk, rock, Latin and ethnic music are part of the program of bars; and Greek popular music is found in live-music *bouzoukia skyladika* or certain other clubs (such as *ellinadika*, meaning Greek-like clubs that play contemporary Greek popular music; the music in these clubs is not played live as in *bouzoukia* and therefore the prices of beverages are cheaper). A person's style, including clothing, bodily gestures and consumption habits, is very different depending on the occasion. For example, one of my interlocutors (Christos) would call and specifically ask the other friends of his group before "going out" what kind of club, party or *bouzoukia*, they would be attending so that he could adapt his clothes to each occasion. When I asked him what kind of clothes fit each occasion he stated that the "house" people (*housades*), dress in fancy trendy clothes, wearing colorful shirts or sweaters and trainers and sometimes wearing sunglasses at night. The rockers, on the other hand, do not usually wear name brands and have an unkempt appearance. Old jeans, worn-out shirts or military trousers are a few of the choices one might have in a rockers' outing. Christos as well as Antonis (who were both part of the group that I regularly went out with) insisted that outings to *bouzoukia* require neat clothes. Surprisingly enough, on several occasions some people of the group wanted to go to *bouzoukia* avoided the outing because someone among them was not dressed well. Being dressed well, I discovered, included a long-sleeved formal shirt, a pair of good quality trousers or sometimes blue jeans and a formal single-breasted jacket.

Hence the persons who use style as a mode of signification present themselves in specific ways, consume in specific ways and—perhaps more importantly—claim a relationship with specific music scenes. It would be no exaggeration to say that style in Athens is identified with the type of night entertainment a person frequents and the kind of music he or she identifies with. However, it should be made clear that a person who identifies with a Greek style of entertainment (Greek music) and "goes out" to *bouzoukia* is not necessarily excluded from a nightclub with techno or Latin jazz music. A particular style serves as a mode of signification by the actors and does not foreclose shifts in style as far as these actors are competent to perform on each occasion. As Herzfeld has noted, one major polarity within contemporary Greek identity exists in relation to the polarity of outside/inside Greece (1987). Greeks identify with a European or Western heritage and perform this identity in the "outside" world as *ellines*, while "inside" Greece, Greeks feel closer to the East and view themselves as *romious*. As Argyrou has stressed, these polarities are also found in Greece and Cyprus on an everyday level among social groups and express a symbolic domination by larger powerful schemas (Argyrou 2005: 111-137). Therefore, an inside aspect of Greek culture that does not identify with Europeanness is asserted in performances that identify with Greek popular music. Christos, for example, narrated a story in relation to *bouzoukia* and inside Greekness and Europeanness. When his Scottish brother-in-law arrived from Scotland (a foreigner, *xenos*) Christos suggested that he should see how "Greeks entertain themselves" in a *bouzoukia*, because Europeans are not familiar with this style of entertainment. He said, "The foreigners who come to Greece only know souvlaki and the Acropolis and are not aware of how Greeks entertain themselves". In addition, by visiting such a location, his brother-in-law would be able to better understand contemporary Greek culture and Greekness. The venue in this case was viewed as an "inside" part of Greece that only Greeks identify with. More importantly, Christos considered the style of entertainment in *bouzoukia* (including dancing, music and partying) to be inner and authentically "Greek". After visiting a *bouzoukia*, Christos's brother-in-law

was surprised because most of the people there were consuming Scotch whisky. Christos explained to him that Scotch has been adopted by this music scene and has become entangled with partying in *bouzoukia*.

The style of those who entertain themselves in *bouzoukia* is constructed in relation to their musical taste, and whisky is also a major symbol of entertainment and celebration among those who identify with this style. The patrons of *bouzoukia* believe, for example, that excessive spending within the context of their preferred entertainment is a necessary requirement for fun and for keeping spirits high (even if patrons are divided by large socioeconomic differences). In that context there are various ways to spend excessively (including paying a high price for the bottle of Scotch) and various emotional states that accompany such actions. Therefore, the excessive consumption in *bouzoukia* is not necessarily related only to a "nouveau riche" group of people who appeared in Athens during the 1980s as a result of urbanization and State contracts, as some authors have argued (Karapostolis 1983) or to high-income salaried workers and businessmen. Low-income networks from the centre of Athens also engage in excessive consumption, which can be partly understood from the point of view of Ferguson's analysis of style. It is this style of entertainment that my interlocutors identify with and through which they feel part of a wider imagined community. For example Varouhaki (2005), after examining many publications on the lifestyles of artists in *bouzoukia*, concluded that most are focused on spending conspicuously and excessively and projecting their selves as 'consumers'.

As Bourdieu has argued, "taste" is used as a reference among social classes to legitimate and reproduce their inequality (1984). The education of taste is a process which is embodied and performed with time and constitutes a major arena of objectification of social relationships. While taste as a sense is socially and culturally influenced, the actual expression "you have taste" (*ehis gusto*) refers to the habitual refinement of a person. As a consequence, taste as a sense and as a metaphor is a major context of the reproduction of social inequality and an arena where social relationships are expressed and negotiated. However, taste preferences do not necessarily define the style of a person and they can be very diverse. Even those who share a liking for contemporary Greek music might have very different preferences in relation to the singers they like, the Greek television series they watch, the Greek football teams they relate to, the clothes they choose to wear, the cars or motorcycles they drive, and the beverages they drink. Whisky, for example, will be consumed regularly in house parties or in *bouzoukia* but the brands one person prefers can be completely different from the brands another person likes to consume.

Consequently, drinking Scotch whisky in Athens is a common practice among many different people. However, consuming Scotch and claiming a preference for a specific style of entertainment within the context of *bouzoukia* is a mode of signification that connects the beverage to a certain form of nightlife.

## Modes of signification

In recent years various scholars have researched the nightlife and entertainment of Athens. More particularly, Souliotis has examined the role of urban landscapes as the means of constructing collective identities (2001: 211-238). This process is based on collective practices and discourses in relation to the areas of Kolonaki and Exarhia in

central Athens. Both areas are characterized by an enormous number of cafes and bars and constitute busy spaces for Athenians to socialize in. The people interviewed by Souliotis stressed their social identity in relation to the consumption of leisure and symbolic goods in both areas, and were 'included' or 'excluded' accordingly. Kolonaki is considered a place with "quality" people and therefore various bars have face control at the entrance of the club in an effort to exclude those who are not wearing quality clothes. On the other hand, Exarhia is considered an "alternative" and uncommercialized place. The rock bars and the leftist history of this place are major concerns among people who identify themselves in opposition to Kolonaki. Therefore, leisure in relation to the social life of bars and cafes emerges as a primary source of self-identification within the context of imagined urban identities.

Likewise social identities and more particularly "lifestyles" are constructed on the basis of nightlife among the subjects of Ioannou's research in Kastela (Ioannou 2001: 239-262). In Ioannou's study, people identified themselves in opposition to the people they call "dogs" (*skili*) even though they themselves also went to "dog-clubs" (*skiladika*), that is down-market, 'lower-class' clubs. The concept of "dog" identifies those who do not have "quality", do not know how to behave and, more importantly, do not know how to consume "properly" in the context of *bouzoukia* popular music venues and nightclubs.

Papagaroufali has also investigated the role of alcohol in the construction of gender identity among feminist groups in Athens. According to her, drinking practices can be media for gender redefinition and negotiation (1992). She states that women use drinking as "a violation, or resistance, or reversal, or transformation of the 'Establishment' and the legitimation of these women's actual and dreamed of interest: to become culturally visible the way they 'wished'" (1992: 66). It is within the context of alcohol that women articulate an alternative discourse, going against the dominant view of men to pursue their own tactics. It is therefore the use of alcoholic beverages that cross-cuts the social and economic differences of women and expresses an alternative femininity.

Further research in relation to gender identity has demonstrated how imported alcoholic beverages are divided into "male" and "female" drinks in the context of "sex bars" (*bars me consommation*) (Abatzi 2004: 152). Male drinks are further divided into "special" and "regular", with whisky as the central symbol this categorization. According to Abatzi, the majority of male customers drink whisky and only rarely vodka or gin. Customers are able to distinguish themselves through the brand of whisky they drink, which will usually be known to the bartender, and the way in which they drink it. People will insist on using a long or short old-fashioned glass and having a particular number of ice cubes in their drink.[39] It is the context of this classification that reproduces gender identity and makes clear how objects and particular alcoholic beverages objectify social relationships.

Furthermore, according to Stewart, the consumption of whisky in Greece has exhibited an ongoing pattern of claiming higher and higher status. He states that

[39] I have also encountered similar examples of people who say, for example, "I always drink my whisky with two ice cubes". The number depends upon the person but the choice of ice becomes a very personal matter of identification. This may be related to the fact that many people drink the same whisky brand but it is not always the case that they have the same number of ice cubes. Ice therefore becomes one more parameter of social distinction.

> The recent increase in the quantity of whisky imported into Greece (124.000 liters in 1971 to more than four million liters in 1982) could not possibly be interpreted as an indication of increased consumption by this elite […] Rather, these statistics suggest that the drink has been adopted everywhere, […] evidence of the degree to which elite style has penetrated the society at large […] Such changes in "taste" elicit responses from the elite who may alter their own style in order to retain distinct identity. One elderly Athenian woman, whose fluency in several European languages signaled her high degree of cultivation, took evident glee in parodying the pronunciation of the masses clamouring for whisky. "What do they want with gouiski?" she mocked. Granted that whisky is no longer an effective marker of elite style, those who would claim elite status are opting for new patterns of consumption. (1989: 86-87)

Nowadays the number of brands has proliferated, giving more choice to those who want to distinguish themselves. Among my interlocutors there are individuals who claim to be more knowledgeable than others in relation to whisky. One of these is Kostas, who was educated in England and works as a broker. Kostas stated that "special whiskies are not good. People drink without knowing; everybody drinks whisky nowadays. The best whiskies are single malts. I have a collection of single malts with some representative pieces." The category of single malt whiskies has emerged in the last decade as a popular category of whisky among the elite who want to distinguish themselves in opposition to popular consumption patterns. The prices of these whiskies range from 50 to several hundred euros. Though they can be purchased in a few places in Athens, most people buy them from abroad and more especially from the United Kingdom, where there is a large variety. The fact that the bottle was purchased "abroad" and could not be found in Greece adds more to its symbolic value and the cosmopolitan nature of the consumer.

Single malts have been advertised massively in recent years. The fact that most Scottish distilleries have passed into the hands of multinationals that trade a variety of beverages all over the globe has resulted in a reinvention of single malts. Many distilleries that produced single malt were closed (being non-productive) and have only recently reopened after being acquired by large multinational corporations. Their popularity in Greece has been growing, but they are still very expensive beverages drunk by the few. In a bar on the island of Skyros, for example, a wealthy company of Athenians came in to order their drinks. As I was sitting at the bar I heard this dialogue

Man 1: What shall we drink?
Man 2: Let's see. He has single malts! (With surprise). I would never expect to find these on Skyros.
Man 1: You've got Oban and Lagavulin.
Barman passes the bottles to them
Barman: Some people order them; that's why I've got them?
Man 1: Yes, but you know there's a ritual of how these should be drunk. In a short glass and with no ice, of course. First you have to smell it and then taste it slowly. There are even special glasses for this. This is really good whisky…I know how to drink it because I've read about it, and there was even a presentation about it in the company where I work.
Man 2: OK. Give us two of the Lagavulin

The single malt has emerged in recent years as a "positional good" which is clearly related to the elite and high-income groups who claim that they know "how to drink", who travel to find their cosmopolitan bottles and who are willing to pay large amounts of money to consume this type of whisky in bars or in their homes. People also express their consumption knowledge in terms of bodily techniques. The way a person drinks the beverage, the way of smelling it and looking at it and the way of ordering it are also means of reproducing the "taste of refinement" (Figure 5.2).


**Figure 5.2** A cartoon about the popularity of whisky in Greece and the emergence of "experts" on single malts. The shepherd is wearing traditional clothes, while the "expert" on the right is wearing a Scottish kilt and is carrying a cask of twelve-year-old whisky. The "expert" is exclaiming in a local accent "*If you don't know, don't speak. How can you put ice in pure malts?*"(Magazine Σύγχρονη Διαφήμιση, 572, 1993)

However, most of my interlocutors are not necessarily single malt drinkers. They might describe themselves as whisky men (*ouiskakias*), or drinkers (*potes*). As such they are expected to appreciate good whisky and consume it on occasions that include an outing in *bouzoukia* or a nightclub, a good company, in a *parea* (drinking company) or on an exceptional occasion that should be celebrated. Name-day celebrations, birthdays, meetings among friends at home or in bars are occasions on which whisky will be consumed. Whisky is considered ideal drink for "men" and is

going to be used in the "right" moments. In most cases alcohol is a masculine symbol (Papataxiarchis 1991: 238). It is not to be consumed every day because it is "strong", but it is ideal for social occasions that are meaningful for people. Women who associate with the mainstream inner style of entertainment will also drink the beverage, usually mixed with Coca Cola.

Usually Scotch whisky will be consumed in *bouzoukia* or *ellinadika,* contextualizing the location and the entertainment. As such Greek popular music should be accompanied by whisky consumption, even at parties in homes or on other private occasions. However, whisky consumption in general is not confined to spaces and groups who identify with Greek popular music; various lifestyles can include whisky.

Those who are fond of whisky, like the low-income group *(parea*, drinking company) from Kypseli with whom I went out to *bouzoukia,* display their favorite whisky brands in their homes. Antonis, for example, has placed next to his desk a metallic Johnnie Walker statue that was part of a marketing campaign. It sits in a prominent position next to his CDs and it matches his style criteria. Kostas, who is a collector of single malts, places his empty bottles in a visible place in his house, on top of his bookcase, "in order to keep track" of what he has tasted. While these examples demonstrate that whisky is an object of their lifestyle for those who go regularly to *bouzoukia*, whisky might also represent a stylistic value for others. Another Kostas, the thirty-five-year-old owner of a *pro-po* (lottery shop), drinks only whisky and has hung a large Cutty Sark poster in his bedroom. Style in these cases is increasingly related to mass-produced commodities and, specifically, whisky brands.

Apart from this, assertive styles of femininity and masculinity are also expressed through beverages. Maria, for example, is a high-income logistics expert in her mid thirties who lives in the northern part of Athens (which is considered to be in a wealthy part of the capital) and drinks only whisky. As she explained to me, she likes the beverage because it has been considered a masculine drink. But she is also as assertive, dynamic, decisive and independent as a man and in that sense she likes to drink whisky. It fits her style and her independent character. Since she started working as a professional her income has risen considerably. She owns a new car, she chooses her clothes carefully, she smokes and she identifies with Greek popular music despite the fact that she also likes rock and ethnic music. She remarked that "Most men are very surprised when they notice that I drink whisky on the rocks. I am also tough, I should say—but most people realize that when they see me drinking".

Similarly, Kostantina is a high-income woman in her early thirties who drinks only whisky. I explained to her my subject of study and she said

> Well, I should say that whisky is certainly my drink because I identify with *bouzoukia* and popular Greek music. This is my music, my kind of entertainment, and that's the reason I like whisky. Almost every week my company and I go out to a *skyladiko* or to a *megali pista* [music venue where well-known artists play].

Kostantina, who is also a young professional, can afford this style of entertainment regularly because her father is a broker and has been very successful with his business. More recently her father has been investing in paintings and art; he is a "new cosmopolitan" who travels internationally on business on a regular basis. Kostantina can afford to spend a lot as she receives a regular allowance from her father. In addition, she works in her father's business and receives a salary. Her

consumerist style is also expressed in her Tod shoes and her branded clothes in general.

Thus, from the perspective of my interlocutors, whisky is related a specific style of entertainment. Regardless of their income, men and women professionals and salaried workers identify with excessive consumption, conspicuous consumerism and—perhaps more importantly—with popular Greek music and entertainment in *bouzoukia*. While the beverage clearly expresses masculinity, alternative femininities are also expressed through its consumption. More specifically, women who are assertive, view themselves as modern, and identify with a particular mass popular culture can be consumers of whisky and view whisky as a symbol of their own negotiation of femininity. Those who want to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Greek population and from those who drink blended whisky use single malts as a new form of distinction, thus situating themselves at the pinnacle of whisky connoisseurship.

It follows that a preference for contemporary Greek popular music and the style of entertainment in *bouzoukia* usually signifies the category of alcoholic beverages consumed by my interlocutors. It is this mode of signification and this claim of a cultural style that has localized the beverage in the spaces of *bouzoukia*.

## The unification of differences

During my fieldwork in Athens, I spent most of my time in Kypseli in the center of Athens. Kypseli is the most overpopulated area of Athens. The population increased even more in the 1990s because of the legal and illegal immigration from Albania and various African countries such as Egypt, Ethiopia and Senegal. The small streets of Kypseli are usually crowded with cars and most of the time cars are also parked on the pavement. As a result, pedestrians find it very difficult to walk in this area. Despite the noise and the little public space left for the inhabitants, Kypseli is the most multinational area of Athens. The Ethiopian restaurants, Egyptian coffeehouses, African mini markets, Nigerian video clubs and Senegalese boutiques make Kypseli a unique area.

I have long been familiar with this area as I lived there during my school years and I had several acquaintances from school there. During my long absence from Athens and Greece, I had been in contact (mainly through email) only with a schoolmate from primary school called Antonis, a young professional from a low-income background. Through him, I was gradually introduced to several other people he "went out" with as well as to other schoolmates that I had lost contact with. The establishment and re-establishment of my relationships was not a difficult process especially because most of the people thought of me as a *kypselioti* (a local person from Kypseli) and they were interested in the subject of my study. As a result, many discussions, informal interviews and a period of six months of participant observation were conducted without any difficulties.

Antonis is in his late twenties and he studied economics at one of the private American universities of Athens. He is the only child of a family which has lived in Kypseli since the 1960s. His father is the owner of a vegetable store in the central vegetable market *(lahanagora*) of Athens and his mother is a housewife who spends most of her time preparing meals for her husband and her son and watching her favorite programs on television. Antonis is still living with his parents, as his economic situation does not allow him to rent his own apartment. This is the case for

the majority of my low-income interlocutors from Kypseli, who earn or receive as a salary 700 to 800 euros per month. Antonis has been working for at least six years at an economic newspaper since he graduated from university. Despite his fulltime productive work he is not able to make more than 800 euros. With his salary he pays for his cigarettes, his mobile phone bills, the Internet, his lunches and sometimes dinners out when he is working, the taxis he commutes with (there is no access to his work by public transport) and his outings to bars, *ellinadika* and sometimes *bouzoukia*. In addition, he takes good care of his appearance and his clothes and also spends part of his salary on expensive branded clothes for his work and his outings. When discussing *bouzoukia* he usually says, "I wish I could have more money to spend there and go more often to the nightclubs I like". In any case he "goes out" once or twice a week and spends between 30 and 60 euros for an outing in an *ellinadiko* or in *bouzoukia*. To remember the good nights in *bouzoukia* and to make his music style clear in his own space, he has several photographs with friends from nights out in *bouzoukia*. "This is an evening out in Lepa (lefteris Pantazis) and this is from Mazonakis" he states about the photographs he has in a corner. Each photograph represents not only a memory but also one of Antonis's favorite singers, as who is an admirer of most popular Greek music singers in *bouzoukia*.

In his room he has small posters of Cutty Sark Scotch whisky, a Johnnie Walker metallic statue and a couple of bottles of Scotch for his guests. He usually serves "ouiskaki" (literally meaning a small Scotch, to sound more familiar with the beverage) and smokes his Lucky Strike cigarettes if he gets visitors in the evening. He will play a CD of contemporary popular Greek music in the background or sometimes watches one of the Greek music channels on television. When I ask him, "How come you only drink whisky?" he says, "I am a dog (*skylas*)", claiming a connection between the beverage and the popular scene of *skyladiko* and *bouzoukia*.

Kostantina and Maria (the high-income women whom I mentioned earlier) belonged to a second network of informants from Northern Athens (*Voria proastia*, Βόρεια προάστια) and claimed a similar relationship between whisky and *bouzoukia*. I was able to meet them during their summer vacation on the island of Skyros where I had explained my research to them and gradually I was given the opportunity to have several informal discussions and meetings with them in Athens. They are both Scotch whisky drinkers and they both claim an assertive femininity that identifies with a style of entertainment in *bouzoukia* and *ellinadika*. They own their own cars and apartments and they can afford to "go out" more often than Antonis. When I asked Kostantina about her drinking preferences she stated, "I drink Scotch because I like the contemporary Greek popular music scene. This is the drink for our night outings to these clubs".

During my regular visits to Maria's home I was faced with the same Scotch "ritual" that Antonis offers to his guests. She has a large selection of malt and blended Scotch in her small bar next to the living room and she serves the beverage on the rocks. She puts on a CD of contemporary Greek music in the background and we discuss her outings to *bouzoukia*. "I am a night person", she states.

> I like going to hear my favorite singers in *bouzoukia* and I like going to *skiladika* even more, because they are more authentic and not so commercial. After a few bottles of Scotch with my company you can imagine that I'm dancing on the table and we throw flowers on the singers.

Likewise, the men that I met from Antonis's group, such as Giorgos and Sotiris, emphasize their style with dancing. Sotiris, for example, who is a good dancer of *zeibekiko*, a kind of dance regularly performed in *bouzoukia,* takes the opportunity to stand up and perform when he feels like it. His style also identifies with contemporary Greek popular music and he is a regular Scotch whisky consumer.

Sotiris studied in the same university as Antonis and after he finished his studies he served in the Greek army for one year. As a matter of luck, Antonis happened to be doing military service at the same time so they re-established their relationship from university. Since then they have been very good friends and they regularly go out together. Soitiris works for Vodafone, a mobile telecommunications company. Unfortunately, with his low salary he is still living with his parents in a small apartment in Kypseli and is saving most of his money to buy a motorcycle so he can commute easily to his job. Part of his salary goes also on his night outings to *ellinadika* or *bouzoukia* almost every Friday and Saturday. There Sotiris will always order or reserve a bottle of Scotch.

One of the regular outings on Saturday for Sotiris, Antonis and their friends is to an *ellinadiko* that mixes Greek and "Oriental" music. As mentioned earlier, *ellinadiko* is a form of club that literally means "Greek-like" and Greek popular music is usually played there, though the music is not performed live as it is in *bouzoukia*. The club is located in Psiri. Psiri is a newly developed area of Athens, situated next to Monastiraki and Thision, and is now an "in" and "trendy" place to be throughout the year. The smell of spices from the shops in the small streets next to Athinas Street makes this area quite recognizable and distinctive. Until the end of the 1990s Psiri was almost a forgotten area of Athens, full of small shops selling tools, leather, antiques, carpets and cheap consumer goods in general. The shops were old and run-down; some buildings in the area were falling apart; and most of the population living there were immigrants. Within a few years it was completely transformed into the most commercial and fashionable area and "the place to be" in Athens. Psiri filled up with bars, clubs and restaurants of all kinds.

The club we usually go to is situated quite close to the area's central square. It is a huge club with "face control" (as Athenians call this kind of "selective customer strategy") at the door (*porta*). This is a widely used technique among many clubs in Athens. Usually there are one or two "inflatables" (*fuskoti*) or in other words "thugs" who make sure that only people who are dressed well, who are not in the category of a man unaccompanied by a woman (*bakouria*), and who fulfill the aesthetic stylistic criteria of the club may enter. As a result, patrons try to follow the accepted "style" of clothes when they "go out" to such clubs. A shirt, a good pair of trousers or blue jeans, a pair of leather shoes (not sports shoes) and a good brand of jacket or suit are considered ideal. This "selective customer strategy" that guarantees the style of the customers is a common technique found in many clubs in Athens. Depending on the musical scene, people develop their style of clothes according to the club they go to and their night entertainment.

The style of the club is a materialization of Edward Said's book *Orientalism*. There are cushions everywhere, the architecture combines "Eastern" lines with an Athenian aesthetic, there are water pipes that customers can order to smoke and—most extraordinarily—there are women dancers dressed up in "oriental" clothes, dancing *tsifteteli*. *Tsifteteli* is derived from the Turkish *Çiftetelli*. The term also refers to "Oriental" music in general. Furthermore, the music of this place is a combination of Moroccan, Egyptian, Turkish and popular Greek sounds, making clear the

connections between the cultures. Other similar cafes and clubs exist in Psiri and these are very popular.

When we arrive inside the club a bottle of whisky is already waiting on the table Sotiris reserved for us. After a while the waiter brings the ice and Coca Cola to mix with the whisky. My interlocutors place their cigarette packs on the table and stand up. The first drinks are served and the men comment on the female dancers. The girls in our group start dancing next to the table when the spirits are high at the table. My interlocutors dance with them while holding their glass of whisky and their cigarettes. The disposition of the body and the style of masculinity are clearly centered on these two objects of consumption. The cigarette as well as the glass is held in a performative manner. Both are held high, and the group circles the table with the whisky and the cigarettes.

Generally speaking the women in our group dance without drinking too much. The constant fear is *methi*, the biological intoxication of alcohol that is believed to entail a loss of control over oneself. For the women this is highly inappropriate, as a loss of control might result in not being in control of their sexuality. Whisky is considered a very strong masculine beverage that should be diluted with Coca Cola to become "lighter". Some men from the group drink it without mixing it with Coke and they consider this more masculine. While neat whisky or whisky on the rocks is considered a "man's" drink, whisky with Coke is considered a "woman's drink". Some of my interlocutors stated that they liked "taking whisky gay-style" (*to pinoume ligo pustiko*),[40] meaning that they like mixing their whisky with Coke. In the context of a *bouzoukia* or *ellinadika* with popular Greek music, whisky with Coke might also be consumed by men.

For men, *methi* is also undesirable when they "go out" because they might be viewed as "woman-like", as women supposedly get drunk easily. The expressions of *methi* for men also have feminine connotations and express an inability to be masculine and in control. *Alifi* (ointment), *Lioma* (melted), and *tifla* (blinded) – only a few of the words used to describe this undesirable state for men – express a softness-passivity and therefore a kind of femininity. The idea of passivity and its relationship to femininity is also expressed in the Greek word for a male homosexual referred to above, *poustis*. *Poustis* is conceived as a female-like character that is not *energos* or "active" but *pathitikos* or "passive".[41]

Despite similarities in the conceptualizations of the customers of such clubs in relation to drinking, the social and economic differences are visible on our way out of the club. The keys of a BMW are handed to the owner who is coming out to take his car, a man in a Porsche convertible is waiting for his girlfriend and a few other groups are heading to a major avenue to find a taxi or a bus. Despite the common stylistic

---

[40] The "*poustis*" is considered to be a passive male gay figure in various contexts of social life in Greece, and the word is also used as a highly inappropriate discursive insult. If somebody is considered not to be moral or is regarded as scum, this term may be applied to him. The concept might also have more neutral connotations that describe small illegal practices that are not considered significant especially in relation to the state.

[41] However, someone who is "active" might not be considered a *poustis* because he is the penetrator and therefore masculine. Sotiris, for example, who is assertively masculine, described a sexual encounter he had with a *poustis* in the army. He stated that he (Sotiris) penetrated him and thus does not consider himself homosexual/*poustis*. The rest of the men in the group considered such behaviour eccentric but in no way was he thought to be a homosexual or *poustis* because he had a sexual encounter with a man. On the contrary, Antonis claimed that such behavior could be highly masculine and he stated Sotiris "is fucking everything that moves" (*gamai oti kinite*).

references and significations such as body language, clothes, the consumption of Scotch, the smoking of American cigarettes, the dancing to contemporary popular Greek music, and the preference for that style of entertainment, significant socioeconomic differences divide Athens both spatially and socially.

## Going out in *bouzoukia* in Athens

In addition to *ellinadika*, another regular destination for the group from Kypseli as well as for my other interlocutors was the *bouzoukia* or sometimes the *skyladika*. In this context the consumption of whisky by club patrons is institutionalized and deeply interrelated with particular forms of spending. Such venues can be found in Iera Odos, Aegaleo and Kypseli, areas of Athens with major nightclubs.


**Figure 5.3** "A" indicates the centre of Athens. Iera odos begins on the left side of A and ends in Aegaleo; Kypseli is situated on the left side of the area of Galatsi in the direction of A (All rights reserved by Google 2009, Google maps).

Nightlife in Athens varies from expensive *bouzoukia* in the center, where singers such as the well-known and popular stars Remos and Vandi perform, to cheaper places where less well-known artists appear.[42] These *bouzoukia* usually open at midnight and close at seven or eight o'clock in the morning. The major drink consumed in most *bouzoukia* is Scotch whisky. Only rarely do people order other spirits, while ouzo, raki, brandy and Greek-produced spirits in general do not appear on the menu. In short, whisky is almost synonymous with night entertainment in *bouzoukia* in Athens to the extent that prices are expressed in terms of the beverage.

To illustrate: one night I consulted *Athinorama* magazine in an effort to decide along with my interlocutors which *bouzoukia* we would visit. *Athinorama* is the oldest

[42] Lesser known successful singers include for example Efi Thodi (Έφη Θώδη), Sabrina and Terlegas (Τερλέγκας)

and most informative magazine about nightlife and entertainment in Athens. The magazine is divided into several sections; cinema, theatre, music, bars and clubs, *bouzoukia* (*pistes* or "stages", "dance floors") and food (*gevsi* or "taste"). A television guide is also included at the end of the magazine. The difference between the category of "bars or clubs" and *bouzoukia* is the fact that *bouzoukia* present live Greek music and target an audience with a mainstream popular lifestyle. The *bouzoukia* section is divided into the famous *bouzoukia* (*megala programata*) and the less known *bouzoukia* which are described as musical scenes (*musikes skines*). The other categories are the hot clubs, dance floors (*pistes*), *rebetika*/popular music (*rebetika ke laika palka*), "oldies", small nightclubs (*bouat*), traditional, taverns with music, and clubs to book. Among these sections the first five categories are the biggest and most popular. The category of *rebetiko* usually represents venues where food is served, while the majority of *bouzoukia* do not offer anything except alcoholic beverages, wine and champagne. Interestingly, all club categories express their prices in terms of whisky. For example, in the first category of *bouzoukia* (*megala programata*) we read (Figure 5.4):

> *Asteria. Asteria Glifadas 2108944558, 2108946898*
> *Stelios Dionisiou, Hristos Nikolopoulos, Kostantina,*
> *Ilias Makris. Bottle of whisky 150 euros and 170 euros*
> *(inclusive), wine for two people 80 euros (inclusive)*


**Figure 5.4** *Pistes* section of *Athinorama* magazine with prices expressed in terms of whisky (Dec 22-29, 2005).

The same style of entry is used by all the other clubs, though prices differ. The price expressed in terms of a bottle of whisky, which represents the price of entry, refers to what a company of four people would have to pay, while the price of a bottle of wine refers to what just two people would pay. However, nowadays most clubs have small whisky bottles for two people. The bottle of wine, it could be argued, represents the price for couples and women, while whisky relates to bigger groups of friends and men. Furthermore, the bottle of whisky is the representation of the cost of nightlife in *bouzoukia* and most nightclubs, a key symbol of night prices and alcohol consumption. This is reinforced by the social activity of "booking a table". The booking should clearly state whether a regular or a special whisky is required. In various *bouzoukia*, regular whisky is served after the arrival of the customers while special whisky is placed on the "booked table", distinguishing the customers from the rest of the *bouzoukia*.

This division between two and three or four people in relation to drinking that is produced by the *bouzoukia* corresponds to a cultural conceptualization widely used in Greece. "Going out" (*vgeno* or *vgenoume)* in a couple is not considered a "company" (*parea*). A *parea* is a social group of three or more friends who come together to socialize. The bottle of whisky corresponds to the *parea*, while the bottle of wine corresponds to the couple (*zevgari*). Discussing this observation with my interlocutors, I came to understand that the context of the *bouzoukia* is intimately interrelated with the bottle of whisky. The bottle is a form of booking as well as the major commodity bought on a "night out". Most of my interlocutors would not think of going out without buying a bottle of whisky in such a club, despite its high price. When, for example, I suggested to Antonis one evening that we go to a *bouzoukia* and just have a few drinks, I received the extraordinary answer, "Are we gypsies or what?" (*ma tsigani imaste?*). Other interlocutors gave similar responses. Their reaction encapsulates the fact that "going out" corresponds to spending on at least one bottle of whisky; otherwise, you would look poor like a gypsy (a metaphor for poverty).

At other times, my interlocutors told me that "I have *cava* in that *bouzoukia* so we should go there". *Cava* here means that a bottle (*boukali*) or half-bottle (*misoboukalo*) is stored there under the customer's name. The next time he goes there, he can order his *cava* which is already paid for. This happens when the bottle is bought but not finished, or when the *parea* might leave for some reason. The bill will be paid and the remaining bottle or half-bottle will be stored for another time. This practice is usually applied for known customers who entertain themselves regularly in a specific *bouzoukia*. Some *bouzoukia* also sell half-bottles, which cost half the price of a bottle. If two men visit the *bouzoukia* and do not wish to drink heavily, they might order half a bottle.

In many of my interlocutors' narratives the bottle of whisky (*boukali*) emerges as a major reference for entertainment, pleasure and celebration. Interlocutors do not talk about "drinks" or "alcohol" as such but mainly about bottles. Expressions such as "we ordered our bottle","we drank our bottle" and questions such as "how many bottles did you have?" express the major role of the object in contextualizing the activity of drinking in a *bouzoukia*. The bottle should also be understood as a concept that expresses masculinity and the ability of a man to drink a lot yet still be able to control himself. Drinking a bottle or bottles is a characteristic of a capable masculinity that invests in alcohol and in the pleasure of drinking. More importantly, the bottle acquires its quasi "sacred" character by the way it is placed in the physical context of

the *bouzoukia*. The tables at the front, even if they are empty, should always have the symbol of pleasure and night entertainment on them, the bottle of whisky.

One of the clubs that my interlocutors visited regularly was the Athenian.[43] Antonis, Sotiris and Giorgos are regular patrons of *bouzoukia* and this one is their favorite as long their favourite singer is performing there. The club is situated on a central avenue in the Aegaleo area. This area is full of car and motorcycle repair businesses, spare parts for cars, retail stores, tool shops and similar businesses. However, the Athenian's customers do not necessarily come from this part of Athens, as the popularity of a singer might bring people there even from far away in the countryside.

At the entrance of the club is the "*maitre*", who welcomes the customers and takes them to their table, which has usually been booked in advance. The role of *maitre* is very varied. He knows the customers and therefore he decides which table is to be given to each company. There is a hierarchy of tables in the club. The tables closest to the stage are higher in status and the first row is usually the most prestigious. On the "first tables" there are usually bottles of special whisky that have already been reserved. Each club has a variety of blended and special whiskies. The special whisky brands are usually Johnnie Walker Black label, Chardu, Dimple, Chivas Regal and the blended are Johnnie Walker, Famous Grouse, Dewar's, Cutty Sark, Bell's and Jack Daniel's. The tables behind the stage and in the centre are next in the hierarchy, and the lowest class of tables is the ones to the sides of the stage, especially those at the back. This logic of this hierarchy depends on two basic concepts: access to the stage (for dancing or throwing flowers) and the ability to have a good view of the performers. The *maitre*'s selection of the table is related to a number of different factors. One important factor is his relationship with the customers, which can be friendly or close to impersonal. Apart from the network of patrons who might come from the close social environment of either the performers, other people who work in this context, or the *maitre* himself, the majority of people must build up their relationships in these clubs. Relationships are built over time and with the amount of money spent during a night. Regular customers who spend a lot are highest on the *maitre*'s list and will be given a table next to the stage.

Antonis, Sotiris and I enter the *bouzoukia* with the *maitre*, who walks us to our table. The hall is rather dark and empty. There is a stage in the center and dozens of tables for four surround the stage. On the stage a small orchestra is playing popular Greek rhythms while two singers sing. The reserved "front" tables have bottles of special whisky on them, even though nobody is sitting there. In a few hours the hall is full, as it is a Saturday night. People are smoking and looking at each other while drinking. Most are silent, as the music is too loud for talking. They glance towards the stage (*pista*) and wait for the singers to appear.

The center of the *bouzoukia* is the stage. The stage is so important that *bouzoukia* themselves are also called "stages" (*pistes*). The stage is where the singers perform and, perhaps more importantly, it is the space where the customers dance *zeibekiko* or *tsifteteli* when spirits are high (*kefi*, *ftiaksimo*).[44] *Kefi* (κέφι) is an emotion that requires drinking (moderate or excessive, depending on the occasion), and whisky in

[43] The pseudonym "Athenian" is used for a music hall with live contemporary Greek music situated in the area of Aegaleo.

[44] According to Papataxiarchis (1992: 170), "*kefi*" derives from the Arabic word *keyif* or *keyf* meaning pleasure and delight, or humor, a healthy state as well as a state of slight intoxication. The villagers of Mouria use the word to refer to an ideal mood of joy and relaxation, achieved when problems and social conventions are banished.

particular is considered a beverage that brings the interlocutors to such a state. The emotion of *kefi* builds up gradually in such contexts, interrelated with the music program of the *bouzoukia*. Spirits are high when the singers know how to keep them high; there are particular singers who are known to create more *kefi* in comparison to others. (The word *kefi* is also used in relation to liking or disliking a person, an object or a situation, and in relation to personal attraction.)

*Kefi* is expressed by patrons singing along to songs that they know, sometimes dancing to a song that they like, and—more importantly—spending money to throw flowers, "open champagne" or, in rare cases and limited clubs in the countryside, break a glass or a plate. However, complete alcoholic intoxication is not considered part of *kefi*, and drunkenness (*methi*) is undesirable. When someone is drunk (μεθυσμένος) he loses face before his friends as he loses control over himself. The control of masculinity in the context of the *bouzoukia* also means control of drunkenness, despite the fact that in some cases two bottles of whisky might be consumed by a single group of four people.

When the singers start to perform their *programa*, the younger, less famous and less experienced artists are the first to appear. They try to warm up the atmosphere and build up the *kefi* of their customers. Audiences are less enthusiastic with these preliminary artists and do not dance as much while the younger singers are singing. When the atmosphere has been prepared, the lights are lowered, the stage is emptied and the "big-name" singers (*to megalo onoma*) appear on the stage with one of their famous songs or with the question "Is everything all right tonight?" The orchestra accompanies their appearance by playing a characteristic rhythm.

While we are watching the orchestra's performance, the waiter comes to take our orders, asking "What would you like to drink?" Antonis orders a Johnnie Walker "for our table", like the majority of tables in the *bouzoukia*. After a while the bottle comes, along with four glasses for the *parea*, a big bowl of ice cubes and a small bowl of dried nuts. As time goes by most groups drink their whisky straight and sometimes they mix it with Coca Cola. At my table most men do not mix it, as whisky with Coke is thought of as a "female" drink. Whisky should be straight—like the men themselves—and is usually drunk with ice.

As the *kefi* builds up and the patrons begin to recognize the songs, someone stands up to dance *zeibekiko*. His girlfriend and his friend are on their knees clapping. The man makes continuous performative turns while dancing in the center of the stage. His friends clap even more enthusiastically when the performance comes to an end. A man who dances a good *zeibekiko* is a "*magas*", a man who expresses his masculinity. *Zeibekiko* is considered a highly masculine dance to be performed mainly by men; in various contexts it used to be considered an insult if a woman among a certain company of people danced it.[45] In one of my interviews, a woman who was part of the network of my interlocutors of Aigaleo stated,

> At the end of the seventies I was a rock and punk fan and I was very daring. I would dress like the other fans of the scene and I was against most institutions. On one outing with the older men of my neighborhood we went to a place in the Koridalos area where a lot of underground figures and outlaws used to hang out.

[45] A *Zeibekiko* song might be a *paragelia*, i.e. a request from a customer. In the past a *paragelia* was usually danced only by the customer who requested the song, but the custom has gradually changed. The request was once so highly valued that during the dictatorship a customer called Nikos Koemtzis knifed three policemen and killed one in a music hall when one of them tried to interrupt his dance

> That was the place where prisoners would go outside of Koridalos [the area of Athens where the prison is located]; they would go there to get together again with other outlaws or ex-prisoners and entertain themselves. The evening we were there I heard a song that I liked a lot. It was a *zebeikiko*. The stage was empty so I stood up and went to dance the song. The older men of the company did not react fast enough to stop me, as I had rushed very fast to the stage. Then, while I was dancing, a man came onto the stage and threatened me. He said he would harm me because I was embarrassing a masculine dance. The older men in my group stood up and said I was one of the young rockers who don't know these rules. My protectors said it would not happen again.

Gradually *zeibekiko* became a dance to be performed by women as well as men, and feminine dances also came to be performed by men (occasionally on the outings of my group women would dance a *zeibekiko* and men a *tsifteteli*). This gender emancipation became possible after the 1970s, when the number of women in Greek universities increased and shifting social and political conditions influenced the redefinition of gender and womanhood in general (see introduction on the short history of Greece).

My *parea* (drinking company) is observing the performance of the singers and of those dancing while they slowly drink their whisky. There is very little speech; my interlocutors are focused on the music and the performances on the stage. Comments are made about the style of dancing, the dancers' movements and body gestures.

The bill increases as customers spend on "champagne" and flowers. The practice of "opening champagne" is very widespread, especially in the second-tier clubs. Usually the customer orders a few bottles of champagne or even more. Then a waiter opens the champagne on the stage while the singer is singing and serves the singer. The singer never drinks the champagne, but simply takes the glass and waves to the customers who treated him, while holding the glass up to them in a gesture to wish them good health. The "champagne" is usually a fake champagne called 'Bolero' which is produced in Greece especially for this kind of practice in nightclubs.

More recently, this practice has also been seen on popular television programs on days of celebration, where usually a studio is transformed into a tavern or a *bouzoukia* and famous artists, actors or other famous people in the star system perform. While the singers are performing, several "flower-women" (*lululudes*) circulate around the audience with baskets filled with flowers. When the *lululudes* receive the order, they are either paid immediately or keep track of the customer's bill. A basket of flowers ranges from 20 to 50 euros and a man who wants to throw flowers over the singer will buy at least two or more baskets.

Depending on the song and the singer, people buy the baskets and throw the flowers or even the whole basket on the singer. The surprising gesture of throwing the actual bamboo basket on the singer is usually practiced by men, who do it in a performative manner, while women usually throw only the flowers. It is also usual for the "flower-women" to walk onto the stage and throw the flowers on the singer while pointing at the customer who paid for the them. The singer will nod or throw one of the flowers back to the table that treated him or her to the flowers. The most popular singers in each club receive flowers, and the quantity of flowers thrown each time is a way of gauging a singer's popularity.[46] Sometimes flowers are also thrown gradually

[46] On Christmas and New Year's Eve in 2006, several television programs presented studios as *bouzoukia* with flowers being thrown to the singers; I observed similar phenomena in 2007.

while a woman of a group is dancing *tsifteteli*, or each basket might be emptied on her head in a performative act.

The amount of money spent in such a context is variable. Customers might spend from 140 euros, which could be the price of a blended bottle of whisky, to three hundred or even more for a special.[47] The group usually shares the costs, but in cases of personal celebration one person alone will pay the bill. In some cases Antonis and Sotiris even saved money for a week to spend on one night. When Antonis for example received his degree, he saved for months to be able to pay for one night out at *Asteria*.

Maria and Kostantina, on the other hand, never saved to go out to *bouzoukia*. Their high income enables them to entertain themselves regularly in various *bouzoukia* and they are proud of spending on flowers and Scotch. Other high-income patrons of such clubs are also able to express their budget in such excessive practices.

The status of a company at a table that spends a lot during a night is affirmed by the club in various ways: in the service (which is faster and much more polite), by the orchestra or the singer (in drinking and toasting to the health of big spenders), and in the photographs that are taken to be kept as a reminder of the big night. In almost all popular *bouzoukia* where "big name" singers perform, there is a photographer cooperating with the club, who takes photographs of patrons while they entertain themselves, moving from table to table. The photographs are usually placed at the entrance of the club and patrons buy them on their way out. Thus the memory of spending gloriously is preserved and may even be displayed conspicuously in the homes of those who socialize in *bouzoukia*.

Despite the personal ostentation of those who spend lavishly, there are also people in *bouzoukia* who cannot afford to spend as much like my interlocutors. However, when going out with my interlocutors, Antonis as well as Sotiris follow this style of entertainment and spends on Scotch and flowers even when they cannot afford to spend as much. Prestige is not the only motivation behind excessive consumption, as the small spenders simply cannot compete with the big spenders. In my group, for example, most of the time none of them was able to afford to pay for the bottles alone.

Therefore, keeping up with a style of entertainment is a process that requires a lot of investment. Material constraints might limit the ability of some of the interlocutors to perform their style regularly, but when they decide to invest in it they are able to bring it off successfully.

Thus Scotch has been localized within the context of *bouzoukia* and has become part of a specific style of modernness in entertainment. Reserving a table with whisky, throwing flowers and opening champagne are practices that express an excessive consumption style in the context of *bouzoukia* and constitute cultural aspects of a style of entertainment deeply entangled with contemporary Greek popular music. This can also obscure the socioeconomic inequalities of urban social life, as the patrons of *bouzoukia* differ between low and high-income salaried workers and professionals.

## Emotionality and anti-domesticity in drinking

One of the most excessive performative practices described by a group that I socialized with and interviewed in Aigaleo is "demolition" (*katedafisi*). Dimitris, a

[47] Prices are given for the research period of 2005 and 2006

divorced retired public servant who has spent time in *bouzoukia* almost all his life, described it thus:

> I remember I used to go out with a guy who owned some apartments blocks in Glyfada. We would go to Dilina, where Litsa Diamanti was singing, and we used to get a table right next to the scene because he knew her. We would order a bottle of whisky but he couldn't drink a lot because he had heart problems. In any case the waiters would bring the bottle and the fruit and after a while he would throw the table with all the stuff and the bottle onto the stage. Afterwards the waiters would bring the table back again with a new bottle and fruit, but he would throw the table on the stage again. He was in love with her (*kapsouris*).[48]

According to my interlocutor Antonis, excessive practices in *bouzoukia* outside the context of partying (*glenti*/γλέντι) can also be explained when someone is deeply in love (*kapsouris*/καψούρης). When somebody is in love, whisky is the drink that gives them courage, relaxes them (*se stroni*) and helps them get over past or present disappointments.[49] According to Antonis "if you are *kapsouris*, you will drink whisky". *Kapsura* (καψούρα) is an emotional state that literally means "burning". It describes the emotion of loving someone without receiving any emotional stimuli in return. The subject then is "trapped" in this one-sided affection, which might last for years. The metaphor of fire and burning is used regularly in the Greek language in relation to failed and unconsummated love relationships such as "*me ekapse*". Such phrases usually are used in reference to a man's feelings for a woman, but can also be applied to a woman's feelings for a man. "*Kapsura*" (or "burning for a woman") is a major motive for the consumption of Scotch that legitimates excessive actions in the context of *bouzoukia*. Similarly, the dancer Alexandris refers to various examples of customers who would spend fortunes in a night because they were "crazy" or in "*kapsura*" over a female singer or a woman from his dance group (Alexandris 2000: 67). The notion of *kapsoura* has been so important in this genre of contemporary popular music in the context of *bouzoukia* that many Athenians call these songs "*kapsourika*" or "*kapsourotragouda*" (songs with *kapsoura*).

Dimitris clearly explained that this "demolition" was not the result of drinking whisky or alcohol in general. Rather, demolition expresses an unfulfilled erotic relationship, a disappointment, a divorce or in general a situation that upsets a person's soul. In this case, then, the destruction of the bottle of Scotch whisky becomes the means to express such feelings of *kapsoura*. Similarly, many songs in this genre are about unfulfilled and destroyed relationships, illegal love outside the context of marriage, divorce and betrayal of women or men.

The style of entertainment in *bouzoukia* has inspired various filmmakers in modern Greek cinema. The contemporary director Voulgaris, for example, narrates a scenario in which the anti-domestic discourse and the excessive consumption (the making of the self through style) are condensed in a case of a divorce (*Ola ine dromos*, 1998). A family man in his fifties who lives in rural Greece spends his evenings in a *bouzoukia*. One day his wife, disappointed from his lifestyle, his excessive consumption in the *bouzoukia* and his anti-domestic sexuality in this sphere

---

[48] The bill in that instance was 500,000 Gr. Drachmas, which would translate as a sum between 1500 and 2000 euros nowadays.

[49] For more information on the subject see Abatzi (2004).

of entertainment, decides to leave him, taking their child, and asks for a divorce. That night the man decides to go to the *bouzoukia* again to let off steam. First he orders a special Scotch and then he breaks all the plates in the club. When no more plates are available he is willing to pay to smash the toilets. After smashing the toilets there is nothing left to break, so he decides to buy the *bouzoukia* club the same evening and demolish it with a bulldozer. As the bulldozer demolishes the *bouzoukia* he soaks his coat in whisky and sets fire to it while dancing. At the end he throws away his burned coat with a performative gesture and continues his *zeibekiko*. Setting fire to whisky and thus symbolizing the negation of domesticity was indeed widespread in *bouzoukia* before 1973. Petropoulos has described this habit taking place in the underground *bouzoukia* of Athens: a man would spill some whisky on the floor and then set fire to it while he danced (Πετρόπουλος 1991: 133).

A typical story of a ruined relationship that became materialized in Scotch whisky was told to me by Dimitris and later by his daughter. Dimitris from Aigaleo, a man in his early sixties whom I met through a colleague of mine in Athens while conducting research and whom I interviewed on two occasions, has spent all his life enjoying whisky and entertainment in *bouzoukia*. His daughter described him as a "man of the night" (*tis nihtas*) and as someone who has squandered his life in whisky. Dimitris was a public servant who married in the 1970s and a few years later had a daughter. His relationship with his wife was not very successful as he spent most of his evenings in *bouzoukia* with his friends, a situation that led to many conflicts. His wife decided to move to a new house with her daughter and end the marriage in divorce. Since then he let the steam off in whisky and *bouzoukia* and tried to recover by spending his last savings.

The concept of "destruction" has a major significance in the night entertainment in *bouzoukia*. Songs such as "*gremista ola pia skliri kardia*" (Destroy everything, harsh heart!) are typical examples of the idea of destruction in popular music and night entertainment. Destruction might also take the form of burning banknotes, throwing whisky on the floor and setting fire to it, breaking a bottle, breaking chairs and pulling off the tablecloth.[50] However, such practices are not encountered very often and have been largely replaced (as noted) by the institutionalization of symbolic destruction in the form of throwing flowers.

In second-rate *bouzoukia*, excessive consumption might be actively promoted by the staff and the women working there. For example, the term "damage" (*zimia*) means the bill that an individual runs up in a night in reference to a particular person or singer or artist. Alexandris, who was a singer in many different *bouzoukia* and *skyladika* all over Greece, stated about one of his employees who was a dancer that "he supported me with the damage he did for me". He meant that this person (customer) was so *kapsouris* with her that he did "excessive damage" in his effort to express his feelings (2000: 62). It is also of interest that the term "I held a funeral" (*kano kidia*) means that the female artist is smart enough to cause "damage" of at least three hundred thousand drachmas, an amount estimated to be at least 1000 euros (2006: 62).

Another realm outside of *bouzoukia* where whisky is interrelated with an anti-domestic mentality is the "sex bar" (*bar me consommation*). The word *bar me consommation* is derived from the American word for "bar" and the French

[50] A song associated with this practice says, "*tha ta kapso ta rimadia ta lefta mou*" (I will burn my damned money) .

'*consommation*' meaning sexual intercourse and consumption.[51] Women who work in such bars are expected to keep company with each man who enters the bar. Men accordingly buy drinks for the women and thus also buy their time. The majority of men in these sex bars drink whisky (Abatzi 2006: 152). More interestingly, wine, ouzo or other Greek beverages are never consumed this context.

Similarly, whisky is the main beverage in other bars that offer sexual services, *stiptitzadika* (strip shows) or *koladika* (sex clubs), a masculine underground form of leisure. One evening after returning from a *bouzoukia*, Antonis suggested to the remaining group of men that we visit such a place, situated behind the Hilton hotel in central Athens. His main argument was that the owner of the bar was "obliged" to him because Antonis had fixed his computer, so we would not have to pay for any drinks. The major difference between normal bars and the bars of the above category is that the center of the bar is a stage for strip shows, and sometimes some sort of sexual services are offered on the spot. Most of the women employed there are from outside Greece (mostly from Eastern Europe) and do not spend long talking with the men as they do not speak very good Greek. Such spaces are usually very dark, tables are spaced far apart, and there is usually a bottle of whisky on the table. If the customer buys the bottle to drink it with one of the women who work there, the woman might offer him manual sexual services. The women present themselves very sexually. Those who dance take off all their clothes and at the end of their performance they sit down again with the men who are paying for their company. Customers who want to be more "private" will move to tables situated at the back of the bar where it is totally dark. Some men have sex in public in the dark corners of the underground club; others masturbate accompanied by the women. In such places whisky is a form of payment for the women's sexual services. Men who do not buy a bottle are allowed to treat women to a few drinks, but for more sexual behavior they must spend more money on alcohol.

## Consumption and style in night entertainment

Rather than expressing the imaginaries of the mediascape of marketing and advertising that projected it as a symbol of modernity, Europeaness, female emancipation and companionship, this trajectory of Scotch whisky became precisely its reverse. Within this context Scotch became interrelated with a Greek Orientalism and a Minor Asia migrant culture and the underground and marginal style of nightclubs, all expressed in an anti-domestic mentality. Gradually Scotch became part of the popular entertainment in *bouzoukia* and became representative of this form of entertainment, even to the extent (as already noted) that the prices of such nightclubs are represented in bottles of Scotch whisky.

The emergence of contemporary popular Greek music and entertainment is deeply interrelated with the genre of *rebetiko* and the immigrants who identified with it. It was within this context that the *bouzouki*, a stringed musical instrument, was imported into Greece at the beginning of the 20th century. The arrival of *rebetiko* transformed the nightlife of the capital of Greece, especially because this genre and this urban style of entertainment were commoditized and commercialized in the post-war spaces of *bouzoukia*, where *bouzouki* music was widely performed. Part of the commoditization process was the "Europeanization" of the music, the spaces of

[51] The word *consommation* perfectly describes the consumerist ideology of the commodification of sex.

entertainment and the beverages consumed. As a result Scotch whisky, in the process of becoming a symbol of modernity (the "American way of life" or "Europeanness") for the Athenian elite, was slowly adapted and adopted in these spaces. Especially during the dictatorship an Athenian consumer society emerged (Stathakis 2007) and Scotch whisky could be found in many nightclubs and *bouzoukia*. The establishment of contemporary popular Greek music and entertainment during the eighties and the nineties with *firmes,* well known *bouzoukia* and *skiladika* localized Scotch to the extent that their prices became represented in terms of the beverage. Within this context Scotch became intertwined with this scene and style of entertainment.

It follows that my interlocutors who identify with this style of music and nightlife make themselves through whisky and claim a relationship between the beverage and their style. However not all consumers of Scotch identify with this style; there are new cosmopolitans, for example, who try to differentiate themselves through single malts.

In addition, the cultural style that associated with entertainment in *bouzoukia* in recent decades is based on an excessive unproductive mentality that includes "opening a bottle of special" or a "bottle of Scotch", throwing baskets of flowers at singers, opening "champagne" and running up enormous bills for a bottle of whisky. Similarly the *firmes* who represent the new Greek popular music scene and perform in *bouzoukia* spend their wealth conspicuously and publicly (Βαρουχάκη 2005: 83). While my interlocutors identify with this style of entertainment and these forms of conspicuous consumption, they are divided by major socioeconomic differences that are both united and obscured under this modern urban style.

Finally, large socioeconomic differences and power relationships are also evident in "sex bars" or "sex clubs" where "*consommation"* and prostitution take place. There, prices for sexual services are represented in terms of alcoholic beverages and Scotch whisky, a further realm of the localization of the beverage.

# 6. The location of whisky in the North Aegean

Men's traditional breeches have turned into blue jeans. Our vineyards have become illegal constructions and the wine has become whisky (*Skyrian News* 1993: 4, issue 204).

## Introduction

In the recent past, various new beverages have become part of the social life of the inhabitants of the island of Skyros in the North Aegean. Among these commodities, imported alcoholic beverages and more specifically Scotch whisky stand as a sign of the specific forms that modernity takes locally. The increasing presence of imported beverages is evident in several aspects of the social life. From bars to *kafenion* (the Greek coffee house) and nightclubs, networks of inhabitants form to "go out" and drink whisky while others use the beverage while they play *poka* (*Πόκα-* a local version of poker). However, such consumptions habits are not viewed by all Skyrians in as constructive and socially accepted a way as they are by a large majority of Athenians.

On the island of Skyros there are various consumers of alcohol and whisky who live in a dialectic relationship with imported beverages; people make themselves through alcohol and at the same time drinks/beverages are identified with particular persons. The locations of whisky vary, as do the "styles" of the islanders who drink the alcohol. Vagelis, for example, who owns the *Makedonia kafenion*, which serves mainly whisky to its customers (amounting to up to ninety per cent of the total consumption in his shop), claims "whisky is the national drink of Greece and the favorite beverage of my Skyrian customers". Moreover, whisky accounts for forty per cent of the imported alcoholic beverages on the island at least according to Stamatis, the owner of the island's only liquor store, and the employees of the multinational alcohol companies Diageo and Pernod Ricard who come regularly to the island to arrange imports. On the other hand, the majority of Skyrians prefer to drink wine and *tsipouro* in the "traditional" *kafenion* (the coffee house), in the *konatsi* (the shepherds' country dwelling) and in various other locations. Such gatherings are usually characterized by commensality and they are constructive and constitutive of social relationships.

Therefore, this third trajectory of the study of Scotch whisky—on the island of Skyros—investigates the ways in which the processes of the consumption of the beverage are distributed across the social life (in contrast to wine and *tsipouro*). In order to understand this trajectory and the meanings of consumption in each context, it is necessary to outline the ways in which the islanders "make themselves at home", drawing on local history, geography and my anthropological fieldwork before focusing on the places that Scotch takes up on the island.

Moreover, I have chosen to describe in detail the occupational groups of the island, their history, social relationships and consumption habits. These relationships

have been crystallized in time into two major social conceptions which correspond to notions of "shepherdness" (a style characterized by the moral values of shepherds) and "laborhood" (a style based on the alternative moral universe of laborers). These two notions have influenced the gender styles of the inhabitants and their relationship to matrilocal residence, household domestication or anti-domesticity. The meanings of gender style that one chooses to perform are also invested with modernness *(monterno)* or traditionality (*paradosi)*, concepts that are of major importance in the distribution of alcohol and whisky in the social life of the inhabitants.

Therefore, by following the trajectory of Scotch on the island of Skyros, I expect to find how it has become embedded in the social life of the inhabitants, what its meanings are, and how it has become—and is becoming—localized.

## The journey from Athens to the island of Skyros

In the North of the Aegean, close to the islands of Alonissos, Skiathos, and Skopelos, lies the island of Skyros.[52] The area of Skyros measures almost 209 square kilometers and the population of the island is estimated at 2602 residents.[53] There are several mountains on the island as well as a big forest of pine trees. There are valleys used for agriculture and rocky landscapes where sheep and goats are herded. The island is actually divided into two different types of landscape. The northern part of the island is more fertile and less mountainous, while the southern part is full of mountains with relatively dry and rocky land.

The endless blue sea, which can be calm and transparent in summer and foamy and choppy in wintertime, separates the island from the mainland. The islanders feel that their island is unique and they are very eager to talk about their customs and traditions and the "old ways" and to revive them. They say that their life has been changing, that the past is no longer part of the present and the future, and that everything is transforming. Their local idiom is slowly vanishing and the young do not know the "old ways" any more; the young leave for Athens and traditions are lost. "We have become modern now", say many islanders in a bitter and disappointed tone, yet they still believe that they are traditional in comparison to outsiders. Within this context, "tradition" has been a major concern for various agents ranging from those connected with European Union and State projects to local cultural associations for the preservation of tradition, folklorists and anthropologists. Tradition is usually seen as something static and stable, which has to be preserved and well kept, like a dusty room in a folklore museum that has the smell of the past or a chest containing the "old things" (*ta palea*) that is opened once a year during Carnival.

The journey from Athens to Skyros begins at the Evia bus station in Tris Gefires where the buses stand in a row according to their final destinations. Trips to Chalkida, Kimi and Aliveri are only a few of the usual daily journeys of the passengers who are waiting in the new waiting room filled with plastic chairs. The few shops around are the last resorts of supplies for the passengers. A bottle of water, a packet of cookies or

[52] The island of Skyros is part of the group of islands called Sporades, which includes Skiathos, Skopelos and Alonissos. Skyros is twenty-two miles from the harbor of Kymi on the island of Evia, which is the daily destination of Skyros's only ferry boat.

[53] While most anthropologists of Greece such as Campbell (1964), Danforth (1982), Friedl (1962), Herzfeld (1985), Papataxiarchis (1988), and Stewart (1991) have conducted fieldwork in very small communities, this ethnography deals with a slightly larger community.

some chips are regular purchases for the short trip. The bus sets off. The driver is listening to contemporary popular Greek music on Evia local radio as he drives through the narrow streets of various villages on his way to the port of Kymi. After three hours the bus arrives at the small port, where the new ship belonging to the local company Skyros Lines is moored. Next to the ship there are many small fishing boats waiting for their next adventure. The passengers from the bus run to the ticket kiosk. Within a few seconds a long queue has formed. Some passengers find acquaintances, good friends from school or from the army, neighbors or kin, and groups take shape. People move onto the ship after buying their tickets and sit on the deck; others prefer to have a few drinks in the café/bar of the luxurious common room. Some truck drivers order whisky while a company of fishermen drinks beer. The café/bar is packed with bottles of whisky of various sizes and brands, placed in the glass showcase like sports trophies.

Within two hours the ship has arrived at Linaria, the harbor of Skyros. Linaria is a small settlement with a few houses, some fish taverns, a few shops and a petrol station. Some relatives and friends of the travelers are waving from the harbor while shop owners and newspaper distributors wait for their commodities. Dozens of cars start up their engines in the ferryboat garage, which fills up with fumes. A long line of trucks, buses and cars is now heading towards the village. A few kilometers away a huge rock becomes visible on top of the hill by the sea. As the bus reaches the village, white houses can be sighted, which spread from the top of the hill to the bottom. After passing Agelis's gas station we enter the village, and after a while the bus parks opposite the neoclassical building that houses the primary school. The high school is a hundred meters away. Between the two schools is Paneris's supermarket, a reminder of the recent shift from neighborhood food stores (*bakalika*) to supermarkets selling all kinds of imported commodities and luxury goods. A few meters away, on the edge of the market, is Vagelis's *kafenion*, *Macedonia*, where the island's middle-aged laborers watch their football games, bet on poker games (*poka*) and take their whisky. Opposite *Macedonia* is another *kafenion* called *Sinantisis*, where building professionals meet up early in the morning to drink coffee or beer before leaving for work. Next to *Macedonia* is a car rental firm and a small office called *KEP* (Citizens' Assistance Centre), a relatively new institution promoted in all municipalities of Greece by the Ministry of the Interior in order to help citizens overcome bureaucracy.

Most travelers walk towards the *agora*, the main market street of the village and the centre of the social life of the island, and then disappear into the tiny streets to the left and right, called *sokakia*, which spread all over the hill like a labyrinth. The first thing visitors notice when they enter the *agora* is the *platia*, the central square where some of the modern bar-club hybrids and *kafenion* are situated opposite the town hall and the municipal library. Taxis are parked in the small parking space next to the square and the taxi drivers are drinking *frappés* as they wait for prospective customers. Further along, some groups of schoolmates are spread out at the few tables of *Akamatra,* the bar-*kafenion* run by Makis Trahanas, a repatriated Skyrian who used to own a bar in Athens. On the *platia* there are also two newsagents, where newspapers and magazines are available. Next to the press point on the square is a clothes shop, owned by a new Chinese refugee, and the National Bank of Greece, the only bank on the island.

As I walk further up into the market I see a pharmacy opposite a tavern (*psistaria*) and a butcher's shop next to a gift shop. Opposite the butcher's shop is another gift shop, which sells factory-made copies of Skyrian embroideries along with Chinese

mass-produced souvenirs and clothes. A few meters away is a DVD club and a computer/Internet store, places which are usually full of youngsters. Next to the computer store is the island's photo shop, situated next to a bar/coffee-shop and opposite a sweet shop (*zaharoplastio*).

After the sweet shop is Maritsa's *kafenion*, where shepherds and farmers spend their time in card games and discussion. Recently Maritsa's son Manolis tried to inject a more traditional esthetic into the space with renovations, and added a sign saying "Traditional *kafenion*" at the front. Next to Maritsa's is a bar/club/café, which was a *kafenion* until a few years ago. This "modern" café/club stands side by side with Maritsa's "traditional *kafenion*". The two establishments are separated by a real as well as a symbolic boundary: a small wall keeps separate the worlds of the two cafes and the imaginative categories of modernity and tradition.

On the opposite side of the street are a snack bar, a pizzeria and Lefteris's travel agency. Skyros Travel is the only tourist agency on the island and issues tickets for various destinations including Olympic Airways' Skyros-Athens route. Lefteris also collaborates with a Dutch charter company called Ross Holidays, which operates from May to October and usually brings in over five hundred tourists every year. The other "organized" tourists on the island are connected with the Skyros Centre, an alternative, new-age center established in 1976 and based in London. The Skyros Centre in the village offers an experience of local culture in combination with yoga, shamanism and creative writing. The center has been expanded to Atsitsa, an "isolated" location where more activities are offered in combination with a "back to nature" lifestyle. Atsitsa is the resort for adventurers who love nature and Skyros is the village-town for the participants who are more interested in culture.

Across the street is the shop owned by Stamatis Ftoulis, selling "traditional pottery art" as he claims, a form of ceramic which has come to be known as "Skyrian" in recent decades even though most objects are replicas of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch, Italian, English and Chinese porcelain created for the European market. While plates and ceramics are bought by tourists as souvenirs, local women regard these objects as inalienable wealth in their dowry which is transferred from mother to daughter and displayed conspicuously in most households in the village. Houses are usually open, especially in summer, and local women are very proud to show off their material culture to the tourists. A less friendly spot where ceramics are also displayed is the cemetery. Very often women dressed in black walk through the backstreets of the market to the cemetery to light the oil lamps placed in front of the graves of their loved ones and clean what they think of as their "last homes" that symbolically resemble their real houses. The cemetery is situated a few minutes away from the market street and marks the boundary of the village as its entrance is on the village's main asphalt street.

Beyond Lefteris's travel agency we find the first crossroads of the market street. The alley that crosses the market street leads on the left to the police station, the village parking lot and the cemetery. To the left the alley is narrower and descends to the area of Kohylia, which was the poorest part of the island until a few decades ago. On the corner of the market street is Stamatis's *Cava* store, a cosmopolitan alcohol store that sells bottled Greek wines, various types of whisky and a variety of imported beverages. Stamatis runs the only alcohol store in the market and is the main distributor of alcoholic beverages on the island. On the other corner of the crossroad is another relatively new *kafenion*, where middle-aged shop-owners from the market, artisans and public servants spend their time in chat, card games, television and backgammon.

As I walk up towards the top of the hill I pass by another three cafés/bars (*Artistico*, *Rodon* and *Kalypso*), a bakery, a barber's shop, three clothes shops, two restaurants and a few other shops and mini-markets. Opposite Tsakamis's mini market is the island's central church where most weddings, baptisms and funerals take place. The last shop of the market sells traditional Skyrian art and is usually open during the tourist season.

I continue my walk towards the ancient acropolis or castle of Skyros, called Kastro, which lies at the top of the hill and houses the Monastery of Saint George, property of the monastic community of Mount Athos. The steep stone path extends to Rupert Brooke Square[54] and then comes to the oldest neighborhood of the island, known as *megali strata*, where the Skyros elite lived until the beginning of the twentieth century. The neighborhood is surrounded by Byzantine churches attached to each other and stone arches. The biggest church is "Virgin Mary of the *Arhontes*" or *arhontopanagia*, meaning Virgin Mary of the Noblemen. Neighbors sit and chat on the stone benches on the sides of the church.[55]

At the end of the road is the front entrance of the *acropolis* and the gate to the monastery. Next to this gate, where an Athenian lion made of white marble lies as a reminder of the influences of classical Athens, is the house of my matrilineal uncle Mihalis, who gave me hospitality and provided precious information and contacts during my research. The view from this area is magnificent and the visitor can see most of the settlements on the island, including the structure of the village. On the western side, on the balcony of the monastery of the ancient *acropolis*, I can see the *agora* and the Kohylia area. Kohylia surrounds the western part of the village up to the market street, the *agora,* and it is the lowest area of the settlement. This is where many laborers and farmers reside. The area between the *agora* and the *arhontopanagia* is the second major part of the village, which used to be—and still is—where most of the shepherds dwell. The area above the church of the Virgin Mary, which surrounds the rock of the ancient acropolis and the monastery, is known as Kastro. The elite inhabited this area in the past. After the dictatorship the area gradually became a ghost town, occupied mainly in summer by Skyrian-Athenians and the foreigners who have bought houses in the area.

The small square next to the entrance of the monastery, called Kamantou, is a balcony on the east part of the Aegean. Standing high on the hill, the viewer can see an endless horizon filled with the blue of the archipelago and a few fishing boats far below in the sea. On the north side is a lowland (*kabos*) where vineyards grew until most of the local production was destroyed by phylloxera in the1970s. Nowadays the whole area stretching from the edge of the lowland down towards the sea is built with the new-style houses of Skyros. A garden and a garage at the front, sometimes a lawn, and usually two floors are regular characteristics of the houses in this area. The rapid tourist and economic development has transformed the area between the sea and the *kabos* into a holiday resort for many foreigners, Skyrian Athenians, military personnel and lately also inhabitants who prefer to be close to the sea. The change in the

---

[54] The English poet Rupert Brooke, who was commissioned into the British Royal Naval Force, passed away from pneumonia on 23 April 1915 on his way to Gallipoli. He was buried on the island of Skyros where his grave remains today. A few years after his death, the Greek state founded the Square of Eternal Poetry on Skyros, where the statue of a young man was placed in his memory.

[55] On Skyros the stone bench attached to the house is called *pezoula* (πεζούλα). It is usually painted white and it is considered a continuation of the house where the outside sociability of the early evening, known as *sperisma*, takes place. *Sperisma* derives from *espera* or *speros* meaning the early evening time and it is the context for neighbor or maternal kin sociability.

landscape after the 1960s and 1970s included the construction of various hotels and houses, the Xenia Hotel and more recently beach bars and rooms to let, all over the seashore.

The seashore is divided into three main settlements that no longer possess borders. The oldest settlement is Magazia, which is on southern part of the seashore. Magazia was also the first area to develop tourism, with the Xenia Hotel being built there in the 1960s. The first bar on Skyros, owned by Stamatis Ftoulis, opened there and some others followed later. Nowadays the area is booming with hotels, bungalows and rooms to let and has kept its local character. After Magazia is the area of Molos, which used to be the largest community of fishermen on the island. Molos is recognizable by the small fishing port situated in front of an old white windmill that has been transformed into a tavern. In the winter, several boats are hauled onto the shore next to the small harbor to be protected from the winds and maintained by the fishermen. The rest of the time, fishing boats of various colors are in the water and can be seen leaving and entering the harbor early in the dawn and in the afternoon. When there is no wind, their old petrol engines can be heard kilometers away with their slow hypnotic pulse that resembles the social life of the island. The last and newest settlement of the seashore is Girismata. More than a decade ago, the largest hotel on Skyros, the Skyros Palace, was built there and various other houses followed that spread towards the *kabos* (meaning lowland) area. However, the proliferation of houses, rooms to let and small hotels has resulted in a chaotic buildup that has not been supervised by the municipality or any other authority.

On the rest of the island there are some smaller settlements of farmers and shepherds and an increasing number of houses owned by wealthy Athenians or inhabitants who prefer to stay on their own estates. The area of Kalamitsa, for example, in the south west next to the port of Linaria, has been transformed into a tourist, Skyrian-Athenian and Skyrian-American settlement with a bizarre pseudo-elitist aesthetic and is full of small villa estates. The development of the area has also resulted in the establishment of a small mini-market and a new Athenian-style restaurant.

On the north side of the island there is a military and civil airport, part of a large army base. The transformation of social life on Skyros was also influenced by the construction of this military air base, which began in 1970 and was completed in 1976 (*Skyrian News* 1979: 1-7). The farmers who owned the land and the laborers who had bought land in the Trahi area received an indemnity from the State. Skyrians received considerable amounts of money that were subsequently invested in tourism and in buying apartments in Athens which could be given as dowry. A network of roads was constructed and the population of the island increased as several of the military construction workers married Skyrian women and stayed on the island. Nowadays the airport serves the charter flights from the Netherlands and Olympic Airways' flights from Athens and has recently been renovated. Next to the airport there are a few agricultural areas and a large pine forest, which covers the largest part of the northwest side of the island. The eastern side is the driest part of the island, where shepherding takes place and the highest mountains stand. The area of Vouno, for example, is the highest area of the island with a relatively large goat and sheep population and many shepherd families.

The island's economy nowadays is based on tourism, sheep and goat herding, small businesses and the army. There are at least 222 shepherding and goat-herding families and almost 38,000 sheep and goats on the island (Municipality of Skyros Information Office 2005). The rest of the inhabitants make their living as shop-

owners, laborers, farmers, fishermen, and public servants. The shepherd families own most of the shops in the *agora* and the politics of the island are still influenced by their large lineages. Names such as Mavrikos, Fergadis, Xanthoulis and Mavrogiorgis represent the largest extended shepherd lineages that own most of the property, land and the animals on the island.

## *Mesa* and *ekso*. The cultural construction of place and identity on the island of Skyros

On Skyros there are various small settlements, but the majority of the islanders live in the only town-village, called the *horio*. In the *horio* houses are packed one over another in a cubistic style from the top to the bottom of the settlement. The heart of the *horio* is the *agora* or market street. The island's market street is at the foot of the hill and is the central meeting point of the inhabitants, chiefly the men. Life in *agora* begins between eight and nine o'clock in the morning and continues till nine to ten o'clock in the evening, with an afternoon break of four to five hours, usually from one to six. During summer, however, shops stay open longer as there are tourists on the island. Public events take place in *agora* all year, including Carnival, political debates and festivals. Within this context men frequent the bar, the *kafenion* (sort of coffee house) and the tavern. Women tend to socialize more often inside and around their houses, where they also dominate the family affairs. In some ways then "women are houses" (Stewart 1991: 49). This is especially the case if they are uxorilically settled in their dowered house. There they are responsible for keeping men and things in order, saving money (*oikonomia*) and organizing family life in general.

The *horio* is the center of the social life of the island and as such is also called "Skyros". The *horio* is divided into Kastro, the *Agora* (the shopping street including bars, *kafenion* and mini markets) and Kohylia, though there are no clear boundaries between these areas. The *Agora* is the major point of reference in the *horio* when somebody is giving directions, and is the most public and busy place both day and night. Leisure is almost synonymous with the *Agora* and people ask "*pame stin agora*?" ("shall we go to the Agora) when they want to invite you out or have a drink with you. The village is divided into *pano* (up) and *kato* (down), with the *pano* area usually referring to the Kastro area and *kato* to the *Agora*, Kohylia and the seashore. In daily conversations in terms of space, islanders also distinguish between *ekso* and *mesa*. *Ekso* means the outside and includes everything that is situated outside the village except the seashore in front of the castle with the areas of Molos and Magazia. The term is also associated with nature and wilderness as well as with supernatural beings and the devil, the *okso apo do*.[56]

Interestingly the meaning of *ekso* has shifting meanings among the shepherds who refer to Athens and to the outside of *horio* (including their spaces of labor in the countryside) as *ekso*. Outside the *horio* (*ekso*) can be found, for example, the *konatsi* or shepherds' country dwelling.[57] This is male property and is viewed as a male space. It is where the shepherds or farmers sleep when they have long working periods; it is

[56] For a detailed analysis of the meanings of έξω on Naxos island and its relationship to the mythical creatures of εξωτικά see Charles Stewart (1991) *Demons and the Devil*, Princeton University Press.

[57] A *konatsi* is a small, simple construction usually made of stone and wood with a few small beds and a fireplace. In some cases there is also a vegetable garden next to the dwelling. Families associated with goat herding and shepherding usually own at least one *konatsi*.

where tools and wine are kept and where male drinking gatherings take place. The *konatsi* provides a solution for socializing for shepherds who cannot afford to drink and entertain themselves *mesa* in the matrilocal residence, the property of women. Socializing in the house is mainly a privilege of the matrilineal kin. The center of the household and the nuclear family in the village is *mesa* in the house, which is property of the women and is thought of as female space. The house is divided into *sfas* (bedroom), *sala* (living room) and *apokrevates* (kitchen). The right-hand wall in the entrance hall of the house is called the *kalos tihos*, meaning "good wall", and this is where the decorative objects of the female dowry are usually placed. At the left-hand end of the good wall is the *fgou*, the fireplace, which is also decorated with pieces of the dowry and is painted white like the interior walls.

By contrast, the Skyrian-Athenians, migrants and laborers refer to Athens as *mesa* or "inside" (in opposition to the shepherds who refer to Athens as *ekso*), the term usually used for the *horio* or the house. This reference to Athens as *mesa* is not accidental, as will be demonstrated in the coming chapters. Athens as an imagined place is related to the values of cosmopolitanism expressed in a specific style adopted by present or past migrant-laborers. As such it has been appropriated as *mesa* and therefore close, part of the style of those who come and go between Skyros and the Capital and those who want to be identified with Athens. It is worth stating, then, that meanings of place—such as the dichotomy of *mesa/ekso* in the case of Skyros—are translocal and subject to the cultural style with which each network identifies and makes itself at home. Claims over cultural styles relate to the construction of places, their cultural meanings and associations (Ferguson 1999: 82-122).

In addition, the geographical location of a space and its cultural construction as a place is a translocal and transnational process. In anthropology, for example, it has been demonstrated that the connection of place and space with a clear cultural and ethnic identity is problematic for various reasons. As Gupta and Ferguson have argued, there are several major issues that problematize this relationship (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 6-14). One of the most important is the case of those who inhabit borders—or, in the case of Skyros, the case of those migrant laborers who have been traveling between Athens and Skyros or have claimed a relationship with Athens. Such networks are neither "here" nor "there", neither Skyrian nor Athenian, neither urban nor rural.

With regard to property relationships and inheritance, male shepherds usually do not inherit anything *mesa* in the village. As a result they usually own their flock and the land *ekso*. Women, on the other hand, inherit the house and the fertile land and they remain in control of the economics in the household. So in terms of place, property relationships can be articulated in the house, bilateral reckoning and the village structure are expressed in the cemetery (Bampilis 2002), and new income differentiations are related to the area where a person lives and entertains herself or himself. Within social space human action is organized in its relation to boundaries. Inside and outside (*mesa-ekso*), or *fridatsi*[58] and *mantra*[59] or up and down (*pano-kato*)

[58] The *fridatsi* (meaning "small eyebrow") is a thin blue-grey line that surrounds almost every house in the village and is a symbolic boundary of the household. The line is always painted by women and is usually taken as a symbolic image of a woman's eyebrows. It is painted once or twice a year, usually in spring and summer, and the same figure is also found on the graves in the cemetery. In the eyes of local women the *fridatsi* indicates the existence of a woman, and usually of a family. A well kept *fridatsi* is also a symbol of a clean, tidy, household-focused woman, thus expressing the central values of the gendered social life on the island.

are symbolic boundaries that define the neighborhood, the household, the grave, the professional space and the property. The social space organizes human action in various contexts such as the village, the market, the church, the household or the *kafenion*, all of which express different types of social relationships. As Zarkia has argued about Skyros, social relationships become meaningful mainly in reference and in relation to place (Zarkia 1991). However. place has translocal meanings—as the case of the symbolism of Athens as *mesa* demonstrates.

Despite the effectiveness of symbolic boundaries, their fluidity is unquestionable. For instance, the yard of a house—which I initially thought to be a private space—becomes a public space in the summer; houses that are closed in the cold evenings of winter open up in spring and summer; the *fridatsi*, which is not visible in the winter, is repainted and becomes visible in the spring; and the *kato* of the market during winter transforms into the sea shore and the fishing port during summer. The social categories of space change their meanings according to the occasion, time frame and relationship.

In terms of sociality, male gatherings take place in the market, the *kafenion*, the bar, the *konatsi* or the homes of single men. Men are expected to be social through drinking and sometimes singing. Women also sing, and especially in the context of *panigiria* (religious festivals) there is competitive singing of local songs, a practice that has continued for generations. Dance and dancing are not usual and tend to take place at weddings or in clubs and bars. As the inhabitants say, "on Skyros we sing and drink".[60] Songs, small poems that people compose to use in everyday life, local sayings and generally the idiom with its local color are the major social contexts for reproducing and expressing the cultural particularity of the island. For instance, after I had spent almost a year on the island many Skyrians spoke to me in a very local idiom and expected me to answer back in the same vein.[61]

The inhabitants identify themselves as Skyrians mainly because they were born and live on the island of Skyros. Very long lineages called *soia* (or clans as they have come to be known in the anthropological literature) are not a prerequisite for a Skyrian identity, even though they are of major importance. On the contrary, there are Skyrians who do not have a long lineage because they are descended from migrants who have traveled in the Aegean for several hundred years. However, there are various levels of "Skyrianness". A "real" Skyrian is a person who has a Skyrian mother and father—but anybody can claim a Skyrian identity by bilateral reckoning, either from the mother's or the father's side. Being born on the island is not a necessary requirement, especially in recent decades when parents have decided to go to Athens or Evia to give birth in a proper hospital. For example, people are still considered Skyrian even if they were born in another city or town and returned to the island as a newborn baby. The most important aspect is the level of kinship

---

[59] In opposition to the *fridatsi*, which is considered a female boundary, the *mantra* is a male boundary that covers the shepherding and herding spaces of milking and cheese making. It is usually a wall made from stones and branches of various trees and plants. The *mantra* boundaries incorporate religious symbols, such as crosses painted on the wall, which protect the flock.

[60] *Stin Skyro pinoume tse tragoudoume tis tavlas*

[61] According to Herzfeld, language has a central role in the reproduction of social relationships and locality within the context of "cultural poetics" (1993: 2). The local dialects and idioms are therefore major processes of shaping and expressing cultural contexts. With urbanization, central education and the gradual shift towards the "formal Athenian accent and dialect", the local idioms have been diminishing. However the persistence of younger people has resulted in a renegotiation of local identity through the practice of idiom in everyday life. Folklore studies and publications have also influenced further the reproduction of the language by younger generations.

association, and people are readily considered to be Skyrians if one parent comes from Skyros. Miltiadis Hatzigiannakis, for instance, who is currently the mayor of Skyros, is considered a Skyrian despite the fact he lived in Athens for most of his life. The major reason is that his maternal kin comes from the island. Likewise, in my case I was considered a Skyrian because I was engaged with my research on Skyros for a long period and my mother, Anna Christodoulou, was born and grew up on the island.

One of the first things the islanders asked me when I was first introduced was "*Pianu ise* ?" ("what is your family name?"). Another similar question could be "*ti soi ise*", meaning "What is your lineage?" The *soi* is extended both matrilineally and patrilineally and is of great importance in socialization and establishment of social relationships. Already from school age, children are indoctrinated by their parents about the *soi* and their social relationships. Socializing with cousins and close relatives is desirable despite the fact that children do not follow these social conventions. *Soi* is also of great importance among the occupational partnerships such as the associations (*smihtes*) of shepherds who come together for milking and to produce cheese and wool. Generally speaking, the matrilocal or sometimes neolocal habitation results in extended relationships of the male partner with the male affines of the maternal lineage. In this sense the male affine relatives are likely to cooperate and establish bonds. Another term that inhabitants use for *soi* is *sira*, meaning "line" in Greek. However the term *sira* also represents the appropriate web of social relationships for each individual, including marriage, and social groupings related to other forms of socialization such as the school and the army. When I was present at discussions concerning the proper marriage for my uncle, for example, my grandmother would say, "She is in your line" (*ine tis siras su*) or "She is not in your line".[62] Therefore, s*ira* in that specific context expresses the appropriate marriage for women and men coming from similar socio-economic backgrounds.

*Ekso* as a term may also be related to *eksoteriko* (abroad*)*, everything situated outside of the geographical area of Greece. *Eksoteriko* usually refers to Western Europe and the U.S.A. where most visitors of Skyros come from. As such *eksoteriko* is highly valued, as life there is considered to be progressive and advanced. In addition, commodities might come from *eksoteriko* and these usually bring a high status. Scotch, for example, is from *eksoteriko* as are other imported beverages. However, the most common representation of *eksoteriko* relates to the English and Dutch tourists who come regularly to the island during the summer.

A major division which exists in almost all communities of Greece is that between inhabitants (*ntopious*) and outsiders or *xenous* (ξένους). This division can be understood as a continuation of the boundary between *mesa* and *ekso*, as inhabitants are from *mesa* and foreigners from *ekso*. On Skyros outsiders are usually divided between "Greeks" and "foreigners". Greek *xeni* are usually divided between Athenians and the rest. Other Greek *xeni* are the brides and grooms of inhabitants who come from other areas of Greece. Male *xeni* are usually *fantari* or *aeropori* (soldiers or pilots who work in the military airport). Another category of Greek *xenos* is the person who comes from another area of Greece and is employed on Skyros as a public

[62] Similarly, Papataxiarchis has noted in the case of the island of Lesbos that "the term *sira* is used in different contexts, to refer to the order of marriage priority among sisters, the turn of treating to a drink, or even as an indicator of class status. In all cases, therefore, a kind of rank order is implied, and the individuals are differentially placed in accordance with it" (1991: 172). This rank order applies also to the island of Skyros. Furthermore, on Skyros *sira* refers to the social position of the person in relation to the past hierarchical social system or the contemporary class differentiations. As such *sira* relates to social hierarchy and social differentiation

servant (*dimosios ipalilos*). Kostas, for example, who recently arrived on the island, is the manager of the Skyros airport. He was appointed by the national aviation agency and he lives on the island with his wife even though becoming part of the community is not an easy task. In most cases *xeni* are not considered part of the community, even though there are some foreigners who have managed to acquire a more local identity.

In all cases *xeni* or outsiders coming from *ekso* are considered to enjoy the benefits of Skyros without return. As the shepherds say, the outsiders "*afinoun tin kotsilia tous ke fevgoune*", meaning they leave their shit and go. Athenians especially are considered to have this mentality of snobbery and disregard for the social life of the countryside, not to mention that they are sometimes viewed as the cause of all the problems in the community. Despite this uneasiness about the Athenians, various networks identify with Athens as a value and a "style", as will be demonstrated in the coming chapters.

## Social stratification and social differentiation

According to descriptions by Western European travelers, Skyros was dominated by religious sentiment and by the Monastery of Saint George (Antoniadis 1990). The monastery was founded in 964 by the Byzantine emperor Fokas and gradually became the centre of religious practice. The property of the monastery increased significantly and at different periods could be estimated at between forty and fifty per cent of the land of the island. As time went by, and more specifically within the twentieth century, the property of the monastery decreased dramatically for various constitutional and real estate reasons. For more than five hundred years the land on Skyros was mainly the property of the monastery and of the elite or *arhontes*. For hundreds of years the ecclesiastical authorities and the noblemen would rent their land to the rest of the Skyrians, mainly to shepherds and farmers, and would receive products and money in return. As a result, the political and religious elite was able to keep the social status and indeed become wealthier without coming into conflict with the other social strata that followed the rules of conduct with religious devotion.[63]

The social differentiation on Skyros was evident until recently, with a hierarchical social stratification expressed in the terms of *arhontes* (noblemen), *tis agoras* (*men of Agora*), *tsopanides* or *kotsinogonati* (shepherds), *agrotes* (farmers), *psarades or xsipoliti* (fishermen) and *kohiliani* (laborers). Each occupational group had a distinct identity, which was expressed in clothing, residence and symbolic capital. The reckoning of bilateral descent in combination with relatively flexible endogamic rule resulted in the reproduction of this hierarchical social stratification, which remained part of the social life of Skyros for hundreds of years (De Sikke 1978, Zarkia 1996). Following the formation of the Greek state in 1828, Skyros became part of the national political organization. The governor of Greece appointed a commissioner for the island who tried to organize political life according to the principles of the new state. The old political system of *dimogerontia* was gradually replaced by a State authority, which led to a general decline of the elite structures of the island.

[63] Traces of the history of the island are existent in records that go back at least five hundred years. The records used for this part of the thesis and the most important collections of Skyrian history are a) the archive of Antoniadis, partly published by the Skyros Association in 1990 b) the archive of Oikonomidis, unpublished, property of National Literature Archive, c) the archive of museum Faltaits of Skyros, unpublished.

The political power of a ruling group was evident from the political bodies that were already constituted from the sixteenth century. The noblemen, called *arhontes*, first appeared in a written source in 1515 (Zarkia 1991: 33).[64] The noblemen were the only ones who could read and write; they were the first to wear western-style clothes and their consumption habits were very distinctive.[65] Women decorated their houses in an elaborate display of expensive porcelains and silver pieces from all over Europe and the Mediterranean, a custom that was later copied by other Skyrians. The distinction of the noblemen was also expressed in the *prikosimfona* (dowry agreements). The *aloni* was given from the mother to the daughter as part of her dowry and still today constitutes symbolic and material capital in the form of antique European porcelain, plates, pottery and embroidery.[66] In addition, houses and pieces of land were regular gifts from the family of the bride. The groom was able to use the dowry but it was never totally his own property; this can be understood as a result of the matrilocal kinship system of the island. In many cases there was the condition that everything would be retained by the woman in case of divorce or separation. An example of a dowry agreement which dates back to 1616 states:

> We give to Kali our daughter: first the mercy of God, and then God gives through us a house in the area of the *kastro* […], another two houses […], one is given this day and the other one after my death […], the field in the area of *nifiri,* the fig trees close to the sea shore, the field next to the field of Christ in *ninon,* the vineyard in *kambos* […], another vineyard in *misokambia* […], another vineyard in *mavrounas* […], all our bees and the rents from our farms in the areas of *trahi, kalamia, psahra, sikamini, tremoutzi, lakkous, lole, bera kambo, hilidonia, aspous, paraskinia, ahili, kolithrous* […]. And from our house four blankets, two made of silk and two imported bed sheet, ten pillows, […], large and small towels, […], two wooden bins, […], a pan, a wine container, half the *louni (aloni)* of the house […], completed dowry agreement in November of the year 1616. (Antoniadis 1990: 36, document 17)

The noblemen owned most of the land on the island, the best areas for pasturage, the farms, the olive plantations and the vineyards. They also owned the windmills, the olive presses and the cheese farms. Furthermore, the noblemen were the only ones who were allowed to be elected members of the political committees of the island.

---

[64] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the governing body of Skyros was called *protogeri*. From 1607 to 1750 the political administration on the island was based on a body called *epitropi,* which means the commission. The local political administration during the 19th century was called *demogerontia* and it was responsible for negotiations with each new political establishment and would decide for all legal and property affairs. (Zarkia 1991: 23). The council of *demogerontia* was constituted by three or sometimes four men over thirty-five years old, with each having a certain responsibility. There was a secretary (*grammatikos*), a president and a person responsible for security in the countryside (*horafiaris*). These people were elected from the people of Skyros but had to be part of the local elite, the *arhontes* (Zarkia 1991: 23). The structure of *demogerontia* was formally abolished in 1833 by King Otto.

[65] Western-style clothes were the Venetian-style clothes that appeared after the third crusade and during the fifteenth century when the island came under Venetian rule. A remnant of this mentality is the figure of *fragos* in the carnival. *Fragos* literally means "westerner" and this figure is dressed up in what inhabitants consider "ridiculous clothes".

[66] The *aloni* or *luni* is part of the dowry of each woman and is transmitted by mother to daughter. It includes what is known on Skyros as *palea*, such as porcelain or brass plates, pottery, embroidery and other objects that decorate the interior of the house. It is considered inalienable wealth and only in exceptional cases such as wars and extreme poverty are there diversions in the career of these objects.

They were responsible for exports and imports, they represented the island in the Ottoman and European authorities, and they collected taxes (De Sike 1978: 69-78). In short, the noblemen held economic and political power on the island and were involved in many different social spheres. They would decide in most religious, property, economic and legal matters. They had the most expensive clothes, which were usually imported, and they were also known as *megalostratites* because they lived in the area stretching from the *kastro* to the area of *megali strata*. Their Byzantine names possibly reflect an association and descent from Byzantine noble families, but historical research is yet to examine this possibility.[67] Until the beginning of the twentieth century the life of the noblemen was dependent on the rent they received from the shepherds and farmers (Zarkia 1991: 36).

**Figure 6.1** The shepherds' neighborhood (1960, Archive of Vernardis).

Until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth there were six major groupings on the island, whose social position was based on their access to the means of production (De Sike 1978: 69-78). The mode of production for at least five hundred years, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century, remained largely unchanged, based on sheep/goat herding and agriculture. The means of production consisted of land and animals. The hierarchical social relationships of production were expressed in space. The *arhontes* lived in the area of the *kastro* and *sarous*, the shepherds in the area of the *agora* and *Agia Anna*, the "*men of Agora*" in the *agora* and in Kohilia, the farmers in Kohilia and in the countryside ("outside" or *ekso*), and the laborers in the Kohilia area. The few fishermen always lived close to the seashore in *Molos*. Of all these groups the *arhontes* had the strictest endogamic

[67] In the Byzantine era some islands were places of exile for noblemen during intrigues and power games among generals and the emperor. Skyros was a place of exile and it is possible that noblemen who arrived on the island were given property by the empire in order to be able to live.

restrictions in order to retain control of the means of production, a mentality that gradually changed.[68] Still today remnants of the past hierarchical differentiation are reproduced in local sayings.[69] Furthermore, until recently there were conflicts between the occupational groups and Mayor Labrou is recorded stating in his election speech in 1951 that "we have to remember that the usual fights between the shepherds and the laborers/peasants in relation to agricultural damage often resulted in killings".[70]

The distinct identity of each group was based on occupation/ownership, descent and residence. However, residence was not a necessary requirement for inclusion and wealth did not guarantee upward social mobility. In many instances people with higher incomes (such as seamen and successful shepherds) moved into the Kastro area but their status did not change. Similarly, successful farmers tried to become shepherds but did not succeed in being accepted as such. On the other hand, *arhontes* who moved into neighborhoods where shepherds lived retained their status and their spatial mobility did not affect their identity. As a rule, matrilocal residence in combination with specific endogamic rules influenced the spatial division of each group. In all groups, a house close to the family of the bride was given to married couples. If the bride's family did not own an extra residence, another floor would be built above the residence of her maternal nuclear family. This custom is still visible and has shaped the structure of the village to a large extent.[71]

Another criterion for inclusion in the *arhontes* was the possession of symbolic capital objectified in the *palea*, meaning "the old objects". The *arhontes* owned the majority and the most valued of the *palea*, which were gradually passed over to the rest of Skyrians. The *palea* included the dowry objects that decorated the houses (known as *aloni*) and also embroideries, clothes such as the bride's dress (*alamena*), and objects in general that were passed on to each generation. Inheritance was matrilineal and these objects were considered inalienable like the *aloni*. Their value was based on their age, quality and career. Objects that were acquired as a result of divergences, as was the case in the Second World War, were not considered as valuable as objects passed on by a mother who was descended from a family of *arhontes*.

Those who lived in the Kohylia area, the lowest part around the castle hill, were called "*kohiliani*", and they would take care of all kinds of hard work, particularly hard manual labor. They were hired by the noblemen and the shepherds to cultivate their land and to assist in milking and other shepherding and goat herding activities. They did not own any property or land and therefore they had no access to the means of production. They worked as farmers, artisans, carriers with mules, woodcutters and builders and in any kind of heavy labor. Their payment was not always satisfactory.

---

[68] The inheritance of their land was solely based on descent. Inter-class marriages sometimes took place and in this way a part of the means of production was passed over to shepherds. Mixed marriages would more likely occur between shepherds and noblemen than noblemen and laborers. The main reason was that the shepherds had control over the goats and sheep and were therefore situated in a higher position in relation to the laborers. The laborers were the lowest on the social scale and in many instances were exploited by the noblemen and the shepherds.

[69] The distinctions between *kotsinogonati, xipoliti* and *kohiliani* are still used by the older generation of Skyrians. Such distinctions are not related to the segregation of social life but to hierarchical descent and property transmission. Nowadays intermarriage among the mentioned occupational groups is possible.

[70] Booklet handed out during the commemoration of Georgios Labrou (1901-1965) on 20 August 2005, organized by the municipality of Skyros.

[71] The characteristic stairs of the Skyrian houses, for example, are a product of this practice of matrilocal residence over the home of the wife's family.

For example when they worked for shepherds they would receive yearly only ten goats and a pair of *trohadia*, the shepherds' hand-made sandals (Zarkia 1991).

**Figure 6.2** View of the area of the *Kohilia* (1960, Archive of J. Vernardis).

These laborers were considered to have low status in Skyrian society and they were called *grunia,* which literally means "pigs". Marriages with women from this area were not welcomed by the other strata on Skyros, as these women would have no dowry and would bring nothing but their reproductive capacity to the marriage (they came with only "*to mni sto heri*", only their vagina in their hand). The men were not respected, as their wives would have to participate in the process of production and this was considered shameful, as ideally women should focus on childcare, the household, embroidery and religious ceremonies. Today such terms are still used by the shepherd families of Skyros to refer to the *parakatianous* (those without social status) who lived in Kohylia.

During the twentieth century two major processes influenced the hierarchical access to the means of production, which resulted in profound socioeconomic changes. Urban migration and gradual enrichment of the poorer social strata transformed the social categories of stratification and residence. Social space would no longer be related to social differentiation and access to wealth would be the privilege of the migrants and the large shepherd lineages. More specifically, at the beginning of the century the majority of the local elite bought houses in Athens, sold their property on Skyros to sustain their lives in the city, married Athenians and migrated to Athens. Most of these wealthy migrants received education and became lawyers, medical professionals, engineers and writers. This educated diaspora decided to establish an association of Skyrians in Athens (*Σύλλογος Σκυριανών*) and publish a newspaper to maintain their ties with their native place. The newspaper *Skyrian News* (*Σκυριανά Νέα*) was printed for the first time a few years before the

First World War and is still the major newspaper of the Skyrian diaspora. The Skyrian newspaper of Athens reproduced the political influence of the elite families who had migrated to Athens and played an important role in establishing an imagined community among the diaspora of Athens. Gradually the newspaper became the means to nationalize tradition and folklorize the local cosmologies. As such the newspaper articulated a discourse that incorporated the local into national and urban culture.

The tragic influenza epidemic of 1917 had a dramatic effect on the island, resulting in hundreds of deaths, further reducing the number of noble names, and decreasing the population in general. By the middle of the twentieth century only a few families of noble descent were still resident on Skyros (Zarkia 1991: 43).[72] The migration of noblemen to Athens was followed by the "*men of Agora*" and finally by shepherds and laborers. Many migrants journeyed to the United States, including some descendants of shepherds, and returned to buy property on the island or to donate a part of their wealth (Mavrikou 2005: 11-111). As Mavrikou has described in her novel *O Americanos*, the Skyrian American diaspora was considered the most privileged group because they were able to become rich and upon their return would find a good bride, buy property and live a comfortable life.

Moreover, gradually the property of the *arhontes* was transferred to the shepherd and laboring families. The international economic crisis as a result of the two World Wars and the scarce agricultural and goat/sheep products raised the value of the labor of shepherds and laborers. The state agricultural reforms from 1917 to 1922 resulted in more ownership of the land by laborers, farmers and shepherds (Zarkia 1991: 36). The shepherds and laborers were slowly able to buy the windmills, the olive fields, the vineyards and the shops of the market and they started decorating their houses with the *palea*, the symbolic capital of the noblemen.

After the Second World War those laborers who were not able to find work on Skyros left the island to work on the mainland, became seamen, and received an education in order to make a career in the army or in public administration. Girls and women were employed in domestic service in Athens by extended families (*psihopedia*), wealthy Athenians or Skyrian noblemen in Athens. Many of these migrants would return to get married and build their household on the island, and some would keep a house there for their vacations.

These processes of migration and enrichment continued after the Second World War and affected the social life of the island. More importantly, these processes resulted in the repatriation of economically successful laborers who preferred to leave the mainland and return to Skyros (de Sike 1978: 69-78, Varsamos 1991: 8-9). Those who returned wanted to express their upward economic mobility and also tried to claim upward social and cultural mobility. Especially the laborers began during the 1960s to invest in the land, the old symbolic capital, small businesses, and tourism but they did not manage to climb the social ladder, which was under the political control of the merchants and shepherds. Gradually land lost its social symbolism of traditional hierarchy and the division of space in the village was no longer related to social stratification. Those farmers and merchants who bought houses in the Kastro area did not become members of the local elite. On the contrary, extreme wealth was seen as a threat to traditional values, despite the fact Skyrians admired material

[72] There are a few families left that carry family names that were once considered noble. Yalouris, Faltaits from Faltagis, Oikonomidis, Maniatis, and Antoniadis are some of the names still found on the island that appeared in written sources before the founding of the Greek State.

possessions. The successful laborers who bought land close to the Trahi area and close to the seashore became even wealthier because in the first case they were able to sell their land to the Greek army for the construction of the large military air base and in the second case sold strips of land to Athenians, Skyrian-Athenians, Skyrians and foreigners.[73] Laborers who traveled regularly to the mainland invested in small businesses such as taxis, night entertainment and shops in the *agora*. Among this group of laborers, various individuals were gamblers who would come together to play *poka* in several *kafenion*.[74] Gambling was gradually introduced on the island and after a few years the first shop with football betting and national lottery tickets opened. Trade developed as a result of the increased population through the permanent personnel in the military base and the first ferry-boat (*Skyraki*) was bought by the newly established and locally based shipping company in 1980.[75]

The newly rich Skyrians would spend their money on new consumption goods or property in Athens, and in some cases they would leave the island for the city (De Sike 1978: 77). The city (Athens) became a symbol of well-being and a comfortable life, and an "urban Athenian style" was widely appropriated by newly rich laborers who were not able to become members of the political establishment of shepherds. Within this context the "modern" became an expressive tactic of consumption of "urban Athenian" aesthetical forms among the laborers since the seventies. This mentality stood in opposition to the traditionality of the shepherds and farmers, which according to Persidis, was based on a non-consumerist lifestyle (1983: 7).

By contrast, until recently the shepherds mostly lived off their own products and were self-sufficient. Ever since the 16th century, if they did not own any land they would rent from the *arhontes* and pay in cheese, animals and other goods, in an economic relationship known as *trito*.[76] In many cases they would also have small farms for the production of their own vegetables. The fact that they always had a stable income from their products played a major role in the durability of this way of life. Especially during the migration period in the 1960s and in the 1970s they were the only occupational group of the island who did not migrate to Athens or abroad.[77] The profound relationship with the island in combination with the political power of these goat and sheep herding clans crystallized with time into a mentality characterized by concepts of Skyrianness and traditionality as these were understood by folklorists and local historians.

Until recently most women from shepherd, farming and fishing families were excluded from the production process, except for the women of laboring families

---

[73] The area of *Trahi*, where the airport was constructed, was the property of farmers and labourers; the majority of the property of shepherds was (and still is) in the village and in the south part of the island where goat herding takes place.

[74] *Poka* is the localized version of poker.

[75] Before the first ferry-boat was bought by SNE (Skyros shipping company) people were able to travel with fishing boats and a ferry boat of the Nomicos shipping group that would travel to the island once a week during the summer months.

[76] Even today *trito* is a non-monetary rental relationship paid in the form of products or animals.

[77] While the shepherds did not leave the island, since the 1960s and 1970s the migrants/laborers have been returning to visit their island with new cars and consumption goods from the capital. The tactics of consumption of these goods served as a way to distinguish themselves and thus became a means of expressing a "modern" and "urban" identity. For example, the clothes that shepherds wore till that time were related to their professional and social identity. The *vraka*, a type of large breeches, and the shoes called *trohadia* were the characteristic clothing of shepherds and farmers who owned land. Nowadays almost nobody wears these handmade clothes except for the shoes, which are still made and worn by many shepherds.

(*kohiliani*) who could be employed in farming. In all other spheres of production women were strictly restricted, and this is still the case with herding and fishing. While in the past women would not appear often in the Skyros market unless they were employed as low-paid laborers, in recent years not only have women socialized in the market but many shops are run by women and they are named with female names. Women work in various businesses including bars and *kafenion* and they usually run them together with their husbands. Older women from the Kohilia area still work as low skilled or unskilled laborers, such as cooks and cleaners in restaurants, while the younger generation are more likely to work in a bar or a shop. Generally speaking, women have more access to the island's market than in the past and they are much more involved in business.

However, the tasks of housekeeping and childcare are still performed solely by all women, as in the rest of Greece. The advantages of bilateral reckoning in combination with female matrimony and matrilocal residence should not be overemphasized, as women still do a great deal of domestic labor. Other restrictions are still part of local life, such as the avoidance of appearing in public for long periods except in cases of communal rituals, religious festivals and shopping. This absence is especially striking in the empty cold winter streets of the *agora* and *kastro* where people are rarely seen, and if they are seen they are more likely to be men.

Finally, during the twentieth century the political life of Skyros was not characterized by conflict and segmentation as in other areas of Greece. The left and the right were not major criteria of differentiation in local politics and during the Civil War the islanders harshly criticized those who took sides or tried to take lives in the name of political ideology, as had happened in most areas of Greece. More specifically, the descendants of the few noble families and the "*men of Agora*" who had migrated to Athens kept their political links mainly through the Skyrian newspaper of Athens and continued to influence the island life. For example, Giorgos Labrou and Mihalis Stefanidis were the children of men of *Agora* who received an education in Athens, the first as a medical doctor and the second as a lawyer. In 1934 the two men ran as candidates in the local Skyrian elections and won. Their political careers were abruptly brought to an end by the Second World War but were later resumed continued and profoundly influenced the post-war history of Skyros. The first post-war election was in 1947 and was won by Emmanuel Papageorgiou with the support of Labrou. In 1951 Labrou decided to run for mayor of the municipality, competing against the medical doctor Nikolaou, and in the same year Skyros became a municipality.[78] Labrou won the elections and "modernized" the island in various ways. Many streets were built during this period through the institution of "communal work". The water system was completed in 1954 and the drainage system in the same period; the Aspus-Kalikri road was built in 1952; the electricity system began expanding with the building of the Xenia Hotel in 1959; the fish port of Molos was built in 1964; and a public school was built in 1960. Labrou was re-elected in 1964 but passed away the following year. Since then various mayors have been elected, including Tsakamis, Aggelis and Hatzigiannakis. However, there has not been a clear party division as in the National elections between New Democracy and PASOK. On the contrary, like various other mayors in the past, the most recent mayor is independent. The mayor embodies the interests of the island and in that sense he is

[78] The municipality is a political unit. It is governed by the municipal council and the mayor (δήμαρχος) and the politicians are elected every four years in public elections. The municipality is responsible for a number of issues including public works, public security and hygiene.

expected to be above national party politics, which are viewed as neglecting the Skyrian social life. Regularly shepherds and other inhabitants refer to the State as "*Kratos en krati*" literally meaning the State within the State, to express their deep disappointment in the Greek State, its inefficacy and—above all—its neglect of own their place.

## Making a living on the island

As noted in the previous sections, social life on Skyros was dominated by the *arhontes* for at least four hundred years and was gradually transformed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The socioeconomic changes affected the position of the elite and new occupational groups appeared on the social landscape. The *arhontes* disappeared and shepherds as well as farmers were able to gain access to the traditional means of production. Laborers tended to migrate and work in various other areas of Greece after the Second World War. However, they returned and gradually developed into an economically successful group that took up opportunities for innovation in tourism, construction work, entertainment and trade (Zarkia 1996: 144-173) and claimed an urban style (Ferguson 1999). More specifically,

> They were the first to receive the tourists, the first who had to cope with them, the first who realized that things were changing. […]. As their situation was favorable they were the first to invest in "rooms to let", bars and restaurants, sometimes simply by converting their shop to a supermarket or their workplace into a souvenir shop. Having long been somehow "culturally marginal" they became the innovators in their society […]. Their capital was small, as was their investment. But in fact their decisions were advanced and innovating. (Zarkia 1996: 150)

Despite their innovations and their economic success, laborers do not usually have access to the political structures of Skyros and the large lineages of shepherds. Furthermore, their long cultural marginality produced an urban style that adapted practices and consumption habits favorable among the Athenian style of entertainment. This process of claiming and practicing an urban style has been a relatively new pattern among those who cannot and do not want to identify with the matrilocal domesticated shepherds. For example, Nikos Tsalapatanis, a regular consumer of Scotch who has adopted an urban style, is descended from a poor Skyrian family of laborers and has become a successful and wealthy laborer and businessman. He described his life as follows:

> I was born in 1949. I come from a poor family of four boys and two girls. I was the fourth. I went to school here but I had to work with my father, who was a fisherman. As a result I had to quit school because I had to spend a lot of time selling fish. We were so poor that we had to steal oil from the church to eat. Gradually I started working as a construction worker and got paid very well. I survived like this for some years until I went into the army. After the army I decided to work as a sailor and I liked it a lot. I traveled all over the world and I saw a lot of new places. After a few trips I came to live on Skyros.

Nikos Tsalapatanis is one among several new rich Skyrians who has been able to make a living as a seaman and later as a carpenter. He left Skyros during the 1970s to live and learn his craft in Athens. However, after a few years he decided to become a seaman so he could save some money and start a family. During the time he was working as a seaman he met his wife on the island of Skyros (she is from Australia) and they decided to get married and live in Athens. After a few years in Athens Nikos changed his mind and decided to go back with his family and live on Skyros. Unfortunately Nikos's marriage did not last, as he was not able to deal with several problems that arose in the relationship with his wife. Nikos continued his work as a carpenter and decided to invest his profits in some rooms to let and later in a bar and a nightclub. These leisure spaces in which he invested his money are identified with his Athenian style of entertainment and his preference for Scotch whisky and imported beverages.

Despite the upward economic mobility of many laborers, these networks were not able to access the social hierarchy and take part in the political life of the island. On the contrary, there has been a cultural marginalization of many laborers that is expressed in local sayings such as "*parakatinos*" (second-rate class). For example, in one interview Nikos Tsalapatanis made the surprising statement: "I am not a Skyrian. Everybody on Skyros belongs to a kin group or is related to the extended shepherd families. I don't have a large lineage (*soi*). How can I be a Skyrian?"

Another major distinction is between *eksohinous* (those who work *ekso*) and *horianous* (those who work *mesa* in *horio*). Those who work *ekso* are usually the shepherds and the farmers, while those who work mesa are usually the men of Agora and the laborers. This distinction implies that those who are *eksohini* are expected not to be in control of the money earned. Women will be in control of the economics of the matrilocal household and of the money earned by the men. On the other hand, the laborers and the men of Agora are in contact with commoditization and exchange money regularly. As a result they are expected to be in control of their money.

The men of Agora own or rent retail shops, mini-markets, *kafenion*, restaurants, bars and similar businesses, which are all situated in the *agora*. Other occupations in the market include traders in various commodities, shop-owners and professionals. Those who work in the *agora* are usually the best educated of the island and include enterprising migrants who, like the migrant laborers, have returned to the island. The men of Agora have usually studied outside Skyros at technical schools or universities and as such they are the most cosmopolitan. They are also likely to speak a foreign language, usually English.

The State jobs are related either to the army or to public services such as the municipality (*dimos*), the National Bank of Greece, the National Telecommunication Company, the Public Electricity Company and so on. These are considered the most "secure" occupations and to become a public servant (*dimosios ipalilos*) is the ultimate value for the majority of the islanders. The pension scheme, the permanent contract for each position and the average salary are considered the most rewarding aspects of these occupations. In addition, throughout the winter the island's economy depends on the permanent military personnel and the soldiers doing their service on the military base on the island. The army purchases food and consumer products from the Skyros market and many businesses therefore remain open during the winter. The soldiers are also regular customers in the bars, clubs, restaurants and market shops. Despite the fact that many inhabitants are not happy about the presence of the army on their island, most agree that the army is one of their major sources of income. Over the last generation, marriages of local women to military personnel or public servants

have become preferred as Skyrians think that state occupations are secure and women should look for men with stable jobs (*kati stathero*). Stable jobs are always related to the state, although the salaries are low. Shepherding or farming alone is not considered the ideal occupation for men any more, but combined with other part-time work these jobs can be rewarding to a certain extent.

In many cases shepherds are also employed as public servants. Laborers and fishermen rarely have access to this type of public occupation, which require connections to the large lineages involved in politics. The shepherds are the most likely to acquire a position as public servants on the island. The long *soi* lineages determine the results of the local elections and influence deeply the political life of the island. As a consequence, members of a large *soi* lineage are more likely to receive positions as advisors of the municipality, find a State job and a State indemnity.

Those shepherds who are employed in State jobs for example, divide their time between their flocks/herds and their major occupation. However, those shepherds who are also public servants are less interested in their fathers' occupation and have neglected to learn the local systems of animal classification, the production processes for cheese and the rules of conduct. In one of my visits to a shepherd's *konatsi*, for example, I encountered a conflict between the son and the father. The son of *Barba* Nikos Kumiotis, one of the shepherds of Vuno, works in a State job offered by the municipality. Talking about the future of their occupation, the father said, "The young do not know the job any more; there are many things that they don't know how to do". The son replied,

> When my father dies, I will have to divide my life between shepherding and my full-time municipal job. Even though this is going to be difficult, I will have to do it because others will laugh in my face if I sell my father's flock. What else can I do? […] Whatever I do, how am I going to find a woman if I am a shepherd? Women nowadays don't like that.

Those who get State jobs no longer regard shepherding as a priority in their working lives. On the contrary, they are very critical of this occupation, which is considered by the Athenians to be backward and not modern. In that sense many young shepherds try to imagine more possibilities and attractive occupations to raise their income. They feel that they should also be modern in order to succeed in their lives by leaving aside this profession which is for the uneducated and for the *vlahus* or *kotsinogonatous*, as they say.[79] The term *kotsinogonati* means "those with red knees" and is used as a pejorative expression for those shepherds who have shepherding as a way of life and as a mentality. (The most reasonable explanation I was given for this name is the fact that most shepherds move their flocks in areas where there is red ground, specifically in the Vuno area, and as a result their feet and knees are colored red).

An additional source of income for the shepherds is E.U. funding, which supports both their own production and feed for their animals. Lately the K.E.P. (*kentro eksipiretisis tou politi*) or Citizens' Assistance Center has played a vital role in the incorporation of state subsidies into the local economy. New business plans and

[79] The term Vlahos (Βλάχος) on the island of Skyros does not relate to the ethnic group of Vlahs in the North of Greece. It is used in a pejorative manner by the Athenians and Skyrians and refers to a rural or local style of backwardness.

tourist projects have been partially or totally funded and as a result a number of new hotels and businesses have been established on the island. However, the result of funding for shepherding has been to increase the herds without any modernization of the production of cheese or other products, because shepherds are paid according to the number of animals they own. Thus the flocks do not have as much space or food as they had in the past because resources are limited and their population has increased significantly.

The number of farmers gradually becoming landowners has been reduced, especially since the main agricultural areas of Trahi and Kabos were sold to the Greek army. The few farmers now live outside the *horio*, mainly in the Trahi and Kalamitsa areas. They grow potatoes, seasonal vegetables and fruits and they also have a few animals like chickens, sheep and cows. Most of the farmers' children leave for Athens to work as laborers, receive an education in technical professions, or work in the army. The family of Tzanis, for example, who grew potatoes in the Trahi area for many decades, moved to Athens after their father passed away. The older son, Giannis, decided to start a career in the army and Giorgos, the youngest, has become a laborer in construction work.

The last occupational group is the fishermen, also mockingly called "barefoot" (*xsipoliti*) by other Skyrians because they tend not to wear shoes when they are working. Another possible explanation is that the word "barefoot" connotes their relative poverty and an inability to dress themselves properly. Their incomes are relatively low in comparison to the other occupational groups on the island, as during winter the strong winds are an obstacle to fishing and there is no stability in the production process. Generally speaking, the number of fishermen has decreased and the younger men do not want to be fishermen.

## Gender styles

As Ferguson has noted, the term "cultural style" refers to practices that signify differences or to processes of social differentiation (Ferguson 1999: 95). Styles are not total modes of behavior but tools of imagining and belonging with a wide range of referential categories, mechanisms of placing and placement into social categories such as gender. While femininity and masculinity stand as opposing categories, this opposition does not guarantee their homogeneity. On the contrary, there is a plurality of gender negotiation as various authors have argued (Archetti 1999, Papataxiarchis 1998).

On Skyros gender styles are deeply influenced by the conceptualizations and the practices of persons in relation to the household and their domestication, issues that are widely discussed on the island. While a large majority of Skyrians identify with these values, a network of laborers who practice an urban style of entertainment identified with the Athenian contemporary popular musical scene (see chapter 4) challenge these dominant notions. Within this context such anti-domesticity is a major value.

For example, past or present migrant laborers who have been moving between Skyros and *mesa* (Athens) identify broadly with the popular culture of Athens, the *laiko* musical scene, the consumption of whisky and a style of dominant or assertive masculinity. Within these networks assertive masculinity is a form of symbolic capital in opposition to the disciplined and ordered domesticity of manhood as expressed in the values of the matrilocal household of shepherds, public servants or the majority of

the men of Agora. Domesticated householders represent the mainstream values of the community in opposition to the mainstream "Athenian" style of entertainment and they cannot afford economic excesses, gambling, drinking or extended sexual relationships outside the context of marriage. Laborers, on the other hand, not only negotiate their masculine identities through an assertive sexuality but also divorce in some cases.

A major consequence of the anti-domestic style is courtship with foreign women who can accept non-marital relationships, with the men avoiding extended matrilineal kin sociability and bilateral obligations. For instance, among the laborers I encountered two cases of men who were not married but had children (one with a foreign woman and one with a Greek woman) and also many cases of divorce. While in the past divorce was not usually considered an option, I recorded more than fifteen divorced couples on Skyros. However, couples who have had children and divorced once the children were grown up are seen as more productive and are more socially accepted.[80] In particular, a divorced woman who has given birth and raised the children is much more valued and respected than a divorced woman without children. As various ethnographers have elaborated, womanhood is fulfilled and structured in relation to birth (Campbell 1964, Papataxiarchis 1991: 6). This differentiation should also be understood within the context of motherhood and sexuality. As Papataxiarchis and Loizos have argued, the sexuality of married women who do not give birth is viewed as threatening to the social order and the household, while mothers seem to have fulfilled their proper role (1991: 223). The value of motherhood is central within all Greek communities and especially in areas where the Orthodox Church has customarily projected the Virgin Mary as a symbol.

Despite the anti-domestic discourse of laborers, the general morality is for a person to be valued as *nikokiris* (meaning a man or a woman who is focused and looks after the household and the family), as *timios (*an honest person) and *kinonikos* (a social and community-oriented person).[81] As *Thia* Maria, the wife of a shepherd who lives in the neighborhood of my matrilineal uncle, told me,

> A good man or a woman should be polite, devoted to his or her family and the children and put the household as a priority over his life. This is a moral and communal obligation. The man should be *nikokiris* and the woman *nikokira*; they should be hardworking, economic-oriented and social.[82]

---

[80] By contrast with the comments of du Boulay, Skyrians consider half-siblings from the same father to be "real" siblings, while half-siblings from the same mother are not so close and are called *"muladerfia*" (du Boulay 1994: 258). The explanation I was given was the "power of sperm" or the "seeding", which has also been noted by various ethnographers in South-Eastern Europe such as Delaney (1991) and Papataxiarchis (1988) who have examined the monogenetic theory. In this context men are viewed as having superior sexual powers. In addition, siblings from the same father have the same name and in that sense are considered to carry the family name, especially males.

[81] The role of *nikokirio* has been elaborated by various ethnographers of Greece. It signifies "an economically and politically autonomous, corporate, conjugal household: this is the ideal social environment to which men and women can bring their distinct identities and abilities to create a new family" (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991: 6).

[82] As Papataxiarchis and Loizos have stressed, the household is particularly emphasized as a status symbol in communities where the church has taken on the role of political-cultural representation and leadership, especially during the Ottoman era, and has acted as a guarantor of customary law on marriage and kinship (1991: 6). In the case of Skyros all dowry agreements from the 16th century onwards and possibly earlier took place under the supervision of a priest, and most documents incorporated religious elements.

A typical expression of embarrassment and non-social behavior in the Skyrian dialect is "*gia mana nikotserio"* (what a household!). The social disapprobation for those who reject *nikokirio* shows the social significance of the institution and the symbolic status of the concept. Marriage is a central rite of passage for an individual on the island, and once a man and a woman come together in "holy union" they are expected to stay together for the rest of their lives in a nuclear family. Accordingly, divorced men and women are considered to be unsuccessful and an embarrassment for their families. In particular those who practice matrilocal residence cannot afford to lose their household, their family or property transmitted through *iso* agreements.[83] Despite the social criticism and the difficulties involved, however, the number of divorces has gradually increased in recent years among laborers who do not relate to a matrilineal matrilocal residence.

Among the shepherds, a man who is considered *nikokiris* is supposed to have his own wine and should offer it in drinking sessions. Getting drunk is considered embarrassing, however, and is not encouraged among friends. The only cases where drunkenness is accepted are Saint's-day celebrations (*panigiria)*, weddings, Carnival, and all-male drinking gatherings outside of the village. Laborers, on the other hand, are more likely to get drunk, gamble, entertain themselves until late in the night, express their economic success in conspicuous consumption and establish relationships with foreign women. In other words they are more associated with excess and an unproductive eroticism. When such networks "go out", they have the habit of booking a table with a bottle of whisky in a club, a practice that imitates the Athenian popular "style". That is the case for example at Tzivaeri, a seasonal *bouzoukia* with live Greek music.

Although the elders and the "domesticated" shepherds and their families do not consider these practices constructive, this assertive masculinity can attract social criticism. One evening, for example, I was sitting with my neighbors *Thia* Maria, her husband, her daughter and her son-in-law. The son-in-law, who is a "domesticated" shepherd in his forties, offered me some whisky and after a while he started saying that when he was young and unmarried he was able to "go out" and drink with his friends. After marriage, however, he could no longer come home late at night, couldn't drink as much and couldn't enjoy himself as he used to do in the past. His wife became very upset and slightly embarrassed and said, "Why don't you go out? You can go any time!" *Thia* Maria, the wife's mother, disapproved of her daughter's anger and tried to calm things down by saying also that he should "go out" (*volta*). After this scene *Thia* Maria spoke to her son-in-law in a motherly manner, saying, "What do you want to do in *Agora*? Can't you see that it is for the young and for people who don't have households?" The market street is therefore used as a metaphor for an unproductive mentality of drinking and gambling which opposes the household values. In cases like this, Skyrians will "talk about you" (*se kouventiazoun)*, as my grandmother always says to my uncle and her son, a seaman in his forties (*naftikos*) who has a relationship with a woman but is not married. The fact that his girlfriend is Ukrainian and works in a bar complicates the family tensions. "What are the people of the island saying about you now? is that a *nikotsirio*?"

[83] The *iso (ίσο*) meaning "equal" could be translated as "equivalence", implying the equivalence of the bride with property. *Iso* is an informal dowry agreement, despite the fact more property is given after the *iso* has been signed. I should also mention that women are also allowed to propose marriage to the man . This involves a visit to the house of the groom by the bride accompanied by an old relative. Then the *iso* can be discussed and later can be written down.

Generally speaking, the majority of metaphors in contemporary Skyros (as in many other areas of the world) are related to food and drink.[84] For example, when I was involved in endless political discussions about the mayors of Skyros I often encountered the expression "he ate everything" (*ta efage ola*), accompanied by a symbolic gesture to convey eating. The meaning of this expression is that the mayors took advantage of the treasury and the money of their municipality and spent public funds. Drinking might also have negative connotations when used in a literal form; "He is drinking", I was often told, and a disapproving gesture would also allude to the inappropriate character of this habit. Drinking is considered a major socializing activity but when "someone is drinking" (*pini*), or "goes around" (*girnai*) meaning someone regularly consumes large amounts of alcohol, this is a threat to his household and to the community. As such "drinking" might express a highly anti-domestic persona that threatens the values of *nikokirio*.

Drinking alone is a highly stigmatizing activity. It is rarely encouraged as it can be seen as a problem; people who do it are socially excluded and rarely taken seriously as they can become *bekris* (drunkard) and *alkolikos* (alcoholic). This fear should be understood within the general context of drinking alone and drinking with a company (*parea*), a division that has been described by various ethnographers of Greece (Gefou-Madianou 1992, Papataxiarchis 1991, Cowan 1991). Drinking with a company (*parea*) is a high value and it is the major practice of socializing among men. This practice of drinking with a *parea* has been understood as a constructive activity that reproduces social relationships and constitutes a major arena of gender negotiation (Gefou-Madianou 1992).

Although the alcoholic beverages that Skyrians consume depend mainly on gender and occupational group, there are some common terms in relation to drinking that are widely used among the participants of this study. The concept of "*parea*" (παρέα), mentioned earlier, refers to the group of persons who come together to socialize in various contexts. However, in the matrilocal and in some cases neolocal society of Skyros, women tend to socialize more often *mesa* (in the house and neighborhood) with their kin and establish matrifocal alliances. This has as a result the socialization of most men *ekso* in other spaces outside of the home, in which relationships are constructed more on the basis of occupational background rather than kinship. It has been observed that in similar communities where male leisure is excluded from the household, men establish emotional attachments of friendship in opposition to kinship (Papataxiarchis 1991).

While women might socialize more *mesa* and men *ekso*, this does not imply that men are public and women private. As will be demonstrated, shepherds and farmers prefer to be private when they drink heavily in the *konatsi*. Similarly, the consumption of whisky among the laborers might take place in private spaces such as the back room of the *kafenion Makedonia* (or at least be concealed) to the extent that drinking is accompanied with gambling. Women, on the other hand, avoid drinking heavily in public but might drink in moderation during church festivals. Women also consume alcohol at communal events such as weddings, name days and celebrations of saints and the majority might also drink at home with food or on visits of friends, relatives or neighborhood members. Generally speaking women are not heavy drinkers and they are stigmatized as "immoral" if they are seen drunk in any context. Gefou

[84] Food is a major symbolic category which expresses various sociocultural relationships. As Sutton has illustrated, memory and food are interconnected in Kalimnos (1998) and gender is shaped by food habits (Herzfeld 1985, Cowan 1990).

Madianou has noted that in various areas of Greece female drinking is interpreted as a lack of self control and self respect, which is an indication of an uncontrolled sexuality and hence threatens the household by exposing it to social critique (1992: 16).

Moreover gender styles are reproduced through material culture and more specifically through the exchange of alcoholic beverages and food. In many cases the alcohol exchanged and consumed by women is usually a sweet liqueur, which is home-made and is considered a "female drink" (*ginekio poto*). The sweet liqueurs are usually consumed on visits by friends or at family gatherings and they are given as treats only to women by the housewife. These liqueurs are made from several fruits and are very high in alcohol content. Fruits such as cherries, morellos, mandarins, mulberries, quinces and pomegranates are the basis of the beverage.[85] Other drinks that might be exchanged among women in a household include Scotch, brandy (*cognac*) and sweet wine. While drinking in such contexts is encouraged among women, the consumption of alcohol does not usually take place in the presence of men. The beverages are usually drunk during *sperisma*, the late afternoon/early evening gathering of neighborhood members and matrilineal female relatives. While men are not necessarily excluded from such contexts, it is more common that they will socialize in the market or in more private places with their friends. On all these occasions the bottles of cognac, sweet wine and sweet liqueur are kept in the liquor cabinet of the house, a female domain. Furthermore, alcohol is not to be consumed in the house except in moderation. For that reason the "alcohol store" is under the supervision of the women, who will decide under what circumstances the beverages are going to be consumed. Liquors, imported beverages, and whisky are thus be consumed only on visits by neighbors (*episkepsis*, επισκέψεις), *giortes* (γιορτές), at evening gatherings (*sperisma,* σπέρισμα), during construction work as "gifts" to construction workers while having breaks, and at weddings and funerals.

Especially among the domesticated shepherd families and *men of Agora* families, the alcohol is kept by the housewife in a concealed place of the household in the *sala* (living room), usually a small dusty cabinet in a hidden corner next to the sofa, under the television or in a place that is not easily accessed by the men of the house. Therefore, in a matrilocal domesticated household, that is in a *nikokirio,* women have the power over the sphere of alcohol, which is used in a domestic manner. Within this context men cannot access and drink the alcohol, which is property of the woman.

One of the beverages of major importance among women is "*cognac*", the Greek brandy, which is the base of the homemade "female" liqueurs.[86] Brandy has become embedded in Greek social life and it is a main drink of socialization in various communities. More importantly it is the spirit used in many rituals and home gatherings among family members. Papataxiarchis has observed the same processes on the island of Lesbos, noting that coffee and cognac are usually used among family members (1992: 233). On Skyros as in other areas of Greece, "cognac" is also a symbol of death. It is used during the night when family and friends lament the dead

[85] While on fieldwork I collected several recipes for these liqueurs. Each recipe depends on the "sweetness" of the fruit which is be adjusted with sugar. The quantity made is usually 2 liters of cognac mixed in a big glass bottle with one and a half kilo of sugar or more with the pits (50-100) of the desired fruit. In the case of oranges, mandarins or quinces, the peel (4-5 fruits) is used to flavor the beverage.

[86] The word *cognac* in Greek refers usually to Greek-made brandy but as a term includes all kind of brandy. *Cognac* is a localized term, probably as a result of a French style of education and an adaptation of French words in modern Greek.

and it is also drunk after the funeral, by men only, in one of the market's *kafenion*. In addition, cognac is consumed by both men and women in domestic contexts. The spirit is also a gift for family celebrations and family visits. Formal occasions require a good bottle of cognac, which is "kept" in the liquor cabinet for future family gatherings and formal visits. In this context cognac has emerged as a symbol of family continuity, collective drinking and family union and is deeply entangled with domesticity especially among the shepherds and the men of Agora families.

Another division on Skyros that reproduces gender styles is between beverages *me meze* and *horis meze,* that is drinks accompanied by small quantities of food called *meze* and drinks to be taken on their own without food. *Meze* on Skyros is usually consumed by men and consists of a piece of Skyrian cheese (*kefalotyri*), some olives and bread. *Meze* is usually be consumed outside the home, *ekso* in the countryside or in the *Agora* and it symbolically opposes the sphere of food which is a feminine and a household based domain. "Real" food is considered to be the food made in the household by the housewife, in contrast to the *meze* offered in the *kafenion* or even the meals prepared by men in the *konatsi*, such as fried eggs, cheese and olives. Meals in the home are prepared only by the women (the housewife, sisters, and daughters) and the housewife usually serves the food. There are rarely any guests, although family meals are not totally a private context. The table is a major activity where family disputes, tensions, hierarchy, status, and conjugal relationships are expressed.[87] Dinners among friends are not common, although a drinking session might be accompanied by food or *meze*. In everyday life exchanging gifts of food is not a common practice, but food is usually offered as a gift at religious ceremonies on saints' days, at weddings and for death rituals. Alcoholic beverages, however, are regular gifts among the community, as will be discussed below. The alcohol consumed with *meze* is usually wine but *tsipouro* and *ouzo* should also be consumed with *meze*. By contrast, women do not exchange or eat *meze*. The alcoholic beverages exchanged by the women are usually *cognac* or fruit liquor, which are usually offered with a sweet (*gliko tou koutaliou* or *sokolataki*) or a *loukoumi* (a type of sweet covered in powdered sugar). However, they might also be offered without any sweets. Similarly in recent times, beverages (*pota*) that are consumed by men in the bars and *kafenion* of *Agora* are not drunk with *meze*. In one of the first bars established in the market (*Renaissance*), for example, the owner (a sailor working on trade ships) said, "My bar was probably one of the first, and for that reason customers did not know how to drink imported beverages. Customers would come in and say 'You don't have any *meze*; how are we supposed to drink without eating?'"

A major differentiation between food exchange and alcohol exchange lies in *kerasma*.[88] *Kerasma* is a customary offering of alcohol to people which might follow the Maussian structure of offer-acceptance-return depending on the context and the relationship. According to Papataxiarchis, "the very gesture of friendliness is articulated as a treat to a drink" (1991: 64). This gesture might also take the meaning of greeting, but in general it is for treating friends. It follows that *kerasma* is reciprocal but it can take the form of a gift without return.

---

[87]Kotsoni, for example, has illustrated the importance of the table in interfamily relationships in the South Aegean and how it is connected to various other aspects of social life (2001: 96-137).

[88] Within forty days of a death, the family of the deceased offers wine to the external kin, friends and neighbors for forgiveness. *Ouzo* usually accompanies the first dance of the married couple in the house. Brandy or Scotch is usually given after a funeral in the coffeehouse.

## Traditionality and modernity "inside" "out"

One is not born traditional; one chooses to become traditional by constant innovation. (Latour 2002: 76)

According to Zarkia, Skyros went through three phases of transformation in relation to conceptualizations of modernity and tradition (1996: 159). The first phase was that of "urban attraction", which was characterized by an "urban aesthetic" influenced by conceptions of city life and its new elements (1960s). Skyrians wanted to see and construct themselves in opposition to peasants, the "village aesthetic", herding and agriculture and the local identity, expressed in clothing and architecture. For example, after the Second World War most shepherds started to wear blue jeans and many houses were furnished with imported Athenian furniture, plastic chairs and aluminum frames. New houses adapted an urban style with new spaces and small gardens, and the Kastro and *Agora* areas were gradually transformed. Many Skyrians wanted to be modern—and as such urban—in their everyday lifestyles. This shift resulted in a negation of signs connected with peasants and herders that had been part of the Skyrian settlement for hundreds of years. There are stories of peddlers exchanging precious antique objects from the *aloni* and the interior of houses for Athenian clothes or small gadgets. In short, traditionality was regarded as a backward and negative concept and involved an inferiority complex of the peasantry.

The second period was characterized by an imitation of what was conceived as a Western European and urban aesthetic, which was further expressed in various aspects of social life (1970s and 1980s). Zarkia describes a gradual shift in the mentality of the inhabitants and the migrants from Athens who initially avoided the "ambassador's" *kafenion* because it was a place for shepherds and farmers.[89] However, tourists thought the *kafenion* was an "authentic traditional" place and therefore its clientele increased. The Skyrians gradually imitated the foreigners and became aware of others' interest in "tradition". This period coincided with the development of tourism on the island and also with the foundation of the Skyros museum of folk art. That was the period when "things" became "objects" with a price, when the cultural aspects of Skyrian life started to be of great interest for outsiders and became part of the national heritage of Greece. Islanders realized that there was a possibility that they were not peasants but rather a living museum of tradition, an island with culture. Tourists coming from afar paid to see them in their environment filmed them and studied them; this meant that Skyrians were interesting—or at least this is what "outsiders" such as tourists and folklorists thought.

A transitional voice from these times has been traced in the local newspaper *Skyrian News* (Skyrian News 1984: 7-9). The paper became a stage for many debates between traditionalists and modernists. For example, an article was published about the negative aspects of tradition: tradition was presented as a mentality that had brought a difficult and hierarchical life to the poor on Skyros in specific historical periods. Mr. Persidis, a local folklorist and historian, published an argument against this simple materialistic interpretation in his article "What is tradition and what is its value?" (*pia I paradosi ke pia I aksia tis*). He argued that tradition is a national good, claiming that it represents a better past in comparison to the modern present and is a

[89] The "ambassador's" coffeehouse was located where Lefteris's travel agency is now. "Ambassador" was the owner's nickname because he always welcomed all types of different clients and was well dressed.

culture created by the people for the people, in opposition to the modern culture created by companies and television. Persidis's arguments resembled those of the majority of the folklorists who played an active role in convincing Skyrians that "tradition is the materialized expression of the mental and material life of people, an expression of their cultural idiosyncrasy, their national identity" (Skyrian News 1984: 7).

In the third and most recent period came the actual capitalization of traditionality (the end of the 1980s, the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century). Objects made by artisans became traditional artifacts, rituals such as Carnival were organized in such a way as to attract more outsiders, Skyrians became proud of their herding and farming heritage, architecture was sometimes adapted to foreign taste, and tradition emerged victorious over the stigma of peasantry. In the past decade local associations for the preservation of tradition have been established, local "traditional artifacts" have proliferated, and the "traditional Aegean" aesthetic of the Cyclades—the most touristy of the Greek islands—has been used by entrepreneurs in their new hotels and guest houses. As a consequence a local style as a mode of signification has successfully been reproduced in contrast to the Athenian style that many laborers perform.

Clearly the shifting meanings of modernity and traditionality have been influenced by the relationship between "outsiders" and "insiders". Skyrians gradually realized that they wanted to present what "outsiders" thought was their tradition. Moreover, Skyrians wanted to "rediscover" and "preserve" it, as various local historians and folklorists have argued (Varsamos 1991: 8-9, Persidis 1984: 7-9). To be modern was not as good any more, or at least not good in relation to "outsiders".

Nowadays these categorizations are extended to various aspects of social life such as food and drink. Stamatis Ftoulis, for example, a traditional pottery artist had a cosmopolitan style in the past as he was the first bar owner (1967). Now he has adopted a local style and views tradition as "his" own innovation. Nowadays Stamatis sells his Skyrian wine he produces himself, together with his Skyrian pottery.

In a contrasting case, Stamatis the cava owner, who has adopted an urban style, has an extensive collection of Greek wines in his alcohol store and claims a distinctive knowledge of tasting, gained through his long experience. He stated that "Skyrians do not know how to make wine" and thinks that the local product in general is not comparable in quality to his own imported bottled wine. Despite the fact that his brother is a local artisan who also makes his own wine, Stamatis wants to differentiate himself from rural production and the "local" taste. In the eyes of Stamatis, traditionality is not found in the production of the Skyrian wine but in the "local" bottled wines around Greece. Another form of differentiation for Stamatis is the narration of his travels abroad (in Skyrian: *ekso* of Skyros or in *eksoteriko*) that were sponsored by the large multinational corporations Diageo and Pernod Ricard. A certain volume of sales is rewarded by the large alcohol multinational corporations with "gift" trips to the Americas, Southeast Asia or Europe, depending on the season. When we met with Stamatis he always liked to talk about the luxurious hotels of Asia, the "foreign" and cosmopolitan new tastes he discovered on each continent, and the luxury of his travels. In addition he has an elaborate collection of single malts in his store and he always drinks imported beverages when he is in a bar. The majority of his profit is from imported beverages and specifically whisky, which is sold in the island's bars, clubs, supermarkets and *kafenion*. The alcoholic beverages he sells are from *eksoteriko* and as such fit his cosmopolitan aura, which is focused on the various conceptualizations of *ekso*.

Those who do not identify themselves with the cosmopolitanism of Stamatis, with *eksoteriko* or products from *ekso* capitalize their style with the "local", "traditional" wine. Stamati's brother Giorgos, for example, makes his own Skyrian wine despite the fact that he buys the must from mainland Evia. While an increasing number of Skyrians are buying must from Evia, there is a claim that this is their wine and their product. This selective memory of the production process, the most important aspect of the creation of wine, is not necessary felt as alienating; rather, it is dressed with traditionality, locality and personal identity.

This transformation from an innovative and new form of making wine to an "authentic" and ""traditional" product should be understood within the context of the capitalization of traditionality and the adoption of a "local" style. Giorgos, the brother of Stamatis the *cava* owner, claims to be a "traditional" artisan who was taught "the art of carving" on the island and has run his own wood-carving business since then. The business has been financially rewarding, especially because in the past few decades more and more Skyrian Athenians and outsiders have become interested in making their houses "traditional" with a "local" aesthetic. Giorgos does not associate himself with his brother's cosmopolitanism and believes that "traditionality" is the highest value. "Being a traditional artisan is a way of life", he told me at one of our regular *tsipouro* meetings in Manolis's *kafenion*.

Similarly Takis, who is the owner of *Rodon*, one of the most popular bars in the winter, makes his own wine from his vineyards. After November his wine is sold in the bar next to the bottles of whisky and rum and for the majority of the customers it is the most preferred beverage. Takis, who is also descended from a family of farmers, believes that wine is the most "authentically" Skyrian drink and does not produce and sell it in order to make a large profit; on the contrary, he claims that there is not so much profit with his own wine as with the imported beverages. While his style has a cosmopolitan aura because he owns a bar and he plays and listens to a wide range of ethnic and electronic music, he has adopted a local style. He is very proud of his farming background and the fact that his father was the owner of a *kafenion*. He imagines *Rodon* as a "modern *kafenion*", an extension of the traditionality of the past which is expressed in black and white photographs of "old traditional Skyros" on the walls. Wine is part of this local identity and this is what he would always offer to his customers if the commodity chain of whisky was not so successful. He identifies himself against the cosmopolitanism of Stamatis, despite the fact Stamatis is his importer, and on the last day before my departure from the island to return to the Netherlands he told me, "If you really want to know about whisky, you should understand that Stamatis started it all. He's the one who imports and delivers it and he is the one who tells us what to buy. That's why we drink whisky now instead of wine". Takis's reaction can be interpreted in the context of his dislike for the changes in drinking habits. However, he does not want to imagine himself as one of the innovators on Skyros despite the fact the he has owned one of the most island's successful bars since the 1990s. Furthermore he is married to a woman from abroad (*ekso*) and, like Stamatis, he is a regular traveler to *eksoteriko*. Takis also frequently refers to his travels and he often receives postcards from his foreign clientele, which he places on the wall next to the bar. While Takis is able to move easily between cosmopolitanism and localism, the laborers or shepherds of Skyros do not have this competence.

Regular customers of *Rodon* who are shepherds prefer to order Takis's wine, which is placed next to the bottles of imported beverages and whisky. They will rarely get drunk (unless there is a celebration or festival) and they will regularly discuss the

Carnival, a festival that expresses shepherd culture. Regularly also local political discussions take place during the evenings, in contrast with the football discussions that laborers have in the *kafenion* of *Macedonia* and *Synantisis*. In short, the style of discussion among the shepherds focuses on Skyros as a place while the discussions of the laborers relate to national and popular culture subjects. This mode of signification is also evident in the names of *kafenion* that these two networks socialize. The *kafenion* of the shepherds is called after the owners, Barba Giannis or Maritsa. Another *kafenion* where shepherds and *men of Agora* socialize is called "The Traditional" (*to paradosiakon*, *το Παραδοσιακόν*). Laborers, on the other hand socialize in *Macedonia*, a name that was chosen in order to express the Greekness of the geographical area of Macedonia in the national political debate about the cultural identity of the Republic of Macedonia.[90] While laborers are not necessarily nationalistic, they claim a connection with the "national" as they cannot claim a connection with the local politics. The ancient sun of Macedonia found in the grave of the father of Alexander the Great is placed strategically next to the name of the *kafenion Makedonia* in the entrance door.


**Figure 6.3** The "Traditional *kafenion*" (To *Paradosiakon*)**.**

Moreover, most laborers—unlike the shepherds—can afford to express their urban style with new cars, gambling, expensive clothes, their own houses, and expressive drinking habits (manifested in whisky). Nikos Tsalapatanis exhibits a characteristically assertive masculinity and a breach with domesticity and identifies with the cosmopolitan popular style of Athens expressed in music, his leisure habits and whisky. When we spend time together he is usually not wearing a shirt and he

[90] See Danforth (1997) and Karakasidou (1997).

talks very proudly of his masculine body. His expressive sexuality is also evident as he talks about the women he had in the past and the women from Eastern Europe who work in his hotel. He is also very proud of the endless sexual adventures of his young son, who has more opportunities now in his bar, saying excitedly, "Maria Mavrikou the filmmaker said she wants to make a film about *kamaki* and she is going to film my son! Isn't that amazing?"[91] Therefore Nikos's urban anti-domestic style is also expressed in the practices of his son and more specifically in his *kamaki* strategies and male seduction techniques.

By contrast, shepherds and *men of Agora* families think about what others say about their style and they do not want to be discussed (*den thelume na mas sizitane*). The community and the household are values that they think need to be taught to younger children and the children of shepherds especially are willing to get married and set up a household early in their lives. Expressive sexuality is not encouraged among younger shepherds in their relationships as assertiveness in the domestic sphere might bring problems in the matrilocal rule of residence. Laborers, on the other hand, who identify with anti-domesticity (and anti-matrilocality), learn to express their assertiveness and masculinity freely.

## Drinking *mesa* and *ekso*. The consumption of alcohol in the *konatsi*, *kafenion* and bar

### *The konatsi*

Generally speaking the social life on Skyros, as in most areas of Greece, is structured around commensality and large-scale drinking and eating occasions. The dinner parties or the drinking sessions that take place among men are basic socializing rituals and are fundamental for the establishment and reproduction of social relations. In most cases it is unthinkable to maintain a social relationship without drinking and eating. The absence of men from companies on such occasions can be harshly criticized.

The dominant urban and local styles on Skyros are reproduced and manifested in the organization of space in *agora*. The association of space with social life has been a dominant theme in anthropology and in Greek ethnography. The major example is the division between women/private and men/public, which has been criticized by various scholars such as Papataxiarchis (1991). As will be demonstrated in this part of the thesis, men are also very private in relation to drunkenness and femininity is also negotiated publicly in the spaces of the bar and *cafeteria*. In this section I limit my examination to some particular spaces that have been overlooked by Greek ethnography and, more particularly, the men's country dwelling (*konatsi*), the *kafenion* and the bar.

A major division when Skyrians are drinking alcohol is between drinking *ekso* and drinking *mesa*. Laborers are very likely to drink *mesa* at home until the early

[91] *Kamaki* means the harpoon for spearing fish. It is used as a masculine metaphor for the "art of seduction". *Kamaki* might take the form of a collective activity and might bring men into a club, an association for the advancement of *kamaki*. Such associations were widely established in several areas that faced massive tourism and institutionalized several rules of the proper "ars erotica" in relation to foreign women (Zinovieff 1991: 203-220). Nowadays the term might be used as a metaphor for the first interaction with women.

hours of the morning while their children and wives are asleep. I have been present at various such cases of heavy drinking of Scotch that could last until the morning when the laborers have to leave for work. In addition, drinking *ekso* among the networks of laborers is related to heavy drinking when "going out" in *agora* and might include booking a table of whisky in a small club or bar.

Shepherds, on the other hand, have a different style of drinking. The expression "come for a wine" *(ela gia kana krasi*) expresses an open invitation to visit someone and share food and wine with him or the group accompanying him. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, the categories of *mesa* and *ekso* represent a spatial division that extends to various aspects of social life. While drinking *mesa* might imply drinking in the house, the "domesticated" male householders who have to follow the rules of matrilocality cannot afford to drink at home. Drinking in the presence of parents and the women of the family is considered restricting, as men cannot enjoy and cannot express their inner problems and thoughts. Exceptional cases are family celebrations, religious ceremonies and various rituals.

Drinking *mesa sto horio* might also mean drinking in the *Agora*, and this is the more usual scenario for most men. However, as noted in the introduction, drunkenness is not an accepted social practice in public, especially for shepherds. For this reason, when shepherds want to drink heavily, they drink *ekso* of the *horio*. The space used for such purposes is the *konatsi,* the shepherd's country dwelling. Most such dwellings are very simple constructions built out of stones with a wooden ceiling. There is usually only one large room where beds, a table and some chairs and a fireplace are situated. Usually the *konatsi* is a space where only men come together, and as such it is a context where masculine identity is reproduced and negotiated. Women are not welcome there, especially on days when work has to be done. The *konatsi* is the property of the man and is transmitted patrilineally to the sons of the family, as opposed to the house in the village, which is transmitted matrilineally to the daughters. As such it is part of the property of the shepherds and the farmers together with their lands and flocks.

The *konatsi* is also the place where wine is stored. On Skyros there are no cellars. The wine is usually placed in a wooden barrel facing the north, in what is supposed to be the coolest area of the house. The wine requires "cool" or even "cold" spots and in that sense the north-facing part is considered ideal. The wine is used after working or when taking breaks from work with food. More importantly, it is used extensively in parties (*mazoksi*) usually during autumn and winter months. Most male gatherings take place during winter and the saying goes that "wine is drunk in the months that include the letter 'r'" excluding the four spring and summer months.

In the matrilocal and bilateral society of Skyros the *konatsi* is a resort for the "domesticated" shepherds and single men who cannot socialize, drink and make a noise in the female-dominated houses of the village. In contrast to the house, the *konatsi* provides an ideal opportunity for men to come together with friends from similar age groups, to drink, sing and discuss (*kounvenda*). According to Papataxiarchis, "*kouvenda* is an ongoing commentary on events or people, premised on an already shared point of view. The expression *kouvenda na yinete* suggests a purposeless discussion that leads nowhere: the words exchanged in *kouvenda* carry no binding force" (1998: 172). Similarly on Skyros *kouvenda* is the major activity of table companions. Usually men sit around the fireplace with wine and discuss in this way. After a few glasses the interlocutors start cooking.

The drinking parties in the country dwelling take place among the most intimate friends and drinking in such contexts is a highly bonding communal activity. The

"real" friends are the drinking partners on such occasions who know how to keep private the investment of emotions and experiences. Drunkenness may be a part of the gatherings at the *konatsi* and in that sense it is a private matter. The fear of drunkenness in public spaces is a metaphor for fear of a state of female passivity, an ideology that also exists in various other areas of Greece as well as in Athens (Paptaxiarchis 1991).

The food in the *konatsi* depends on what the participants bring with them. Drinking without eating is a highly inappropriate activity. It is usual for cheese, bread and olives to be stored in the *konatsi*. The guests bring five or ten-liter containers of wine, usually from their own production. The amount depends on how many days the company is planning to drink. There are cases where drinking parties have gone on for three days, sometimes including naps and a rest in the evening. In these drinking parties the most desired dish is rooster with pasta (*petines me mekaronia)*. The rooster is a metaphor for masculinity in many contexts. For example, Skyrian embroidery depicting a rooster is a common gift from mothers to sons or newly married grooms. If the owner of the *konatsi* does not have a rooster there is a possibility to steal one from a neighboring coop. This practice is considered appropriate for such occasions (and was even more so in the past) and many interlocutors referred to it with enthusiasm.

Herzfeld has observed the institutionalization of the stealing of goats and sheep among the shepherds of Crete, who create enemies or partners on the basis of stealing (1985). This activity on Skyros is not only found among shepherds but also among farmers. In the past, the stealing of animals between farmers and shepherds was more widespread but the stealing of animals is still practiced nowadays, especially as the goats and sheep on Skyros are not kept in pens but can roam freely on the mountainside and on the Northeast side, on the mountain of Kohylas. The man who steals the animal is considered a cunning and capable man who takes risks that reward both his reputation and his stomach. Such actions can be interpreted within a general context of anti-commodification that friendship and male bonding entails among shepherds. In the *konatsi*, the wine should not be a commodity but the product of one's own labor and food ideally should be stolen or be part of the flock.

## *The kafenion*

Drinking in the *agora* might take place in a *kafenion* or a bar. According to Cowan, the *kafenion* is a major space for male socializing and "it is here that manhood is expressed, reputations are negotiated, and social relationships are enlivened through endless card playing, political debate, competitive talk, and reciprocal hospitality" (1990: 71).[92] In addition the *kafenion* is in a way what the house is for the women, it is the "house of men" (Paptaxiarchis 1988: 205-250). While in the past the island's market was filled with *kafenion*, gradually they disappeared and now there are only two left in the main market and another two at the entrance to the village. According to Stamatis Ftoulis who was the first bar owner and later owner of a night club:

> I was the first one to open a bar on the island, in 1967. It was a time when youngsters would come to the island and only find traditional *kafenion*. The

[92] Various anthropologists have analyzed the institution since Campbell, including Herzfeld, Cowan and Papataxiarchis.

> *kafenion* would serve food and wine. Wine was produced by each *kafenion* so the customers were used to each distinct taste. I remember more than thirty *kafenion* in the market and now there are only bars. I left the island in my twenties and went to Athens to become a singer but my career wasn't so successful. In Athens I indulged in the life of bars and clubs and there I decided I should open a club on Skyros. My first bar was *Mágia*, which was close to the sea. We were a company of forty youngsters and my friends supported my project despite the fact that the club was not so professional. After a while the people in that neighborhood began complaining about the noise and they pushed me out. As a result I opened a new place close to my house, the *Ipokambos*. A few years later I bought a very big club which is still the major club for entertainment, called *Skyropoula*. The main drinks were vermouth and whisky. While I used to buy vermouth very cheaply, whisky was much more expensive. But I bought it from a guy who used to work in the coast guard and he had access to cheap imported authentic whisky. However, most Skyrians didn't like the imported beverages in the beginning and they called them *kolofarka,* meaning that these drinks were for *poustis*(passive male homosexual) and for *aderfes* (also a passive male homosexual with an expressive feminine style). They didn't know the taste; that's why they said this…Gradually, though, this changed and as time went by Skyrians insisted on drinking whisky and imported beverages. In 1974, I decided to rent the club to Sideras because I wanted to focus on traditional pottery. Since then I have my shops with Skyrian art and Sideras rents the club from me.

Nowadays in the *agora* there are seven bars, four *kafenion* and two cafeterias where the various networks come together to socialize over alcohol or other beverages. Each place has different regular customers, but the customers at the bars circulate from bar to bar while the customers of *kafenion* tend to remain devoted to one place. In addition, while the patrons of bars and cafes are more mixed in terms of gender, age, education and professional background, the *kafenion* are male spaces where the social codes of inclusion and exclusion are appropriated and practiced.

The most popular *kafenion* is the one belonging to Manolis, called "The Traditional" and situated in the center of the market opposite Stamatis's *cava*. No doubt the *kafenion* has adopted a local "traditional" style which is expressed in the simple chairs and tables (found in the older *kafenion* of Skyros), the nostalgic photos of old Skyros and the beverages that people drink there. Usually the *kafenion* is run by Manolis's wife, who is responsible for cooking and taking orders. While women are excluded from most *kafenion*, it is acceptable for them to work in the *kafenion* if they are part of the owner's family. Most inhabitants who socialize there are shepherds, public servants, shop-owners, farmers and artisans who engage in card playing (usually without betting or betting in exchange for small treats), backgammon and discussion. The television is usually on in the background, with the daily news at eight being the centre of attention. The main beverages served in this *kafenion* are coffee, soft drinks, beer, ouzo, *tsipouro* and wine, and whisky is not the most popular drink there. Manolis stated that "I always buy a bottle of whisky for the *kafenion*, usually Johnnie Walker. There are customers who ask for it and I have to serve it", meaning that non-regular laborers who have an urban style might request Scotch if they go there. The bachelors of the island also socialize in this *kafenion* with the married men of a similar or older age. Soft drinks are usually drunk by Manolis's children when they play there after school, by his wife and by older men who do not

want to take coffee or alcohol. "Greek coffee" (ελληνικός) is usually drunk in the mornings and during the afternoon by most customers, while wine is drunk when there is a good *meze* in the kitchen and especially when Manolis's wife has cooked. Beer, *tsipouro* and *ouzo* are drunk regularly with or without *meze*; however, *meze* usually accompanies the drinks if a group of men starts drinking.

The next *kafenion* is situated a few meters away from Manolis's, and it is the place where customarily the older generations of Skyrians socialize. It is the older of the market's *kafenion*, dating back to 1956. The style of this *kafenion* has not changed since the time it was established and only recently the son of the owner added new "traditional" tables in it. The owner, *Barba* Giannis, passed away a few years ago and his widow, Maritsa, is the only one left on the island to keep up the business.[93] During the summer months and Carnival, their sons come to the island to run the business. The *kafenion* is empty most of the time while Maritsa is usually asleep in a chair or watching television. Unfortunately she cannot walk very well, so ordering is a long and painful experience for her. Even so, Maritsa is always in the *kafenion*, which is almost her home or, as she claims, her life. The beverages drunk in Maritsa's *kafenion* are "traditional" and usually include ouzo, wine, *tsipouro*, brandy and beer. Coffee and tea are also served in the morning and in the afternoon while most alcoholic beverages are drunk in the evenings with card playing.

The other two *kafenion*, called *Makedonia* and *Sinantisis* are situated in the margins of *Agora*. They have a modern urban style and are opposite each other. Both *kafenion* have Athenian-style chairs and tables, whisky advertisements on their walls and proper bars to serve the beverages. This is where groups of laborers come to spend some of their time. Kostas, the owner of *Sinantisis*, is a man in his sixties who has been doing this work for at least twenty years. He has lived most of his life Skyros, working as an unskilled laborer in all kinds of jobs. After he got married he decided to invest all his money in this small *kafenion*, which is under his house. Kostas is regularly in the *pro-po* (football and betting agency) and he likes taking risks. In his *kafenion* there are regular card bets when patrons play *poka*. He is a regular whisky drinker and the beverages served in his *kafenion* are usually beer and Scotch. *Sinantisis* (meaning "the meeting") is a place where people from the building trade (construction laborers and traders) spend their time. The place can be busy from early in the morning when builders come together before they go to work. Coffee and sometimes beer are taken in the morning hours, while whisky and other beverages are drunk in the evening. *Sinantisis* is less popular and busy than *Makedonia*.

*Makedonia* is even more urban and Athenian than *Synantisis*. It has a big television screen for sports and more comfortable tables to play cards, backgammon and drink coffee and other beverages. This is the *kafenion* where laborers and some shop-owners of Skyros come together to socialize and play cards, betting on their games. The semi-legal character of card games with large sums of money and property involved (in the concealed room at the back) is the main reason for the owner's skepticism in relation to newcomers. In my case, I was introduced to the *kafenion* by the owner's son called Giorgos, and thus I was able to spend time there and regularly discuss several issues.

According to Vagelis, the father of Giorgos and the boss of *Makedonia*,

> My shop has been open for fourteen years. Whisky is the main drink consumed here and more particularly Cutty Sark and Johnny [meaning Johnny Walker]. It

[93] It is the custom on the island to call the older people Uncle "Μπάρμπας" and Aunt "Θειά".

> is usually drunk by men over forty years old. In general, Skyrians and my customers drink mostly whisky; this is our national drink.

*Makedonia*, the property of Vagelis, serves mainly whisky to its customers during the evenings and is thought of as a concealed place by many Skyrians. Takis, the owner of the *Rodon* bar, for example, and my matrilineal uncle Mihalis, characterized *Makedonia* as a "modern card club" because betting with cards takes place there. The style of the *kafenion* is based on the "cosmopolitan" aesthetic of Vagelis who has added a bar next to the entrance and high stools, imitating the bars on the island. Behind the bar various different types of whisky are on display, along with a few bottles of Vodka. In an attempt to explain the aesthetic of drinking, Vagelis said, "Here we like foreign drinks (*xena pota, apo ekso*). Skyrians look down on Greek drinks; you can't go to the bar and order an *ouzo*…" Thus the cosmopolitan style of Vagelis's *kafenion* is expressed in the consumption of whisky which comes from *ekso* and is connected to a "superior" aesthetic in relation to locally made beverages. Greek alcoholic products are not prestigious enough and are considered by the networks of *Makedonia* to be the habit of old and poor men.[94]

Vagelis is not originally from Skyros. He migrated to the island during the 1980s from mainland Evia and since then he has established an extended network of customers who are mainly interested in whisky drinking and betting. Sports are also a regular point of reference and when there are football matches the *kafenion* fills up with men watching the games on the big screen next to the entrance. Betting is also part of football games and bets are usually placed before the match.

Vagelis, like his customers, has adopted an urban style which is identified with contemporary popular Greek music and an Athenian style of entertainment. However, he does not enjoy the seasonal *bouzoukia* of Skyros, which is rarely open. He prefers when he has free time to go *mesa* to the urban centers of Athens or Chalkida to find a good *bouzoukia*. Similarly, the laborers who are regulars there like Nikos Tsalapatanis "go out" to the local bars but prefer Chalkida or Athens for "big nights", as there they can find the singers they prefer there.

*The bar*

The distribution of alcoholic beverages before the 1970s was based on the local network of *kafenion* and taverns, which would receive the wine from the producer. The amount of wine distributed was much greater than today and wine was also exported to the mainland. *Ouzo* and *tsipouro* were not made on the island but were imported and sold in grocery shops. A few islanders would make home-made *tsipouro*, the amounts of which were very small. It was not distributed but kept in homes to be offered to guests. Whisky was not found in *kafenion* or other spaces of the *agora* and it was a luxury good imported by a few Skyrian-Athenians and the

---

[94] A term that is used on a popular level and is also part of the vocabulary of whisky drinkers on Skyros island is the term "*katharo*" (καθαρό), which literally means "clean". The term has been used in opposition to "non-clean" whiskies which are home-brewed and illegally brewed spirits of unknown origin. However, it should be clear that the term *katharo* is also related to a mentality of purity existent since the linguistic debate in Greece (glossikon zitima) as Herzfeld has noted (1989). The obsession with the purity of the language (*katharevousa*), the purity of Greekness, pure Europeaness in opposition to "unclean" Turkishness and other such dichotomies should be understood within the context of "disemia".

laborers who traveled *mesa-ekso*. One of the transitional voices is Nikos Tsalapatanis, who lived through the change in consumption practices and is himself a regular whisky drinker and a customer of the *Makedonia kafenion*. He recalls:

> The first time I saw whisky was in 1959. A friend of my father's called Vlaikos owned a *kaiki*[95] and he used it to transport stone and retail goods from Volos. On some trips he would bring back a bottle of whisky and he would drink it with my father. Before I went into the army around 1967, *Ipokambos* [Stamatis Ftoulis's bar] was founded. There whisky was only drunk by a few people as it was a bit expensive for us. Later on, another bar opened, called *Moreno*, and that stayed open until 1977. However, both bars were outside the island's market…

Most imported drinks became widely available during the 1970s when the first bars and discos opened on the island. "On the Rocks" was a place where inhabitants would dance disco and drink whisky, rum and other imported drinks. Most tourists at that time would spend time there, and it was also an important socializing place for younger Skyrians. The place was open in the summer, like all the night clubs. After 1984, however, its owner, Stamatis, decided with his colleagues to close the place and invest in a *cava* with imported drinks as there was no importer on the island and their club had to order all its drinks from Athens. The *cava* opened in 1986 and since then Stamatis has been the only distributor on the island.

During the 1980s the first supermarkets also began to appear. Skyrians who used to be grocers decided to sell more processed consumer goods and expand their business. The first grocer who made his shop into a supermarket told me, "I opened the supermarket in 1981. I used to stock wine, *tsipouro* and *ouzo* as the islanders didn't use whisky and imported drinks at that time. At the end of the eighties I had to sell whisky as well because there was a demand for it". In the 1990s more bars opened in the market while several *kafenion* were closed down. *Rodon* and *Artistico* are two of the bars that opened during that period. Today there are almost ten bars in the main market of the island and only four *kafenion* left.

Therefore, a major institution that emerged on the island of Skyros during the 1970s and capitalized on Scotch whisky for its style is the bar. The bar represents an "Athenian" view of leisure, which first became popular in urban contexts in Greece during the 1970s and gradually became part of the countryside too. Bars are socializing spaces for both men and women (in contrast to the *konatsi* and the *kafenion*), and the main alcoholic beverages are "foreign" (*xena pota* or beverages from *ekso*) spirits such as rum and whisky. The first bars on Skyros appeared in the market during the 1970s and their number gradually increased to nine. The center for socializing is the actual bar where customers order their drinks. Next to the bar there are always high stools and tables for two or four customers. Nowadays the bars on Skyros are open all seasons except *Kalypso,* the bar where the foreigners, Athenians and cosmopolitans (or would-be cosmopolitans) spend their time during summer, Easter and Carnival. Inhabitants usually avoid this bar, which they regard as being for snobbish people who are not related to Skyros and do not participate in the social life of the island—despite the fact that it was one of the first bars opened in the market.

While some anthropologists in Greece have thought of bars as modern and *kafenion* as traditional, this division does not apply in the case of Skyros (Cowan

[95] *Kaiki* is a particular type of fishing boat used in the Aegean Sea.

1991, Paptaxiarchis 1992, Papagaroufali 1992). Takis's bar, *Rodon*, for example, has appropriated a more "local" style. He thinks of his own bar as a form of *kafenion*, a continuation of the career of his father who was also a *kafenion* owner. In addition, in the place where the bar is situated there used to be a *kafenion* before the Second World War. The style of the bar expresses this type of aesthetic with its painted green wooden tables and chairs, wood stove in the centre and Takis's local wine, which he produces himself. Furthermore activities that are usually part of the *kafenion* also take place in the bar, such as card playing (though not as often as in *Makedonia*), backgammon and political discussions.

Vagelis, on the other hand, who is the owner of the *kafenion Makedonia*, has adopted a bar style for his *kafenion* and has even added a bar to serve imported beverages and Scotch to his customers. The beverages in his *kafenion* are the beverages that are usually served in a bar and the modern style of the chairs and the tables imitates an Athenian cafeteria.

While the age group in *Rodon* varies, in *Makedonia* and in most *kafenion* the men are usually between thirty-five and sixty years old. The bar clearly expresses youthfulness, despite the fact that all age groups between eighteen and fifty are regularly there. However, the bar is a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood, especially for men, and the place that teenagers learn to perform a style of "modernness". Teenagers in their groups gradually attend the drinking sessions of older islanders in these spaces and gradually they "learn to drink"; they embody the dispositions of drinking but above all they learn their limits and obstacles because they must be in control of themselves as their elders are. Drunkenness is not encouraged in these contexts. Girls might accompany these groups but they are moderate; like most women, they avoid drinking heavily.

A slightly different setting from the bar is the *baraki*, a smaller and cozier setting where customers mainly stand and do not sit, as there is not enough space for tables.[96] A typical example is *Artistico*, situated just a few meters away from *Rodon*. *Artistico* is usually packed, as it can hardly accommodate twenty to thirty standing persons. Nevertheless it is the place where inhabitants dance to island Greek music and the owner, Sakis, prefers to play Greek popular music on most occasions. Sakis has adopted a cosmopolitan style with clothes inspired by American westerns and the rock scene, such as high boots, and he is always drinking whisky and smoking Marlboros. Similarly, the bar has an "American" style with photographs of New York and a saloon door as an entrance to the toilet.

Leisure gatherings in all bars take place in the evening only, and mostly on weekends. Bars might be open until four or five o'clock in the morning (especially Sakis), depending on the customers and the season (summer, Carnival, Easter etc.). In any case most bars will be full after eleven or twelve on Saturday evening unless the bar is also a cafeteria.[97] The bar-cafeteria is a new kind of leisure space, initiated by Makis Trahanas who was the owner of a similar business in Exarhia in Athens. After he closed down his business in Athens he invested on Skyros. Makis's cafeteria is also a hybrid of "traditional" and "modern" space incorporating Athenian design with an old bicycle hanging from the ceiling and built-in wooden elements reminiscent of the houses in the village. During the day the cafeteria is the socializing place for

[96]*Baraki* is also sometimes known as *orthadiko*, meaning a standing-bar, but the category also encompasses clubs or *clubakia*.

[97]Cowan has elaborated on the emergence of the *kafeteria* in rural Greece (1990: 73-75), describing it as a hybrid establishment combining aspects of a bar and *zaharoplastio*.

schoolchildren, soldiers and inhabitants and serves coffee, hot chocolate, tea and other beverages. At night the place gradually transforms into a bar, which also serves also "European" and "American" drinks and plays "foreign" music.

While bars and cafeterias are for mostly men, the *zaharoplastion* (sweet shop) on the island is a common family (domestic-oriented) space for various inhabitants, both men and women, especially during summer. The sweet shop is a space where local and other sweets are made, including *baklava, kantaifi* and *pastes*, and these are usually served with juice or soft drinks. Alcohol is not regularly served there despite the fact that the shop sells a wide variety of whiskies and liqueurs. According to the owner, "the beverages and more specifically whisky are usually bought as gifts to accompany sweets for *epsikepsis* (visits) or *giortes* (celebrations) in the community". On name-day celebrations, birthdays or family gatherings it is customary to offer some sweets with an alcoholic beverage, and inhabitants will buy their gifts from these shops. While in the past cognac was the main gift on such occasions, nowadays whisky is the rule. Both sweet shops (the second one is situated in the shopping street) sell whisky such as Cutty Sark, Dimple, and Johnnie Walker, which are the usual gifts for a man. In case of a female celebration, Campari and vodka are usually preferred.

## The symbolism of Scotch whisky in gambling

Various anthropologists have observed the value attached to card games on the islands of the Aegean and the competitive or reciprocal aspects of different games (Herzfeld 1986, Papataxiarchis 1991). Papataxiarchis, for example, notes that on the island of Lesbos

> The card game of *poka* (poker) and the throwing of dice are popular avenues for competition among men. *Xeri*, however, is markedly different in many respects. First it is the only card game that remains part of the realm of commensality, since no money stakes are at use. What is at stake in *xeri* is the right to *kerasma*, awarded to those who lose. *Xeri* then, focuses on the honorific side of *kerasma*. The defeated side honors the winners by offering them a brandy or a soft drink. The treating becomes a penalty for losing that does not require future reciprocation. (1991: 166)

*Xeri* (a popular card game in various places in Greece) is played in Manolis's (the Traditional) and Maritsa's *kafenion*, where therer is no money stake but the losing parties pay the bills of the winners. In winter Maritsa's *kafenion* has few regular customers who are mostly domesticated shepherds. They are between fifty and eighty years old, with sunburned and wrinkled faces from their work, and they spend most of their time outside of the village (*ekso*). In the evenings, usually between six and nine o'clock, men gather next to the wood stove to play *prefa* or *xeri*. The shepherds usually drink *tsipouro* or *ouzo* while they play, which are the main alcoholic spirits for consumption in the *kafenion*. As in Manolis's *kafenion*, good friends come together in pairs to play *xeri*. During the game and depending on which round, the losers will ask Maritsa for shots of *ouzo* or *tsipouro*. However, because Maritsa is not able to move quickly as she has problems with her feet, one of the losers will bring the drinks. At the end, those who lost each round will pay the cost.

The losers of the game will be obliged to buy the *tsipouro* or ouzo for the winners as an honorary gesture, an offering that does not require immediate return or future reciprocation. However, the rivalry of the game will be continued in the following days or weeks and the position of the loser will shift with the position of the winner, making the offering of the drink a regular form of exchange among friends who play cards. The reciprocation of the rivalry of the game results in the unspoken obligation to play cards again and again and therefore to return the stake (Mauss 1991: 16-18). The obligation to give and the obligation to receive can be understood as forms of exchange over long periods of time that strengthen the bonds of the players of the teams and reproduce the sentiments of friendship.

The refusal to play cards again and thus tp return or receive the stakes might result in the weakening of social relationships, as card playing is one of the major activities of the *kafenion*. Furthermore the participants in the game cannot be exempt from such a relationship as they might be viewed as exempting themselves from mutual ties and reciprocation. Once the drinking gift is given in a card game, there are several expressions that might be uttered by the losers such as "We'll see next time" (*tha dume*). These create a time continuum in relation to the game. Such expectations from the side of the losers express their willingness to reciprocate. However, the players are not interested in the actual monetary value of the stake but in their reputation as winners.

Generally speaking when persons come together regularly, the inhabitants of Skyros say that these persons "receive and give" (*ehoun pare dose* / εχουν πάρε δώσε), meaning that a person has regular interaction with someone. The expression might also refer to any form of social relationship including friendships, sexual affairs, economic affairs, and even legal cases. As such "to receive and to give" is viewed as the essence of social relationships within Skyrian society.

*Makedonia kafenion*, by contrast, where the consumption rate of whisky is an average of 24 bottles per week (ninety percent of the total consumption being Cutty Sark), the central card game is *poka* (poker), which is not necessarily related to friendship. On the contrary, the players of the *poka* table should not be good friends or relatives. Ideally the players "know" each other but do not have regularly *pare/dose*. Compared with the players of *xeri,* a few Skyrians are gamblers (*tzogadori*) and participate in the gambling network of *Makedonia*.

*Poka* is a highly competitive game with money stakes that sometimes expand to property and pieces of land. The game is highly individualistic and never involves cooperation with other players or playing in groups (as in *xeri*). Participation in the game is limited to a few times a month or sometimes these are spaced with long periods of time as the losers of the money stakes cannot afford to play very often. As a result, the constitution of the group of *poka* players changes regularly. The players usually show up in the evenings after seven o'clock and the games continue until late, sometimes till the morning hours.

The busiest gambling periods take place in the wintertime and, more specifically, during December, January and February when laborers do not have to work as much (mainly because of bad weather conditions). The period before New Year's Eve is especially competitive as gambling during this period is an institutionalized practice all over Greece.

During the busiest periods of gambling, there might be "big games" (*megala pehnidia*). What characterizes big games is the number of participants at the table, their socioeconomic status and the amount of money involved. Usually big games might involve stakes higher than one thousand euros (which is the average monthly

salary of an unskilled laborer) but there are cases in which pieces of land are the stake. In one of my regular visits to the island's notary, I was informed that there are at least five cases of property transactions every year as a result of gambling. In addition, the son of the owner of *Makedonia* referred to a story of a man who is the owner of a *zaharoplastion*. He told me that K. is a regular and experienced *tzogadoros* and managed to make a large profit in a big game. He was able to win a large piece of land close to the *horio* and nowadays he is using it for his own business.

During the big games the doors of the *kafenion* are closed and sometimes the door might be locked from inside. Vagelis, the owner of *Makedonia,* conceals the game from unwanted customers late at night. In addition, there is a second kind of concealment, which is more regular. At *Makedonia* there are two *poka* tables, one in front of the entrance and the other in a semi-private room at the back of the *kafenion*. The concealed room is behind the bar of the *kafenion*; it has small curtains on the two windows facing the bar, a large table with a green cloth and leather sofas. The front table of *Makedonia* is used by the regular players for small stakes and is busy most of the time. In both settings players bet with plastic counters given by Vagelis. At the end of a game Vagelis will exchange the counters for cash unless the stakes are high enough. In that case, the loser will pay the money individually to the winner.

At both tables whisky plays a central role. Usually all players drink the beverage without ice and Scotch is considered an integral part of the style of a player. While at *xeri* the right of *kerasma* (treating to a drink) is awarded to those who lose, in *poka* this right is awarded to the winners. The amount of whisky should always be limited to five or maximally six drinks during the evening because more alcohol is considered to bring drunkenness, which is not desirable within the context of the *poka* game. Whisky is usually served diluted with water and ice to make it lighter. The amount of ice is different for each customer, a detail that is known to Vagelis who serves the beverages. Vagelis is always asking the customers about their drink loudly in an affirmative manner such as "Cutty Sark with ice and water?" and then the customers will agree. This process of naming the exact way that someone drinks the beverage (despite the fact the owner of the *kafenion* knows this) is also a way of asserting an individual identity and making it public. In *poka,* winning is a gradual process that might take a long time, especially when there are many players in the game. As the winner proceeds, he is obliged to invite his fellow players to a drink. The dialog is usually "will you drink something?" The other party answers with a short "Yes" and then the winner loudly announces the drinks for his table, "one for Giorgos and one for Giannis". It is clear, then, that within this context whisky is an obligation in the moral code of the winner.

According to Vagelis, the owner of the *kafenion*, this treat is a way of balancing the unequal relationship between loser and winner, and in that sense it effects a smooth game. Within this perspective whisky is seen as fuel for the game as it keeps the players "calm" (*psihremia*), a necessary condition of *poka*. This drinking gift will be without return, as the accumulation of the money of the players by the winner requires a minimum kind of compensation. This form of gift is therefore expressing the success of the winner and is a form of exchange that transcends the utilitarian calculus. Such gifts can be the gifts of pity, such as those given to street beggars and those who are desperate, or gifts in the form of charitable donations and voluntary work. These gifts cannot be understood with a utilitarian ideology but can be compared to the "sun which dispenses energy-wealth-without any return" (Bataille quoted in Botting and Wilson 1997: 189).

Generosity, then, is a characteristic of a good gambler who is able to give by taking the risk to lose. The good gambler will be able to spend (*eksodo*) outside of his household, he will treat (*kerasma*) other players to a Scotch and he will be in control of his economics (in contrast to the domesticated shepherds). In any case gambling is an *eksodo*. It would then be relevant to state that the concept of spending namely *eksodo* (the verb is *ksodevo*) "derives from *eksodos*, exit, and implies an outward movement. In some sense, then, money "comes out" in gambling" (Papataxiarchis 1988: 268). This suggests that gambling is symbolically placed *ekso* in contrast to *ikonomia*, the savings of the household that stay *mesa* in the house. To save and to give the money *mesa* is a characteristic of the domesticated householders who look after their *nikokirio,* while to spend and to give money *ekso* is an anti-domestic practice that characterizes conspicuous consumption and consumption in general. In most cases to consume (na *katanalono*) is viewed as the same practice as *ksodema*. Consequently, consumption is also placed *ekso* of the sphere of the household and might be viewed as a highly anti-domestic activity.

As already noted, women are in control of the economics of the household among the matrilocal domesticated householders. As a result, they are the ones who usually manage the male income which is used for the needs of the household and for *ikonomia* (savings). Gambling is not viewed as an integral part of the household needs and no income or property will be used in such a context unless the amount spent for taking a risk is small (such as in a lottery called a *lahio* or a *pro-po* football bet). Small amounts might be regularly spent in the lottery store of the *Agora* but they are not viewed as *tzogos* (gambling).

By contrast, the network of gamblers of Makedonia who are mainly skilled or unskilled laborers and *horiani*, avoid and are avoided by the matrilocal residence rule; they might marry women from *ekso* and from *eksoteriko*, some are divorced, and those who are married are in control of the economics of the household because the income they receive comes from *merokamato* (daily work) labor, construction work (with payment depending on what was constructed) and market occupations. The first two spheres require the total administration of the economics by the men, as they need money to buy tools, building materials and other goods to be used for their work. Moreover, these two spheres are opposed to the matrimonial system because they are not related to the land transmitted to the women or to any other valuables as in the case of shepherds. With regard to the occupations of *Agora* there is a similar logic with the occupations of laborers, with one major difference. While most shops in *Agora* are property of shepherds, some are rented to descendants of *kohiliani,* some to descendants of farmers and some to Skyrian-Athenians who arrived on the island during and after the construction of the military airport. Among those who rent the shops, a few Skyrian Athenians who do not follow the matrilocal rule and are in control of their own shops (usually their wives do not work in their shops) are also gamblers, as they are able to gain a excess profit from their work and they can afford the criticism as a result of their Athenian background. In all cases, the matrimonial property of a woman is inalienable and as a result no gambler who might have a matrilocal residence is able to afford the social criticism if he *ksodepsi* (spends) his wife's property.

Therefore, in the context of card playing in the *kafenion*, there are two distinct forms of consumption that correspond to two different forms of spending on beverages. The first stake which is evident in the "traditional" coffeehouse is related to a socializing experience among friends. There the domesticated householders and the unmarried shepherds and men of Agora come together to play *xeri* in pairs and

those who lose will spend on buying the *tsipouro* for the winners. They will avoid Scotch or *cognac*, which are consumed on extraordinary family occasions and are kept in the liquor cabinet of the women. The *tsipouro* will mean that the food becomes *meze* (Papataxiarchis 1991) and as such it will reproduce the masculine ideology of the *kafenion*. However, the gender style of the men who play *xeri* is not based on an assertive masculinity and is not related to the urban style that many laborers claim. In addition, the matrilocal rule and the kinship obligations that follow this relationship limit the amount of money that the patrons of the "traditional" *kafenion* can spend. A major cause is the fact that "men do not have money" (*oι antres den ehun lefta)* as *kiria* Maria told me, meaning that married shepherds give the money they earn to the household and therefore to the woman. Similarly, the unmarried shepherds and the *men of Agora* will give a part of their money to their family or sisters (common bank accounts are a very common strategy) to save for their own shake. As a result the participants will pay small amounts of money for the *kerasma* and their stakes cannot be excessive as they should be looking after their household, saving and not spending their wives' money.

Clearly gambling opposes the spheres of shepherds' domesticity, the *nikokirio mesa sto horio* and the mainstream family values of the inhabitants of the island. In addition, gambling might seem like an irrational practice if viewed under the light of economic theory, or more importantly if it is understood as the opposite pole of constructive card playing and drinking, evident in *xeri* and *kerasma*. While the stakes at *xeri* and the game itself reproduce the social relationships of the participants, this is not the case for the game of *poka* and the gift of Scotch offered by the winners. It is therefore worth researching the role of gambling and the symbolism of Scotch in the context of gambling.

The laborers and the *men of Agora* who are patrons in the *Makedonia kafenion* are *horiani* and they are in control of their own money in their neolocal residence or in their divorced or unmarried life. They might have an excess of wealth as a result of their upward economic mobility since the 1970s, and they are willing to spend it more conspicuously in whisky in their nightlife in order to invest in an urban Athenian style to oppose the matrilocal and kinship obligations. Moreover, they are willing to risk their excess wealth in betting in *poka,* an anti-domestic practice that opposes the spheres of the matrilocal household. Gambling should therefore be understood as an integral part of the style of those who want to make themselves through taking risks, by opposing the matrilocal management of the money and the disciplined domesticity of the values of the shepherds and of those who are *eksohini*. By investing in an urban Athenian style of modernness evident in their excessive consumption habits, they oppose a major value of *nikokirio*, the *ikonomia* (savings). As a result Scotch whisky, which is a *kseno poto* and comes from *ekso*, is intertwined with an Athenian modernness. Moreover, the association of the beverage with gambling and the fact that is given as a treat by the winner materialize Scotch into a symbol of profit. Within this context the *kerasma* of Scotch becomes a gift without return that expresses a profit (an amount of money), which is not returned and not reciprocated.

Therefore *poka* as well as the drinking gift of whisky in the context of the card game is entirely opposed to *nikokirio* because it involves spending large amounts of money outside the context of the family. In addition, in the sphere of the household there are no gifts without return as exchanging food and beverages is a major form of socialization and a way of reproducing social relationships. On the other hand, within the *soi*-based society of Skyros the shepherds do not accept those card game challenges that go against their matrilocal and "domesticated" character; they cannot

afford to "be discussed" (*na tus sizitane*) and lose large amounts of money (that usually they cannot afford as *eksohini*). Therefore, the gift of Scotch should be interpreted as a symbolic practice which deconstructs the material constraints of the players and affirms their upward economic mobility, which is not necessarily related to the political and social privileges of the domesticated shepherds. In that sense the consumption of Scotch challenges the hegemonic cultural values of the socially powerful domesticated shepherds and the beverage is placed at the centre of an alternative moral universe that promotes consumption or spending, and relates to the realm of Athens.

## Consumption and cultural marginality

The socioeconomic changes that took place on Skyros until the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in the decline of the elite group of *arhontes* who were the main owners of the means of production and the landowners together with the ecclesiastical elite of the monastery of St. George. Gradually the extended lineages of shepherds, the *soia,* were able to acquire the land, the shops of *Agora*, the old symbolic capital of the *arhontes* (which is a part of the *aloni*), and they became the most influential occupational group in the political and social life of the island. By contrast, those who were known as *kohiliani* and *parakatiani*, became laborers and some among them migrated to Athens and abroad. Among those laborers who had migrated *mesa*, those who were successful with their work returned to the island and continued their skilled labor. The gradual increase of the value of labor and the economic success of the laborers who had migrated to Athens resulted in their upward economic mobility. However, this upward economic mobility did not bring any political and social influence. On the contrary, the laborers remained politically and culturally marginal.

Moreover, the conceptions of cultural coherence held by the inhabitants is radically different between laborers and shepherds. This dichotomy has invested the meanings of shepherds with traditionality and *locality* (mesa) and the meanings of laborers with modernness and *ekso*.

Furthermore, the notions of shepherd and labor culture noted above are related to the gender styles that persons choose to perform. On Skyros gender styles are deeply influenced by the conceptualizations and the practice of persons in relation to the *nikokirio* (household) and their domestication. The general morality is for a person to be valued as *nikokiris* (meaning a man or a woman who is focused and looks after the household and the family), as *timios* (an honest person) and *kinonikos* (a social and community-oriented person). These widely shared cultural values are claimed and performed among the matrilocal shepherd householders, who use the matrimonial capital of their wives and are obliged to focus on matrilineal kinship relationships. Within this perspective, consumption (*ksodema*) outside of the context of the household is viewed as contradictory to the values of *nikokirio* and the savings of the family.

However, among the single, married or divorced laborers, there are some who do not identify with the *soi*-based society of Skyros and the matrilocal domestication and they avoid the obligations that such a marital relationship might entail. They express an assertive masculinity, they might engage into courtship with foreign women (from *ekso*), they drink imported beverages (from *ekso* or *ksena pota*) and they do *eksoda*

(they spend and consume). They can afford conspicuous consumption and they can express their breach from domesticity by gambling or staying up late at night in the bar and in the *kafenion*. The majority of those laborers consume Scotch whisky in an anti-commensal manner.

Day, Papataxiarchis and Stewart have argued that such "oppositional identities" might be observed among various marginal groups who wish to define themselves in contrast to the dominant cultural values of more powerful neighbors (1999: 1-24). This is done in a systematic and conscious manner, which can be understood as an adoption of a "style" (Ferguson 1999). In such cases marginal networks consider themselves as "outside" society beyond the reach of the prevailing neighbors and they place themselves at the centre of an alternative moral universe in contrast to the dominant one. As a result they are able to replace the experience of dependence with the notion of cultural difference (Day, Papataxiarchis and Stewart 1999: 1-24). Within this context marginal people are able to challenge or even transform the hegemonic practices and interpretations by denying the social hierarchy in favor of feelings of autonomous and equal social relationships. In addition, such marginal people have a focus on the present moment since any future transcendence such as religious belief and practice is associated with the dominant order and might be conceived as a strategy for control and authority (Day, Papataxiarchis and Stewart 1999: 1-24).

Among the Skyrian laborers, for example, a minority are gamblers (*tzogadori*) who focus even more on their own marginality and the luck of the moment. The gamblers come together in Vagelis's *kafenion*, where they play *poka* and place at stake large amounts of money and property. There they "bring off" their urban and anti-domestic style, as they totally oppose the sphere of the household, the *oikonomia* (saving and being rational in their economics) and the matrilocal obligations of domesticity. By taking large risks and finally by treating or being treated to a Scotch whisky (a major symbol of the Athenian urban style), they express an anti-domestic discourse as well as an upward economic mobility. As a result the gamblers of the *kafenion* localize Scotch as a symbol of profit (*kerdos*).

The domesticated shepherds, on the other hand, and the majority of the men of *Agora* prefer to socialize in the traditional *kafenion* and in Maritsa's establishment. When they drink heavily as a group they prefer to drink wine in the *konatsi* in a private sphere. When they spend time in the *kafenion* they prefer to discuss local politics, playing backgammon and playing *xeri*. The game of *xeri* lies in diametrical opposition to the game of *poka*. The players involved in *xeri* are friends, they play in pairs and the losers of each game pay small stakes of *tsipouro* or ouzo to the winners. In the game of *poka*, the players are not friends, there are no partnerships and each player is highly individualistic. There are large stakes each time (at least in comparison to *xeri*) and the winner treats the losers to Scotch whisky.

Thus, Scotch whisky is a beverage for the *horianous* and for those who are in control of their own economics. It encapsulates the notions of modernness and laborhood (especially in relation to Athens) and it opposes the values of domesticity. Furthermore, it expresses an outward movement (*ine kseno poto*, *apo to ekso-teriko*), which is appropriated and localized by the laborers who make their style with *kso-dema* (spending) and identify with the nightlife culture of Athens.

# 7. Conclusion: trajectories of Scotch whisky, realms of localization

By following Scotch whisky through three distinct trajectories—a) the mediascapes of the cultural industry, b) Athenian nightlife and entertainment and c) island drinking habits—this study demonstrated that the concept as well as the product has shifted between various meanings. The shifts in meaning from the cultural industry to various groups of consumers might be interpreted sometimes as complimentary and sometimes as contradictory, making it clear that strategies of powerful institutions can face consumers' tactics. In that sense the material shows that consumers' tactics employ excessive opposition to resist the disciplining desires of the culture industry. Therefore, localization and resistance are understood as tactical practices shifting away from meanings of localization as a "local" dimension of globalization (Miller 1996, Foster 2008).

As Adorno and the Critical Theory scholars have argued, history is marked by progress, and humanity is improving itself by increasing its degree of emancipation (Horkheimer & Adorno 1947). Horkheimer and Adorno believe that people's lives are based on an instrumental rationality or, in other words, the use of the most efficient means to achieve the desired goal. This concept is interrelated not only with capitalism and the economy but also with politics and culture. Instrumental rationality is therefore understood as the capitalistic view of efficiency concerning the pursuit of profits and it is associated with the concepts of mass production, specialization and faith in progress. As a consequence, instrumental rationality is a set of implied values which influence the goal of human activity and in many instances go against the values of other people, as the case of the rise of fascism in Europe in the 1940s. Within this context the culture industry creates standardized products for its consumers and gives these consumers a false freedom of choice, when in fact the product is mass-produced. The consumers are led to believe that they have "real" individuality and are in control of their own decisions and actions, which in fact is a myth. Therefore, popular culture is viewed as an arena where choices are restricted and consumers are deceived (1991: 98-107). This view corresponds to the Hegelian philosophy which views criticism as more than a negative judgment and takes an active role in detecting and unmasking existing forms of belief in order to enchase the emancipation of humans in modern society.

While such critiques of capitalism have been very constructive for understanding social inequalities, this study takes a different stance to demonstrate that consumers are able to practice their own tactics to resist the strategies of the culture industry. As de Certeau has argued,

> A society is thus composed of certain foregrounded practices organizing its normative institutions and of innumerable other practices that remain "minor",

> always there but not organizing discourses and preserving the beginnings or remains of different (institutional, scientific) hypotheses for the society or for others. It is in this multifarious and silent "reserve" of procedures that we should look for "consumer" practices having the double characteristic pointed out by Foucault, of being able to organize both spaces and languages, whether on a minute or a vast scale. (1984: 48)

In this sense de Certeau offers, in contrast to Critical Theorists or other forms of Marxist theory, a theory of tactics that can resist, subvert, and make use of foregrounded power structures like the case of the Greek cultural industry. Even more, the contrast between the material presented in the first and the second parts of the study shows that the strategies of multinational capitalism and the cultural industry and the tactics of consumers in Athens and Skyros are not based on ideology or hegemony; on the contrary, consumers' practice in many cases can be autonomous and can be understood as their own cultural space because "the space of the tactic is the space of the other" (de Certeau 1984: 36-37). The ethnographies of whisky consumption in *bouzoukia* in Athens and competitive card playing and whisky drinking on the island of Skyros show that consumers use an the mentality of excess as a tactic. This excessive resistance goes against the argument of the culture industry (Adorno 1991) and shows that this is no triumph of instrumental rationality.

As Battaille has argued, this excessive mentality is a characteristic of humanity in general, and expenditure as well as spectacular transgression can be important in the social life of any group (1991). By adding to this theory of expenditure, the material in the first and second parts of the study shows that excess comes in at the national level, localized in the mediascapes of the culture industry and in the *bouzoukia* of Athens in a clear anti-thesis of the culture industry. This opposition is based on the imaginaries of Scotch in cinema, marketing and advertising as a symbol of Western modern middle classness versus the Minor Asia anti-domestic discourse of *bouzoukia* and Greek contemporary popular music.

On the other hand, on the local scale of Skyros, Scotch opposes traditional matrifocal authority and "shepherdness" which has occupied the political seats of power of national bureaucracy. Within this context Scotch whisky is related to an excessive celebration of working-class positions of the former Kohylians.

Finally, these three trajectories show how Scotch has become a Greek fetish because as a strong drink it is replacing traditional wine, *tsipouro* and *ouzo*, fitting into the use value of older consumption patterns. Rather than understanding the success of Scotch as a construction of needs from the multinational import corporations and the culture industry (simply as an imposition from above), this study argues that the commodification of alcohol has to be understood as a complex process that requires the histories of the importers and the culture industry in the region as well as the histories and tactics of the consumers both in Athens and Skyros. In this way Scotch encompasses both the presence of modernity and the excessive denial of modern discipline and traditional authority, all at once. Its fetishistic attraction resides in the fact that both disrupts and exemplifies what Miller calls "normal" material frames within the context of the "humility of things"(Miller 2005: 4).[98]

[98] Personal communication with Peter Pels.

## Multinational capitalism

The fact that the study deals with an imported beverage produced in Western Europe and more specifically in Scotland is due to a socio-economic historical process that was intensified within the twentieth century and, more specifically, after the dictatorship in Greece. Since the whisky boom in Greece between the 1980s and the 1990s, Scotch whisky has been localized and deeply integrated in several aspects of the social life. This shift is also related to the gradual establishment of multinational capitalism in the sector of beverages in Greece and its expansion in the spheres of advertising, marketing and popular. This shift has been followed by a gradual decrease in what has been thought of as "traditional" Greek-made beverages including ouzo and retsina.

A major cause of this process was the contest between the small Greek importers and the large multination corporations, which ended in the total success of multinational capitalism. It is therefore important to state that the politics of commodity flow should be understood as the politics of contest between those in power. Moreover, this case can also be understood within the context of a "globalization from above", a definite case for the Greek import industry (Appadurai 2001: 19).

These processes speeded up the processes of production and consumption and influenced the subcontracting and merging of Greek companies with the largest global multinationals in the alcohol business, namely the Diageo, Pernod Ricard and Berry Bros companies. These companies in turn gained control of almost 80% of the market within a few years, taking advantage of the local knowledge of their subcontractors and their associates in Greece. Within this context multinational capitalism in the alcoholic beverages sector was established and became the leading force in the importation of Scotch whisky and other alcoholic beverages in Greece.

## A trajectory of mediascapes

The first concrete trajectory of the localization process of Scotch whisky is related to the establishment of post-war Greek commercial cinema and marketing. In both mediascapes Scotch became a central image around which cinematic scenarios, scripts, plots and advertisements were constructed. These imaginaries became complex sets of metaphors that profoundly influenced the projected notions of modernity, traditionality, globality and locality. As a consequence, Scotch was projected as a symbol of Western modern middle classness.

More specifically the commercial Greek cinema of the 1960s, which sold approximately one hundred million tickets per year (Σωτηροπούλου 1995: 44) while the population of the country was less than seven million and had an average number of a hundred productions per year, was a booming industry (Σολδάτος 2002: 73). Within this context a specific "structure of feeling" (Williams 1954) of the elite part of the culture industry was expressed through the cinematic scenarios that focused on consumerism and modernness, cosmopolitan and rural styles, internal and external migration, new commodities and social change and an American way of life. In relation to Scotch whisky, the feelings of alienation, loss of innocence and consumerism were portrayed in various scenarios. On the other hand, the beverage came to represent the feeling of modernness, of optimism expressed in upward social

mobility, and of celebratory companionship.

Such scenarios were approached as stories about possible, alternative imagined futures that integrate human diversity and uncertainty (Ginsburg, Abu Lughgod and Larkin 2002, Appadurai 1991, Hannerz 2003) and as scripts circulated by mass communication in the "public sphere" (Habermas 1989). More specifically the scenarios imagined a consumer society where commoditization, individualization, alienation and urbanization would characterize the most part of its social life. Within this context, whisky as well as other commodities expressed the imagined "Americanization" of the society, the alienation of the consumer and the modernness associated with their consumption. On the other hand, whisky was imagined as a symbol of success, urban style and celebration. These contradictions remained part of the various scenarios until the decline of Greek commercial cinema and expressed the uncertainty about the outcome of this imagined modernity.

Moreover, in the cinematic scenarios of the 1950s and the 1960s several conceptualizations in relation to whisky could be identified. Scotch was projected as a force that corrupts or decenters people and an evil drink that corrupts social relations. This alienation has been conceptualized as a form of division of the constructed self. Nevertheless, whisky came to represent modernity in a bottle consumed by the Greek-Americans or those who would identify with a modern way of life, by the wealthy cosmopolitan urbanites or those who would challenge the traditional family roles including patriarchy, matchmaking and the subordinate role of women.

By the time of the decline of the film industry during the dictatorship, a consumer society characterized by mass culture and mass commodities would begin to emerge (Karapostolis 1984, Stathakis 2007). That shift was accompanied by several other changes such as rapid urbanization, increased numbers of women in university education, new youth movements and an emergence of popular culture and music.

The decline of the Greek commercial cinema did not result in the decline of the cultural industry in general. In 1966 the Association of Advertising Companies or EDEE was founded and played a major role in promoting advertising in Greece. However, there were two clear differences between the marketers and their predecessors in the film industry: they did not project whisky as an alienating force and they would capitalize on the meanings of "global" and "local". From the end of 1960s, marketing and advertising became institutionalized, the marketing companies multiplied and commodification became intensive. During this period several styles of projecting whisky in advertisements could be identified that correspond to different periods.

Distinction was used as a form of differentiating and reproducing class inequalities by emphasizing the association of Scotch with "superiority", a "cosmopolitanism" and a superior foreign influence that was expressed by the accent at the "threshold of perception". Especially the use of the English language in marketing and advertising discourse has shown a long pattern of claiming higher status and has also been used politically. Furthermore, these conceptualizations were associated with an assertive sexuality, a gender emancipation and a "high class" style that was expanded to the sphere of art and culture. Haig, for example became the "arty" beverage, Johhny Walker the "science"-oriented Scotch and Cutty Sark the sporty and "modern" beverage.

Moreover, marketing and advertising used "scale making" to associate the concepts of "national" with Scotch whisky (Tsing 2000: 327-360). By investing in the meanings of "national" and "Greek", "scale making" reproduced the conceptualizations of a Greek whisky and the national connotations of Scotch whisky

are expressed in advertisements that use national symbols and landmarks as a legitimate form of localization. This form of "scale making" became more active at the end of the nineties and began to include national accomplishments such as the Athens metro, the new Olympic stadium designed by Santiago Calatrava for the Athens Olympics in 2004, and even the Greek flag. The nationalization of whisky through advertising demonstrates that despite the economic structures of multinational capitalism, the globalization of financescapes and the standardized mass culture that has been emerging through the cultural industry, mediascapes reinforce the national imageries. Hence, it can be argued that mass media and, more importantly, the mediascapes continue to influence the formation of an imagined national community (Anderson 1983).

Moreover, the commodity of Scotch whisky transforms into a Greek gift in marketing and advertising discourse. More specifically, names can be engraved on the bottle of Scotch for name days (*giortes*) in order to individualize and personalize the gift. Scotch has also been projected as an ideal gift for Christmas and name days or birthdays in general and it is almost always part of the ideal gift list of magazines and newspaper supplements.

## A trajectory of popular style and entertainment

The relationship between Scotch whisky, popular style and Greek popular music has to be understood within the context of commercialization, commoditization and standardization of music and entertainment in general in post war Athens. The emergence of *bouzoukia* and *skiladika* from a marginal scene from below (*rebetiko*) and their "Europeanization" and "modernization" resulted in the establishment of Scotch whisky as a symbol of popular music and entertainment to the extent that the prices of these music venues are now represented in whisky. Moreover, this process of modernization resulted in a new aesthetic and in new consumption habits in night entertainment and *bouzoukia*. Live music became a trend, the orchestras multiplied and grew bigger, microphones were added and the orchestras would perform on a stage where customers could also dance; food was not served any more and whisky was established as the main beverage of consumption. Excessive consumption was institutionalized with the breaking of plates and the throwing of flowers. Within this context, the artists had to make the choice to continue their performances in these commercialized conditions or retire from the nightclubs.

The emergence of this genre of popular music during the 1980s coincided with the localization of whisky in *bouzoukia* where live contemporary music was performed in Athens (as well as in other areas of Greece) and still today the *bouzoukia* and the *skyladika* are spaces that require the consumption of Scotch whisky. While in the early stages of this institution and this genre the anti-domestic practices associated with it were marginal and possibly more popular among the groups of *rebetes*, the increased commodification of this music and the capitalization of anti-domesticity by the cultural industry resulted in its establishment and success.

The genre of contemporary Greek popular music has been related to a lifestyle that has been projected by the popular singers themselves and has influenced the notions of style of the social networks that I followed in Athens, who identify with contemporary Greek popular music. The style of the social networks that I studied is identified with several excessive practices, even if the individuals are not always able to spend excessively in these social contexts. It follows that my interlocutors make

themselves through the beverage and claim a relationship between Scotch and their style.

While Greek ethnography has been predominantly based on models of commensality and reciprocal exchange in drinking (Papataxiarchis 1991, Madianou 1992, Iossifidou 1992), which correspond to market and gift relationships or notions of calculation and spontaneity, the case of the Scotch in *bouzoukia* expresses a consumerist mentality that has been built on an anti-domestic style. Only recently, a few anthropologists in Greece have described the use of imported alcohol in relation to commodification and excess (Αμπατζή, 2004, Σουλιώτης 2001). In *bouzoukia* clubs for example, where live contemporary popular Greek music is played, a modern popular style is reinforced or reproduced through the consumption of Scotch whisky. The whisky users (and my interlocutors who identify with this style) share the belief that excessive consumption and the unproductive aspects of spending in *bouzoukia* and night entertainment are major factors in producing an inner feeling of enjoyment or letting off steam from their personal and social problems.

The style of this audience expresses the construction of the conceptualization of modernity which Argyrou has discussed (2005) and which might expand to various notions of modernness and traditionality, concepts that are constituted in relation to popular music, popular culture and consumption in general. More particularly, a style invested with an aura of modernness might appropriate Scotch whisky or single malt depending on the knowledge of the consumers and the style they want to pursue. This appropriation can be further expressed in relation to a masculine style, even by women who want to challenge dominant conceptualizations of womanhood and femininity. Furthermore, the social groups with which I was involved consume whisky on their outings. In most cases whisky is localized in *bouzoukia* as well as in *ellinadika* and expresses the prices of such venues. Usually the prices of the bottle of Scotch are quite high depending on the fame of the singer of the club.

This excessive mentality was established in recent decades and has been associated mainly with entertainment in *bouzoukia or elliniadika* and includes "opening a bottle of special", throwing baskets of flowers at singers, opening "champagne" and paying enormous bills for a bottle of whisky. Similarly the popular singers/stars who express the new Greek popular music scene and perform in *bouzoukia* spend their wealth conspicuously and publicly (Βαρουχάκη 2005: 83).

## The trajectory of North Aegean alcohol consumption

The modernness of whisky on Skyros Island in the North Aegean is associated with an imagined Athenian style which opposes the values of shepherhood and domesticity and is widely shared by the laborers of the island. This process is related to the socioeconomic changes that took place during the twentieth century on the island of Skyros and resulted in the redistribution of social privileges among the occupational groups of the island. In particular, the *arhontes* (elite) who were the main owners of the means of production and the landowners disappeared from the social landscape of Skyros. The shepherds were able to take a leading role in the economic and political life of the island and acquired the land and the old symbolic capital of the *arhontes*. The farmers as well as the *kohyliani* who used to be the poorest strata of the Skyrian society became upwardly mobile in an economic sense during the 1970s and 1980s, the period during which wage labor expanded. Moreover, the laborers migrated *mesa*

to Athens and abroad; then, upon returning to the island, they invested in small businesses and shops. However, their upward economic mobility did not bring any social and political recognition or privileges.

Upon their return from Athens and from abroad the *kohiliani* took the risk of opening bars during the 1980s. They were the first to invest in tourism and they also were the ones who worked in manual labor and as a result were able to make their fortunes. As a consequence of their economic mobility and in order to be differentiated from the shepherds, the lower social strata intensified the consumption of imported commodities and imported beverages and they adopted a cosmopolitan style, which allies itself with the urban Greek popular music of Athens. These laborers are attached to the *laiko* music scene, to the consumption of whisky and to a style of dominant or assertive masculinity. Within these networks, assertive masculinity is a form of symbolic capital which lies in opposition to the disciplined and ordered domesticity of manhood as expressed in the values of the matrilocal households of shepherds. "Domesticated" householders represent the mainstream values of the majority of the community and they cannot afford economic excesses, gambling, drinking or extended sexual relationships outside the context of marriage. Laborers, on the other hand, not only negotiate their masculine style through an assertive sexuality but also in some cases divorce. In addition, the *horiani* laborers drink whisky "inside" the village in opposition to most *eksohinous* shepherds who drink wine "outside" the village. Likewise, laborers go regularly *mesa* ("inside", to Athens) for their shopping or entertainment, in opposition to the shepherds who spend most of their time *ekso* ("outside", in the countryside).

Moreover, many laborers do not identify with the *soi-based* society of Skyros and the matrilocal obligations that such kinship relationships entail. They own their own houses, they are able to spend (*ksodepsoun*) and they have their own money. Shepherds, by contrast, do not own houses as houses constitute part of the dowry. They are expected to do *oikonomia* (save money) and they do not have money of their own as women are usually in control of the economics of the matrilocal household. Among these networks some perform an assertive masculinity; they may engage in courtship with *ksenes* from *eksoteriko* (foreign women from abroad); they do *eksoda*; and they stay up late at night in bars drinking whisky or other imported beverages from *eksoteriko*. In these ways they can express their anti-domestic style or their breach with domesticity.

As Day, Papataxiarchis and Stewart have argued, these "oppositional identities" can be found in marginal networks who wish to define themselves in opposition to the dominant cultural values of more powerful neighbors (1999: 1-24). For that reason, former Kohyliani replace the experience of dependency with the notion of cultural difference. In addition, such marginality has a focus on the luck of the present moment since any future transcendence such as religious belief and practice is associated with the dominant order (Day, Papataxiarchis and Stewart 1999: 1-24).

One of the most important differences between laborers and shepherds in terms of the consumption of alcohol is within the context of their entertainment in *kafenion*. The shepherds, shop-owners and public servants socialize in the "traditional" *kafenion* of the upper market street and usually drink *tsipouro*, beer or wine when they come together with their friends and groups. By contrast, the laborers socialize in the *Makedonia* and *Synantisis kafenion* on the margin of the town of Skyros. When the shepherds play cards they usually play *prefa* (πρέφα) or *xeri* (ξερή), games to be played among friends. The game of *xeri* has several basic differences with the game of *poka, which* is usually played by the laborers in the down part of the market street

(Papataxiarchis 1991: 166-167). The first and most important difference is that there are no money stakes in the game of *xeri* and no material interests involved but only drinking gifts. The second difference is that teams of two men usually play the game and the third is that the rounds of the game are repeated over long periods (Papataxiarchis 1991: 166-167). The losers of the game will be obliged to buy the *tsipouro* for the winners as a honorary gesture, a gift that requires no immediate return or future reciprocation.

On the other hand, a minority of laborers plays the competitive game of *poka* (poker) in the *Makedonia* and *Synatntisis kafenion* and they put large amounts of money and property at stake. Whisky is the main beverage of consumption in these two *kafenion*, in opposition to the other *kafenion* in the central and upper market street, and the customers identify with an "Athenian style". In the game of *poka* only individuals can participate (in opposition to the teams of two in *xeri*) and only when they can afford the money stakes. Similar research in the Eastern Aegean has demonstrated that gambling is a form of "ritual destruction" of money" that "purifies the male self and leaves *kefi* triumphant" (Papataxiarchis 1999: 158-175). Especially on Skyros, where the money is associated with the matrilocal obligations of domesticated shepherds, the squandering of money by laborers challenges the dominant cultural values of the dominant neighbors.

Participation in the game is limited to a few sessions a month and sometimes long periods of time elapse between games as the losers of the money stakes cannot afford to play very often. As a result, the formation of the group of *poka* changes regularly. During the game whisky is transformed into a gift; it is consumed in moderation to relax the players and in every session the winner is obliged to buy drinking gifts of whisky for the losers if they are willing to accept them. Within this context, Scotch is transformed into a symbol of profit which expresses an anti-domestic discourse as well as an upward economic mobility. However, this upward economic mobility of the laborers does not necessarily bring them political or social recognition within the hierarchical, *soi*-oriented and hereditary society of Skyros.

Consequently, Scotch is for the *horianous* and for those who want to break apart from the matrilocal rules and extended matrifocal kinship obligations. It materializes the notions of Skyrian modernity and laborhood and opposes the values of domesticity. In addition, it expresses an outward movement as it comes from *eksoteriko* and is related to *ksodema* (spending-consuming) and to an Athenian style. Its localization is therefore tactical and cannot be understood without the kinship and matrilocal cultural values of the inhabitants of Skyros.

# References

Abu-Lughod, L. 1995. "The Objects of Soap Opera: Egyptian Television and the Cultural Politics of Modernity." In Daniel Miller, eds., *Worlds Apart, Modernity Through The Prism of the Local*. London & New York: Routledge.

Adorno, T. W. 1991. *The Culture Industry*. London & New York: Routledge.

Agelopoulos, G. 2002. "Life Among Anthropologists in Greek Macedonia." In *Social Anthropology* 11: 249- 263.

Allen, P. 1985. "Appollo and Dionysus: alcohol use in modern Greece." In *East European Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No 4: 461-480.

Allen, R, & Gomery, D. 1985. *Scenario History, Theory and Practice*. New York: Knopf New York.

Amanatidis, A. 2005. *Coming Into Being Metaphors of Self and Becoming in Carnival, on the Aegean Island of Skyros*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, department of anthropology, The University of Adelaide.

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London & New York: Verso.

Appadurai, A. 2005. "Materiality in the Future of Anthropology." In Wim van Binsbergen & Peter Geschiere, eds., *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities: The Social Life of Things revisited,* 55-62. Berlin & Zurich: LIT Verlag.

Appadurai, A. 2001. "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination." In Arjun Appadurai, eds., *Globalization,* 1-21. London & New York: Duke University Press.

Appadurai, A. [1990] 1996. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." In Arjun Appadurai, eds., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A. 1986. "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value." In Arjun Appadurai eds., *The Social Life of Things, Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Argyrou, V. 2005. *Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean: The Wedding as Symbolic Struggle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bampilis, T. 2002. *The Cycle of Death on Skyros*. Unpublished MSc dissertation, department of anthropology, University College London (U.C.L.).

Barber, B. 1995. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. New York: Times Books.

Bataille, G. 1991, *The Accursed Share, Volume 1: Consumption*. New York: Zone Books.

Bataille, G. 1990, "Hegel, Death and Sacrifice." In *Yale French Studies* 78: 9-18.

Bataille, G. 1988. *The Accursed Share: An Essay on General Economy. Volume 1*. New York: Zone Books.

Baudrillard, J. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Baudrillard, J. [1990] 1993. *The Transparency of Evil: Essays on Extreme Phenomena*. New York: Verso.

Bauman, Z. 2000. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bender, B. 2001. "Introduction." In Barbara Bender and Margot Wine reds., *Contested Landscapes: movement, exile and place,* 1-21. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Bender, B. 2001. "Politics and Landscape" in Victor Buchli, eds., *The material culture reader*, 135-140. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Benjamin, W. [1935] 2009. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. New York: Classic Books.

Bloch, M. and Parry, J. 1989. *Money and the morality of exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bloch, M. 1983. *Marxism and Anthropology: The History of a Relationship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Blum, E. and Blum, R. 1965. *Health and Healing in Rural Greece: a Study of Three Communities*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.

Bott, E. [1987] 2003. "The Kava ceremonial as a dream structure." In Mary Douglas, eds., *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology,* 182-203. London & New York: Routledge.

Botting, F. & Wilson, S. 1997. *The Bataille Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bourdieu, P. [1979]. 1984. *Distinction*. London & New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of A Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buchli, B. 2002. "Introduction." In Victor Buchli, eds., *The Material Culture Reader*, 1-22. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Burke, T. 1996. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Caldwell, M. 2008. "The taste of nationalism: food politics in postsocialist Moscow." In *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14(3): 590-608.

Calotychos, V. 2003. *Modern Greece: a Cultural Poetics*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Campbell, J. 1964. *Honour, Family, and Patronage: a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Carrier, J. 1995. *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700*. London & New York: Routledge.

Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. 1986. "Introduction: Partial Truths." In James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*, 1-26. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Clogg, R. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Close, D. 2005. *Greece Since 1945: Politics, Economy, and Society. The Postwar World*. London: Pearson Education.

Coe, Neil M; Lee, Yong- Sook. 2006. "The Strategic Localization of Transnational Retailers: The Case of Samsung-Tesco in South Korea." In *Economic Geography* 01-01-2006.

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J.L. 2003. "Etnography on an Awkward Scale: Postcolonial Anthropology and the Violence of Abstraction." *Ethnography* 4 (2): 147-179.

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J.L. 2001. "Millennial capitalism. First Thoughts on a Second Coming." In Jean & John Comaroff , eds., *Millennial capitalism and the culture of neoliberalism*, 1-56. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Comaroff, J. 1985. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: the culture and history of a South African people*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comay, R. 1990. "Gifts without Presents: Economies of Experience in Bataille and Heidegger." In *Yale French Studies, On Bataille* 78: 66-89, Yale University.

Cowan, J. 1992. "Going Out for Coffee? Contesting the Grounds of Gendered Pleasures in Everyday Sociability." In Peter Loizos and Akis Papataxiarchis eds., *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 180-202. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Cowan, J. 1990. *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Damer, S. 1988. "Legless in Sfakia: Drinking and Social Practice in Western Crete." In the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 6: 2, 291-310.

Danforth, L. 1982. *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Day, S., Papataxiarchis, E. & Stewart, M. 1999. "Introduction." In Sophie Day, Evthymios Papataxiarchis, Michael Stewart, eds., *Lilies of the Field: Marginal People Who Live for the Moment*, 1-24. Boulder: Westview Press.

de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday life*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.

de Moij, M. 2005. *Global Marketing and Advertising: Understanding Cultural Paradoxes*. California & London: Sage.

de Pina-Cabral, J. 2000. "The Ethnographic Present Revisited". In *Social Anthropology* 8: 3: 341-348.

de Pina-Cabral, J. 2005. "The Future of Social Anthropology." In *Social Anthropology* 13: 2: 119-128.

de Sike, Y. 1993."Le carnaval *de Skyros* : un exemple *de* syncrétisme (note *de* recherche)." *Anthropologie et Sociétés*. Volume 17, 119-123.

de Sike, Y. 1978. "Skyros. Aperçu d'une île grecque." In *Objets et Mondes*. vol. 18, n°1-2: 69-78.

Delaney, C. 1986. *The seed and the soil: gender and cosmology in Turkish village society, Volume 11 of Comparative studies on Muslim societies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Douglas, M. 1987. "A distinctive anthropological perspective." In Mary Douglas, eds., *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, 3-15. London & New York*:* Routledge.

Douglas, M. and Isherwood, B. 1979. *The world of Goods: towards an anthropology of consumption*. London & New York*:* Routledge.

Du Boulay, [1974] 1994. J. *Portrait of a Greek Mountain village*. *Oxford monographs on social anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Erickson, T. 1999. *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Fabian, J. 1983. T*ime and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Featherstone, M. 1990. Eds., *Global culture, Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. California & London: Sage.

Ferguson, J. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity. Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.

Ferro, M. [1977] 1988. *Cinema and History, Contemporary Approaches to Scenario and Television Series*. Detroit Michigan: Wayne University Press.

Fischer, M. 2002, "What is Ethnography?" *Anthropological Theory*. V.2 (3) September.

Foster, R. 2008. *Coca Globalization. Following Soft Drinks from New York to New Guinea*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foster R. 2002. *Materializing the Nation: commodities, consumption, and media in Papua New Guinea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Friedl, E. 1962. *Vasilika: a Village in Modern Greece. Case studies in cultural anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gallant, T. 2001. *Modern Greece*. New York: Arnold & Oxford University Press.

Gandoulou, J. 1984. *Entre Paris et Bacongo*. Paris : Centre Georges Pompidou.

Gately, I. 2002. *Tobacco: The Story of how Tobacco Seduced the World*. New York: Grove Press.

Geertz, C. [1973] 2000. *The Interpretation Of Cultures,* 3-32. New York*:* Basic Books.

Gefou-Madianou, D. 1992. "Exclusion and Unity, Retsina and Sweet Wine: Commensality and Gender in a Greek Agro-Town." In Dimitra Gefou Madianou, eds., *Alcohol, Gender and Culture,* 108-136. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Gell, A. 1998. *Art and Agency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Georgakopoulou, A. 2000. "On the Sociolinguistics of Popular Films: Funny Characters, Funny Voices." In *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, v.18: 119-133.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.

Ginsburg, F. D., Abu-lughod, L. & Larkin, B. 2002. "Introduction" in Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin eds., *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gregory, C. 1980. "Gifts to Men and Gifts to God: Gift Exchange and Capital Accumulation in Contemporary Papua." In *Man* 15: 626-652.

Gusfield, J. [1987] 2003. "Passage to Play*:* Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society." In Mary Douglas, eds., *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology, 7*3-90. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Habermas, J. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hannerz, U. 1989. "Notes on the Global Ecumene." In *Public Culture* 1(2): 66-75.

Hannerz, U. 1996. *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Harvey, D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hegel, G. [1832] 1989. *Science of Logic,* Volume I. London: George Allen and Unwin; originally published in German.

Herzfeld, M. 1997. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Herzfeld, M. 1989. *Anthropology Through the Looking Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Herzfeld, M. 1985. *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity on A Cretan Mountain Village*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Herzfeld, M. 1982. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*. Austin Texas: University of Texas Press.

Hobsbawm, E. 1983. "Inventing Traditions." In Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T. [1947] 1997. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London & New York: Verso.

Hughes, G. 1998. *Imagining Welfare Futures*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hylland, E. T. 2001. *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Inda, J. X. & Rosaldo, R. [2002] 2008. "Tracking Global Flows." In Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo eds., *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, 3-46. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Iossifides, M. 1992. "Wine: Life's blood and spiritual essence in a Greek Orthodox Convent." In Dimitra Gefou Madianou, eds., *Alcohol, Gender and Culture,* 80-100. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Jackson, M. 1998. *Whisky: The Definitive World Guide to Scotch, Bourbon and Whiskey*. New York: Hudson. Dorling Kindersley.

Jameson, F. *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London & New York: Duke University Press.

Jenkins, R. 1996. *Social Identity*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Just, R.1994. "The Reformation of Class." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 12: 1: 37-56.

Just, R. 1992 "The Limits of Kinship." In Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis eds., *Contested Identities, Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 114-132. Princeton University Press.

Karakasidou, A & Tsibiridou, F. 2006. "Mirrors, Myths and Metaphors: Ethnography-ing Greece in Late Modernity, Introductory Reflections." In *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24: 217-228. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kartalou, A. 2000. "Gender, Professional, and Class Identities in *Miss Director and Modern Cinderella*". In *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 18: 105-118.

Keane, W. 2008. "The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion." In *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14: 1: 110-127.

Keane, W 2007. *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Keane, W. 2003. "Self-Interpretation, Agency, and the Objects of Anthropology: Reflections on a Genealogy." In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 45, no. 2: 222-248.

Keane, W. 1998. "Calvin in the Tropics: Objects and Subjects at the Religious Frontier." In Patricia Spyer, eds., *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, 13-34. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Klein, N. 2000. *No Logo*. New York: Picador.

Koliopoulos, J. and Veremis, T. 2002. *Greece: The Modern Sequel: From 1821 to the Present*. London: Hurst.

Kopytoff, I. 1986. "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as proces." In Arjun Appadurai eds., *The Social Life of Things, Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* 64-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Küchler, S. 2002. "Binding in the Pacific: Between Loops and Knots." In Victor Buchli eds., *The Material Culture Reader,* 63-80. Oxford & New York*:* Berg Publishers.

Kurlansky, M. 2002. *Salt: A World History*. New York: Penguin.

Kurlansky, M. 1997. *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World*. New York: Penguin.

Lacan, J. 1968. *The Language of the Self: The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Larkin, B, 2008. "Itineraries of Indian Cinema: African Videos, Bollywood, and Global Media." In Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo eds., *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Latour, B. [1991]1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. New York: Harvard University Press.

Lien, M. 1997. *Marketing and Modernity. An Ethnography of Marketing Practice*. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Loizos, P. and Papataxiarchis, E. 1991. "Introduction." In Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis,eds., *Contested Identities, Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 3-25. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Loizos, P. and Papataxiarchis, E. 1991. "Gender, Sexuality and The Person in Greek Culture." In Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis eds., *Contested Identities, Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 221-234. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Malaby, T. 2003. *Gambling Life: Dealing in Contingency in a Greek City*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Marcus, G. 1998. *Ethnography Trough Thick and Thin*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, G. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System, The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95-117.

Marx, K. [1867] 1974. *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, *Vol.1*. Berlin: Dietz Verlag.

Mauss, M. [1954] 2002. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Mazzarella, W. 2003. "Very Bombay: Contending with the Global in an Advertising Agency." In *Cultural Anthropology* 18: 33-71.

McLuhan, M. 1964. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Meyer, B. & Geschiere, P. 1999 "Introduction." In Birgit Meyer and Peter Geschiere eds., *Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Michaels, E. 2002. " Hollywood iconography. A walpiri reading." In Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo eds., *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, 311-324. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Miller, D. 2005. "Introduction." In Daniel Miller, eds., *Materiality*. London & New York: Duke University Press.

Miller, D. 1998. "Coca Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad." In Daniel Miller, eds., *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*. London: UCL Press.

Miller, D. 1995a. "Introduction: anthropology, modernity and consumption." In Daniel Miller, eds., *Worlds Apart, Modernity Through The Prism of the Local*, 1-22. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Miller, D. 1995b. "Consumption as the Vanguard of History: A Polemic Way of an Introduction." In Daniel Miller, eds., *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*, 1-54. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Miller, D. 1995c. "Consumption and Commodities." In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24: 141-161.

Miller, D. 1994. *Modernity an Ethnographic Approach: Dualism and Mass Consumption In Trinidad*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Miller, D. 1987. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Mintz, S. 1985. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking Penguin.

Mitchell, T. 2000. " The Stage of Modernity." In Timothy Mitchell, eds., *Questions of modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Moeran, B. 1996. *A Japanese Advertising Agency: An Anthropology of Media and Markets*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Morgan, L. H. 1978. *Ancient Society*. New York: Labor Press.

Moxham, R. 2003. *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation and Empire*. London: Constable.

Napolitano, V. & Pratten, D. 2007. "Michael de Certeau: Ethnography and the Challenge of Plurality." In *Social Anthropology* 15: 1-12.

O'Hanlon, M. 1993. *Paradise: Portraying the New Guinea Highlands*. London: The British Museum.

Ortiz, F. 1940. *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar*. La Habana, Cuba: Jesús Montero Editor.

Panourgia, N. 1995. *Fragments of Death, Fables of Identity: An Athenian Anthropography*. Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Papagaroufali, E. 1992. "Uses of Alcohol Among Women: Games of Resistance, Power and Pleasure." In Dimitra Gefou Madianou, eds., *Alcohol, Gender and Culture,* 48-70. London & New York: Routledge.

Papataxiarchis, E. 2001. "Dealing with Disadvantage: The Construction of the Self and the Politics of Locality." In Dionigi Albera, Anton Blok, Christian Bromberger eds., *L'anthropologie de la Méditerranée: Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, 179-202. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.

Papataxiarchis, E. 1999. "A Contest with Money: Gambling and the Politics of Disinterested Sociality in Aegean Greece." In Sophie Day, Evthymios Papataxiarchis, Michael Stewart, eds.,*Lilies of the Field: Marginal People Who Live for the Moment,* 158-175. Boulder: Westview Press.

Papataxiarchis, E. 1991. "Friends of the Heart: Male Commensal Solidarity, Gender and Kinship in Aegean Greece." In Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis eds., *Contested Identities, Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 156-179. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Papataxiarchis, E. 1988. *Worlds apart: women and men in Greek Aegean household and coffeeshop*. Ph.D. thesis, London: London School of Economics

Parry, J. and Bloch, M. 1989. "Introduction: Money and the morality of exchange." In Jonathan P. Parry and Maurice Bloch eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange,* 1-32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pels, P. 2003. "Introduction: Magic and Modernity." In Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels eds., *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment*, 1-38. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pels, P. 2002, "The Confessional Ethic and the Spirits of the Screen: Reflections on the Modern Fear of Alienation." *Etnofoor*, 15(1/2): 91-119.

Pels, P. 1998. "The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact and Fancy." In Patricia Spyer eds., *Border fetishisms*, 91-121. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Petridou, E. 2001. Milk Ties. *A Commodity Chain Approach to Greek Culture*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, department of Anthropology, University College London (UCL).

Ritzer, G. 2004. *The McDonaldization of Society.* California: Sage.

Rowlands, M. 2002. “The Power of Origins: Questions of Cultural Rights.” In Victor Buchli eds., *The material culture reader*. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Seremetakis, N. 1996. *The Senses Still. Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press.

Spyer, P. 2000. *The Memory of Trade: Modernity's Entanglements on an Eastern Indonesian Island*. London & New York: Duke University Press.

Spyer, P.1998. “Introduction.” In Patricia Spyer eds., *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Stewart, C. 1991. *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Stewart, C. 1989, “Hegemony or Rationality? The Position of Supernatural in Modern Greece.” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 7: 1: 77-104.

Sutton, D. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory. Materializing culture*. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers.

Taussig, M. 1980. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

Taylor, E. 1871. *Primitive Culture*. London: John Murray.

Tilley, C. 2006. “Theoretical Perspectives.” In Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Patricia Spyer, eds., *Handbook of Material Culture,* 7-12. California: Sage.

Tilley, C. 2001. “Ethnography and Material Culture.” In Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Shara Delamont, John Lofland, Lyn Lofland, eds., *The Handbook of Ethnography*, 258-272. California: Sage.

Tilley, C. and D. Miller, 1996. “Editorial.” In *Journal of Material Culture* 1(1): 5-14.

Traganou, J. 2008. “Shades of Blue: Debating Greek Identity through Santiago Calatrava's Design for the Athens Olympic Stadium.” In *Journal of Modern Greek Studies,* 26 (1): 185-214.

Trouillot, M, R. 2003. *Global Transformations, Anthropology and the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tsing, A. [2000] 2008. “The Global Situation.” In Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo eds., *The Anthropology of Globalization*, 327-360. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Tsitsopoulou, V. 2000. “Greekness, Gender Stereotypes, and the Hollywood Musical in Jules Dassin’s Never on Sunday.” In *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 18: 79-93.

Van Binsbergen, W. & Geschiere, P. 2005. "Things Agency and Identities, Introduction." In Wim M. J. van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere eds., *Commodification: Things, Agency and Identities (The Social Life of Things Revisited)*. Zurich & Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Wallerstein, E. 1974. *The Modern World-System, vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, E. 1980. *The Modern World-System, vol. II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, E., Arrighi, J. and Hopkins, T. 1989. *Antisystemic Movements*. London: Verso.

Watson, J.L. 1997.*Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.

Weiner, A. 1992. *Inalienable Possessions: the Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Weiss, B. 1996. *The Making and Unmaking of the Haya Lived World: Consumption, Commoditization and Everyday Practice*. Duke University Press, Durham & London.

Wilk, R. 1995. "Learning to be Local in Belize: Global Systems of Local Difference." In Daniel Miller, eds,. *Worlds Apart. Modernity Through The Prism of the Local*, 110-133. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Williams, R. and Orrom, M. 1954. *Preface to Film*. London: Film Drama Limited.

Williams, R. 1965 *The Long Revolution,* London, Chatto and Windus. Harmondsworh and Baltimore: Penguin.

Williams, R. [1977] 1997. *Marxism and Literature*, Marxist Introductions Series. London and New York: Oxford University Press.

Yiakoumaki, V. 2006. "Local," "Ethnic," and "Rural" Food: On the Emergence of "Cultural Diversity" in Greece since its Integration in the European Union." In *The Journal of Modern Greek Studies,* Volume 24, Number 2: 415-445.

Yalouri, E. 2001. *The Acropolis, Global Fame, Local Claim*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Zarkia, C. 1996. "*PHILOXENIA* Receiving Tourists — but not Guests — on a Greek Island." In Boissevain, J. eds., *Coping with tourists: European reactions to mass tourism*. Oxford & Providence: Berghahn Books.

Zarkia, C. 1991. *Societe* et espace *dans 1'* ile *de* Skyros. These de Doctoral EHESS, Paris.

Zinovieff, S. 1992. “Hunters and Hunted: Kamaki and the Ambiguities of Sexual Predation in a Greek Town.” In Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis eds., *Contested Identities, Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, 203-220. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Zuckerman, L. 1998. *The Potato: How the Humble Spud Rescued the Western World.* New York: North Point Press.

## Greek titles

Αλεξανδρής, Θ. 2000. *Αυτή η νύχτα μένει*. Αθήνα: Περίπλους.

Αμπατζή, Κ.Μ. 2004. *Ποτό για Παρέα, Έφυλες σχέσεις, Σώμα και Συναίσθημα στη Σεξουαλική Εργασία*. Διδακτορική διατριβή, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Τμήμα Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας και Ιστορίας, Μυτιλήνη.

Ανδριάκαινα, Ε. 1996. “Η διαμάχη για το ρεμπέτικο.” Στο Ν. Κοταρίδης, επιμ., *Ρεμπέτες και ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι*, 9-33. Αθήνα: Πλέθρον.

Αντωνιάδης, Ξ. 1990. *Αρχείο Εγγράφων Σκύρου*. Αθήνα: Συλλογος Σκυριανών.

Βαρουχάκη, Σ. 2005. *Μαζική Κουλτούρα και Σύγχρονο Λαϊκό Τραγούδι, 1974-2000*. Διδακτορική Διατριβή, Τμήμα Κοινωνιολογίας, Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο.

Δαμιανάκος, Σ. 2003 [1987]. *Παράδοση Ανταρσίας και Λαικός Πολιτισμός*. Αθήνα: Πλέθρον.

Δελβερούδι, Ε. 2004. *Οι Νέοι στις Κωμωδίες του Ελληνικού Κινηματογράφου 1948-1974*. Αθήνα: Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών.

Δημητρίου Κοτσώνη. Σ. 2003. “Καταναλωτικες Πρακτικές και Συλλογικές Ταυτότητες.” Στο Δήμητρα Γκέφου Μαδιανού, επιμ., *Εαυτός και Άλλος*, 305-342. Αθήνα: Gutenberg.

Θεοχαρίδης, Α. (2009). *Υλικός Πολιτισμός, Κοινωνική Οργάνωση και Μνήμη. Κειμήλια και αντικείμενα "λαϊκής τέχνης και χειροτεχνίας" στη Σκύρο και η κυκλοφορία τους μέσα και έξω από τα όρια του τοπικού*. Διδακτορική διατριβή, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Τμήμα Κοινωνικής Ανθρωπολογίας και Ιστορίας, Μυτιλήνη.

Ιωάννου, Α. 2001. “Η σκυλότητα ενος σκυλάδικου. Κατανάλωση και ταυτότητες στην παραλιακή του Πειραιά.” *Δοκιμές* 09-10: 239-262.

Καιροφύλας, Γ. 1997. *Η Αθήνα στη δεκαετία του '60*. Αθήνα: Φιλιππότη.

Καραποστόλη, Β. 1984. *Η Καταναλωτική Συμπεριφορά στην Ελληνική κοινωνία 1960-1975*. Αθήνα: ΕΚΚΕ.

Καψωμένος, Ε. 1990. *Κώδικες και Σημασίες*. Αθήνα: Αρσενίδης.

Κοντογιώργης, Γ. 2006. *Έθνος και Εκσυγχρονιστική Νεωτερικότητα*. Αθήνα: Εναλλακτικές Εκδ.

Κοταρίδης, Ν. 1996. "Εισαγωγη." Στο *Ρεμπέτες και Ρεμπέτικο Τραγούδι*, 9-33. Αθήνα: Πλέθρον.

Μαυρίκου, Μ. 2005. *Ο Αμερικάνος*. Αθήνα: Ακρίτας.

Μπακαλάκη, Α. 2000. "Γευστικά Ταξίδια, Συναντήσεις και διακρίσεις." Στο Ρωξάνη Καυταντζόγλου, & Μαρίνα Πετρονώτη, επιμ., *Όρια και Περιθώρια: Εντάξεις και Αποκλεισμοί*. Αθήνα: ΕΚΚΕ.

Οικονόμου, Λ. 2005. "Ρεμπέτικα, λαικά και σκυλάδικα. Όρια και ετατοπίσεις στην πρόσληψη της λαικής μουσικής του 20ου αιώνα." *Δοκιμές* 13-14: 361-398.

Παπανικολάου, Θ. 1996. *Slogans*. Αθήνα: Γ.Σ Μπαρμπερόπουλος.

Παπαταξιάρχης, Ε. 1998. "Ο κόσμος του καφενείου. Ταυτότητα και ανταλλαγή στον ανδρικό συμποσιασμό." Στο Ευθήμιος Παπαταξιάρχης Θεόδωρος Παραδέλης, επιμ., *Ταυτότητες και φύλλο στην σύγχρονη Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Αλεξάνδρεια.

Περπινιάδης, Β. 2001. *Πρίν το Τέλος*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Προσκήνιο.

Περσίδης, Β. 1984. "Πια η παράδοση και η αξία της."*Σκυριανά Νέα* 7-9.

Πετρόπουλος, Η. 1987. *Το Άγιο Χασισάκι*. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη.

Playboy Magazine Jan. 1990. "Το αλκοόλ τρόπος ζωής." 136-141. Αθήνα.

Ρηγίνος, Μ. 2002. "Η ελληνική βιομηχανία 1900-1940." Στο Κρεμμυδάς Β. Επιμ., *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία. 18ος-20ος αιώνας*. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Τυπωθήτω.

Σκοπετέα, Ε. 1992. *Η Δύση της Ανατολής. Εικόνες από το Τέλος της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας*. Αθήνα: Γνώση.

Σολδάτος, Γ. 2002. *Η Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Κινηματογράφου*. v.1-4. Αθήνα: Αιγόκερως.

Σουλιώτης, Ν. 2001. "Ο αστικός χώρος ώς συμβολίκο αγαθό. Τα μπάρ των Εξαρχείων και του Κολωνακίου." *Δοκιμές* 09-10: 211-238.

Σταθάκης, Γ. 2007. *Η χούντα στο μεταίχμειο ανάμεσα στην αγροτική και την αστική Ελλάδα*. Working paper.

Σωτηροπούλου, Χ. 1989. *Ελληνική Κινηματογραφία 1965-1975: Θεσμικό Πλαίσιο- Οικονομική Κατάσταση*. Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο.

Τζιόβας, Δ. [1989] 2006. *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του Εθνισμού και το Ιδεολόγημα της Ελληνικότητας στο Μεσοπόλεμο*. Αθήνα: Οδυσσέας.

**Newspapers**

Ημερίσια εφημερίδα *Ελευθεροτυπία*

Ημερίσια εφημερίδα *Ελεύθερος τύπος*

Daily newspaper *Kathimerini* English edition.

Ημερίσια εφημερίδα *Καθημερινή*.

Ημερίσια εφημερίδα *Το Βήμα*

Μινιαία εφημερίδα *Σκυριανά Νέα*

Daily newspaper *The Independent*.

**Reports**

Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία Ελλάδος 2007. *Οικογενειακοί Προϋπολογισμοί*.

*Εθνικό Σχέδιο Δράσης για τον Περιορισμό των Βλαπτικών Συνεπειών του Αλκοόλ στην Υγεία 2008 - 2012* του υπουργείου Υγείας και Κοινωνικής Αλληλλεγγύης, 2008.

Foundation of Economic and Industrial Research in Greece (IOBE) 1993. *Report on the Greek alcohol industry and the sector of beverages*.

The Scotch Whisky Association 2007. *Scotch whisky export markets and consumption levels*

# Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift is een historische etnografie van alcohol consumptie dat verschillende aspecten van de Griekse cultuur, voornamelijk na de dictatuur vanaf 1974, verkent. De focus van deze studie is het 'sociale leven' van schotse whisky in Griekenland, en met name drie verschillende 'trajectories' van het 'ding in beweging' (Appadurai 1986). De analyse van deze 'trajectories' onderzoekt het proces van lokalisatie van schotse whisky in de Griekse culturele industrie, zowel in een urbane context als in de context van een eiland. Terwijl verschillende studies aangaande Griekenland de consumptie van alcoholische dranken die in Griekenland geproduceerd worden hebben onderzocht (Damer 1988, Herzfeld 1985, Gefou-Madianou 1992, Iossifides 1992, Papataxiarchis 1991, 1998), zijn geïmporteerde dranken, en met name Scotch whisky, nog niet onderzocht. Door middel van het 'volgen van het ding' (Marcus 1998) probeert dit onderzoek verschillende sleutelconcepten zoals populaire cultuur, consumptie en stijl met elkaar te verbinden. In tegenstelling tot de perceptie van globale homogenisering tot een monocultuur beargumenteerd deze studie dat consumptie een culturele aanpassing is in een creatief proces waarin betekenis wordt gevormd door gebruikers, internationale bedrijven, en de culturele industrie (Foster 2008: 9). Verder is consumptie niet alleen een vorm van een 'thuisbasis' creëren als een reactie op het onpersoonlijke domein van productieprocessen (Miller 1987, 1998). Het is ook een arena waarin gender- en groepsstijlen worden onderhandelt (Ferguson 1999) en een doorgaand proces van her-evaluatie in de 'culturele biografie van een ding' (Kopytoff 1986).

Deze studie poogt de verschuiving naar een sterk klantgeoriënteerde, commerciële en geïndustrialiseerde maatschappij te begrijpen die gekarakteriseerd word door massale productie en multinationale kapitalisme. Whisky, in deze context, geeft me een handvat om de verbindingen tussen verschillende actoren, gebonden door dit product, te beschrijven. Dit onderzoek, rekening houdend met verschillende niveaus van waarde in verschillende en veranderende contexten, bestudeerd de representaties van whisky in de 'gouden eeuw' van de Griekse cinema, de betekenissen van whisky zoals gerepresenteerd in reclame van de laatste drie decennia, alsook betekenissen gegeven aan whisky door gebruikers in Skyros en Athene naar gelang hun eigen stijl (Ferguson 1999).

Een belangrijke verschuiving in het sociale leven van schotse whisky in Griekenland vond plaats in de zomer van 1986. Door toegenomen consumptie legde de Griekse regering een strikt quota op voor de import van schotse whisky (Stewart 1989: 99). De 'whisky boom' was op zijn hoogtepunt, met duizenden flessen die elke nacht werden geconsumeerd in bars, nachtclubs, en huishoudens. Alleen al tussen 1981 en 1991 nam de consumptie van whisky in Griekenland toe met 279% (Kathimerini dagblad 12-10-2002). In 1969 was de consumptie van whisky in Griekenland was slechts 0.39 liter per jaar per persoon, maar in 1980 was dit gestegen tot 4,55 liter. Binnen een decennia was de consumptie van whisky elf maal zo groot,

terwijl de consumptie van bier en wijn hetzelfde bleef en de consumptie van ouzo en raki langzaam afnam. Van schotse whisky werd in 1981 5.400.000 liter verbruikt, en in 2001 was dit toegenomen tot 23.274.000 liter. Dit sterk toegenomen verbruik leidde tot de productie van whisky door Griekse bedrijven, die hun producten 'Scots' whisky noemden. Ze probeerden hun dranken als 'schots' aan te prijzen en gebruikten schotse symbolen zoals leeuwen, kilts en hoefijzers op de etiketten van hun flessen. De Scottish Whisky Association reageerde door via een aanklacht bij het Griekse gerechtshof de productie van elke drank geadverteerd als 'Scots' of 'blended' te verbieden.

Whisky is tegenwoordig de meest populaire drank in uitgaansgelegenheden waar live Griekse populaire muziek wordt gebracht. Flessen whisky zijn overal rondom Athene: in kleine clubs langs de snelwegen, in cafés, in bars, in huishoudens, op het platteland en in de stad, en worden geconsumeerd door mannen en vrouwen.

Op het eiland Skyros, waar een belangrijk deel van mijn onderzoek plaatsvond, wordt de consumptie van whisky geassocieerd met bepaalde bars, cafés, en mannen die *poka* (een Griekse versie van poker) spelen. Algemeen gezegd is de consumptie van whisky hier een opvallend uitdragen van moderniteit, in contrast tot de gebruikelijke consumptie van wijn en *tsipouro*. In deze specifieke context identificeren mensen zich door middel van een drank met bepaalde netwerken. Het is verassend dat er geen whisky was op Skyros tot de zestiger jaren Wijn, tsipouro en ouzo zijn de belangrijkste dranken in de cafés en restaurants van het eiland.

Deze processen van lokalisatie op Skyros en in Athene gaan hand in hand met de opkomst van grote multinationale bedrijven die hun marketing aanpassen aan locale voorkeuren en de drankenmarkt in Griekenland domineren. De commercialisatie van de Griekse economie in de laatste decennia kan worden geïnterpreteerd als een multinationaal kapitalistisch succes en van neoliberaal economisch beleid door de staat. De waarden die huidige consumptie patronen vormgeven worden duidelijk beïnvloed door deze economie. Op zich is dit echter niet voldoende om het succes van een product te verklaren dat tegenwoordig wordt beschouwd als 'Grieks', 'nationaal', deel van de huidige populaire Griekse muziek branche' of als 'representatief voor de waarden van arbeiders' op Skyros. Ik gebruik whisky in deze studie als een symbool voor het gebruik van globale connecties (met een focus op Griekenland, specifiek Athene en Skyros) tussen bedrijven, consumenten en de culturele industrie voor de legitimatie van hun eigen stijlen. De term 'global' in de titel van dit proefschrift refereert aan de globale interconnectie van een merkproduct dat wereldwijd wordt verhandelt, gebruikt en gerepresenteerd.

Dit proefschrift bestudeerd bovendien op etnografische wijze termen zoals 'modern', 'westers', en 'europees'. Deze termen worden onderzocht in de bredere context van politieke en historische processen binnen de Griekse staat. Whisky is een onderdeel van de consumptie producten die geassocieerd worden met klassenonderscheid. Tegenwoordig wordt het drinken van whisky gerelateerd met de reproductie van verschillende sociale identiteiten, hetzij populair, nationaal, of lokaal.

Hoewel whisky een van de meest populaire alcoholische dranken is, worden verschillende andere dranken aangeboden of gebruikt bij verschillende sociale gelegenheden. Alcohol in het algemeen neemt een centrale plaats in het leven van Grieken, als ook in andere culturen. In Griekenland, evenwel, was het tot voor kort niet gebruikelijk te drinken zonder te eten. Alleen in geval van extreme armoede of in het geval van familie rituelen kwam dit voor. Tegelijk met de introductie van geïmporteerde alcoholische dranken, en beïnvloed door Europese en Amerikaanse manieren van consumptie, nam het gebruik van drinken zonder eten zijn intrede. Door

schotse whisky in Griekenland te bestuderen onderzoek ik of en op welke wijze het drinken van whisky de culturele werelden van de gebruikers heeft beïnvloed, en, meer algemeen, of de relatie tussen culturele industrie en gebruikers de wens een modern, Europees persoon te worden, heeft vervuld. Hiertoe heb ik bestudeerd hoe films, reclame, en gebruikers betekenis geven aan whisky. Vooral de populaire films van de jaren 60 (op televisie later uitgezonden) heb ik onderzocht, aangezien in deze periode whisky verbruik werd gecommercialiseerd. Mijn onderzoek van reclame (met name advertenties) is gericht op strategieën van reclamemakers om whisky in een 'stempel van stijl' te transformeren dat moderniteit, consumptie en stijl met elkaar verbindt.

Ook onderzocht deze studie twee locaties waar het drinken van whisky op zeer verschillende wijze wordt gebruikt: Athene en Skyros. Hierdoor is de studie in twee delen verdeelt: macro processen en geschiedenis aan enerzijds, en micro processen en etnografie anderzijds. Het is niet mijn bedoeling het ene als een gevold van het andere te verklaren. Hoewel er een relatie is tussen de opkomst van multinationale, alcohol0gereltaeerde kapitalisme in Griekenland en het verbruik van whisky, toont Griekse cinema aan dat whisky veel eerder al tot een fetisj en droomobject was gecreëerd lang voordat de culturele industrie dat deed. De drie verschillende wegen van a) 'mediascapes' en de culturele industrie, b) nachtleven en entertainment in Athene en c) gebruik van drank op het eiland Skyros tonen aan dat zowel 'schots' als 'whisky' verschillende betekenissen aan kan nemen. Deze betekenissen zijn soms aanvullend en soms tegengesteld, wat aantoont dat de marketing strategieën van machtige bedrijven niet altijd overeenkomen met de tactieken van gebruikers. Zodoende toont mijn materiaal aan dat lokalisatie en verzet begrepen kunnen worden als tactische activiteiten anders dan lokalisatie als slechts de 'lokale' dimensie van globalisatie (Miller 1996, Foster 2008).

Adorno en de wetenschappers van de kritische theorie hebben beargumenteerd dat de geschiedenis wordt gekenmerkt door vooruitgang, en dat de mensheid zichzelf verbeterd door een toenemend niveau van emancipatie (Horkheimer & Adorno 1947). Horkheimer en Adorno stellen dat mensenlevens op instrumentele rationaliteit zijn gebaseerd. Hoewel zulke kritieken van kapitalisme belangrijk zijn geweest voor het begrip van sociale ongelijkheid neemt deze studie een andere positie: het toont aan dat consumenten tactieken creëren om de strategieën van de culturele industrie te weerstaan. De Certeau bied, in tegenstelling tot de onderzoekers van de kritische theorie of van andere Marxistisch georiënteerde theorieën een benadering die rekening houd met tactieken die kunnen weerstaan, veranderen, of die gebruik kunnen maken van eerdere machtsstructuren, zoals het geval van de Griekse culturele industrie. In het geval van mijn studie zijn deze tactieken niet gebaseerd op ideologie of hegemonie, maar, in tegendeel, op autonome gebruiken van consumenten. Deze gebruiken kunnen worden gezien als een eigen cultureel domein, aangezien 'de ruimte van de tactiek is de ruimte van de ander' (de Certeau 1984: 36-37). De etnografie van whisky verbruik in *bouzoukia* clubs in Athene en het competitieve kaartspelen en whisky drinken op het eiland Skyros tonen aan dat gebruikers een mentaliteit van buitensporigheid gebruiken als tactiek. Dit buitensporige verzet, deze houding van exces, is in tegenspraak met een triomf van instrumentele rationaliteit (Adorno 1991).

Battaile stelt dat een dergelijke mentaliteit van exces een algemene menselijke eigenschap is, een spectaculaire transgressie, belangrijk in elke sociale groep (1991). Mijn studie complementeert deze theorie van uitgave met het aantonen van exces op nationale schaal, gelokaliseerd in de 'mediascapes' in de bouzoukia van Athene als een antitheses van de culturele industrie. Deze tegenstelling is gebaseerd op verbeeldingen van whisky in cinema, marketing en reclame als symbool van een

moderne westerse middenklasse versus een klein-aziatisch, anti-huiselijk discours van bouzoukia en populaire Griekse muziek. Whisky representeert op Skyros een verzet tegen de traditioneel matriarchale autoriteit en 'herderschap', die beide politieke en nationaal bureaucratische macht bezitten. Het drinken van whisky wordt in deze context gezien als een excessieve viering van de arbeidersklasse, de *kohyliani*.

De drie 'trajectories' tonen aan hoe schotse whisky een Griekse 'fetisj' werd en traditionele alcoholische dranken als wijn, *tsipouro* en ouzo verving, en tegelijk onderdeel werd van oudere wijzen van alcohol verbruik. Deze studie beargumenteerd dat het succes van schotse whisky in Griekenland niet alleen een constructie van behoefte is door multinationale importbedrijven en de culturele industrie, maar meer een complex historisch proces dat door zowel importeurs, de culturele industrie, en consumenten in verschillende locaties wordt gevormd. Schotse whisky wordt zowel geassocieerd met moderniteit met de excessieve ontkenning van het keurslijf van moderniteit én van traditionele autoriteit. De fetisj-achtige aantrekkingskracht van de drank wordt veroorzaakt doordat het tegelijk verstoort en verbeeld wat Miller 'normale' materiele kaders noemt, in de context van de 'nederigheid van dingen' (2005: 4).

# Curriculum Vitae

Tryfon Bampilis holds a degree in Social Anthropology and Social Policy from Panteion University in Athens (2001). In 2002 he obtained a Master in Science in Social Anthropology at University College London. In 2004 he was awarded a PhD fellowship in Social Anthropology by the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece (IKY) and in 2010 he obtained a PhD at University of Leiden. He has presented his work in several academic institutions in the United States of America, in the Netherlands, in the United Kingdom, in Germany and in Greece and he is currently teaching in the University of Bayreuth in Germany.