

approach instead of, or at least as a supplement to a land-based approach. It deals with how people past and present related to, dealt and deal with this 'sea of seas'. The sea-focus serves to counteract the terra-centrism of the vast majority of Mediterranean studies. Chapters include the connecting sea with special reference to transport of people, goods, meanings, ideas, travel, warfare, piracy, and trade. There is a chapter on amphibian towns as hubs in networks, symbiosis of sea and urban space, porosity as a vital condition, anti-structure, the maritime port as cradle of globalization and Mediterranean 'cosmopolitanism'. We have the dividing, devouring sea, the unpredictable sea of migrants, seamen and fishermen. There is of course the benevolent sea of tourists and the false image of the feeding sea, most fishermen always having to combine fishing with other ways of making a living. And a final chapter on imagining the Middle Sea with sections on painting and poetry, songs and filmmaking, a sea that has become an inseparable part of Western civilization with image-creating icons such as Dali and Fellini, Renoir and Kafavis.

The Mediterranean is indeed thousand fascinating things at the same time. It is an area and a sea that invites multi-disciplinary research and should be part of a truly global anthropology.

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SOUTHERN QUESTIONS IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE

• ANNA-MARIA TAPANINEN •

The title above refers to the questions raised in/about the anthropological study of Mediterranean Europe. Browsing through the literature, one could easily get the impression that Mediterranean anthropology peaked at the time of its formation (from the 1950's into the 1970's), soon became an easy object of intense epistemological and political criticism of 'Mediterraneanism' (in the 1980's) and was then practically replaced by the topical anthropology of Europe (in the 1990's). The anthropology of Europe was in fact partly

legitimated by the obvious problems of Mediterranean anthropology (see Goddard 1994). The situating of Southern Europe within the ethnographic area called the Mediterranean was a dubious statement in itself, it turned out. In the new political situation, the northern shores of the Mediterranean gained new significance as the borders of the European Union or as the 'EU Mediterranean'. I was surprised—and somewhat pleased, I must admit—to encounter the recent revival of Mediterranean anthropology (see e.g. Blok and Albera 2001). In what follows, I will discuss the reasons for this resurgence in interest by raising a number of further questions.

The genealogy sketched above would look quite different if the perspectives were opened up from the southern shores of the sea, from the perspective of the Middle East or northern Africa. The protagonists in the earlier discussions were British and American researchers working on the European side of the basin and discussing the ecological, political and, most of all, cultural unity of the circum-Mediterranean. For them the ethnographic area of the Mediterranean may have given some credibility and legitimacy in a field known as the study of the exotic. In addition, they focused on the value of intensive field method, mostly in rural communities, and pursued (at least implicit) comparisons within the vaguely defined (or imagined) region as a whole. They did not think of themselves as Europeanists, and mostly did not seek historical data despite the rich resources potentially at hand. It is also quite significant that the discussions were Anglophone; the traditions of 'native' studies of folklore and ethnology were mostly glossed over or ignored. There is little room for other intellectual traditions in the genealogy sketched above.

At the level of generalizations, both 'intra-regional' and more encompassing, the single most prominent *topos* that is singled out is 'honour and shame', a curious coupling-cum-antinomy, seen as a 'code', 'syndrome' or 'complex' that would give cultural unity to the region despite religious differences, for example. As the pioneers tended to see the values of honour and shame as an integral part of small-scale societies—in the structural-functionalist vein—later on it was quite easy to argue that they had ignored cultural complexity and contradictions and cancelled the position of Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal as European countries, past and present. It was this notion that was easily branded as an exoticizing construct. English-language glosses of the terminology may give the impression of a general, structural dualism in a misleading way—and maybe have the connotation of a relic of premodern times. Furthermore, with the harsh criticism that followed the consolidation, the idioms were retrospectively reified further, to the point where they bordered on caricatures.

In the ethnographic corpus, the currents and potentials are more complex. The riches of description bring into view the dynamics of everyday life instead of the rigidity of rules. According to Michael Herzfeld (1987: 64) the honour-shame antinomy could be replaced by the antinomy of self-concealment and self-display, and similar reformulations were suggested by others. Coombe (1990: 231), for example, in her revisionist reading, conceives honour "as a repertoire of available symbolic resources put to use in significant practices or as an ever-transforming structure that is emergent in performance". These views bring to the fore the nuances of encounters and practices, often in dramaturgical tones. While they may seem further instances of southern exotica described from a northerly perspective, in my view this kind of sensitivity to detail is the foundation of fieldwork—and part of the 'imponderabilia of actual life' that ethnographic interpretations are made of. Moreover, many of the themes examined were at least potentially avant-garde: gender, sexuality,

embodiment, practices and performances in contexts saturated by history and the weight of precedent. In short, may there still be some ethnographic potential in the ‘Mediterraneanization’ of southern Europe—to paraphrase Henk Driessen (this Forum)—that does not see the obvious economic, geo-political and religious differences between the shores and nation-states as insurmountable obstacles?

The ‘Southern Question’

Europe ends at Naples and ends there quite badly. Calabria, Sicily, and the rest belong to Africa. (Augustin Creuzé de Lesser 1806, cited in Moe 2002: 37)

The title of this paper has another, more specific meaning: it refers to the Italian ‘Southern Question’, or the “forceful rhetoric of North versus South [that became] an everyday symbolic geography for northerners and southerners alike” (Schneider 1998: 1). In many ways, the South (or *Mezzogiorno*) has been represented either as an integral part of the Mediterranean world or as a liminal world, rather than a part of Europe. Economic underdevelopment has been—and still is—coupled with political deficits (like corruption and organized crime) and cultural backwardness (like archaic gender roles and an obsession with honour).

The Southern Question has patterned the views on the south of Italy since Unification (1861). This *topos* does not derive only from the way problems were faced by the new European kingdom, however. It had been a European question before that, sometimes encompassing the whole of Italy. This discourse gained momentum in the era of nationalism and colonialism. Grand Tour travellers were fascinated by the remains of the glorious, sanctified past and by Mediterranean ‘Nature’, but these images also gave rise to—or, actually, necessitated—a counter-image: the denigration and decadence of the present, a savage social world that was compared to the Orient or Africa.

Naples, the former capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the most populous of Italian cities, was part of the problem. The predicament of the city was condensed in a wide-spread idiom: Naples was said to be a ‘paradise inhabited by devils’. Nowadays, the contradictions are exceedingly sharp in Naples, in ‘the capital of North Africa’ (see Ruckenstein, this Forum).

Because of the problems continuously highlighted, the geographic names denoting the southern location in a seemingly neutral way (*Mezzogiorno*, *Italia meridionale*) were and are still used also as pejoratives. Bevilacqua (1993: ix) points out that the south of Italy is known in the Anglophone press as “*the Mezzogiorno*, that is, not as a specific geographic and social reality, but as a negative embodiment of a problem, an obscure problem, almost a social disease in front of which to express a sentiment of moral disapproval.” For Neapolitans the terms *meridionali* and *italiani* (Italians) are often synonymous, but the first has a different tone. “Here we are more *meridionali* [than you, the northerners]”, a Neapolitan woman once said to me, “we live in the midst of criminals and drug addicts.” The language readily used in these kinds of incidental encounters is intriguing; people apply terms like *ignoranza*, *arretratezza* (backwardness), *civiltà* and *cultura* even when they have little schooling and consequently speak standard Italian uncertainly.

In Italy and Greece, the two lands that are seen as the cradles of Western civilization, the ambiguous imagery is still current. Michael Herzfeld (1995) has described the dilemma of

the Greeks as everyday forms of “practical orientalism” and “practical occidentalism”. For Jane Schneider (1998), the Southern Question is a form of “neo-orientalism within one country”. These views give a different perspective on the perils of orientalism; it is surely not only about scholarship and epistemology. In short, people are seen and see themselves as ‘imperfect Europeans’, lacking in civilized ways of life, whose modernity can be questioned. The recent garbage crises in Naples added to this imagery. Astarita has captured the dilemmas of Neapolitans in an amusing and felicitous way in his (rather patriotic) book on the history of south Italy

Like most Neapolitans I know—and not just those who have left—I have a conflicted relationship with my hometown. Many of us are the city’s harshest critics, and yet all of us are fiercely defensive when outsiders speak ill of it, as they often do. Naples’s population density today is one of the highest in the Western world, and the city suffers from all the attendant difficulties of dirt, noise, chaos, and crime. Visitors tell us that Naples reminds them of Bombay or Cairo, and we want to remind them that we are Europeans and secretly wish someone would mistake Naples for Stockholm or Bern. (Astarita 2006: 7)

There were and are many visitors alongside anthropologists, all entrapped by the difference of the South in various conflicted ways, not to mention the natives. It is clear that neither romantic, essentializing views of otherness (as *napoletanità*) nor disparaging views of unchanging, unsolvable problems will do. Both interpretations are basically not only biased but also insulting. Luckily, the imaginary ‘Bombay’ and ‘Stockholm’ are not the only options.

At the end of his study on the historical development of the Southern Question Nelson Moe (2002: 297) writes that his “view from Vesuvius” enables one to think “from and with the south” with the “advantage of looking not only at Italy, but at bourgeois civilization, modernity, and Europe, from the Mezzogiorno”. By the same token, within the anthropology of Europe there are provocative potentials, places and perspectives, where the grand ideological rhetoric are disturbingly near to the natives’ points of view. Moreover, as anthropology has the advantage of dealing not only with representations, the potentials are manifold. Finally, the anthropology of Europe may be just as questionable as the anthropology of the Mediterranean, for comparisons are more unruly, they do not have to obey geo-political boundaries.

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TOURISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

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Anthropologists working in the field of tourism and the environment in the Mediterranean might well observe that one of the least helpful consequences of the mountain of 'tourism studies' produced over the past two decades by varieties of social scientists, 'management' specialists, and others of no fixed disciplinary abode, has been the tendency uncritically to focus on 'tourism' as an undifferentiated category of cultural, social, and economic activity that has identifiable social and environmental 'impacts'. But it is doubtful that the generic term 'tourism' has much, if any, descriptive or analytical value. Mass charter tourists using resorts, hotels, restaurants, airports, coaches, and so on, and independent travellers using bed and breakfast accommodation may both be 'tourists' but not only are they very different kinds of tourist but also the social and environmental implications of their activities are also clearly very different. Pilgrims, mountaineers and art connoisseurs may well all be 'tourists' too but the activities with which they are associated have quite different relationships with the societies and environments in which they are found. More importantly, a fixation on 'tourists' tends to simplify social and economic landscapes in ways that positively distort understanding of the locations in which they are embedded.

The best route to the understanding of the role of tourists and tourism in relation to the environment in the Mediterranean, or anywhere else, is to get away from 'tourism studies' altogether and relocate the field into more familiar if also more complex ethnographic spaces. The most effective descriptions and analyses of Mediterranean tourism and environment have been those that have focussed on wider and more general politico-economic and socio-cultural structures and processes in definable territories—from villages to the region as a whole and all points in between.

As for the 'environment', our focus needs to be on rural and urban fabrics that are at once products of, are shaped by, and shape human actions and processes, for, as Papayannis