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**Camping experiences of nature in Sithonia, Halkidiki.**

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## *Camping experiences of nature in Sithonia, Halkidiki.*

### **Abstract**

This article provides an overview of organized camping as a form of tourism by business enterprises in Sithonia, Halkidiki from its early appearance in the 1970s until today. In specific, it explores how experiences of nature that camping sites offer combine with other cultural activities, 'suitable' for this type of tourism. The ethnographic research in organized camping sites and the online survey of relevant business websites show that campsites in Sithonia are categorized, respectively, as "natural", "family" and "youth", indicating that tourist experiences of camping sites vary significantly. Furthermore, the analysis of online photographic representations of camping sites, where images of nature coexist with images of modernity as a necessary component of camping sites, highlights the constitution of the imaginary of nature in campsites as a commodity.

**Keywords:** tourism, camping, types of camping sites, vacationscapes, imaginary of nature, web photographs, modernity, commodities.

### **Περίληψη**

Το παρόν άρθρο επιχειρεί μια επισκόπηση του οργανωμένου κάμπινγκ ως είδους τουριστικής πρακτικής από οργανωμένες επιχειρήσεις στη Σιθωνία της Χαλκιδικής από τις αρχές της εμφάνισης του στα 1970 έως σήμερα. Συγκεκριμένα, διερευνά τους συνδυασμούς εμπειριών της φύσης που προσφέρουν τα οργανωμένα κάμπινγκ με άλλες πολιτισμικές πρακτικές, κατάλληλες γι' αυτό το είδος τουρισμού. Μέσα από εθνογραφική έρευνα σε οργανωμένα κάμπινγκ της περιοχής και διαδικτυακή έρευνα σε ιστοσελίδες των επιχειρήσεων παρουσιάζεται η τυπολόγηση των κάμπινγκ σε «φυσικά», «οικογενειακά» και «νεανικά», γεγονός που υποδεικνύει ότι οι τρόποι πρόσληψης των τουριστικών εμπειριών του τοπίου του κάμπινγκ ποικίλουν. Επιπλέον, η ανάλυση διαδικτυακών φωτογραφικών αναπαραστάσεων των κάμπινγκ, όπου οι εικόνες της φύσης συνυπάρχουν με εικόνες της νεωτερικότητας ως απαραίτητου συστατικού στοιχείου των κάμπινγκ, αναδεικνύει πώς το φαντασιακό της φύσης στα κάμπινγκ συνιστά ένα προσφερόμενο εμπορικό αγαθό.



Eleftheria Deltsoy, 01A/2016  
Camping experiences of nature in Sithonia, Halkidiki.

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*Λέξεις Κλειδιά:* τουρισμός, είδη κάμπινγκ, τοπία διακοπών, φανταστικό της φύσης, φωτογραφίες στο διαδίκτυο, νεωτερικότητα, εμπορεύματα.



### *Camping Sites in Sithonia<sup>1</sup>, the middle peninsula of Halkidiki*



**Figure 1.: Map of Halkidiki**  
source: [http://www.askelena.com/greece/halkidiki/maps/halkidiki\\_map.gif](http://www.askelena.com/greece/halkidiki/maps/halkidiki_map.gif)

Halkidiki is a peninsula in northern Greece, consisting of the main body and three smaller peninsulas that in Greek are referred to as “legs”, Kassandra, Sithonia, and Mount Athos – from west to east. While tourism in Halkidiki started in the 1950s and its coastal villages gradually became popular summer tourist destinations, it was primarily from the 1970s onwards that camping tourism appeared, less common as free camping and all the more common in the camping sites that were increasingly established. Free camping never became widespread or very popular in Halkidiki, with the exception of more or less remote and hard to reach coasts that attracted (and attract) Greek and non-Greek tourists looking for pristine environments away from middle-class social conventions. This phenomenon is in several ways similar to the appearance of campsites in other countries in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Löfgren, for example, noted for Sweden that the ubiquitous emergence of campsites from the late 1950s onwards was viewed by local authorities as far too uncontrolled, the postwar expansion of mobile tourism generally caused to tourist businesses

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this article was funded by a grant from the Aristeia II programme of the Greek General Secretariate for Research and Technology in support of the project “Mines, Olives and Monasteries: Towards an Environmental Macrohistory of Halkidiki” of the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki. G. Aggelopoulos and G. Antoniou were inspiring and supporting colleagues and friends during the research and in all that it took as we physically and mentally travelled throughout Halkidiki and throughout time. Responsibility for the views expressed is solely mine.



mixed reactions, and the traditional middle class saw it as a threat to their own comfortable holiday pattern (1999: 129).

In a similar fashion to some extent in Halkidiki, but mostly from the 1980s and the 1990s onwards free camping gradually became more common and local people and authorities started reacting to the temporary use of either private or public land for camping. As free camping was also accompanied in certain areas—but really few, particularly in comparison to the Greek islands—by nudism, free camping and nudism were commonly argued against on the basis of the area's vicinity with Mount Athos<sup>2</sup>. Locals argued specifically that nudism was utterly incompatible with and offensive not just to the particular area, but to the whole of Halkidiki, as all its lands are intricately and inexorably related to the Mount Athos. In parallel, however, to the religious etymology of the excuse,<sup>3</sup> there was also another underlying expectation: That free campers would actually stay either in the camping sites that had been organized, or they would rent rooms, both options to the direct benefit of the local economies. In support of the anticipation from campers to settle in organized campsites, an environmental argument was set forth that foresaw the deterioration of the environment as years passed and less conscientious campers adopted its practice.

*“Back then there were few [free campers] but conscientious; not like in the present [that] free campers “empty the chemical toilets in the sea”, an informant commented on the first appearance of free-camping in the 1970s and the expansion of its practice in the years to come. During the current 2010 decade free camping has gotten a new dimension in “crisis” Greece; big campers, usually driven by non-Greeks, are systematically parked at unguarded beaches, adding, as people comment, chaos and dirt to those previously unspoiled beaches, which in earlier years were visited by people only during daytime to swim and relax.*

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<sup>2</sup> Mount Athos, commonly known as the "Holy Mountain", is an autonomous polity within Greece, the Autonomous Monastic State of the Holy Mountain. On Mount Athos there are twenty monasteries under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and women are prohibited to enter in its territory.

<sup>3</sup> On the “etymology of excuses”, see Herzfeld 1982.



Figure 2.: Campers and cars on the beach of Agios Giannis, summer 2015  
source: <http://parallaximag.gr/parallax-view/chalkidiki-2015-mpate-skili-aleste/>

Many people commented negatively on these recent uncontrolled free camping practices, as saving money by avoiding organized campsites seems incongruent behavior to the worth of campers and irresponsible behavior towards nature. These views practically echo the established view that organized campsites are the right place for such forms of tourism, as they provide both the desired natural environment together with those facilities that allow for the protection of the environment. Concomitantly, web representations of Halkidiki's camping sites put emphasis on the fascinating nature of the sites, not as such, though, but together with the conveniences and services offered by organized camping tourism.

*“Every corner is a small paradise. The magic of nature and the purity of the landscape with its fantastic beaches, combined with the green of the pine that embraces the crystal clear sea in absolute harmony, characterize the uniqueness of the peninsula of Halkidiki. Goal of the camping businesses is to provide all the facilities for your convenience, comfort and entertainment, without removing anything from the natural beauty of this paradise. In the well-organized camping sites in Halkidiki, apart from the classic conveniences, you will also find bungalows for accommodation, restaurants, taverns, cafeterias - bars, grocery stores, playgrounds, sports facilities and water sports. Come to spend with us the most beautiful, relaxing and dreamy vacations that will remain unforgettable.”<sup>4</sup>*

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.campsite.gr/campsite/index.php/2013-02-16-10-47-01>.



This paper attempts an investigation of experiences of nature in Sithonia that camping tourism offers, as these are combined with other camping cultural practices. To this goal ethnographic research was conducted in various campsites of Sithonia, combined with web research so as to relate tourist practices with web representations<sup>5</sup>, considering each separately, as well as the interplay amongst them as forms of action.

The number of camping sites clearly indicates the type of tourism the different areas of coastal Halkidiki attract and the kind of relation to nature the particular regions demonstrate. According to the list that the *Association of Owners of Camping Sites in Halkidiki* displays, on the west coast of Halkidiki's main body and closer to Thessaloniki there are two camping sites<sup>6</sup> registered in the association. On Cassandra four camping sites are listed, three on the west and one on the east coast of the peninsula, while on the way from Cassandra to Sithonia and right on the inner part of Toroneos gulf one camping is listed. In Sithonia, on the other hand, one finds by far the largest number of organized camping sites in all of Halkidiki, 16 of which are officially registered with the owners' association and at least another four not registered with the association. On the inner part of the Sigitikos gulf, thus far the least touristic part of Halkidiki, there is just one on the third finger right before Mount Athos and another one on Amouliani (the small island across Mount Athos). On the west coast of Halkidiki's main body, again there are just another two. As it becomes obvious, campsites in Sithonia are far more numerous than in Cassandra and all over Halkidiki, a fact that to a certain degree reflects the less lifestyle-centered kind of tourism one finds in Sithonia<sup>7</sup>. From that follows the issue of the particular commodity/-ies that camping tourism in Sithonia promotes, which clearly constitute its main attractions.

Camping tourism in Sithonia constitutes part of the general development of tourism in Halkidiki, particularly of its south-western part, Cassandra and Sithonia, i.e., its first and second "legs". Overall, the development of tourism in Sithonia does not lag so much to that of Cassandra, which is the most developed part of Halkidiki in tourism, but it differs in scale and kind. Sithonia used to and still does receive fewer tourists than Cassandra, but also largely different types of tourists. If Cassandra has always been more mass and cosmopolitan lifestyle tourism, Sithonia, in

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<sup>5</sup> On the discourse analysis of tourism websites, see Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> In another list one more camping that is not registered in the association also appears.

<sup>7</sup> It is not, however, a completely non-lifestyle centered kind of tourism anymore.



comparison, perceived as a less tamed landscape, attracts simultaneously more family oriented and alternative type tourism; on the other hand, alike Cassandra, it does not lack in popular attractions, as people assert. It is, however, primarily the aesthetization of Sithonia's natural landscape that is being emphasized and advertised in comparison to Cassandra:

*“Here the scenery and opportunities for seaside recreation are even more appealing than they were in Cassandra, ..... - in short, the whole peninsula - the landscape is enchanting and the resorts delightful”.*<sup>8</sup>

Conforming to, and at the same time constructing this tourist profile, Sithonia's campsite website discourses perform in multimodal, linguistic and visual, ways its natural environment as its main tourist commodity; at the same time, they combine it with the popular attractions considered necessary for vacation time entertainment. The following website description is quite telling:

*“Sithonia is the second peninsula of Halkidiki. On this ‘leg’ you will experience the perfect harmony of mountain and sea, a symphony in green and blue. Pine forests and blue waters in combination with the remote, but also the crowded beaches attract every tourist. ... Just like in the first leg, in Sithonia as well the visitor can occupy himself with all the summer activities, such as trekking, diving, fishing, mountain bike, water sports, even horse riding in the forests. Nightlife is located mainly in accommodation regions, but there are also many exotic beach bars hidden in magnificent inlets”.*<sup>9</sup>

As noted before, in the above quotes one discerns how camping sites are constructed as vacationsapes through their natural and material representations, as well as the directions over how people may, or should live their everyday vacation time there. While the above presentation reveals perceptions of nature by campsite owners, the construction of campsites as “more natural than other more cultural” tourist scapes does not quite seem to promote experiences of “wilderness” nature. Following Lifton's (1995: 4) analysis of mass practices of nature as social texts that contribute to the construction of self and culture, other and nature, the particular camping summer activities appear less as experiences of nature than appropriate cultural constructions of tourist selves.

Actually, the experiences of nature in these camping sites are quite normative, in the sense that people anticipate the provision of certain modern facilities by camping sites, as they make their choice of a campsite on the basis of the provided amenities, considering those, as well as the

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<sup>8</sup> The camping guide “CAMPINGGREECE”,  
[http://www.campinggreece.gr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=61%3Akassandra-and-sithonia&catid=36%3Aregion-a&Itemid=34&lang=en](http://www.campinggreece.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61%3Akassandra-and-sithonia&catid=36%3Aregion-a&Itemid=34&lang=en).

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.campsite.gr/campsite/index.php/2013-02-16-10-47-01>.



particular forms of entertainment indispensable to the experience of vacationing in nature.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the creation of camping experiences that are communicated and represented in the words and images of available narrative genres participate in the production of the particular vacationsapes, which Löfgren (1999: 98) described as “the interaction between certain landscape characteristics, mindsets, and tourist technologies of movement and representation ...”.

### ***Natural, Family, or Youth Campsite?***

One of the first (if not the first) campsites in Sithonia, that of *Mylos*,<sup>11</sup> was established as early as 1964 between Metamorphosis and Nikiti<sup>12</sup>. Camping *Lacara* was the next to be founded in 1969 by people who were originally customers of Mylos in an area that was at the time totally undeveloped. Those first owners of Lacara were described by an informant as outdoorsy nature-lovers, whose main interest was to build a campsite “*where people would sleep under the plane trees in nature*”. The owners constructed prefabricated sheds which they installed under the plane trees, so that customers would be able to truly experience living in a “*natural*” environment as much as possible. Interestingly, this decision of the owners constituted a conscious on their part violation of the law that designated the particular piece as forest land, since the particular law prohibited-s any kind of construction on all forest lands as the only way to protect forests from being destroyed.

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<sup>10</sup> Lifton approaches ‘love of nature’ as practice that partakes of many social institutions; he considers that in an ironic way it has come to mean participation in socially defined cultural activities, the actual experience of nature being a product of culture. He thus views these activities as social texts (1995: xv).

<sup>11</sup> It is also known by its first owner’s name “at Vidalis”.

<sup>12</sup> After years of misoperating, it eventually closed approximately 10 years ago. There are rumors that it will soon reopen but in a totally different form.



**Figure 3.: Picture of the current bamboohuts at camping Lacara**  
source: <http://www.lacaracamping.gr/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/DSC0794.jpg>

The expansion of camping practices not so much by non-Greeks as by Greeks mostly from the 1980s onwards, having reached a peak in 2011, led to the establishment of several campsites on Sithonia's coastal line. Key factor to this development were the environmental restrictions that prohibited those areas from getting densely built, but allowed for the small scale constructions of campsites. Gradually, the emergence of different campsites started also to attract different types of clientele, a development in no case unique to Sithonia's campsites. Löfgren (1999: 130) had earlier remarked something similar for Sweden from the 1950s onwards. As he put it, the boom in early motorized tourism was followed by the gradual differentiation of camping sites, many of which aimed for a family clientele and others for the party-seeking youth<sup>13</sup>.

In a similar fashion but later, campsites in Sithonia differentiated themselves on the basis of various criteria. Some campsites emphasized a more "natural" state of being, others—the majority—a more easy-going but well-ordered middle-class everyday life, whereas others put

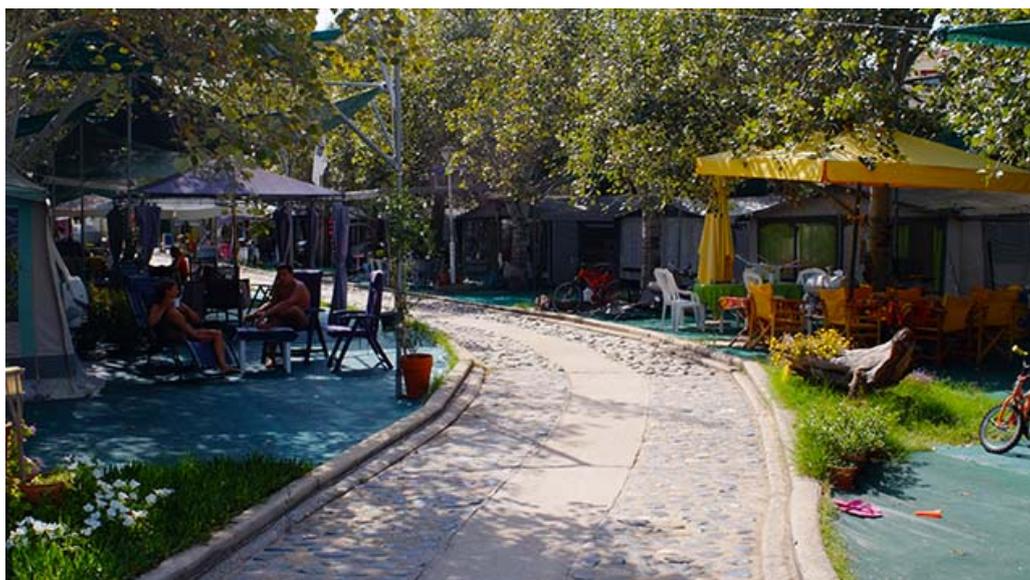
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<sup>13</sup> Löfgren (1999: 130) also noted that 'wild camping' came to denote improvised sites and the uncontrollable youth life that lived on the margins of the tourist landscape, about which the media reported shock stories through the 1960s and into the 1980s.



emphasis on providing a relaxed vacation lifestyle, targeting less to families and more to youths who looked for day and night entertainment. One should not consider, however, that residing on one or the other campsite automatically corresponds to absolutely different types of clientele. The “grammar of landscape experiences” (Löfgren 1999: 99) in Sithonia’s campsites includes many different forms of “taking in a landscape”, that be it nature, a well-ordered and easy-going everyday life, or youth entertainment in their various manifestations, or, as Löfgren put it, “to traverse it, pass through it or past it, to dwell in it, sense it, be part of it, or balance at a viewpoint and watch it unfold in front of us” (1999: 99).

Lacara, one of the first campsites in Sithonia that was mentioned before, was and is a campsite of the sort that emphasizes living as close to nature as possible, a feature that is also indicated by the use of mostly natural materials, like cane and wood, for its steady accommodation constructions. Both its old and new owners stated clearly the importance of constructing a campsite in an arboreal landscape, “*one of the greenest campsites*”, as somebody called it. In this case the term “*green*” ambiguously alludes to both the tree habitat of the campsite that offers “*nature*” and “*coolness*” in the hot Greek summer, but also to the environmental consciousness assumed to be shared by owners and customers alike. Asphalt roads inside the camp are limited, shading is mostly natural from the tall trees, and its customers are “*a particular kind of people*”, “*the people of nature*”, who are put in contrast to those “*who cannot stand the dust and want the hotel*”.



**Figure 4.: Camping Mytari**  
source: <http://www.mitari.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/kanonismos-featured.jpg>



*Mytari*, on the other hand, is a campsite that tries really hard to provide the perfect environment for an easy going, but always well-ordered middle-class everyday vacation life. In the more “family-oriented” campsites of this sort, everyday life is constituted to a large degree as replica of vacation life in privately owned summer homes, only that everyday social conventions shrink in “size”, but do not disappear. A youth, day and night entertainment campsite is that of *Armenistis*, or at least how it developed and expanded in the course of the (circa) 20 years of its existence. While it started as a campsite that hosted a more “alternative” laidback youth culture, clearly signified by the trademark image of the Stone Age caveman with the club, who in the very early days of the campsite also used to hold a huge joint, it has become an extremely popular campsite for all those youths who look for night entertainment.



Figure 5.: Opening picture to Armenistis’ “Programme of events”

source: [http://www.armenistis.com.gr/images/stories/home\\_banners/232x147xarmenistis\\_ekdiloseis.jpg.pagespeed.ic.8ABa2sEhjl.jpg](http://www.armenistis.com.gr/images/stories/home_banners/232x147xarmenistis_ekdiloseis.jpg.pagespeed.ic.8ABa2sEhjl.jpg)

Nonetheless, regardless of the “type” of campsite and no matter whether in a large tent, trailer or camper, with or without children, most campsite customers seem to consider modern amenities an absolute necessity to be provided by or carried in a campsite. Beds, tables and chairs, coffee machines, TV sets, and many other things are to be commonly found in camping lodgings, while often, if not always, all that is outside the lodgings is set on a plastic floor laid ahead the tent or the camper to prevent soil from turning into dust in the “home” environment, to keep insects out of the lodgings, constructing a perception of nature that includes a visual perception of its flora but not its fauna.



Figure 6.: source: <http://vourvourou.blogspot.gr/2015/02/camping-rea.html>

Even more, some surround this summer home-place by setting around their “yard” a small picket fence, in some cases even (with) flower pots. Someone described this type of vacationing that he, his wife and their son experience as “*relaxed*”, one that:

*“builds a shared but separate everyday life with people one may not see during the rest of the year, but there you live next to each other with the relaxation and easygoing sociality that summer time and a camping environment provides”.*

In all campsites, people emphasized that the contemporary campsite clients are mostly family people, as there “*they get to be ‘parees’ [i.e., groups of friends] and kids play carelessly*”. “*In the camping site the child re-lives the neighborhood, the village, all that it misses*”, somebody remarked, idealizing a past experience that contemporary kids have not had to be able to miss.

At the same time, while mostly a youth campsite, Armenistis also targets a wider clientele by providing daily activities and animation for children and adults alike, as well as by organizing artistic, sporting and musical events.<sup>14</sup> Most other campsites in comparison, like *Isa* at Tristinika that was established in 1987, are more family oriented, the lack of emphasis on night entertainment being sufficient reason for negative comments by some youth.

*“Personally, I did not like the camping site at all. ... Unbelievably many mosquitoes, quiet and family oriented, I would say (for some this is a plus), but expensive, since it has the same prices as Armenistis, which, I think, is far superior. If I went back again it would be just because I liked Tristinika [the beach] and the bar Ethnic. But if one wants to stay on that side of Sithonia, s/he wouldn’t have the options offered on the other side.. thus ..”*<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Important part of the events is the Seawave Festival.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.e-camping.gr/component/jreviews/?url=discussions/review/id:5301>



A perception of life in a campsite similar to the above was expressed on a blogpost, where the author criticized the possibility that campsite Lacara might at the time change not only owners, but also target a different camping style and clientele:

*“The campsite itself is a family camping with kids and families and it is heard that he intends to upgrade it (which is apparent in the last 3 years, [there are] gradual attempts) and to convert it into a youth campsite, Armenistis style, etc. It was also heard last year that he was going to shut it down and in its place (after uprooting trees and plants, thus destroying the unique scenery and the unique natural beauty that the 2<sup>nd</sup> leg is famous for) build rooms, pools and small hotels. .... It [already] started with the entrance filled with rubble and the “serious company” ..... This was our preferred camping for my parents for more than 20 years, to go there to calm down from the hard pace and the pressure of a difficult year and probably that will also be destroyed and we should look elsewhere ....Pity, however, if it is for the beautiful second leg to become like the first, where the slightest free part of green was burned down and filled with hotels, with the result, beyond the Balkan and the Russian tourists, no Greek dares to set foot [there].”<sup>16</sup>*

### ***Campsite Web Photographs***

Website photographs of campsites in Sithonia portray all that constitutes campsite commodities. These pictures are a mixture of photographic “genres”, as they portray both the campsites’ natural landscapes and the provided facilities (types of accommodation, bars, restaurants, etc.); both of these “genres” attribute visual worth to what is to be marketed, which actually already exist as market products. Facilities, accommodation and nature thus become realized as commercial images in websites. The sites’ photographs produce an idealized version of living in nature, a utopian myth which includes, however, elements that signify the absolute necessity and inevitability of “culture”, i.e. modernity.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://troktiko.blogspot.gr/2010/06/camping-lacara.html>.



Figure 7.: source: <http://www.portoelea.com/upload/gallery/20.jpg>

The iconography of ‘nature’ in all campsite websites is quite telling. In all cases the photographs portray picturesque landscapes with trees, beaches, the sun, the sea, etc., sometimes incorporating humans as they enjoy ‘nature’, sometimes not; they also portray all the cultural imageries that concern the provided accommodation and facilities. The beach is pristine and deep or green blue, but there are also sunbeds with people lying on them, the sand is thick and white, but there are also people in their bathing suits that play beach volley or a version of beach paddle racquet tennis. Such images of nature are accompanied by photographs of available accommodation and facilities, as well as people involved in all aspects of everyday activities; eating, swimming, sitting in front of the tent, the camper, etc. with friends, but also doing any of the available forms of entertainment. These photographs provide a very specific visual substance to the ideal of vacationing in a camp site.

One can also notice in the photographs differences amongst campsites with regards to the ways of transforming the “natural” environment into the more “cultural” of a camping site. In that direction websites include pictures of the provided landscaped spaces for tents and campers, all of which, whether more or less methodically designed, are combined with pictures of the asphalt or dirt roads in the campsites, the prefabricated tent or natural shading systems, the bars and the restaurants, the mini-markets, the showers and the toilets, etc. All those pictures target to provide an attractive image of the provision of the necessary facilities and technological amenities for customers. At the same time, however, there are also more or less unintentional messages included in the pictures.



Figure 8.: source: <http://www.iza.gr/images/igallery/resized/1-100/05-3-800-600-80.jpg>

While it has been noted that, on the one hand, photographers often remove undesired objects from photographs<sup>17</sup> (Kalantzis 2014: 61) and, on the other, photography often captures features unintended by the photographer<sup>18</sup> (Kalantzis 2014: 64), in the particular campsite web photographs it is hard to discern whether the inclusion of the particular elements was intended or not. In the majority of the photographs of the camps cars are shown, often parked right next to the tents or the campers. Whether the message is that cars are allowed into the provided camping slots, or the photographer just “missed to see” them when taking the photos, cars feature as certainty, their physical presence as a non-negotiable part of campsites’ cultured nature.

### ***Conclusion: Nature or Culture in Camping Sites?***

The attempt to comprehend experiences of nature in camping sites in Sithonia shows a perception of nature not so much as a state of things, as an aesthetic category that is both

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<sup>17</sup> The undesired objects are symbols of modernity, the removal of which, however, adjoins the constructed picturesque underdevelopment with averted modernity.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Benjamin termed those as the “tiny spark of contingency” (1999: 510 cited by Kalantzis 2014: 64).



experienced in camping sites and visible in their websites. Nature commonly opposing culture does, however, incorporate it, as its consumers are by definition “cultured”. Nature seems like a “container” the essence of which is not affected or diversified by the introduction of technological modernity (e.g., cars) in the “natural” landscape. Nature can also be with and without people, its campsite web discourses mythologizing and essentializing it as a state of being that is just there, regardless of how people actually reside in the camping site. This imaginary of nature is thus a commodity and not a utopian state the unconditional experience of which is to be sought.



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### ***Brief CV***

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