

# Tourism and the Authenticity of Intangible Cultural Heritage:

## Heritage:

*Community Perspectives of Ceramic Craft in Margarites, Crete*



*A pottery shop in Margarites. Author's photograph, May 2023.*

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## Preface

During my time in Crete, one question repeatedly came up: *why are you in Margarites?* I would dutifully explain the premise of my research into tourism and authenticity and my connection with the Geopark. People would smile, nod thoughtfully, and then ask the inevitable follow up: *so, you are here to learn how to make ceramics?* In truth, the only ceramic I had ever made before visiting Margarites was during my year 8 art class, and it exploded in the kiln. But whilst I am hardly a gifted craftsperson, I do have a childhood interest in cultural heritage, and when a mutual connection suggested I visit Psiloritis Geopark to conduct my research I was immediately drawn to the idea of researching in one of the most important pottery centres in Europe. The idea that ceramicists have practiced in the area since neolithic times struck me as incredibly inspiring, and the experience of throwing my own bowl (however misshapen) in a place with such a rich cultural history helped me understand why every Margaritan I spoke to assumed I was studying to become a potter... because where else could be better to learn?

The process of writing this thesis (particularly my time in Crete) has helped me develop some valuable life skills, including but not limited to: perseverance, resilience, hospitality, kindness, and, perhaps most importantly, how pursue your passion with courage and respect. These lessons I learned from a host of people who supported me throughout the writing process, without whom this research would not have been possible. First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Huib Ernste for his guidance throughout each stage of my thesis process. Thanks also to my supervisors Maria Kolendrianou and Charalampos Fassoulas at Psiloritis UNESCO Global Geopark who offered me this valuable research internship, welcomed me into their territory, and supported me so well during my time in Crete. Special thanks also to Maria Padouva, who kindly donated her time and expertise interpreting for me. Finally, I would like to offer my most heartfelt thanks to all the members of the Margarites community, some of whom participated in this study and were instrumental in co-creating the knowledge emerging from it, and the rest whose friendly, welcoming, and generous attitudes made conducting my research in Crete such an enjoyable experience. Ευχαριστώ πολύ!

I will end this preface on a quote by Margaritan ceramicist Kalogeros which to me encapsulates the perseverance, passion, respect and kindness of the Margarites community:

*“This is where we live and this is where we love, the place we were born into, and this is where we want – all of us of course... for this place to do well.”*

As they say about Margarites: once you visit, you will always return. I’ve had a taste now, and one month is hardly enough. Until next time.

## Abstract

Crete is one of the most popular European tourism destinations, in part due to its rich culture. Growing numbers of tourists daytrip to Margarites village to experience its intangible cultural heritage (ICH) of ceramic craftsmanship, placing pressure on community members to meet demand for authentic cultural outputs. Significant research gaps exist for studies into community perceptions of the relationship between tourism and ICH authenticity. This study utilises a qualitative approach involving interviews and auto-photography to investigate the impacts of tourism on the perceptions and practices of Margarites community members regarding the authenticity of their ICH.

This study adopts an interpretivist approach to authenticity that integrates constructionist and existentialist thinking. It concludes that Margarites community members acknowledge numerous, diverse, and simultaneously operating interpretations of authenticity in a mosaic of interlocking place- and people-related elements. Although intra-community tensions arise between practitioners with conflicting values and approaches to authenticity, tourism demand sustains local ceramic craftsmanship and stimulates cultural revival by making practicing ICH economically viable. Concerns arise regarding the long-term authenticity of ICH due to lack of collaboration and generational knowledge transfer among ceramicists. The study findings could inform local tourism management to preserve the authenticity of ICH through culturally sustainable tourism practices.

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# Chapter 1. Introduction & Research Questions

## 1.1 Background

Pottery is among humanity's most enduring crafts, and for thousands of years has possessed functional, spiritual, artistic, aesthetic and educational value in everyday life (Moorey, 2020). Pottery craftsmanship may be defined as the form of production and social organisation behind the crafting process, and it provides a material basis for symbolism of the traditions, lifestyles, beliefs, and values of the culture in which the ceramic is produced (Emeafor & Eze-Uzomaka, 2018). For many communities around the world, pottery craftsmanship possesses high cultural value and represents an important form of intangible cultural heritage. The term intangible cultural heritage (ICH) was conceived by UNESCO in their 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which invited state parties to identify and describe "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage". ICH includes practices as varied as languages, performing arts, sports, festive events, rituals, and traditional crafts, which are constantly recreated by a community through their interactions with their history and environment (UNESCO, 2003). ICH provides its practitioners with a sense of identity that may be transmitted between generations, and as such may be used to facilitate sustainable community development at heritage sites (Qiu et al., 2022).

The concept of intangible cultural heritage complements traditional understandings of heritage as tangible and material (e.g., historic buildings and monuments), which until recently dominated heritage scholarship and planning (Esfehani & Albrecht, 2019). Over the last two decades, tourism scholarship has increasingly shifted its focus from considering the authenticity of static cultural objects towards more dynamic and intangible cultural settings (Rickly, 2022). However, these divisions between tangible and intangible heritage are increasingly recognised as intertwined, since "any tangible culture must be supported by intangible value, and any intangible culture must rely on the tangible to be visualised" (Yuan, 2008, p. 8). In other words, the concept of ICH encompasses both the knowledges and skills required to practice ceramic craft and the tangible ceramics through which these knowledges and skills are practiced (Qiu et al., 2022). Today, governments around the world compete to have their countries' ICH ratified by UNESCO on official lists, which for Greece include the Mediterranean diet, marble craftsmanship, musical cultivation skills, and dry-stone walling techniques<sup>1</sup>. Although ceramic craftsmanship is not (to date) ratified as an official form of Greek ICH, the millennia-old importance of ceramic production in shaping Greek cultural heritage, identity, (and, more recently, cultural tourism practices) justifies considerations of Cretan pottery craft as a form of ICH (Aykan, 2015).

In recent decades, tourists have become increasingly interested in visiting culturally rich destinations, and the subsequent and dramatic growth of the global cultural tourism industry has positioned ICH as one of the most important elements in contemporary tourism practices (Castillo-Villar & Merlo-Simoni, 2022). It is well documented that tourism may socio-economically and culturally benefit host communities by generating increased demand for ICH products and so helping preserve traditional practices that would otherwise disappear (e.g., Khanom et al., 2019; Oueslati & Slimene, 2022; Panikkaveettil et al., 2020; Su et al. 2020a; Zhou et al., 2015). Conversely, cultural commodification is also argued to cause the standardisation of tourism destinations, which erodes the authenticity of traditional cultural practices and weakens local identity (e.g., Montero, 2020; Ranwa, 2022; Ritzer,

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<sup>1</sup> See UNESCO (2023) for a complete list.

1993; Sun, 2011). For Margarites village in Crete, tourist demand for ceramic products provides a source of income that protects and preserves heritage crafts and facilitates community development (Bakas, 2014). However, rising numbers of visitors to the village in recent years are beginning to increase the pressure on ceramic craftspeople to meet growing tourist demand, and community members are becoming increasingly concerned about the authenticity of the ceramic craft practiced there.

These concerns are particularly important given the growing international demand for ‘authentic’ cultural heritage, both from tourists seeking learning opportunities and emotional connections to the places they visit, and from host communities who wish to preserve, protect, and share their ICH on their own terms (Kim et al., 2019). Despite this demand for authenticity, the concept remains highly contested in tourism and heritage literature, and numerous scholars have attempted to categorise approaches to authenticity with mixed success (Chhabra, 2019). The most widely accepted is Wang’s (1999) categorisation of objective, constructive, and existential approaches to authenticity, in which *objective* approaches impose a binary distinction between authentic and inauthentic objects; *constructive* approaches view authenticity as subjective; and *existential* approaches extend this subjectivity by placing value on people’s experiences rather than cultural objects. This empirical study utilises qualitative techniques to integrate constructive and existential approaches to authenticity into a novel conceptual framework. This framework is used to investigate host community perceptions into the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of pottery craftsmanship in Margarites village.

## 1.2 Importance of Research

### 1.2.1 Societal Relevance

As the inheritors and interpreters of ICH, host communities are responsible for defining, reproducing and adapting authenticity at their tourism destination, and so are widely recognised as crucial to ICH management (Zhou et al., 2015). As the Nara Document on Authenticity states: “responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it” (ICOMOS, 1994, p. 46). However, ICH practitioners are seldom implemented into tourism decision-making processes, reducing the effectiveness of resultant management strategies (Stefano et al., 2014). This neglect of actors was identified on Crete two decades ago by Briassoulis (2003, p. 110), who listed “local control and participation in development and tourism decision making” as a key criteria of sustainable tourism development, but criticised strategies at that time as “problematic”.

Twenty years later, rising tourist numbers are placing growing pressure on the Margarites community, and ICH practitioners are increasingly concerned with protecting the authenticity of their ceramic craft in the face of rapidly growing demand. By providing the Margarites community an opportunity to voice their opinions, experiences, and values regarding the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of their ICH, this research will inform recommendations to Psiloritis UNESCO Global Geopark (hereafter Psiloritis UGGp) as to how it can better contribute to the socio-economic and cultural sustainability of future tourism developments to benefit local communities and future visitors (Kim et al., 2019). This goal aligns with key organisational aims of Psiloritis UGGp, which under UNESCO guidelines must ensure that “living local culture [...] receives significant consideration in tourism planning and policy making” (Esfehani & Albrecht, 2019, p. 986). Cultural sustainability is especially crucial for Margarites given that it is one of only two remaining ceramic centres in Crete, and the only one producing ceramics of its kind (Bakas, 2014). The implications of failing to protect ceramic craft in Margarites thus extend far beyond the village to encompass the partial loss of a rich Cretan pottery heritage dating back 3,000 years (Moorey, 2020).

### 1.2.2 Scientific Relevance

Tourism scholarship predominantly focuses on understanding the authenticity of ceramic ICH for its potential to facilitate insights into tourist travel motivations, behaviours and experiences and so act as a strategic guiding resource for destination management (e.g., Chang et al., 2014; Hung et al., 2016). Although there is also a significant body of research investigating the impacts of tourism on the ceramic ICH of countries including Portugal (Ferreira et al., 2021), Romania (Petroman et al., 2014), Egypt (Elkasrawy, 2020), Indonesia (Gustami et al., 2014), Thailand (Cohen, 1993), Mexico (Revilla & Dodd, 2003), and the US (Littrell et al., 1993), the vast majority of these studies focus on understanding ICH authenticity from tourists' perspectives (i.e., how do tourists perceive authentic ceramics, and how are they involved in processes of authentication?) to the exclusion of host communities. No studies into the nexus of tourism, authenticity and ceramic ICH have been conducted in a Greek context. When stories of host communities involved with ICH production *are* told in academic contexts, they are often framed in terms of exploitation, cultural erosion, and loss of authenticity, implying a passive response to diminishing authenticity that Canessa (2012, p. 114) critiques when arguing that "there is a dynamism and agency on the part of these people that does not often come across in tourism studies. These men and women are actively making their lives". This research gap is especially important given that host communities are widely considered to be the primary stakeholders in ICH authentication processes (e.g., Stefano et al., 2014; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Zhou et al., 2015). Consequently, Guerra et al. (2022) argue that there is considerable space for studies highlighting how host community perceptions of ICH authenticity may be used to preserve and share it. Cohen and Cohen (2012) and Khanom et al. (2019) similarly call for deeper investigations into the factors influencing host perceptions and practices of authentication using inductive qualitative methods.

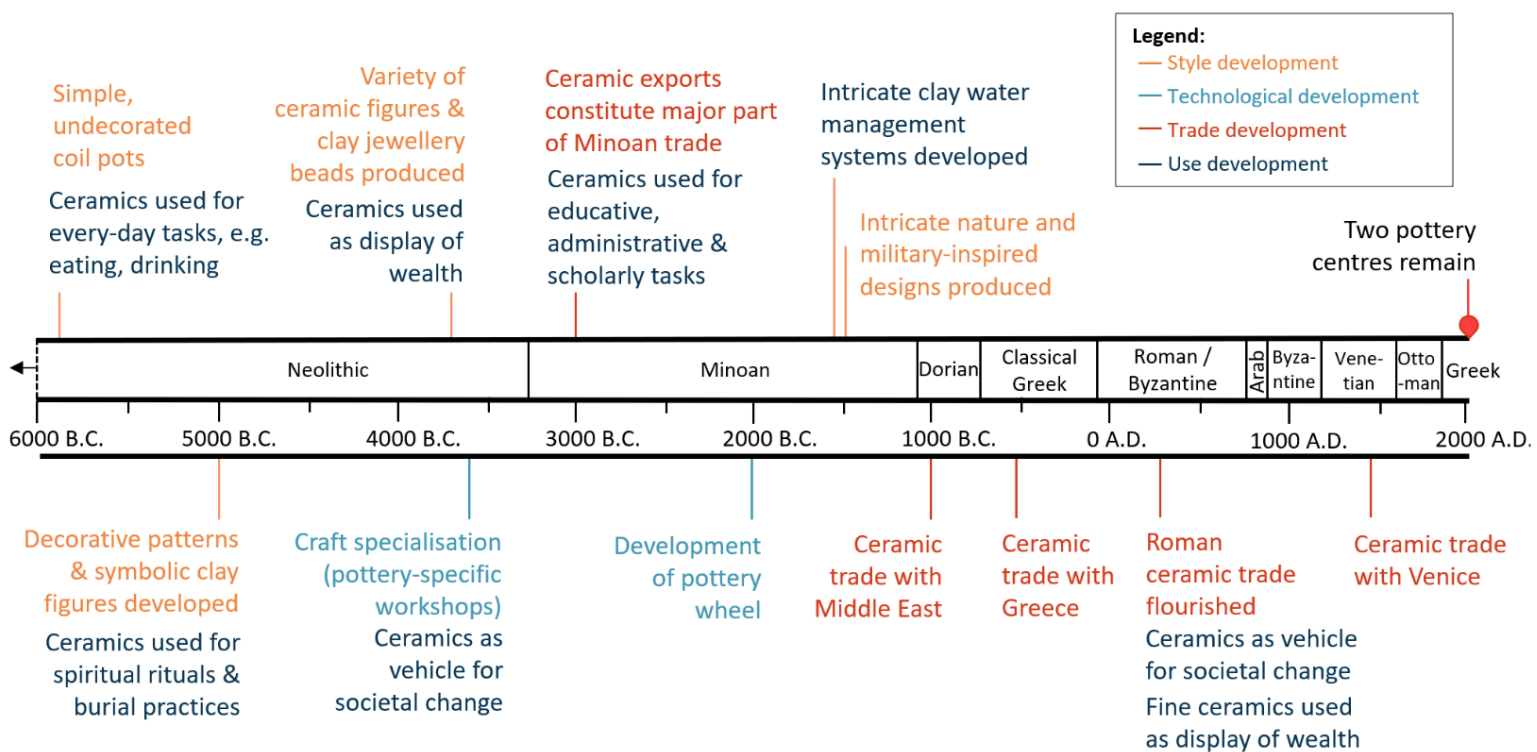
Additionally, Cole (2007) and Wall and Xie (2005) argue that scholarship should move away from attempting to further categorise the concept of authenticity to instead focus on understanding how authenticity is articulated and by whom. Although this research gap was identified over 15 years ago, scholars have remained somewhat fixated on attempts to (re)define authenticity, and in their recent review of authenticity in tourism literature Rickly (2022) similarly calls for increased focus on the question "what does authenticity *do*?" (p. 25, emphasis in original). By investigating host community perceptions into the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of ceramic crafting ICH in Margarites, this study therefore aims to address three main research gaps: a) a neglect of host community perspectives into processes of defining, managing and practicing authentic ICH; b) a lack of studies into ICH authenticity (ceramic or otherwise) in a Cretan context; and c) a lack of studies into ICH authenticity that consider not just what authentic ICH *is*, but what how it is *made* and what this *means*.

### 1.3 The Cretan Context

Crete is the largest Greek island, and the fifth largest in the Mediterranean. It boasts a rich history of successive civilisations dating back to the Middle Paleolithic age in 128,000 B.C, and was the home to the first advanced European civilisation, the Minoans, between 2,700-1,420 B.C (Parthenios & Patsavos, 2012). Crete is also the source of Classical Greek mythologies including the Minotaur's labyrinth at Knossos and birthplace of Zeus at Ideon Cave (Parthenios & Patsavos, 2012). Today, the rich cultural history of the island, coupled with its mountainous scenery, 1040km-long coastline, and mild climate, are major tourism drivers to the region (Briassoulis, 2003).

### 1.3.1 Cretan Ceramics

Ceramics have been central to Cretan civilisation for over 8,000 years (see *Figure 1.1*). Pottery started developing on Crete during the Neolithic period with simple, undecorated designs handmade from long coils of clay baked in fires (Karetsou & Ntinou, 2013). By 5,000 B.C., clay jewellery beads and symbolic figures (mostly female deities) were increasingly produced as religious symbols, children’s toys and teaching aides (Day et al., 2010). By 3,700 B.C. there is evidence of craft specialisation, with ceramic-only workshops and specialised regional products depending on local clay composition (Moorey, 2020). Ceramic trade between producers and non-producers within and between settlements during this time played a major role in negotiating relationships of competitive hospitality which allowed individual “houses” to emerge within communities (Day et al., 2010). By 2,000 B.C., the development of the pottery wheel made building up clay easier and more accurate, and pottery became more varied and delicate, with unsurpassed use of colour for decoration (Willetts, 2013). At Knossos, water and sewage systems constructed from a network of ceramic pipes and hydraulic filters are still functional today (Erickson, 2010). Cretan trading networks have imported pottery since 1,000 B.C., first from the East, then later from other areas of modern-day Greece and Rome (Willetts, 2013). The growth in Cretan trade and the emergence of a market economy at this time instigated an agricultural revolution which heralded broader societal change as Cretan society became more individualistic, and it became popular for homeowners to show off their prized ceramics, which continued to be imported from Italy throughout the Venetian period until 1645 (Moorey, 2020).



**Figure 1.1: Timeline of Cretan Ceramics.** Not to exact scale.

Traditional Cretan ceramics are made of domestic soil and schist, a high-granularity, argyle-concentrated soil extracted from Mount Psiloritis, which is kneaded into lumps of clay before being shaped on the wheel, burnished, decorated, and kiln-fired (Mingei, 2020)<sup>2</sup>. The knowledges of where to source and how to produce the clay are traditionally passed down generationally from Master to

<sup>2</sup> See Voyatzoglou (1974) for a detailed description of the crafting process.

apprentice, and it takes over a decade to become a Master potter (Voyatzoglou, 1974). Today only two pottery centres, Margarites and Thrapsano, remain. Potters in Thrapsano predominantly make and sell large storage jars (*pithoi*) during summer months, with a team of six producing between 400 to 500 pots per season (Voyatzoglou, 1974). Potters in Margarites primarily work independently to produce smaller-scale pieces such as cups and bowls.

### 1.3.2 Cretan Tourism

Crete has attracted travellers for centuries, but prior to World War Two these primarily consisted of archaeologically or classically educated scholars fascinated by the art, history and mythology of the island (e.g., Pashley, 1837; Sieber, 1823; Spratt, 1865). An increase in the accessibility of international travel during the 1970s resulted in rapid tourism development during this period (Briassoulis, 2003). This development was largely catered to upper-class tourists seeking renowned cultural attractions, although hippies also “discovered” the island around this time and settled in caves on the south coast (Moorey, 2020). Tourism grew steadily until the 1980s, when Greece’s acceptance to the European Union (EU) in 1981 and the subsequent influx of funds to the region boosted the regional economy and facilitated further tourism development (Briassoulis, 2003). By 1981, international tourist arrivals numbered over 452,000, with 1.91% of Cretans directly employed by tourism (Briassoulis, 2003). Over the next decades the number of international tourist arrivals to Crete rose rapidly from 1.5 million visitors in 1990 to 2.5 million in 1997 and 2.8 million in 2007 (Moorey, 2020). Mass tourism prevailed as the dominant tourism type, particularly for families seeking resort holidays along the northern coastline, but alternative forms of tourism including snow-tourism, geo-tourism, eco-tourism, and wine-tourism began to gain popularity as territorial specialisation occurred (Psiloritis Geopark, 2015). By 2014 Crete welcomed 3.5 million visitors annually (Moorey, 2020). Today, tourism is a leading economic sector of the region, with a record 5.3 million visitors in 2019 directly employing 40,000 people (6.3% of the population) and bringing in 3.6 billion euros (40% of GDP) (Greece Investor Guide, 2023; Statista, 2021; Tsimelas et al., 2021). In 2017, *Time* magazine promoted Crete as the third most important place in the world to visit, and in 2019, TripAdvisor’s Traveller’s Choice awards placed Crete as fourth in both the world and Europe (Moorey, 2020; TripAdvisor, 2019). In 2022, tourism numbers are predicted to surpass pre-pandemic records, indicating a trend of increasing tourism to the region barely slowed by a global pandemic (Piotrek, 2022).

Despite its economic benefits, the Cretan tourism industry has come under increasing criticism regarding its socio-cultural sustainability (Andriotis, 2003). Briassoulis (2003, p. 110) noted that “cultural alteration, such as the loss of traditional values and authenticity, the commercialisation of culture, and attitudes that are pro-development whatever the costs, has become deeper and widespread.” Crete is ranked among the top ten most overcrowded EU tourism regions of its size, and Vourdoubas (2020) recently concluded that current levels of over-tourism will worsen present levels of economic, social, cultural and environmental degradation. Indeed, Moorey (2020, p. 187) dubs tourists “the last – to date – invaders of Crete”, with “long-term effects as far reaching as previous military invasions”. In recent years, growing awareness of this negative potential has led policy-makers to increase their efforts to harness tourism as a means to diminish regional inequalities, improve infrastructure, and preserve tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Moorey, 2020). The tentative success of such schemes illustrates the potential of tourism to provide Crete with important opportunities to develop a sustainable future (Andriotis, 2003).

## 1.4 Research Objective & Questions

The research objective for this thesis is: *to develop an understanding of how tourism impacts the perceptions and practices of Margarites community members engaging with their authentic ICH, with the aim of informing future tourism practices to ensure their cultural sustainability for the community and their authentic ICH.* To meet this objective, this study addresses the following research question: *How does tourism impact the perceptions and practices of Margaritan community members regarding the authenticity of their ceramic crafting ICH?*

To make this question more measurable, it is broken down into three sub-questions:

1. *How do Margarites community members define ‘authentic ICH’?*

This study employs an interpretivist approach to authenticity to argue that a diversity of subjective interpretations by host community members is required to arrive at an understanding of the concept (Thomsen & Vester, 2016). Understanding how community members define authenticity in relation to their ICH is crucial to later evaluate the impacts of tourism on this authenticity (Sun, 2011). This question provides a basis for the rest of the research, which addresses:

2. *How does tourism impact community perceptions of authentic ICH?*
3. *How does tourism impact community practices of authentic ICH?*

These questions constitute the main part of this research. Question two investigates how tourism impacts Margarites community perceptions of their authentic ICH, as well as the role authentic ICH plays in shaping their identities. Question three investigates how Margarites community members authenticate and authentically practice their ceramic crafting ICH. Since community perceptions and practices are intertwined and mutually affect each other, both questions are closely related, but have been separated for investigation in this study to reflect the real-world context of the community, as well as to facilitate insights into the motivations, experiences, and values behind ICH practices with the aim of better informing recommendations as to the sustainable development of future tourism practices (Guerra et al., 2022). Given the subjective nature of authenticity, impacts of tourism are not categorised as “positive” or “negative” but considered together as a balanced picture to be as representative as possible of the host community’s perceptions (Su et al., 2020a).

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Cultural Heritage & Authenticity

#### 2.1.1 Contested Authenticity

The term *authenticity* has an etymological foundation in the classical Greek period, and in everyday use refers to a personal sense of being “genuine” or “true” (Lee et al., 2021). As an academic concept, authenticity is founded in a variety of social science disciplines including history (Boorstin, 1964), sociology (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1973), and anthropology (Bruner, 1994). Cohen and Cohen’s (2012) widely-used definition of authenticity describes it as “a process by which something; a role, a product, a site, an object or an event; is confirmed as original” (p. 102).

This authentication process is complex and highly contested since the concept of authenticity involves histories, traditions, practices, and emotions that together weave a cultural narrative difficult to unpick through academic theorisation (Munjeri, 2004). The ambiguity and limitations of the concept are increasingly exposed by critics who question its usefulness and validity in cultural heritage and tourism contexts (Wang, 1999). Some post-modern scholars (e.g., Cole, 2007) have even called for the abandonment of the concept altogether, arguing that it perpetuates an outdated and harmful dichotomy between an authentic premodern and inauthentic modern. Definitions are further complicated as authenticity is continuously (re)constructed by stakeholders and the diverse socio-political contexts in which they operate (Zhu, 2012). This fluidity is evidenced by the recent shift in international interest from tangible cultural heritage (e.g., historical monuments) and scientific interpretations of authenticity (e.g., involving building materials) to more intangible cultural heritages (e.g., crafts) and people-oriented interpretations of authenticity (Kim et al., 2019). Despite criticisms, the concept of authenticity continues to be the basis upon which the value of cultural heritage is determined, and provides a valuable means of explaining and revealing the ways in which individuals consider the authenticity of objects, people, and places when forming and maintaining networks of activity (Moore et al., 2021).

Considering its usefulness, several attempts have been made to deconstruct the concept of authenticity. Getz (2013) developed a model of authenticity based on factors of community control and acceptance, cultural meanings, and tourists’ perceptions, but this has been met with lukewarm reception. Selwyn (1996) developed a more widely-used categorisation of “cool” and “hot” authenticity, in which a “cool” authentication process is based on the concept of authenticity as (genuine and original) knowledge, often carried out by external “expert” bodies and focussed on the tourist’s quest for authenticity. Conversely, a “hot” authentication process is based on the concept of authenticity as (enjoyed but fake) feeling and relates to the emotional experience of host communities rather than any external epistemological validation. Scholarship is increasingly shifting focus from cool to hot processes of authentication, although contestation remains as to which is more effective (Khanom et al., 2019). However, most research into authenticity follows Wang’s (1999) categorisation of authenticity as either *objective*, *constructive*, or *existential*, and these are discussed below.

#### 2.1.2 Objective Authenticity

Objective authenticity is a concept that emerged from museal studies of the 1970s to “test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them” (Trilling, 1972, p. 93). Modernist, essentialist, and realist scholars (e.g., Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973) are concerned with the originality and genuineness of cultural resources, arguing that authentic heritage is exclusive and cannot be recreated or imitated for consumption (Kim et al., 2019; Rickly, 2022). Objective authenticity thus differentiates between ‘genuine’ and ‘fake’

authenticity in an essentialist binary (Wesener, 2017). Under objective approaches, cultural objects are seen as having “hidden essence that could be divined through extensive research” (Moore et al., 2021, p. 5), a preoccupation with genuineness that reflects “anxieties over the credibility of existence” (Trilling, 1972, p. 93) which can be traced back to the work of Rousseau in the eighteenth century and became characteristic of the modernist era (Wang, 1999).

Objective approaches to authenticity have been heavily criticised. Postmodern scholars (e.g., Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1988; Wang, 1999) argue that neither objective reality nor absolute authentic culture exists, and objective approaches fail to capture the complexity of authenticity as a concept. As Wang (1999, p. 353) argues, “that which is judged as inauthentic or staged authenticity by experts, intellectuals, or elite may be experienced as authentic and real from an emic perspective”. Additionally, postmodern scholars (e.g., Chhabra, 2019; Guerra, et al. 2022; Kim et al., 2019; Su, 2018; Su et al. 2020a) critique objective approaches to authenticity by questioning who determines what is genuinely authentic. Cohen and Cohen (2012) argue that this privilege often falls to “individuals recognised as ‘experts’, or in certain highly formalised and institutionalised positions” (p. 1306), most often national governments or international agencies such as UNESCO. Since these top-down authentication processes underpin heritage management with political motives and entrench power relations in the decision-making process (Bruner, 1994), the authentication of objects through technical means is criticised for the ways in which it renders invisible the social interests and practices that elevate these supposedly authentic objects above those deemed inauthentic (Moore et al., 2021). In response to these shortcomings and in acknowledgement of the complex and constructivist nature of authenticity, a revisionist position of constructivism emerged (Wang, 1999).

### 2.1.3 Constructive Authenticity

Constructive (or constructionist) approaches to authenticity deconstruct the binaries characteristic of objective authenticity, to instead depend on the subjective perspective of the individual (Kim et al., 2019). Constructivism thus follows a pluralistic and relativistic epistemology based on the ontological assumption that “there is no unique ‘real world’ that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity” (Bruner, 1986, as cited in Wang, 1999, p. 354). Under constructivist approaches, authenticity is socially constructed and therefore negotiable, assuming multiple meanings depending on both the contextual situation in which it is considered, and by whom it is observed (Cole, 2007). Unlike objective authenticity, constructive authenticity is thus neither static nor inherent in an object but is rather a social process or struggle through which “competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history” (Bruner, 1994, p. 408). Critics of constructive approaches argue that their characteristic subjectivity blurs objective distinctions between originals and copies to make authentic experiences possible in the presence of either – yet fail to recognise that this is entirely the point of the constructionist approach (Moore et al., 2021).

Constructive approaches to authenticity dominated heritage literature in the 1990s, as evidenced by Bruner’s (1994) influential work defining a four-part typology of authenticity. The first two types of authenticity identified by Bruner distinguish between cultural artefacts that give the *appearance* being original and credible, and cultural artefacts that are *flawless replications* of an original. Thirdly, authenticity may relate to a cultural artefact that is *entirely original*, and fourthly, an artefact *recognised as original* by an authoritative body. Although Bruner’s categories relate to objective authenticity in that they are concerned with distinguishing original artefacts from fakes, he outlines how processes of authentication may invoke numerous subjective meanings depending on the actors involved (Wang, 1999). However, Bruner’s example of the outdoor living museum in New Salem, Illinois, highlights how both constructive and objective approaches to authenticity lend themselves to *tangible* forms of cultural heritage including historic sites and monuments, yet fall apart when

confronted with *intangible* forms of cultural heritage including knowledges, stories and crafts (Wesener, 2017). Wang (1999) therefore argues that both constructive and objective approaches to authenticity are object-related concepts that cannot account for intangible cultural experiences, and so developed the concept of existential authenticity to address these theoretical shortcomings.

#### 2.1.4 Existential Authenticity

Existential approaches to authenticity extend the pluralistic subjectivity of constructive approaches by placing value on people themselves, considering the identity, experiences, and actions of ICH practitioners rather than the resources that ICH may provide the tourism industry (Kim et al., 2019). The existential approach to authenticity is founded on a broad interpretation of postmodernism and existentialism. From this postmodern epistemological perspective, the problem of (in)authenticity that so preoccupies modernist scholars is not considered to be an issue, even to the extent that some postmodernists have deconstructed the concept so thoroughly as to have cynically “buried” it (Wang, 1999, p. 358). For example, Eco (1986) describes Disneyland as a space of “hyperreality” where distinctions between real and false are irrelevant because there is no original that can be used as reference. Although existential approaches to authenticity differ from postmodern approaches in that they do not abandon the concept entirely, both approaches acknowledge that authentication processes “involve personal or intersubjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities” (Wang, 1999, p. 351). The existential authentication process is reiterative, informal and performative, and authenticity becomes both socially constructed into multiple realities and a temporally fluid choice that people continuously make (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). This temporal fluidity is especially relevant in an ICH context since, as (Wesener, 2017, p. 141) argues, “the value of cultural heritage is not intrinsic but selectively constructed in response to the demands and meaning of the present”. Put simply, existential approaches view the reproduction or alteration of culture by host communities as authentic, because the community decides how to present their culture to others (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006).

Applied properly, the concept of existential authenticity in tourism may be understood as a feature of the (inter)action between landscapes, artefacts, actors, and tourists at a destination (Rickly-Boyd, 2012). As such, existential approaches to authenticity can provide insights into the “reciprocal negotiation” of meaningful connectedness between objects, people, and places, as well as the ways in which the authenticity of an individual (i.e., the “authentic self”) results from the negotiation of that individual’s connections with others (Moore et al., 2021). In this sense, “authenticity can be understood less as a theoretical label that denotes ‘reality’ or ‘truth’ about an object, and more as a process for embedding objects – and people – within networks of relationships” (Moore et al., 2021, p. 9).

An essential difference between the discussed approaches to authenticity is therefore that existential approaches are activity-related situations related to a potential “existential state of Being” (Wang, 1999, p. 359) – in other words, an existentially authentic experience is one that involves authentically Being. Because existential authenticity was originally devised as a framework to investigate the intrapersonal (self-identity and bodily feelings) and interpersonal (family ties and short-term friendships) dimensions of tourism experiences (Rickly, 2022), Wang (1999) neglects to account for the experiences of host community members when describing how authentic experiences unfold during the process of tourism. Nevertheless, we may infer that for ICH practitioners a state of authentically Being may be activated by ceramic crafting activities. Although *constructive* approaches to authenticity may account for the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of tangible ceramic objects, *existential* approaches are thus well-suited to studies into the intangible and experiential cultural activities relating to such objects (Khanom et al., 2019; Zhou et al., 2015).

## 2.2 Tourism & ICH Authenticity

### 2.2.1 Cultural Tourism & Sustainable Development

Cultural heritage and tourism have been inextricably linked for as long as humans have travelled (Richards, 2018). Today, tourism activities “in which the visitor’s essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination” (UNWTO, 2023b) are defined as *cultural tourism*, and it accounts for over 39% of tourist arrivals globally (Richards, 2018).

Through cultural tourism, intangible cultural resources are recognised as a pillar for wealth generation, heritage protection, and socio-economic development (Panagiotopoulou et al., 2017). As such, ICH may contribute to the development of sustainable tourism which “takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities” (UNWTO, 2023a). In Greece, local community integration into ICH-related tourism developments is widely reported to provide an effective tool for sustainable cultural development (e.g., Mergos et al., 2017; Panagiotopoulou et al., 2017). Studies have also recognised the importance of Greek ICH forms including folk dance and diet in providing opportunities for economic tourism development (Efentaki & Dimitropoulos, 2015; Petronela, 2016; Sotiriadis, 2017), as well as the potential of ICH to be manipulated by host communities as a political tool (Fountzoulas et al., 2017).

Since the needs of host communities often intertwine with ICH preservation, sustainable tourism development is widely regarded by researchers and policy-makers as an effective solution to preserve, protect, and even revive endangered forms of ICH (Qiu et al., 2022). ICH preservation practices and sustainable tourism developments may therefore be implemented to operate in positive feedback. Such schemes are particularly successful if the crafts concerned are closely related to the specific cultural identity of the place, are tolerant of external challenges, and can serve the requests of a well-informed tourist clientele (Panagiotopoulou et al., 2017). In a Greek context, a substantial body of research into the potential of technology to contribute to the development of sustainable tourism initiatives to protect ICH has also developed in recent years, with scholars investigating opportunities for interactive virtual experiences and augmented reality in preserving religious and pilgrimage routes (Chatzopoulou, 2022), as well as sharing ICH at traditional fire-walking festivals (Pistola et al., 2021), in museums (Nikolakopoulou et al., 2022), through online platforms (Parthenios & Patsavos, 2012), and through children’s books, which Ntagiantas et al. (2021) developed with the aim to preserve traditional pastoral life as a form of ICH in Psiloritis Geopark. This literature highlighting the potential of tourism to preserve and protect ICH is complimented by an established field of study into the impacts of tourism on ICH authenticity.

### 2.2.2 Cultural Tourism & Authenticity

The concept of authenticity became prevalent in tourism literature in the 1990s, and today is argued to have become one of the most overused terms in tourism scholarship, with its multitude of contradictory meanings and interpretations leading some scholars (e.g., Steiner & Reisinger, 2006) to suggest its abandonment entirely. However, the contention surrounding the concept signifies the importance of understanding how authenticity is perceived and represented (Thomsen & Vester, 2016). This is particularly true given its enduring importance in cultural tourism.

Cultural tourists are largely driven by motivations to experience the authentic culture of local communities, “particularly the traditional practices, festivals, and rituals which form the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) of those communities” (Khanom et al., 2019, p. 396). This touristic pursuit of the ideal of authenticity is argued by postmodernists to arise from feelings of nostalgia and

romanticism, because it idealises a life where people are less rational and more true to themselves than usual (Wang, 1999). Tourism, as a contrast to everyday roles, allows people to perceive that they are reliving these authentic ways of life (at least empathically and symbolically) through toured objects and tourist activities (Wang, 1999). Under constructivist and existentialist approaches, authenticity thus becomes “a projection of tourists’ own beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images, and consciousness onto toured objects, particularly onto toured Others” (Wang, 1999, p. 355) in a search for socially-constructed authentic symbols that bear little relation to reality but nonetheless facilitate the tourists’ personal transformation (Gordon, 2022).

It is difficult to assess the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of ICH due to the subjective nature of authenticity and the dynamic nature of ICH practices (which are constantly redefined by practitioners in response to the shifting socio-cultural contexts they are performed in) (Ranwa, 2022). Nevertheless, scholars have utilised objective, constructive and existential approaches to investigate the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of ICH for a variety of cultural elements including language (Castillo-Villar & Merlo-Simoni, 2022), calligraphy (Zhou et al., 2013), music (Li & Zhou, 2021; Su, 2019), dancing (Wall & Xie, 2005; Zhu, 2012), theatre (Hui-Bin et al., 2015), rituals (Su, 2021), and, in the Cretan context, diet (Avgeli et al., 2018; Pieroni et al., 2022). In recent years tourism scholars have become increasingly focused on debates of souvenir authenticity, particularly how cultural heritage is represented through souvenirs, the effects of globalisation on souvenir symbolism, and how perceptions of authenticity influence souvenir purchasing behaviour (Anastasiadou & Vettese, 2021; Rickly, 2022). This research closely links with scholarship into the authenticity of ICH crafts including embroidery and weaving (Beznosiuk et al., 2021; Inanna et al., 2020) and confectionary making (Terrio, 1999).

It is important to note that the concept of authenticity remains dependent on boundaries imposed by its duality and is only valuable when there is perceived *ina*authenticity (Zhou et al., 2015). For host communities, this perceived *ina*authenticity often stems from an awareness that their ICH is at risk of being eroded by tourist commodification, creating a contradiction whereby ICH is defined as ‘authentic’ only when it becomes threatened (Bruner, 1994). The potential of tourism to impact authentic ICH is thus bound to the definition of ICH as ‘authentic’ (Zhou et al., 2015). Objective, constructive and existential approaches to these impacts are discussed below.

### *2.2.3 Objective Authenticity*

The objective approach to authenticity was introduced to tourism literature by MacCannell (1976), who argued that tourists primarily consume fake authenticity through cultural performances in staged back regions of a destination in what Boorstin (1964) dubbed as “pseudo-events”. These pseudo-events are argued to stem from the commodification (or commoditisation) of culture, in which cultural goods and services become “a consciously acknowledged commodity packaged and offered for tourist consumption” (Bardone et al., 2013, p. 205), often with the unintended result of standardising and homogenising both cultural elements and tourist experiences. Following an objective approach, cultural commodification entails the creation of “exotic and titillating” culture dressed in a thin veneer of authenticity and catered to tourists dissatisfied with their ordinary (or real) world (Timothy & Boyle, 2003, p. 244).

The perceived sacrifice of “true authenticity” by host communities in pursuit of more *ina*authentic, manipulated, and alienated ways of sharing and mediating culture for tourist consumption has been extensively criticised by modernist scholars including Bendix (1989), MacCannell (1976) and Trilling (1972). In a recent example, Ranwa (2022) found that the commodification of Indian Kalbeliya performances altered both their aesthetic content and the context they are performed in, to the extent that Kalbeliya performers became culturally marginalised from their own heritage traditions.

In extreme examples, the commodification of cultural heritage through tourism is argued to standardise the world into a single monoculture, a process of “McDonaldisation” or “Disneyfication” that transforms everything into a theme park and makes authentic tourism impossible (Shephard, 2002). Cole (2007) argues that the process of defining culture as an object for tourism automatically reduces its authenticity; in other words, from an objectivist perspective the only authentic ICH is that which is entirely non-commodified (Getz, 2013), and authentic salvation emerges from the de-commercialisation of cultural heritage, often proposed through increased public funding (Thomsen & Vester, 2016). However, because pottery has been produced as a commodity for millennia, such claims render almost any ceramic craft non-authentic, highlighting the shortcomings of such binary definitions of authenticity.

Furthermore, these criticisms assume both an inability of tourists to distinguish authentic from inauthentic cultural heritage and a willingness of tourism providers to provide inauthentic objects and experiences which erode the original cultural and spiritual meaning behind their value, assumptions that constructivist and postmodernist scholars have repeatedly disproved (Timothy & Boyle, 2003). For example, Cohen (1988) argues that not all tourists seek authenticity as an absolute truth and that many are to some extent aware that most tourist experiences involve some element of staging, whilst Su (2019) found that ICH practitioners do not clearly differentiate between more and less commodified forms of ICH but rather regard both as equally important in realising their subjective needs. The complex consequences of cultural commodification are further highlighted by Handapangoda et al. (2019), who found that tourist commodification of Sri Lankan wooden masking crafts has contributed to both “rediscovery and revitalisation of the tradition and at the same time to its handicap and trivialisation as a ritual production” (p. 432). Cohen (1995) and Wang (1999) argue that staged authenticity helps to protect fragile cultures by acting as a substitute for the original and hence diverting tourists from consuming it. Such findings call for a paradigm shift away from the essentialist debate as to whether cultural commodification is good or bad, to instead consider such processes are dynamic, subjective, and without intrinsic moral value.

#### *2.2.4 Constructive Authenticity*

In acknowledgement of the numerous and often contradictory elements of authenticity in relation to cultural heritage, many contemporary studies investigating the relationship between authenticity and tourist motivations, behaviours and experiences adopt a constructive approach (e.g., Bruner, 1994; Dueholm & Smed, 2014; Tan & Kusumo, 2020; Wall & Xie, 2005; Yi et al., 2018). For example, Revilla and Dodd (2003) note five subjective factors of authenticity in art produced for tourists, including appearance/utility, tradition and certification, rarity, local production, and cost. Timothy and Boyd (2003) similarly categorise levels of authentic tourist experience as “authentic people in authentic environments”, “*inauthentic* people in authentic environments”, “authentic people in *inauthentic* environments”, and “*inauthentic* people in *inauthentic* situations” in a complex attempt to quantify the authenticity of cultural performances by measuring the extent to which they operate on “front” and “back” stages. Handapangoda et al. (2019) go one step further to conclude that Sri Lankan wooden masking traditions are flexible and “living”, and that “the boundary between ‘authentic’ and ‘inauthentic’ was so illusive and non-existent that ‘boundary crossing’ was a matter of (re)presentation” (p. 415). Although such categorisations have merit in that they account for a fluidity of authenticity that objective approaches neglect, the fixation of scholars in developing such categories in an attempt to definitively determine what authenticity *is* nevertheless restricts the extent to which constructive approaches may help illuminate questions of what authenticity *does*, and how authenticity evolves. Existential approaches to authenticity are thus becoming an increasingly popular way to address these theoretical shortcomings.

### 2.2.5 Existential Authenticity

In recent years, scholarship has transitioned from concepts of object-oriented to activity-oriented authenticity (Rickly, 2022). Because existential approaches to authenticity are intertwined with *experiences* of authentically Being, the concept has been liberally (and often erroneously) applied to any tourism study dealing with tourist experiences, even those not concerned with activating the “authentic self” (Rickly, 2022). This research largely indicates that when tourists perceive an experience as including authentic ICH, they consider that experience as being of high quality, significantly improving their value perception and satisfaction with the destination (e.g., Chen & Chen, 2010; Girish & Chen, 2017; Lee & Phau, 2018; Poluzzi & Esposito, 2019; Wong et al., 2018).

Existential approaches to authenticity are thus overwhelmingly applied to ICH contexts in terms of their potential to facilitate facilitates insights into tourist travel motivation and behaviour for use as a strategic guiding resource for tourism destination management (Su et al., 2020a). Examples include Kirillova and Lehto’s (2015) development of an existential model of the holiday cycle incorporating the role of liminality, awe, and fade-out effects, as well as Brown’s (2013) investigation into the liminality of tourism as a key facilitator of self-discovery and self-change. Serhat and Uzuncan (2021) propose existential estrangement (travel as an escape from routines of anxiety) as a motivator for tourism choices, whilst Canavan (2019) proposes existential avoidance (travel as a comforting escape to flee negativity). Recent scholarship into authentic tourist experiences has also incorporated mindfulness (Lengyel, 2022), well-being (Yu et al., 2020), and hypocrisy and inauthenticity (Mkono, 2020). However, this focus on tourist experiences neglects host communities, even though Zhou et al. (2015, p. 31) note that “existential authenticity relates to the perceptions, feelings, and emotions of hosts, such as a sense of one’s own identity, the uniqueness of the spiritual experience, and a feeling of connectedness to local history and civilisation”. This presents a key gap in the literature.

## 2.3 Host Communities & ICH Authenticity

### 2.3.1 Resident Perceptions of Tourism

Although resident attitudes towards tourism have received tentative academic attention for over 50 years, it is only within the past three decades that scholars have begun to shift away from a dominant focus on the perceptions and experiences of tourists to investigate resident attitudes to general tourism development (e.g., Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Brickell, 2012; Garrod, 2009; Hueber, 2011; Jutla, 2000; Strzelecka et al., 2017). Emerging from this scholarship are clear positive correlations between the benefits of tourism for residents and their perceptions and attitudes towards it, which in turn affects their support for future tourism developments. For example, Andereck et al. (2005) and Brunt and Courtney (1999) concluded that residents who benefit economically from tourism are typically more knowledgeable and exhibit more favourable attitudes towards its socio-cultural impacts than those who do not. These findings support Ap’s (1992) influential application of social exchange theory to tourism, which posits that residents form their attitudes to tourism by weighing its perceived costs and benefits so that the more residents economically benefit from tourism, the more positive they perceive its impacts to be, and vice versa. This theory has been widely adopted by tourism scholars including Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2012), who concluded that the perceived costs and benefits of tourism stem from the level of power residents feel they hold, as well as the trust they hold in and support they receive from government actors. High-level decision-making bodies, therefore, play a key role in shaping resident experiences of and attitudes towards tourism, as evidenced by Lankford (1994), who found that a lack of trust in the ability of local governments to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism resulted in high levels of scepticism among residents regarding future tourism developments, even in areas where all residents agreed that tourism played an important economic role.

Although resident attitudes towards tourism and resident support for future tourism developments often a) positively correlate, and b) stem from the economic benefits of tourism for the host community, these relationships, therefore, hinge on numerous contextual and interwoven factors (Andereck & Vogt, 2000). In recognition of these complex political factors, Ap and Crompton (1993) categorise resident support for tourism development on a constantly-shifting continuum anchored by four stages of embracement, tolerance, adjustment, and withdrawal, multiple of which may be embraced by a community simultaneously. This fluid and multi-faceted approach to conceptualising resident perceptions of tourism reflects subjective approaches to authenticity and is therefore important to consider when discussing how host communities perceive the authenticity of their ICH (Guerra et al., 2022).

### *2.3.2 Resident Perceptions of ICH Authenticity*

Despite an established body of research into general resident perceptions of tourism, as well as a plethora of studies into tourist perspectives of authenticity, host community perspectives and experiences of ICH authenticity have been largely neglected in literature (Rickly, 2022). In a ceramic crafting context, very few studies approach authenticity from a producer's view. One notable exception includes Maruyama et al. (2008), who investigated the perspectives of ceramicists in Santa Fe, New Mexico as to the authenticity of their craft and the impacts of tourism on it, concluding that although artists altered the exterior appearance of their pieces to meet tourist demand, they took care to adhere to traditional manufacturing processes, and viewed their contemporary ceramic production as an “enlargement” of culture rather than an erosion of authenticity. These findings indicate that host communities define the authenticity of their ICH on multiple levels. According to Hsu (2018), these levels are based on a) associations with the self (i.e., what each community member considers to be authentic); b) the host-guest encounter, where residents choose whether to accommodate tourist demands, and c) the cultural tourism setting, where practitioners adapt ICH to meet tourist demands. These definitions of authenticity coexist at a destination and dynamically shift depending on the socio-cultural contexts underlying host community actions (Guerra et al., 2022). This existentialist conceptualisation of authenticity as fluid leads scholars (e.g., Ranwa, 2022; Rickly, 2022; Thomsen & Vester, 2016) to call for greater emphasis on safeguarding ICH practitioners and their ability to freely express the dynamic meanings and values they associate with their heritage through their practices. This is particularly important given Lee et al.'s (2021) argument that the perceptions and practices of host communities in authenticating their cultural heritage determine tourist perceptions of authenticity, building on constructionist approaches to authenticity by recognising heritage authenticity as a socio-cultural construction.

### *2.3.3 Impacts of Tourism on Host Communities*

Since the early 2000s, scholarship into tourism and ICH authentication has largely focussed on how to maintain authenticity by providing host communities opportunities to protect their cultural heritage and practice sustainable livelihoods (Asplet & Cooper, 2000). The positive potential of tourism to impact the authenticity of ICH for host communities is thus well-documented. Tourism development and associated cultural commodification have been shown to protect and enhance local cultural identities by generating demand for and attributing value to ICH, reviving cultural practices that would otherwise have disappeared (e.g., Cohen, 1988; De Azeredo Grunewald, 2002; Harrison, 2004; Shepard, 2002; Van den Berghe, 1995). In Crete, tourism-related demand has provided social and economic incentives to restore traditional festivities including raki celebrations where the first distillation of the year is sampled and “fish nights” where locally caught fish are barbecued to the accompaniment of dancing and music (Moorey, 2020). In this way, economic activities relating to ICH are shown to increase host community attachment to ICH, fostering feelings of peace, satisfaction, and pride at authentic cultural offerings, as well as strengthening the self-determination, agency, and

sense of ownership of host communities over their culture (e.g., Cole, 2007; Guerra et al., 2022; Khanom et al., 2019; Macleod, 2009; Nazarialdi et al., 2019). In a ceramic crafting context, Panikkaveettil et al. (2020) highlighted how tourism has provided pottery communities in India, Fiji and Mexico opportunities to break free from the cycle of poverty, whilst Emeafor and Eze-Uzomaka's (2018) study of Ushafa pottery centre, Nigeria, concluded that pottery-driven tourism growth has strengthened the local economy and improved basic amenity provision and self-esteem among community members.

Furthermore, Zhu (2012) found that performers receiving wages from tourism not only became more emotionally connected with their cultural heritage over time but increasingly viewed their performances as authentic, contrasting objectivist conceptions of staged performances as compromising authenticity. Wesener (2017) similarly found that community members obtaining economic and emotional benefits from tourism viewed both traditional and modern cultural heritage as authentic, whilst Medina (2003) concluded that residents of a Mayan village in Belize used their commodified culture as a new channel to access their authentic ICH and develop expertise into their cultural traditions and ancestors. These findings indicate that tourism offers the economic opportunities and support required for host communities to adapt (and thus preserve) their authentic cultural identity in a contemporary context (Yang & Wall, 2009). In sum, tourism practices impacting the authenticity of ICH may generate positive impacts for host communities including the revitalisation of cultural traditions and an increase in the visibility of ICH practitioners, inter-cultural exchanges, host community employment opportunities, and resident pride and self-esteem (Ranwa, 2022).

Despite these benefits, the potential of tourism to negatively impact the authenticity of ICH for host communities is also a popular topic of academic debate. Modernist scholars (e.g., Graburn, 1984; Ritzer, 1993) and postmodernist scholars (e.g., Sun, 2011; Zhou et al., 2015) argue that the standardisation of tourism destinations may erode the essential meaning and significance of ICH products for locals, in turn diminishing their quality of life and spiritual belonging. In extreme cases, the commodification of cultural heritage into a tourist attraction is argued to render it "meaningless to the people who once believed in it" (Greenwood, 1989, p. 173, as cited in Timothy & Boyle, 2003, p. 242), therefore causing the "disintegration of local cultures" (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 310) and destroying ICH entirely. Even avoiding this catastrophic scenario, Bianchini and Parkinson (1993) report that tensions may arise between those community members wishing to use traditional culture for community expression and those seeking economic growth, whilst Khanom et al. (2019) argue that if this economic growth is unsatisfactory, host communities vent through negative emotions by belittling the authenticity of their ICH. In summary, the commodification of culture for tourism may consequently alter the traditional meanings and values attached to it, resulting in the marginalisation, disempowerment, or exploitation of ICH practitioners (Ranwa, 2022).

In recognition of this negative potential, there has been a gradual shift in scholarship over the last two decades to focus on empowering host communities involved in authentication processes (e.g., Cole, 2007; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Strzelecka et al., 2017). Research highlights how othering practices and a lack of tourism stakeholder engagement can erode authenticity and community identity (e.g., Macleod, 2009; Montero, 2020; Ounanian, 2019; Xu et al., 2014), and, on the flip side, how community inclusion in development processes contributes to community empowerment (e.g., Croft, 2018; Davis, 2007). For example, Li and Zhou (2021) found that ICH practitioners of Chinese Naxi music do not blindly follow tourist demands, but instead adapt their ICH as a political tool to enable community development, actively choosing to practice their music *inauthentically* to overcome its shortcomings. In this sense, ICH practitioners "are not passive recipients of the external transformation" of their ICH, but rather "are active in making diverse and evolving ICH values in both

the less- and the more-commodified forms” (Su, 2019, p. 263). The commodification of ICH may therefore be viewed as a beneficial process of ICH-making, so long as ICH practitioners are provided opportunities to actively participate in the process (Su, 2019).

### 2.3.4 Host Authentication Models

The above discussion highlights how to best unveil the complexities of authenticity in relation to ICH and understand the ways by which host communities and tourism practices intersect with it, it is important to evaluate two perspectives simultaneously: a) “authenticity as genuineness or realness of artifacts or events”, and b) authenticity “as a human attribute signifying being one’s true self or being true to one’s essential nature” (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006, p. 299). Put simply, the authenticity of ICH should be explored *both* through cultural objects and practices (using objective or constructive approaches) and through their practitioners (using existential approaches) (Ranwa, 2022).

Furthermore, tourism scholars have repeatedly demonstrated that objective, constructive, and existential approaches to authenticity are intertwined (Rickly, 2022). In recent years there have been increasing calls (e.g., by Kim et al., 2019 and Thomsen & Vester, 2016) for scholars to adopt more integrated approaches to authenticity. Few have risen to this challenge, although notable exceptions include Zhou et al. (2015) and Khanom et al. (2019), who developed models to explain processes of host authentication which draw upon both objective and existential approaches. Zhou et al. (2015) analysed the authentic experiences of hosts to develop a model to explain the relationship between objective and existential authenticity and resident support for tourism (Figure 2.1). Khanom et al. (2019) critique this model, arguing it is limited by the quantitative approaches and structural equation modelling used to analyse authentication practices, and so developed a model combining host and guest perspectives of authenticity using qualitative methods (Figure 2.2).

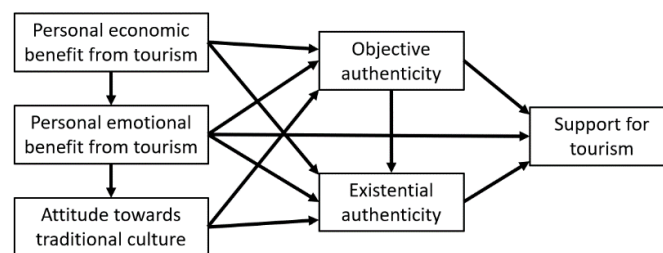


Figure 2.1: Structural model of host authenticity (Zhou et al., 2015).

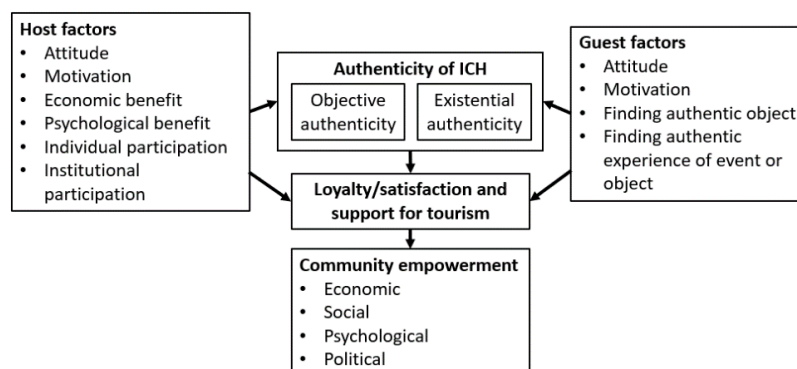
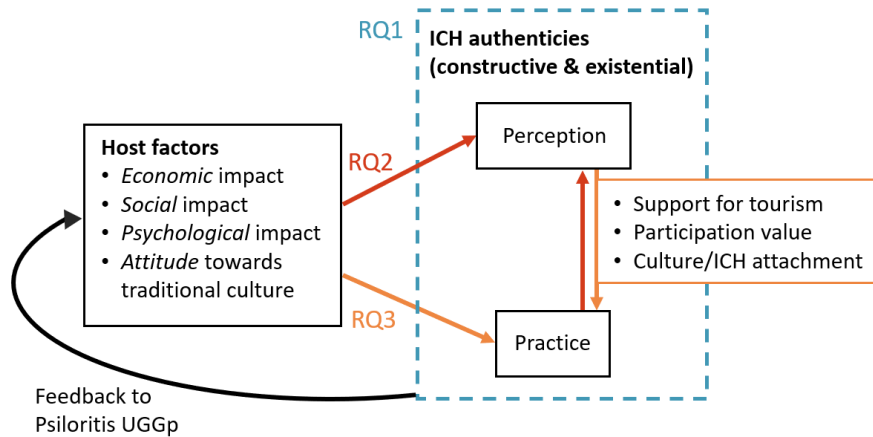


Figure 2.2: Model for host-guest authentication of ICH (Khanom et al., 2019).

## 2.4 Conceptual Framework

This study draws inspiration from the work of Zhou et al. (2015) and Khanom et al. (2019), but integrates constructive approaches in place of objective approaches in recognition of the subjective

nature of authenticity (Wang, 1999). The *constructive* authenticity of toured objects (physical ceramics as *tangible* cultural heritage) as defined by host community members is thus utilised as a means of investigating the *existential* authenticity of authentic experiences (ceramic production as *intangible* cultural heritage), as well as the impacts of tourism on this authenticity. *Figure 2.3* illustrates this relationship on a conceptual framework.



**Figure 2.3: Conceptual Framework for this Study.**

In this framework, constructive and existential approaches to authenticity are considered to be intertwined and as such are not distinguished. However, ICH authenticity is split into two sections, where *perception* refers to host community perceptions of ICH authenticity (Guerra et al., 2022), and *practice* refers to the ways in which the host community enacts and reproduces authentic ICH (Zhu, 2012). This division is made to facilitate the practical application of this framework in providing actionable recommendations to Psiloritis UGGp, since consideration of the perceptions and practices of host community members aligns far better with the “real world” situation of the Margarites community than theoretical categorisations of authenticity could.

Research question one (highlighted blue in *Figure 2.3*) will develop an understanding of how the Margarites community define authenticity in relation to their ICH. Research question two (highlighted red) investigates the impacts of tourism on host community perceptions of ICH authenticity. Zhou et al. (2015) and Khanom et al. (2019) identify economic, social, and psychological impacts of tourism as key to shaping host community perceptions of ICH authenticity, in addition to host community attitudes to their traditional culture, which Zhou et al. (2013) define as the level of host communities’ understanding of their traditional culture and the extent of their preference for it. *Attitude* towards traditional culture may be determined by examining residents’ emotion, cognition and behaviour concerning traditional and modern crafts (Khanom et al., 2019). Research question three (highlighted orange) investigates how host community perceptions of ICH authenticity shape ICH practices in Margarites. Guerra et al. (2022) show that this relationship can be measured by investigating how perceptions of authenticity affect levels of community support for tourism, community participation values, and community place (and culture) attachment.

This research aims to inform recommendations to Psiloritis UGGp) as to how it can better contribute to the socio-economic and cultural sustainability of future tourism developments; in this sense, this framework could be utilised as a foundation for iterative evaluation should Geopark authorities wish to re-evaluate the successes of future tourism strategies.

## Chapter 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Case Selection

This study utilises a case study approach focussing on the ceramics centre of Margarites. This one-case approach facilitates deeper insights than a comparison study could, and thus allows recommendations to be better tailored to local stakeholders and decision-makers including Psiloritis UNESCO Global Geopark (hereafter Psiloritis UGGp) (Clifford et al., 2016). Since Margarites has a long-standing reputation as one of the most important ceramics centres in Greece, is experiencing increasing in-migration and mixing of ceramic craftsmanship styles, and supports a rapidly growing tourism industry causing increasing concern among community members about the impacts of over-tourism on their cultural heritage, this community presents a uniquely important case on which to focus research into ICH authenticity (Municipality of Anogia, Psiloritis Geopark, 2015).

Margarites is a small village with a permanent population of around 200, and is located 27km southeast (30 minutes drive) of Rethymno town within the Psiloritis UGGp in Crete (see *Figure 3.1*) (Municipality of Anogia, Psiloritis Geopark, 2015). There is evidence of Minoan settlements in the area as early as the fourteenth century B.C., but Margarites itself was founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century and is mentioned in travellers' accounts throughout the Venetian period<sup>3</sup> (Mylopotamos, n.d; Municipality of Anogia, Psiloritis Geopark, 2015). The proximity of Margarites to clay deposits at the foot of Mount Psiloritis means that the village is uniquely suited for pottery production, and Margarites craftspeople began producing ceramics during the late seventeenth century, although community members are uncertain as to the exact date given that knowledge is transferred orally through generations rather than recorded in literary archives (Bakas, 2014). By the nineteenth century, the economic base of their ceramic craftsmanship had enabled Margarites to become established as a flourishing town.

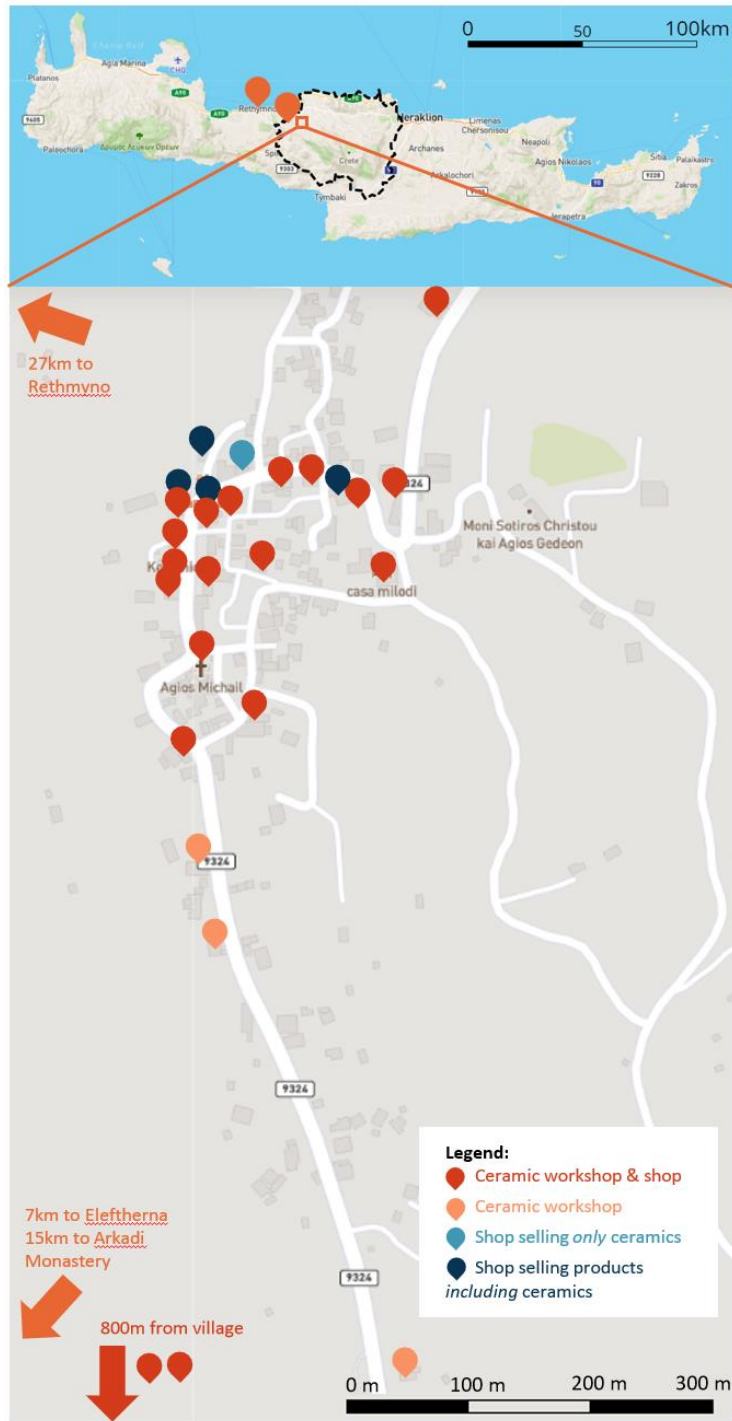
Today, Margarites retains its reputation as the most important ceramics centre in Western Crete and a central node of ceramic trading networks across and beyond the island (Bakas, 2014). There are 23 ceramicists operating 19 workshops in Margarites. Domestic and international tourists flock to the village between April and October, drawn by the village's ceramic craftsmanship as well as its cool climate, wooded gorge, traditional architecture, and historic churches (the most important being Saint John the Evangelist, dating to 1383) (Municipality of Anogia, Psiloritis Geopark, 2015). Limited accommodation and lack of night-life in the village means that most visitors pass through on day trips from coastal hotels to nearby Eleftherna<sup>4</sup> and Arkadi monastery<sup>5</sup>, and most pottery shops consequently have relatively short opening hours from 10am-6pm. *Figure 3.2* provides additional visual context.

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<sup>3</sup> Crete was under Venetian occupation from 1205–1667 before coming under Ottoman rule in 1698. The Greek War of Independence saw an end to Ottoman rule in 1898. Modern Crete declared unity with Greece in 1908.

<sup>4</sup> Ancient Eleftherna is an archaeological site and museum situated at the ruins of one of the most important Cretan cities during the Geometric (900–700 B.C.) and Archaic (650–480 B.C.) periods (University of Crete, 2023).

<sup>5</sup> The Arkadi Monastery dates to the sixteenth century and was a centre for science and art for over 300 years until 1866, when 900 Cretans sacrificed themselves there rather than surrender in their fight for independence against the Ottomans. Today, it is a national commemorative sanctuary (Arkadi Monastery, 2021).



**Figure 3.1: Maps showing the location of Margarites on different scales.** Adapted from (Psiloritis Natural Park, 2022). Psiloritis UGGp is outlined in black and the study area in orange. 27 Margarites ceramic (work)shops are marked with pins. Rethymno town, Eleftherna and Arkadi Monastery are marked with orange pins and indicated by arrows.

Aside from ceramic shops, Margarites also attracts visitors due to its 13 historical churches (pictured here), monastery, and cypress-forested gorge.

Margarites is a small community, and many people socialise outside their shops as they serve tourists.



Many ceramicists have their home, shop, and workshop in the same building. Most of these are on the main road (running left-right along bottom of image). Wares are often displayed outside.

In recent years, narrow streets have been renovated in the traditional style with stone buildings and cobbled roads.

**Figure 3.2: The Study Community of Margarites.** Adapted from 'Margarites' by Simonetta Di Zanutto, licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

### 3.2 Participant Selection

Margarites was partially selected as a case study for this research due to the presence of local 'gatekeepers' there – community members known to the researcher (and Psiloritis UGGp) who could facilitate access to the village by introducing potential study participants (O'Reilly, 2012). Geopark authorities and community members acted as 'gatekeepers' for this research, both in the 'formal' sense of providing the researcher access to participants they would otherwise be unable to contact (by organising informal introductory meetings prior to interviews or interpreting for participants who spoke no English), as well as by providing practical and emotional support necessary to 'ease' the researcher into the research setting (Bakas, 2014; Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). Initial gatekeeper introductions to participants resulted in a snowballing sampling technique, whereby one participant introduced the researcher to a fellow ceramic craftsperson and so on, a particularly effective technique in small, close-knit communities (Clifford et al., 2016). Gatekeepers were not able to provide access to the entire population of the village, and several participants were sourced by directly approaching them in their (work)shops. Despite attempts to deconstruct traditional barriers between researcher and participant by integrating into the broader social life of the community, a lack of local 'backing' during cold-call participant meetings meant that this method had a lower success rate.

Participants must fulfil two requirements: they are located in Margarites, and are involved with ceramic crafts through production, distribution, and sales processes. The small community size and relatively few ceramic shops in the village mean that every community member who fit these requirements and could be contacted was approached to participate in this research (25 people), 68% of who (17 people) participated. In total, 50% of the Margarites ceramics population participated in this research, representing 63% of ceramic workshops and 80% of shops selling ceramics (see *Table A1, Appendix A*). Their demographic information, relationship to ceramic craft, and details of their contribution to this research are outlined in *Table A2 (Appendix A)*. Participants are predominantly male and of Margaritan origin (53% for both) and varied in age between 25 and 75. 18% of participants are at least the second generation of craftspeople in their family. These demographics are broadly representative of the Margarites ceramicist population, although a high proportion of international ceramicists (without family connections to the craft) participated due to their familiarity with speaking English.

### 3.3 Data Collection

Data collection was conducted over three weeks in May 2023, between the Easter spike of domestic tourists and summer spike in international tourists to Margarites.

#### 3.3.1 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods are most suitable for this study due to its small sample size (16), which lends itself to in-depth insights that preserve the voice and uniqueness of participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Furthermore, the subjective, emotive, and personal nature of existential authenticity, as well as the fact that ICH itself relies on qualitative knowledge transfer processes including oral narration and practical demonstrations, also make qualitative methods most suitable for any study dealing with concepts of authenticity and cultural heritage (Kim et al., 2019; Patton, 2002; UNESCO, 2011). Data collection methods involved semi-structured (sometimes performative) interviews and auto-photography.

#### 3.3.2 Interviews

Prior to the interview process, an interview guide was developed from established literature (Guerra et al., 2022; Khanom et al., 2019; Wesener, 2017; Zhou et al., 2015) (see *Appendix B*). The guide was pilot-tested with Margarites community members prior to data collection and resulting critiques incorporated to improve question clarity, for example by adjusting references to *pottery* to *ceramics*<sup>6</sup>. This guide was utilised as a framework upon which semi-structured interviews were developed, offering participants the freedom to prioritise topics of personal importance and dictate the direction of conversation (Lazaridis, 2016). This research thus aims to position participants as key players in knowledge co-creation processes and bring their realities to the foreground in line with the postmodern epistemology on which it is founded (Lather, 2012; Schwandt, 1994). The informal conversational tone of semi-structured interviews also helps address power imbalances often inherent in academic research whilst still allowing the researcher to intervene and guide the conversation if it drifts from the research topic (Dunn, 2005).

In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 members of the Margarites community. Informed consent was obtained prior to the interview using the form in *Appendix C*. Interviews lasted approximately 1 hour and were audio recorded at a location of their choosing (all chose their (work)shops, many chose to work as they participated). Most interviews were conducted in English, with three conducted in Greek with interpreters (transcripts in *Appendix D*). Performative methods were not pre-planned, but emerged organically during some interviews (Clifford et al., 2016). For example, Mateo's interview began with him demonstrating how to throw a vase, and continued as he taught me on how to throw a bowl. In this way, the bodily experience of practicing and sharing ceramic craft shaped the flow of conversation, allowing both researcher and participant to immerse themselves in the topic, and generating insights into ceramic techniques and knowledge-sharing processes unlikely to have been generated during traditional interviews (*ibid.*). These performative methods also helped mitigate power imbalances by highlighting the ceramic expertise of participants and encouraging them to view me as a student rather than a researcher (Cameron, 2001). At the end of each interview, participants were asked to partake in the auto-photography task. This methodological sequence was chosen to maximise the number of auto-photography participants recruited by capitalising on the trust established during the interview process (Corcoran, 2015).

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<sup>6</sup> *Ceramics* refers to any item made from clay, whilst *pottery* refers to vessels specifically. Margaritan craftspeople generally refer to themselves as ceramicists, since not all of them are potters and the English word *ceramic* has a linguistic similarity to the Greek *keramikós*. From here on, the term *ceramics* will be used unless *pottery* is more appropriate.

### 3.3.3 Auto-photography

During auto-photography participants are asked to take photographs following prompts relating to the research topic (Alam et al., 2018). First, participants were provided a short oral explanation of their task in English and a written explanation in both English and Greek (see *Appendix E*). Participants were prompted to take no more than 10 photos showcasing “examples of authentic or inauthentic pottery heritage” and “how tourism impacts the authenticity of Margarites’ pottery heritage”. Participants were asked to provide a short, written description of each picture in a language of their choosing (Corcoran, 2015) (see *Appendix F* for a photographs and descriptions). Participants mostly used their smartphones to take photos, although one participant (Mateo) also provided photographs from his family archives. After photography, informal conversations were held to supplement the written explanations of the meaning and context of these photos in a form of photo-elicitation (Noland, 2006). In these conversations, participants’ photographs were used to prompt responses using indirect questions such as “can you tell me about this?” (Noland, 2006). In this way, both the flexible written prompts and participant-led photo-elicitation process positioned participants as “expert guides leading the fieldworker through the content of the pictures” (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 106), empowering them as active agents in the research process by providing them an opportunity to influence the research direction (Nazariadli et al., 2019).

Images are a powerful methodological medium in that they ‘act’ in the world as well as ‘describe’ it by creating apparently natural meanings about the subjects and objects they portray (Clifford et al., 2016). As technological advances in recent years have made the use of smartphones more accessible, participatory photography has developed into an effective method for amplifying participants’ voices in the research process, resituating exploration ‘alongside’ rather than ‘at’ participants (Corcoran, 2014; Alam et al., 2018, p. 257; Nazariadli et al., 2019). Auto-photography as a method thus harnesses the common critique that “all images, including those that are participatory, build in specific ways of seeing” (Kendon, 2003, p. 149) which “distort that which they claim to illuminate” (Bogdan & Birklen, 1998, p. 141) by allowing participants to “select and record the static images they feel represent them best” (Noland, 2006, p. 2). As such, communities can illuminate nuanced meanings, perceptions and dynamics of their social world that may go overlooked in non-visual methods, generating more authentic data by enabling researchers to view the participant’s world through their eyes (Noland, 2006). Furthermore, tourism and photography are considered by to go hand-in-hand, mutually shaping each other, to the extent that Urry (1990) argues that without photography there would be no tourism industry in its current form. Despite these benefits, auto-photography is rarely employed in tourism research, and the little there is, is often tourist-focussed (e.g., Bright, 2013; Hui-Wen, 2017; Wang et al., 2017). Nevertheless, auto-photography may be used to gain entry into participants’ sense of place, and as such is well-suited for use in studies investigating host community experiences (cf. Hueber, 2011; Hui-Wen, 2017; Nazariadli et al., 2019).

Auto-photography is a method complimentary to interviewing, and the two are often used in combination as they provide different angles of insight into the same questions, with photographs expressing *visually* what interviews cannot provide *verbally*, and vice versa (Van Melik & Ernste, 2019). In this sense, auto-photography circumvents the “ways in which the language used by researchers in interviews creates frames within which knowledge is realised,” (Johnsen et al., 2008, p. 195). This method was designed to improve the accessibility of this study for non-English speaking Margaritan community members by allowing these participants to visually articulate their perceptions (Alam et al., 2018). Furthermore, auto-photography facilitates participation outside the presence of the researcher, challenging power imbalances characterising traditional interview settings, whilst the three-week duration of the auto-photography task is designed to facilitate insights into everyday practices which participants might not consciously recall when prompted in a formal interview setting

(Johnsen et al., 2008; Noland, 2006). In reality, participants' time constraints due to their long hours as both ceramicists and entrepreneurs meant that all but one cases of auto-photography occurred directly after interviews, so only one new participant was sourced using this method. Nevertheless, auto-photography and interviewing are assigned equal importance as research methods which support and balance the other's methodological shortcomings (Hueber, 2011).

#### 3.3.4 Fieldnotes

A researcher journal was maintained throughout the research processes to assist in delineating individual bias and cultural misconception, as well as to provide ICH and community context, document informal interactions, and implement consistent practices throughout the fieldwork duration (Bakas, 2014). This practice is especially important for this study given that it researches cultural heritage for a culture different to the researcher's own and is thus potentially susceptible to misconceptions and bias (Clifford et al., 2016). Mental fieldnotes were continuously taken during interactions with participants to reduce interruptions to conversations, and written fieldnotes were recorded in written form as soon after the event as possible to present an accurate depiction of events (Emerson et al., 2007; Lofland et al., 2022).

Following Dunn (2005), written fieldnotes were split into two sections, a personal log and analytical log. The personal log includes reflections of methodological techniques applied, including participant questions, ethical dilemmas and responses, and general observations, feelings, and immediate impressions following the interview (Dunn, 2005). The personal log was also used to document informal interactions and impressions to deepen researcher understanding of Cretan culture in line with recommendations from social science scholars (cf. Clifford et al., 2016; Nash, 2000; Schensul & LeCompte, 2012). It is important to note that, following a postmodern approach where reality is subjective, and given that reflections could not be made about every single instance, these reflections on fieldwork activities provide a filtered representation of the world (Bakas, 2014). The analytical log includes an initial exploration of the interview and auto-photography content, providing an initial critical outline of the topics covered, identification of themes arisen, and initial references to literature and theory (Dunn, 2005). In this way, the fieldnotes as a data collection method became an initial form of data analysis for interviews and participant photographs, weaving the data sets together into one coherent narrative from the very early stages of data analysis and thus beginning the process of methodological triangulation that Yin (2014) and Stake (1995) argue is essential to case study research.

### 3.4 Data analysis

Data analysis for both interviews and auto-photography started with an in-depth review of data in reference to fieldnotes, before being iteratively conducted through multiple rounds of coding (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

#### 3.4.1 Interviews

Interviews are analysed in two iterative cycles, wherein the first cycle interview transcripts are initially coded, and the second cycle these codes are compared, prioritised and synthesised, both between transcripts and with photographs (Saldaña, 2009). During the first cycle, interview responses are first *attribute* coded to note essential descriptive information including participant demographics and interview time and location (Saldaña, 2009). Passages are then *descriptively* coded to indicate their broad topics, often using *in vivo* codes (phrases appearing directly in the text) which refer to simple patterns (Clifford et al., 2016). Descriptive codes and sub-codes summarise the topic of a passage (i.e. what is talked about) in a word or short phrase, and are an effective foundation upon which to develop a more complex coding scheme, particularly in studies dealing with multiple data sources (Saldaña,

2009). Finally, passages are *thematically coded*, or assigned an extended thematic statement to identify what the content of that passage means (Flowerdew & Martin, 2013). In this study, thematic statements are both manifest and latent, and include descriptions of behaviour, explanations for events, iconic statements, and moral overviews (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Interview coding is conducted automatically using Atlas.ti software before manual corrections are made. The complete interview coding scheme is illustrated in *Table G1 (Appendix G)*, along with an example passage of coded interview transcript in *Appendix H*.

During the second cycle of analysis, interview transcripts are compared with each other as well as participant photographs to identify links between various themes that can be iteratively woven together as accurate and concisely as possible (Clifford et al., 2016). Descriptive and thematic codes were not pre-decided, but emerged during and because of the coding process, in recognition of the role of participants as co-producers of the knowledge emerging from this research (Saldaña, 2009).

Quotations are selected to exemplify the opinions and perceptions of participants and attributed to pseudonyms to maintain participant anonymity.

### 3.4.2 Auto-photography

This study utilises aspects of Rose's (2012) 'critical visual methodology', which reflects on the social effects of images through the sites of image production, the image itself, and the image reception – i.e. how the image was produced, what it tells us, and how we perceive it. First, all photographs are numbered and attribute coded, and associated textual descriptions referenced to individual images and translated to English (Alam et al., 2018). Then, the *contexts* of the photographs are analysed, including where, when, and how the image was taken. Given the auto-photographical methodology utilised in this study, the intended site of production is predominantly the participant and site of reception predominantly the researcher.

Next, the *content* of the images is analysed. Textual and verbal descriptions and explanations provided by participants are analysed to avoid researcher interpretations that widely diverge from the narrative intended by the participant (Noland, 2006). After textual analysis, photographs are analysed in terms of their compositional aspects, including specific material qualities such as the framing of the shot (Rose, 2012). Importantly, what is *not* included in a photograph is also analysed and compared with interview transcripts (Noland, 2006). The content of each photograph is manually coded for descriptions and themes using a combination of researcher and participant interpretations (Noland, 2006). Thematic coding was conducted over two stages; the first stage directly examined the content of the image as data, whilst the second stage examined the themes (and emotions) inferred by the content of the image, but not necessarily present in the photograph themselves (Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2004). Just as for interview coding, thematic codes for photograph analysis are not pre-decided, but emerged during and because of the coding process, so as not to rely on preconceptions (Saldaña, 2009; Alam et al., 2018). Quantitative content analysis was conducted to provide a visual overview of the major themes illustrated by the images (see *Figure J1, Appendix J*), before photographs were compared with interview transcripts to identify links between various themes that could be integrated into a coherent narrative of tourism and ICH authenticity in Margarites (Clifford et al., 2016).

## 3.5 Ethical Issues

Issues relating to ethics of justice, respect, honesty, reciprocity, and responsibility to participants are crucial to consider when conducting research (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Consent was granted at a community level prior to data collection, as Psiloritis UGGp contacted stakeholders within the community to inform them of the research and provide opportunities to ask

questions. On an individual level, participants were given both oral and written explanations of the study (see *Appendices C and E*) and offered opportunities to discuss questions or concerns during introductory meetings several days before scheduled interviews, as well as via contact details provided. Only once the researcher was sure that participants fully understood what their taking part would involve and consented did data collection commence. In this way, participants were able to carefully consider the voluntary, anonymous, and confidential of the research before agreeing to take part, ensuring a level of informed consent more thorough than simply asking participants to tick a box on a form and exemplifying the “ethics of care” with which participants are treated throughout this study (Preissle, 2004, p. 518). An ethics of care refers to the moral obligation of the researcher to respect participants, their accounts, and their communities, avoiding embarrassing, exploiting, misrepresenting, or ‘using’ them by gathering data without giving back (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As part of this process, scopes of confidentiality are customised depending on the context of interaction between researcher and participant; for example, private confessions and observations are not shared if they could potentially cause harm to the participant should their identity be revealed, no matter what “flavour” it could add to the analysis (Bakas, 2014, p. 125). However, the line between public and private spaces and conversations is often indistinct, and in many cases best judgement was used, highlighting the challenges of keeping research intentions entirely overt despite best intentions (O'Reilly, 2012).

It is important to note that although that a promise of partial anonymisation is included in consent sheets, much literature claims that total anonymisation is impossible, especially in small communities where all participants know each other (e.g. Lincoln & Guba, 1989; Moosa, 2013; Ngozwana, 2018). Furthermore, the unique structure, location and context of Margarites means that the village would be easily identifiable to those familiar with it even if attributed a pseudonym (Bakas, 2014). Such a practice would also undermine the intended function of this research as a source of place-specific recommendations for Psiloritis UGGp to better understand and manage Margarites’ ICH in relation to growing tourism activities. As such, whilst participants have been attributed a pseudonym to protect their confidentiality to those not personally familiar to them, the name Margarites has been maintained. Participants were informed of and consented to this prior to taking part.

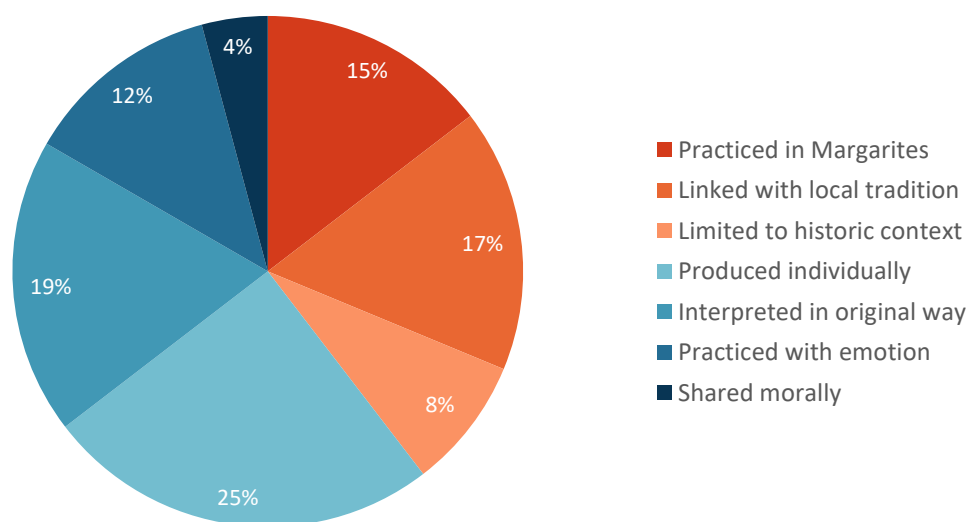
Finally, a continuing consideration of this methodology is its overarching aim to empower research participants as co-creators of the knowledge emerging during the research process and thus provide them a voice in future tourism planning developments. As such, the research findings will be distributed in English and Greek to all members of the community who wish to receive them.

## Chapter 4. Results, Analysis & Discussion

This chapter addresses the research questions using an interpretivist approach to authenticity that integrates constructionist and existentialist thinking. First, the ways in which Margarites community members define authenticity in relation to their ceramic ICH are discussed. Then, impacts of tourism on resident *perceptions* of this authenticity are evaluated. Finally, resident perceptions are used to determine how tourism impacts *practices* of craft authentication and authentic ceramic production.

### 4.1 Community Definitions of Authentic ICH

This first section answers research question one by evaluating how Margarites community members define authenticity in relation to their ceramic crafting ICH. Following Thomsen and Vester (2016) and Wall and Xie (2005), this study employs an interpretivist approach to authenticity, arguing that authenticity is not an inherited attribute but is negotiated and assigned, meaning that a diversity of interpretations is required to arrive at an understanding of the concept. It is important to note that many Margarites ICH practitioners disliked using the term *authenticity* because its implicit binaries mean that by defining their work as constructively or existentially authentic they could inadvertently suggest that another's work was *inauthentic*. This reluctance to engage with the term authentic (if not the concept of authenticity, which was often referred to under terms including "genuine" and "true") highlights a seldom-discussed discord between academic research and real-world contexts. In response, the following sections are structured by seven elements of authenticity identified by participants rather than high-level theoretical approaches which fail to align with and thus make sense of their realities.



**Figure 4.1: Percentage Breakdown of Definitions of Authentic Ceramic Craft.** Percentages are relative to number of participants. Definitions in orange relate to place, definitions in blue relate to people.

Figure 4.1 illustrates various elements included in participants' definitions of authentic ceramic craft. All participants mentioned at least two elements and one participant referenced six, highlighting the multifaceted and contested nature of authenticity as described in academic literature (e.g., Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Rickly, 2022; Wang, 1999). Rather than enforcing a severe binary of in/authentic to Margaritan ceramic ICH (whether as mutually exclusive categories or a sliding scale between them), it may therefore prove more productive to recognise that multiple authenticities simultaneously exist depending on the socio-economic context of the community member defining it (Wherry, 2006).

Despite variation, two main categories emerge: elements relating to the *place* where ICH is practiced (displayed in orange in *Figure 4.1*), and those relating to the *people* who practice it (in blue). The dominance of people-related elements (particularly concerning concepts of individuality and originality) showcases the importance of community members in producing, preserving, and protecting authentic cultural heritage in line with general academic consensus that ICH practitioners are the primary actors influencing the authenticity of their cultural practices (e.g., Khanom et al., 2019; Stefano et al., 2014; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006). Therefore, the site of production may not inherently authenticate ceramic crafting practices because the intentions behind these practices are also fundamental to defining authenticity (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018). These elements are discussed below, with findings presented in a summary table.

#### 4.1.1 Practiced in Margarites

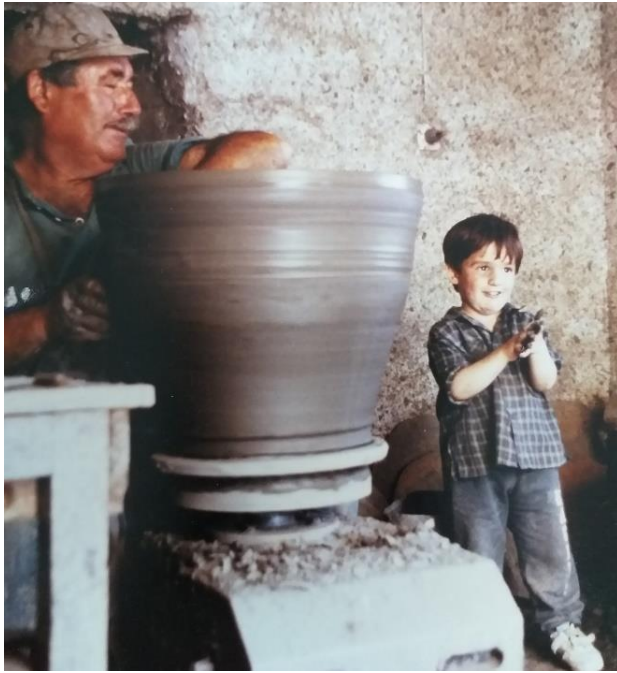
For participants, the site of ICH production constitutes an important element of its authenticity:

*The pottery shops, they give you the traditional knowledge, handmade and passed down through their families. So, for a product to be authentic in Margarites, it shouldn't just be handmade, it should be handmade here.* [Iakovos, shopkeeper]

In tourism research, the concept of authenticity has often been related to a local place of origin, because tourists are motivated by a desire to experience another culture and host communities are motivated to share their own (e.g., Asplet & Cooper, 2000; MacCannell, 1976). For Iakovos, the site of crafting is a foundation upon which other elements of authenticity including being “handmade” are layered. Ofemija similarly describes how authentic ceramic crafts practiced in Margarites are “basically a testament to what this place is, and what it represents,” indicating that understandings of authentic ICH as those ‘practiced in Margarites’ extend beyond the physical location to encapsulate how the authentic essence of the community may be imbued in tangible craft products (Qiu et al., 2022). Furthermore, the act of producing ceramics in Margarites enables practitioners to achieve existential authenticity by unlocking aspects of their authentic selves linked with their identities as local craftspeople (Wang, 1999). This element of authenticity may vary for each stage of the crafting process, making it impossible to neatly categorise authentic crafts and craftspeople into a binary of being ‘practiced in Margarites’ or not (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018). Nevertheless, most participants placed greatest weight on the process of shaping and firing ceramic products on site, indicating that an item produced in Margarites using imported clay is more authentic to Margarites than an item produced in nearby Rethymno using Margaritan clay. Site of production therefore underpins all other elements of authenticity in *Figure 4.1*.

#### 4.1.2 Linked with Local Tradition

Definitions of authentic crafting practices as honouring tradition or history constitute a quarter of perceptions in *Figure 4.1*. David (2007) and Maruyama et al. (2008) similarly found that artists relate the authenticity of their tangible creations to traditional manufacturing processes, reflecting a wealth of heritage and tourism literature (e.g., Cohen, 1988; Farrelly et al., 2019; Handapangoda et al., 2019; Wesener, 2017) which conceptualise authentic and traditional crafts as the same. Participants who grew up in Margarites were more likely to relate authenticity to the traditionality of crafting practices than those who did not, perhaps because they conceptualised authenticity in relation to crafting practices they recalled from childhood (Zhou et al., 2015). For example, Mateo expresses how his authentic craft must honour the craft of his grandfather:



**Figure 4.2:** *My grandfather Nikos Kavgalakis from Margarites who became known for his huge pots. I am with my grandfather many years ago. [Mateo, ceramicist]*

For Mateo, his family history of internationally-famous ceramicists is central to his identity as a craftsperson, and he displays this photograph on his business website to link his contemporary work with local tradition and so increase his perceived existential authenticity as an ICH practitioner. McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argue that such practices are explained by psychological processes of “reinforced assimilation” (reflection of differences between the past and present) and “retroactive association” (relating experiences to a past people personally remember). Participant definitions of authentic ICH as linked with tradition may therefore refer to both the traditional identity of the village as a ceramic centre and the personal identity and experiences of individuals as members of crafting families.

Multifaceted influences of tradition on participants’ existential authenticities extend to the constructive authenticities of tangible ceramics. Multiple layers must be considered when defining ‘traditional’ ICH, including the form, function, and material composition of the product as well as the techniques, tools, and skills behind its creation (Ranwa, 2022). From ancient times until the 1970s, Margaritan ceramics were utilitarian, unglazed pots made from local clays, fired once in wood kilns, and decorated simply with a leaf motif to signify their site of production (Mingei, 2020). The aspects of this traditional craftsmanship which Margarites ceramicists choose to honour varies by practitioner, as evidenced by the evolution of ceramic forms between generations:



1



2



3

**Figure 4.3:** 1) A copy of a Minoan bird-shaped pot made by Gregor's by hand in the ancient Minoan style predating the pottery wheel. 2) Gregor's interpretation of a bird-shaped, Minoan-inspired jug. The materials, technique, form, and decoration are all the traditional Margarites style. It is made using the wheel. 3) A copy of a traditional Minoan bird-shaped teapot by Dumont, inspired by Gregor's work. [Dumont, student ceramicist]

These photographs of authentic craft products indicate that authenticity is the pluralistic result of each individual's interpretation of tradition which is continuously invented and constructed in tandem with the context that their practitioners engage with them in (Wang, 1999). Postmodern scholars Handapangoda et al. (2019) similarly argue that "the concept of tradition is so flexible and 'living' that the boundary between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' becomes so illusive as to be non-existent" (p. 415). Such conceptualisations highlight the challenges of defining authentic ICH as being strictly confined to a historic context.

#### 4.1.3 Limited to Historic Context

A minority of participants argue that authentic ICH is temporally bound to historic crafting practices, and that any ceramic production in a contemporary context is by default inauthentic:

*Authentic is the ancient, is authentic. [...] Look, we are not traditional potters. Traditional potters are gone, died. Traditional pottery, it was the pottery you did because someone needed it, to buy it, to use it technically. Now, this does not happen.* [Gregor, ceramicist]

Processes of modernisation (most notably the widespread use of plastic, which is cheaper, harder-wearing, and easier to mass produce than ceramics) have removed demand for traditional *pithoi* production. Participants with this view stress the importance of preserving tangible *pithoi* to protect the now-inaccessible authenticity of historic ceramic production, which Vandiver (2004) argues also enables cultural development through capacity-building and knowledge-sharing processes. This perspective is mirrored by objectivists who equate authenticity to an origin in time and imply that subsequent alteration and adaptation are inauthentic (e.g., Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1976; Waitt, 2000). Such takes have been widely criticised by constructivist scholars (e.g., Bruner, 1994; Bhabha, 2012; Hollinshead, 1998), who argue that change is constant and there is no absolute point of origin, so "the restless and infinite retreat of now will eventually make anything that has taken place in the world authentic" (Wang, 1999, p. 366). Nevertheless, the perception that authentic crafting practices are 'limited to a historical context' indicates that objective authenticity presents a small but important element of authenticity for Margaritan community members. Gregor extends these objective approaches into the existential realm by implying that it is not the *form* of historic ceramics which make them authentic but their intended *function* – that is, the authentic experience of using the product. The responsibility for authenticating Margaritan ICH therefore extends beyond practitioners to include the experiences of those using historic ceramics in a contemporary context to connect with local traditions (Handapangoda et al., 2019).

#### 4.1.4 Produced Individually

The perspective that authentic crafts must be ‘produced individually’ (hand-crafted) dominates *Figure 4.1*, supporting Cohen (1988) and Asplet and Cooper (2000) who similarly argue that authentic cultural products must be “made by local hands” (p. 308). Ceramicists expressed indignation that their work (and by extension, themselves) may be considered inauthentic in this way, with Mateo exclaiming “Of course my work is authentic! Of course! [...] Both traditional and modern ceramics are authentic, it’s authentic because it’s handmade”. Mateo thus authenticates his ICH through the hand-crafting techniques *behind* his crafting process rather than the tangible forms of ceramics crafted. This perspective implies that every authentic ceramic product must be unique because it is shaped by unique experiences, intentions, and skills, and because the crafting process behind each object uniquely reflects the practitioner who made it. Paz (1995, p. 10, as cited in Rivella & Dodd, 2003, p. 98) notes, if “made by hand, the craft object bears the fingerprints, real or metaphorical, of the person who fashioned it”, implying that authentic crafting practices differ for and between individual practitioners. Focussing on the process of handmaking ceramics as a means of authenticating himself allows Mateo to extend Cohen’s (1988) object-based conceptualisation of authenticity into the experiential realm by highlighting how existential authenticity emerges from the projection of his uniqueness onto the realm of possibilities for action – that is, Mateo uses authentic crafting practices to project the possibilities of his unique heritage onto tangible ceramic objects (Moore et al., 2021). Authenticity may therefore be understood as a dynamic activity continuously (re)formed from authentic handcrafting acts which produce temporary experiences of authenticity for the practitioner (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006).

#### 4.1.5 Interpreted in Original Way

For some ceramicists, creatively expressing themselves through original interpretations of their craft is a key element of authenticity:

*A good authentic piece, it’s an interesting idea, an idea that tells a story. [...] Ancient Greek styles might inspire me, but it’s not that “this is authentic”. I don’t do copies, I take inspiration from this. [...] We like to take the ancient shape, and to make it useful for nowadays. [Emilija, ceramicist]*

For Emilija, “interesting ideas” stem from ancient forms that she adapts to suit a contemporary context, supporting Wesener’s (2017, p. 148) identification of “progress, growth, change” and “not being stuck in the past” as positive impacts of tourism for host community craftspeople. This perception supports Maruyama et al. (2008), who found that Native American craftspeople perceive that adapting traditional crafts to a modern time increases their authenticity, since contemporary styles provide craftspeople greater opportunities for creative freedom, self-expression and evoking a sense of authentic Being. Similarly, constructivist and existentialist scholars agree that the concept of authenticity has been constantly re-authorized since time immemorial. As Boyle (2004, p. 44) describes, “authenticity doesn’t just mean reliving the past: it means using it to find new ways of living maybe even new kinds of progress”.

#### 4.1.6 Practiced with Emotion

Some ceramicists describe authentic crafts as those that are ‘practiced with emotion’, an element of authenticity that intertwines with elements of individuality and originality previously discussed. Love, joy, and respect are identified as the emotions which carry greatest weight in their capability to foster authentic ICH practices and products:

*I think authentic pottery makes good my soul. I live every piece, and I do every... I work many hours, many hours, all about the year, and I get tired, but I don't care, I still love it, I like it. It gives me personal satisfaction. [Stelios, ceramicist]*

The high level of importance that Stelios assigns to emotional crafting experiences that allow him to “make good” his soul and become his authentic self is shared by many ceramicists, even to the extent that Dureau describes how working with the “emotions all around ceramics” “saved” him. Existentialist scholars including Rickly et al. (2021) agree that ICH practitioners must be driven by passionate, subjective motivations to attain and maintain authenticity for themselves and their crafts, even to the extent that “unethical actions can be authentic, if they are in line with one's life projects” (p. 9). The performativity of practitioners “living” the crafting process implies that ceramicists infuse their tangible ceramics with an intangible, emotional aura that enhances their authenticity (Rickly, 2022). In this way, tangible ceramics become charged with meaning and act as vessels for memory and emotion that represent the generational knowledges and skills behind their creation (Revilla & Dodd, 2003). (Re)producing their emotional connections to their cultural heritage through processes of ceramic production therefore allows Margaritan ceramicists to manifest a deep experience of existential authenticity that unlocks parts of their “true” Being (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). As Day et al. (2010) argue for Minoan ceramicists: “this is not the case of potters *living from pots*, but rather, together with the rest of their community, *living through pots*” (p. 222, emphasis in original).

#### 4.1.7 Shared Morally

Some older ceramicists define authenticity in relation to the moral intentions behind the crafting process:

*If somebody wants only to take the money of a tourist, and doesn't give him the best he can, at the price it was, and to be honest with himself and the tourist, then this is bad. This changes everything in the authenticity, which is based on this kind of personality that is honest with himself and with the other. [Makhail, retired ceramicist]*

Makhail relates authenticity to personal integrity and so frames authentic ICH as the responsibility of the practitioner, a conscious choice that ceramicists must continuously make (cf. Mkono, 2020). Margaritan ceramicists with this opinion frame the morality of crafting motivations as a binary between immoral, inauthentic financial gain and moral, authentic emotional expression, supporting Shephard's (2002) conclusion that the most authentic cultural practices and objects are those “unconnected to the market process” (p. 192). Heritage scholars including Vandiver (2004) agree that the intent behind crafting practices is a key determinant of their authenticity, arguing that replicas of ancient ceramics should only be considered inauthentic rather than a compliment to past tradition when falsely labelled as ancient with the intent to deceive. This perception aligns with existential approaches to authenticity which argue that “authentic selves are often judged in positive moral terms”, and that “the behaviour of others is seen as authentic the more it aligns with one's own moral values” (Moore et al., 2021, p. 6). As such, this perception of authenticity simultaneously divides community members with differing moral values and strengthens the connections between those sharing them, indicating that the effects of tourism on the intentions behind ICH practices could have significant long-term effects on the community structure of Margarites.

#### 4.1.8 Summary of Definitions

These elements (summarised in *Table 4.1*) indicate that community members define ‘authentic ICH’ in two broad categories: *place*-related elements that link authenticity to Margarites village as a site of production and historical centre, and *people*-related elements that link authenticity to the uniqueness,

creativity, emotional investment, and moral integrity of the practitioner. All elements are subjective and fluid.

**Table 4.1: Summary of Community Definitions of Authenticity.**

Element	Characteristics
Practiced in Margarites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Site of practice determines ICH authenticity, and may vary between stages of crafting</li> </ul>
Linked with local tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tradition, authenticity, and ICH are fluid concepts dependent on the community members' personal context and family history</li> </ul>
Limited to historic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic ICH is temporally restricted to the past, since traditional forms and functions have been rendered inaccessible by processes of modernisation</li> </ul>
Produced individually	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic ICH (and states of authentic Being) involve unique hand-crafting practices, meaning that authentic crafting practices differ for and between practitioners</li> </ul>
Interpreted in original way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic ICH is a constantly evolving concept</li> </ul>
Practiced with emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic ICH (and states of authentic Being) must be practiced with emotion, transforming tangible ceramics into vessels of meaning</li> </ul>
Shared morally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authentic ICH depends on the personal integrity of the practitioner, meaning authenticity is a conscious choice that ceramicists must continuously make</li> <li>• Perceptions of authenticity simultaneously divide and strengthen intra-community connections dependent on shared moral values</li> </ul>

## 4.2 Impacts of Tourism on Perceptions of ICH Authenticity

This section answers research question two by evaluating the impacts of tourism on how Margarites community members define authentic ICH, as well as how authentic they perceive their ICH to be. The structure of this section mirrors that of Section 4.1, with the economic, social, and psychological impacts of tourism evaluated for each element of authenticity in line with Zhou et al (2015). Findings are presented in a summary table.

### 4.2.1 Practiced in Margarites

Many craftspeople express pride at how their local (and thus authentic) crafting practices continue to drive the local economy as they have done for centuries before tourism:

*Margarites is very... in this year now, it's very known in other countries. It's famous now! And that's because of ceramics. People come for this, and only for this in Margarites. [...] it also supports other jobs, because they come for ceramics, and they go into the taverna, and in the taverna they have work. [Kairos, ceramicist]*

ICH authentically practiced in Margarites drives tourism to the village which in turn creates greater economic demand for authentic ICH and strengthens community pride in the authenticity of local crafting practices (Handapangoda et al., 2019). The economic and emotional benefits of commodifying authentic ICH therefore extend beyond the ceramics industry to benefit the village more broadly (cf. Zhou et al., 2015). The economic welfare, local self-reliance, and strengthened emotional connections between practitioners and their craft facilitated by tourism activities thus position tourism as an important tool for sustainable local development (Briassoulis, 2003).

In addition to its economic benefits, the social impacts of tourism on the atmosphere of the village influence community perceptions of its authenticity:

*There are a lot of people who came here, and decided to buy a house, an old house, and repair the house and live here, or to rent it to other people. So dead houses have life! [...] It makes the atmosphere of the village nicer. [Iliana, shopkeeper]*

The renovation of formerly derelict properties in Margarites indicates that community members and tourists change the physical architecture of the village to align with their expectations of what an authentic ceramic centre “should be” (Wang, 1999). Iliana favours this change because it increases her perceived authenticity of her village and by extension the crafting ICH practiced there, improving her attitudes to traditional culture and support for tourism development (cf. Andereck et al., 2005; Brunt & Courtney 1999). Tourism therefore alters resident perceptions of the authenticity of Margarites as a ceramics centre and tourism destination, in turn facilitating experiences through which community members may authenticate their identities as craftspeople and residents of Margarites (Moore et al., 2021). Wesener (2017, p. 148) similarly found that host community craftspeople who “feel proud in terms of development” perceive their ICH as more authentic.

#### 4.2.2 *Linked with Local Tradition*

Tourism is crucial in shaping how participants value traditionality as a determinant of ICH authenticity. As tourist numbers have grown in recent years, so has tourist demand for authentic ceramic products honouring local traditions, and ICH practitioners have come to perceive these products as increasingly valuable assets for attracting visitors to Margarites:

*People visiting know that this village... in its history was a traditional ceramic centre, so they have to see something from the history to see how we came to this moment. So, we need people to build traditional [ceramics]. [...] it is very good for the village that we have different styles. I think it is important that the modern and traditional meld together. [Stelios, ceramicist]*

For Stelios, tradition is worth preserving to ensure that the experiences of residents and visitors in Margarites align with their expectations of authenticity, but the most authentic forms of ICH adapt tradition to “meld together” modern and traditional styles to suit tourist tastes, meet tourist demand, and preserve the economic viability of Margaritan ICH. Tourist demand shapes ceramicists’ perceptions of traditionality as an authenticating element of authentic crafts; tourist demand for traditional ICH is shown to strengthen self-identity, sense of the authentic self, and appreciation for authentic ICH among practitioners (Medina, 2003; Su et al., 2020b; Zhou et al., 2015). McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argue that visitation to places with associations of authentic “pastness” creates and reaffirms identities among host communities, indicating that tourism plays an important role in reinforcing the value that residents attribute to tradition as an authenticating element of ICH.

Furthermore, Melecio notes that perceptions of authentic ICH as relating to tradition only became widespread when traditional functional ceramics began to be perceived as threatened by the encroachment of “modern” crafts demanded by tourists, indicating that tourist commodification may simultaneously revitalise and handicap traditional crafting practices (Handapangoda et al., 2019). Cohen (1993) and Revilla and Dodd (2003) similarly observed a transition from functional to decorative ceramics for Mexican Talavera pottery and concluded that this shift led local people to place greater value on traditional utilitarian qualities as essential components of authenticity. The nostalgia for traditional ceramics expressed by most participants indicates a collective perception of Margaritan ICH as decreasingly authentic due to tourism.

#### 4.2.3 Limited to Historic Context

Although tourism does not directly influence resident perceptions of authentic ICH as being restricted to a historic context, tourism demand for archaeological attractions in the area indirectly impacts the value that ceramicists place on historic crafts:

*When they opened the Eleftherna museum, all of us, all the villages would come saying “what is that!” And I went and I realised, we don’t do anything new today. Cups made 4,000 years ago, it’s the same cup today. [...] It’s amazing. [Emilija, ceramicist]*

Local tourism developments including the Museum of Ancient Eleftherna educate contemporary ICH practitioners about the history of their craft. For Emilija, her visit to the museum invoked an epiphanic understanding of how the knowledges, skills and techniques involved in pottery production have remained consistent across millennia, dismantling the divide she had previously imposed between authentic historic craft and inauthentic modern craft. Hewison (2023) similarly criticised the commodification of cultural heritage for tourist consumption for artificially cleaving the past from the present, distorting the former, stifling the latter, and resulting in a community whose image of their authentic ICH is frozen and “museumised” (Cole, 2007, p. 3). Such criticism of commodification as eroding authenticity is ironic, given that commodification is often undertaken to present heritage as *more* authentic than reality to meet tourist demand (Wall & Xie, 2005). Furthermore, it is important to remember that ceramic crafts have been commodified in Crete for over 9,000 years, and it is only the market that has changed with tourism. Although this shifting market alters the intrinsic value of the craft by causing practitioners to redefine which assets of ceramic production are most and least ‘valuable’ for consumption, the erosion of authentic history associated with commodification processes may not be entirely the result of tourism as some participants (and many scholars) imply (Gordon, 2022). Given this contestation, ICH practitioners must navigate tensions between cultural commodification and maintenance of traditional ways when forming perceptions what authenticity is, what it means, and what it does (Wall & Xie, 2005). Emilija achieves this through a total deconstruction of historic/modern binaries to argue that if a cup from 4,000 years ago is authentic, then a cup today is too, since the intangible knowledges behind their creations are so similar (cf. Rickly, 2022; Yuan, 2008). Tourism developments therefore expose community members to new knowledges relating to the history of their ICH, shifting their perceptions of how authentic crafts relate to their history.

#### 4.2.4 Produced Individually

Ceramicists describe how tourist demand for unique handmade products fosters a sense of satisfaction and self-worth that validates their perceptions of their ICH practices as authentic:

*There’s people who know, and see the job and what I need, and they say “that’s okay” when they look at the price, and they understand. And I prefer to work with those people, people that can recognise the work and see that it is authentic, real ceramic, handmade. [Stelios, ceramicist]*

The psychological benefit of tourism in strengthening Stelios’ emotional connection with his craft reaffirms his perceptions of “authentic, real ceramics” as being “handmade” and, as a relatively new practitioner, boosts his confidence in the authenticity of himself and his work. Moore et al. (2021) similarly note that “self-judged authenticity is consistently positively associated with psychological wellbeing, so “even being in a positive mood can make one feel more authentic” (p. 6), indicating that tourist demand for handmade ceramics invokes opportunities for ICH practitioners to activate their authentic selves through crafting and selling processes. Tourism activities therefore reinforce practitioner perceptions of their crafts as authentically handmade, both by facilitating the economic

viability of producing constructively authentic products, and by providing them with opportunities to activate their existentially authentic selves through crafting and sharing experiences.

#### 4.2.5 *Interpreted in Original Way*

The advent of the tourism industry in Margarites during the 1970s not only *shaped* community perceptions regarding the importance of originality in authentic ICH practices but *formed* them. Melecio describes how local ceramic ICH was historically limited to a homogenous set of knowledges and skills required for *pithoi* production, and this only began to diversify when ICH practitioners began to cater to varied visitor demands for financial security:

*The last 30 or 40 years after the tourists come, we start to make smaller stuff, they change the variety, because in the beginning it was only for the water, the pithoi. After that, it was candle holders, mugs, stuff like that, cups, you know, everything. Margarites is the only village now in Crete which has so much variety in the ceramics. Have you heard about Thrapsano, the other village? They make only big pots. [...] It's not a very touristic village like us. [Melecio, ceramicist]*

Melecio describes a relatively relaxed contemporary attitude to entrepreneurial freedom among Margarites ceramicists, indicating that they maintain their authentic selves by establishing “a balance between their aesthetic, creative ambition and economic concerns” (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018, p. 94). This finding contrasts with common academic depictions of the tensions between artistic freedom and economic needs as a dilemma in which pride and profit are mutually exclusive (e.g., Wall & Xie, 2005). Instead, diverse tourism demand helps foster innovative, self-expressive crafting practices that invoke existentially authentic experiences and produce constructively authentic products, affirming the value that some ceramicists place on originality as an element of authenticity (Hughes, 1995). However, because Margaritan ceramics were not historically art through which practitioners creatively expressed themselves but standardised, functional pieces, the perceived loss of authenticity from standardised crafting practices is a relatively recent phenomenon to the village introduced by variety in tourist demand.

Although a lack of creativity and originality expressed through ceramic crafts is therefore not inherently bad, divides between Margaritan craftspeople using tourism as an external motivator to create original products and those who follow a standardised production to meet tourist demand have resulted in initially invisible but deeply entrenched intra-community tensions. Today, 46% of participants perceive that their work is some of the only original (and thus authentic) in the village, with Emilija proudly claiming to be “the black sheep” of the village and Kalogeros stressing that he is a “foreign body to the others because I keep my own tactic”. Although this divide implies that tourism activities in Margarites have limited net balance on the perceived originality and authenticity of crafts practiced there, in extreme cases, exclusive identities form amongst sub-groups of what Dureau describes as “real potters” who practice their craft with originality, many of whom imply a sense of superiority over those who do not and blame them for eroding the authenticity of Margarites into a “poor” ceramics centre. This finding evidences how an increase in the perceived importance of ICH innovation resulting from diverse tourist demand encourages ceramicists to adopt individualistic mentalities which result in intra-community friction (cf. Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993).

#### 4.2.6 *Practiced with Emotion*

Interactions between community members and tourists strengthen resident perceptions of their ICH as authentic. Many ICH practitioners describe how they highly value the emotional connections – both with tourists and their crafting heritage – emerging from these interactions, and how these experiences foster senses of authentic Being:

*They always come and say to me, "oh, it's so cool, so authentic, it's so beautiful, you make it? You make this?" It's very... it's something you don't see often. It makes us feel appreciated. [...] They come again, those people, after 15 years, or 10 years, or 5 years, they come again. It's beautiful, because through your job, your work... it's good for others. [Kairos, ceramicist]*

For Kairos, her "beautiful" interactions with tourists who perceive her work as authentic allows her to form relationships and share her ICH-related joy and knowledge with them, strengthening the associations she holds between the emotional and authentic value of her craft (Moore et al., 2021). It is widely reported that when external visitors appreciate a community's culture as authentic, community members experience a boost in self-esteem and become psychologically empowered (e.g., Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017; Emeafor & Eze-Uzomaka, 2018; Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018; Strzelecka et al., 2017). This empowerment causes individuals and communities to take pride in and form identities around their authentic ICH, increasing their willingness to infuse positive emotion into their ICH practices and share their knowledges and experiences with tourists in a positive feedback (Cole, 2007; Elkasrawy, 2020), to the extent that Zhou et al. (2015) conclude that the emotional benefits of tourism for host community members are central to host perceptions of authenticity and thus support for tourism.

However, tensions have arisen between Margaritan ceramicists who perceive the value of emotion in (re)producing authentic ICH differently. Ceramicists who place high levels of importance on emotion as an authenticating element of ICH criticise those who do not:

*They don't do it because they love this job, but they do it because they have some type of benefit. Financial. Only for that. They don't care about anything else. [...] They don't love the art within them, they love themselves through the art. [Kalogeros, ceramicist]*

This uncommon perception that most Margaritan ceramicists practice ICH simply for its economic benefits implies that by forsaking craft as a form of emotional expression, practitioners achieve existentially *inauthentic* experiences that utilise ICH as a tool to project distorted and self-obsessed reflections of themselves (Rickly, 2022). The binary between economic and emotional motivations presented by Kalogeros may evidence a resistance of ICH practitioners to directly link economic benefits of tourism to the authenticity of their craft (a finding reflected in the lack of economic-related elements in *Figure 4.1*), which Zhou et al. (2015) concluded could stem from a reluctance to show individualistic, self-interested attitudes. The authors note that, "when hosts are dissatisfied with economic benefits, they vent out with negative emotions and belittle their evaluation of authenticity" (p. 41), potentially accounting for Kalogeros' negative perception of Margarites as an authentic pottery centre. Whatever the reason, this finding contradicts conclusions by Zhou et al. (2015) that a) the economic and emotional benefits of tourism for host communities are closely linked, b) that many practitioners follow both motivations, and c) that practitioners benefiting economically from tourism experience closer emotional connections with their craft and so perceive it as more authentic.

#### *4.2.7 Shared Morally*

Links between authenticity and morality are highly influenced by tourism activities because ethical debates surrounding the commodification of ICH for tourist consumption often cause intra-community tensions (Ranwa, 2022). For ceramicists who perceive that they share their ICH in a morally acceptable way (for example, by educating visitors without heckling them), the personal satisfaction and moral validation they obtain through these interactions help them unlock existentially authentic experiences, and they heavily criticise those ceramicists who they perceive as amoral and thus inauthentic:

*These people are here on vacation, they're not here to support me! How would they know what they'll find when they enter a shop? They come in to see what they might find! And for me to go to them like the kamákia<sup>7</sup> [trans. harpoon] at the beach? No, I condemn this attitude! I condemn it and, thus, I don't do it myself! This is what sells! This way brings more sales, but it doesn't leave a good impression. [Kalogeros, ceramicist]*

Kalogeros passionately describes how for him authentic ICH encompasses the intentions and ethics behind crafting processes, expressly condemning those who undermine these values and commoditise their hospitality in pursuit of tourist-related economic gain. Andriotis (2003) similarly noted that tourism has reduced traditional Cretan hospitality values and local patterns of interaction so that relationships between residents and tourists are becoming increasingly commodified. The root of perceived immoral inauthenticity in Margarites may therefore be traced to tensions between how different actors balance economic and social benefits of tourism (Wherry, 2006). It follows that tourism activities may activate perceptions of morality as authenticity because they bring to light the perceived *immorality* of some ICH practices catered to tourist demand.

#### 4.2.8 Summary of Impacts

These impacts (summarised in *Table 4.2*) indicate that tourism has a limited overall effect on how community members perceive the *strength* of ICH authenticity for every element except tradition (almost unanimously perceived as strengthened by tourism) and morality (weakened). However, tourism indirectly affects how community members perceive the *nature* of authentic ICH for every element, because commodification of ICH for tourist consumption alters the values imbued by community members upon their craft (Gordon, 2022). Both authenticity and ICH are fluid and therefore constantly-shifting concepts affected by the contemporary context of tourism in which they are situated (Handapangoda et al., 2019).

**Table 4.2: Summary of Impacts of Tourism on Perceptions of ICH Authenticity.**

Element	Impact
Practiced in Margarites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourist demand for authentic ICH makes the village synonymous with its ICH</li> <li>• Economic benefits of tourism strengthen perceptions of ICH as authentic, increasing support for tourism</li> </ul>
Linked with local tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourist demand for traditional ceramics strengthens community identity, attachment to ICH, and perceptions of tradition as authentic</li> <li>• Tourist demand for modern-style ceramics increases the perceived importance of tradition as a determinant of authenticity</li> </ul>
Limited to historic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism developments expose residents to new ICH knowledges which challenge binaries between historic authenticity and modern inauthenticity</li> </ul>
Produced individually	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychological benefits of tourism (increased self-worth and attachment to craft) reinforce perceptions of handcrafted as authentic</li> </ul>
Interpreted in original way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Varied tourist demand leads practitioners to perceive originality as authenticity</li> <li>• Differing values of originality as authenticity create tensions between practitioners</li> </ul>
Practiced with emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism reinforces perceptions of authentic ICH as dependent on positive emotional <i>input</i> by generating positive emotional <i>output</i> through practitioner-visitor relationships</li> <li>• Differing perceptions of how to balance authentic emotional expression and <i>inauthentic</i> income create tensions between practitioners</li> </ul>

<sup>7</sup> Slang for men who 'chat-up' women.

Element	Impact
Shared morally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perspectives of morality as authenticity stem from psychological and social benefits of engaging with tourism in a way true to practitioners' authentic selves</li> <li>• Tourism-related commodification creates tensions between practitioners with different perspectives on how to balance economic and social benefits of engaging morally with ICH</li> </ul>

### 4.3 Impacts of Tourism on ICH Authenticity Practices

This section answers research question three by evaluating the impacts of tourism on how Margarites community members authenticate and authentically practice their ICH. The structure of this section mirrors the previous two, with the economic, social, and psychological impacts of tourism evaluated for each element of authenticity previously discussed (Zhou et al., 2015). Links between community *perceptions* and *practices* of authentic ICH are investigated by evaluating levels of community attachment to ICH, support for tourism, and participation in tourism activities (Guerra et al., 2022). Findings are presented in a summary table.

#### 4.3.1 Practiced in Margarites

Participants largely agree that tourism is intrinsic to any discussion of ICH practices, because tourism is the reason why the Margaritan ceramic industry survives today:

*Where the tourists didn't go, the pottery died. There were here [on Crete] five pottery villages, and because of the tourism, there are two of them left, hopefully. Otherwise, we didn't talk about pottery today, if tourism hadn't come in the 1960s and 70s. This time it was the big crash for pottery. Luckily in Margarites, some tourists used to come and say "ah, can I have a souvenir", and potters started making again. [Gregor, ceramicist]*

Tourism demand makes ceramic production in Margarites economically viable, implying that some portrayal of local craft is better than "none at all", however authentic (Stanton, 1989, p. 249). Constructivist scholars (e.g., Chhaba, 2005; Guerra et al., 2022) similarly note that ICH practitioners including Stelios and Melecio infuse their crafting products with authenticity by capitalising on the perceived authenticity of Margarites as a ceramics centre and charging more for their locally-crafted products. Tourist demand also allows non-ceramicists to strengthen their attachment to Margarites and their ICH by living there and selling imported products, even if they do not possess technical knowledges required to craft (Medina, 2003). Participation in tourism activities therefore allows both ceramicists and non-ceramicists to authenticate their identities as residents of a pottery village.

Despite the importance that ceramicists assign to practicing authentic crafts locally, a growing minority of ceramic products sold in Margaritan tourist shops are produced outside the village:

*[gestures to display] That's not ceramics. It's not. It's made from white clay, but it's not from the village. And many shops here have ceramics not from the village. Look, I don't know where the producer is. [...] All those are made in China. They are popular with the tourists compared to my other products. My customers know that it's not authentic, okay. If they go to the next shop, they know that they are the producers. They still enjoy buying them, of course, [because of] the colours, maybe, the blue, the eyes, the cat. [Teresa, shopkeeper]*

For Teresa, place-bound elements to authenticity are so important that she de-authenticates her imported products as neither ceramics nor ICH. Regardless, she sells these products to meet tourist demand for stereotypical symbolic representations of Greek culture, which for her customers signify an authentically local site of production (Hsu, 2018). In so doing, Teresa shifts the burden of consuming authentic crafts from herself to tourists, which Mkono (2020) describes as a form of "inauthentic

Being” arising from the moral hypocrisy of failing “to be true to one’s own standards” (p. 1) and diminishing her existential authenticity. Although recent studies (e.g., Lee et al., 2021; Papathanassis, 2017) conclude that educating tourists about local culture helps enhance the authenticity of destinations and reduce cultural erosion, a growing body of existential scholarship (e.g., Asplet & Cooper, 2000; Xie & Wall, 2002) notes that when many tourists lack knowledge of local culture, the responsibility of upholding authentic culture falls to community members. Despite Teresa’s burden shifting, Margaritan community members must therefore continue to not only respond to external demand but produce and perpetuate it (Xie & Wall, 2002). Nevertheless, Teresa also shifts the burden of authentically practicing crafts to ceramicists in “the next shop”, just as many ceramicists rely on other practitioners (most commonly Gregor) to uphold authentic ICH by practicing their craft in traditional ways, potentially reducing the ability of the community to preserve its authentic ICH should those few practitioners retire (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993).

Margarites’ reputation as a pottery centre encourages international ceramicists to move there and form emotional connections to the place (Ap & Crompton, 1993). This process is especially important because generational knowledge-sharing processes historically central to ICH transmission are diminishing as local children are presented with alternative professional opportunities – recently, Melecio was the youngest ceramicist practicing in Margarites at 46 years old. A lack of interest in ceramic crafts among younger generations is widely reported to pose a potential threat to future tourism developments, (e.g., Oueslati & Slimene, 2022; Ismail & Prajanti, 2020; Pham Hong et al., 2021; Maruyama et al., 2008). potentially significantly eroding the authenticity of ICH long-term. The actions of international ceramicists briefly studying in Margarites, whilst arguably not so effective in preserving ICH authenticity as craftspeople residing there permanently, is nonetheless a better alternative to a total lack of engagement in ICH by local youth. Non-practitioners thus attempt to promote international mobility to Margarites by establishing rental properties exclusively for student ceramicists, evidencing how even short-term contributions to authentic, place-based ceramic production increase levels of community support for tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993).

#### 4.3.2 *Linked with Local Tradition*

One of the most widely reported impacts of tourism on Margaritan ICH practices is a recent shift by most ICH practitioners away from producing traditional-style ceramics to favour more modern forms:

*We have changed the culture, I think. Because they (ceramics) are more modern. Gregor, he keeps making traditional styles... it’s very good in the village, 2 or 3 ceramicists have held very much to this tradition, to show the ceramics of our village. Gregor keeps the tradition in the modern time. [Stelios, ceramicist]*

Most ceramicists refer to Gregor’s work as a rare and exemplary example of authentic “traditional” ICH due to his knowledges and techniques, including digging raw material from Mt Psiloritis, firing using home-built wood kilns, and decorating using a sheep-wool paintbrush. The additional time, economic cost and physical labour required to produce ceramics this way, as well as the minimal economic benefits from tourist demand which favours cheaper products and more modern aesthetics means that Gregor is the only practitioner in Margarites to adhere to such traditional crafting practices, contrasting findings by David (2007) and Maruyama et al. (2008) that craftspeople intentionally adhere to traditional manufacturing techniques even as they alter the exterior appearance of the piece to appeal to tourist demand. Practicing ICH in authentically traditional ways is thus a continuous and conscious choice that ICH practitioners must constantly perform (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Tourism therefore facilitates authenticity for and among its practitioners by “stimulating a revival of local interest” in traditional culture (Shepard, 2002, p. 184), not necessarily *improving* the authenticity of ICH but rather prevent it from being eroded as it otherwise might be by

helping the communities who practice them stay aware of the dangers of losing traditions and providing economic incentive to keep those traditions alive (Gordon, 2022).

#### 4.3.3 Limited to Historic Context

If participants define authentic ICH as strictly confined to the past, we may assume that contemporary tourism activities can have no impact on the authenticity of inherently inauthentic ICH practices today. However, Kalogeros' display of Minoan and Margaritan-style *pithoi* outside his workshop challenge this assumption by illustrating how ceramicists adapt historic crafting practices:



**Figure 4.4:** *Pithoi* in foreground is Minoan [in style].  
*Pithoi* in background is from Margarites [in style].  
[Kalogeros, ceramicist]

Kalogeros draws inspiration from historic *pithoi* to craft contemporary ceramics, then utilises their visible connections with antiquity to create cultural bridges between the past and the present, so demonstrating his skill as an ICH practitioner and activating his authentic sense of identity as a Margarites craftsman (Castillo-Villar & Merlo-Simoni, 2022). Dumont describes such display *pithoi* as “the perfect example of authentic products but made for an inauthentic use”, symbols of authentic antiquity rather than authentically functional tools. Tourism-related income therefore indirectly facilitates opportunities for Margaritan ceramicists to produce replicas of historic ceramics, which over time often “come to be seen as ‘authentic objects’ in their own right” (Moore et al., 2021, p. 5) because of their connections with local history. Through the authentication of tangible ceramic replicas, the craftspeople producing these objects may authenticate themselves too (Bruner, 1994). Kalogeros also authenticates his identity as a craftsman by utilising *pithoi* as a symbolic depiction of how he practices authentic ICH *in spite of* tourism activities rather than because of them. Cracks in the foreground pot formed when a tourist opened a hot kiln despite warnings, and its display warns future visitors not to interfere with Kalogeros' crafting processes or the rich cultural history of the village. In cleaving apart the authenticity of his craft from tourism practices, Kalogeros indicates that the two are not so intertwined as other participants and scholars (e.g., Guerra et al., 2022) conclude.

Kalogeros' conscious division of authenticity and tourism is held by only a minority of ICH practitioners, most of whom recognise the economic potential of tourist demand to allow them to recreate historic ceramic practices. A notable example is Gregor and Dureau's collaborative work on an archaeological project that involved them studying Minoan sarcophagi to discern the techniques and tools involved in their creation, then reproducing one in a revival of ancient crafting practices:

*Last year I had a big project with an archaeologist from Sorbonne, Paris [...] From that times, no one has made again the sacrophage [trans. sarcophagus], they – the archaeologists – did*

*not know how to make it. So, a lady from this university came, and we did one for her. And I asked my friend to make it together.* [Gregor, ceramicist]

Tourism-related income allows ceramicists to accept less well-paid archaeological projects that further academic understandings of historic ICH practices. Previous archaeological projects such as Minoan cooking pots produced for tourist demonstrations also establish links between historic crafting practices and other traditional cultural elements including food, highlighting how ceramic crafting ICH is only one facet of Margarites' total heritage offering. Simultaneously engaging with knowledges concerning multiple ICH forms enables those involved to harness tourist demand for historic ceramics to revive numerous authentic knowledges and practice a variety of authentic skills (Briassoulis, 2003; Moore et al., 2021).

#### 4.3.4 Produced Individually

Despite perceiving hand-crafting practices as inherently authentic, ceramicists experience pressure to meet high levels of tourist demand for authentically hand-crafted products, which are often time-consuming to produce without losing their authentic uniqueness and economic value (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993). Tourist demand also makes it difficult to obtain help by increasing competition among ceramicists and reducing the time available to train students:

*If somebody knows the work, they can help us. Because for one person who doesn't know the work, it's very difficult to learn in one day, one month. There they must have lot of experience. It is better. And there are a lot of people with experience in Margarites, but if you do you have your own shop!* [Mateo, ceramicist]

Although interactions with tourists encourage practitioners to share their craft on a superficial level (i.e., through brief demonstrations), the time-consuming practice of hand-crafting ceramics limits opportunities for practitioners to share their craft with potential students, hindering knowledge-sharing processes characteristic of ICH and potentially weakening the long-term resilience of the Margarites crafting community (cf. Pham Hong et al., 2021). Ceramicists therefore appear to favour maintaining the authenticity of their own production (and thus their personal identities as authentic craftspeople) over training the next generation of practitioners, indicating a wider trend of individualism that numerous participants report as characteristic of the Margarites ceramic community. Nevertheless, this individualistic attitude could offer a short-term measure of social protection against the erosion of authenticity, since ceramicists' concern with practicing their craft in unique ways limits the extent to which mass-produced crafts can replace authentic hand-crafting practices (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993). As Wherry (2006) argues, although "handicrafts are not immune to the loss of authenticity, they offer one of the more stable product forms" (p. 28), so long as they remain economically viable to practice.

#### 4.3.5 Interpreted in Original Way

Some ceramicists fear that the increasing homogenisation of crafting practices and products by ceramicists seeking to meet tourist demand is eroding the Margarites' authenticity as a ceramic centre and tourist destination:

*The Europeans, when they come and they see the blue sky and the blue pottery, they say "ah, blue pottery is the best!", and they buy blue pottery. [...] And most of the potters, they stopped making anything else, and they make only blue pottery. [...] It changes the production. Because if you do blue pottery, then you stop making something else. And that way, slowly, slowly, some old ways are gone.* [Gregor, ceramicist]

For ceramicists who value originality in authenticity, the commodification and standardisation of ceramics for tourist consumption contributes to a gradual erosion of authentic ICH in a process of

“tourism-as-cannibal” which “ultimately consumes itself” (Shephard, 2002, p. 186). Kalogeros describes visitors as being “disgusted” at the standardisation of Margaritan ceramics, evidencing how declining authenticity compromises tourism viability and community support (Zhou et al., 2015). Cohen (1993) concluded that craft heterogenisation may result from competition between craftspeople, who invent new crafting styles to achieve monopolistic commercial advantage over others but are copied when their products become economically successful. Waves of innovation and dissemination are evidenced in Margarites by recent trends of wine sets, tealight holders, and blue pottery, indicating that despite fears ceramicists retain some capacity to adapt to changing tourist demand. Maruyama et al. (2008) similarly concluded that processes of homogenisation do not necessarily correlate with diminished authenticity but are considered by host community members to be cultural “enlargements” rather than erosions. This finding illustrates a need to turn from the dichotomy of original-as-natural and a copy-as-degrading that has historically dominated tourism scholarship (Shephard, 2002).

Furthermore, varied tourist demand has encouraged ceramicists to diversity how they practice their craft because it drives *internal* motivations to innovate (for Emilija, crafting practices are “like a sport interest to make something different every year”). Interactions with tourists also provide *external* inspirations to innovate:



**Figure 4.5:** A young couple they see that and they say “oh, also try to make something like this, it’s very nice”, and they showed me, and then with time I make it. So sometimes I like to hear people who give me ideas. [Stelios, ceramicist]

Stelios describes inspiration and adaptation as a benefit of tourist interactions, in direct contradiction of predications made by Voyatzoglou (1974) before tourism became established in Margarites that “in the case of an art laden with such a long tradition, total obliteration is more probable than adaptation to new conditions. [...] Technical and aesthetic experimentation have no place in the *vendema*<sup>8</sup>”. Instead, the interactive practices of Margaritan ceramicists contribute to the creative (re)production of traditional Cretan ceramic lifestyles which consciously construct authentic identity and promote cooperation among community members (Bardone et al., 2013). The resultant transformation of meanings associated with cultural experiences and products may encourage practitioners to further innovate their crafting practices and so activate novel states of their authentic selves (Lee et al., 2021). Handapangoda et al. (2019) similarly argue that because craftspeople must continuously balance

<sup>8</sup> *Vendemo* is the system of work for traditional Cretan *pithoi* makers.

creative expression and economic viability by aligning their crafting practices to suit the tastes of an external market without stifling their creative potential, participation in tourism activities simultaneously strengthens the self-identity and authentic sense of Being experienced by those ICH practitioners who use their craft as a form of creative expression and erodes it for those who do not.

#### 4.3.6 Practiced with Emotion

For some participants, their emotional connection to their ICH is an intrinsic internal element to their crafting process and so cannot be influenced by external tourism activities. These practitioners often fear that the authenticity of Margarites as a ceramics centre is increasingly eroded by others motivated by financial gain:

*I don't think that the tourism affected my work. I was always authentic. But, I have another opinion for the other people who work now, and I am very sad because now people want money, and they argue about money, always. [Makhail, retired ceramicist]*

Makhail describes how the economic advantages of tourism translate into social *disadvantages* including diminished respect for tradition among community members, undermined authenticity of ICH practices and products, and moral divisions within the crafting community. Brunt and Compton (1999) similarly note that tourism development can significantly change residents' relationships with one another as well as to their community, a tension particularly apparent in Margarites regarding imported products, which, being “produced, distributed and consumed with few emotional attachments” (Swanson & Timothy, 2012, p. 490) lose their authenticity as objects representing local culture, diminish the overall authenticity of Margarites as a pottery village, and threaten its sustainability as a tourism destination (Panikkaveetil et al., 2020).

Tourism scholarship generally agrees that ICH practitioners are trapped between the economic pressures of globalisation and emotional desires to express their culture, accounting for some of the tensions described by Makail as arising between community members (Schilar & Keskitalo, 2018). Notably, this divide appears to be somewhat one-sided; ceramicists perceive that shopkeepers importing mass-produced, “emotionless” ceramics are eroding the authenticity of Margaritan ICH, whilst shopkeepers selling these objects do not perceive emotion to be an important element of authentic practices, illustrating the subjective and context-dependent nature of craft authentication.

#### 4.3.7 Shared Morally

Tourism activities provide a means of self-authentication for ICH practitioners through knowledge-sharing processes including crafting demonstrations for tourists:



**Figure 4.6:** *Contact with clay gives joy, peace, and happiness! We see it from the eyes of children as well as adults!! These are photos from our own contact with our fellow human beings!!!*  
[Kairos, ceramicist]

Schilar and Keskitalo (2018) describe authentication processes as discursive dialectics between producers and consumers which provide opportunities for ceramicists to negotiate the meanings associated with their ICH. Furthermore, practitioners may utilise the emotional benefits of interactions invoking feelings of connection with humanity to authenticate themselves as craftspeople. Ceramicists sharing a crafting moment with tourists may experience a temporary state of existential authenticity due to the creative, cathartic nature of the activity, regardless of the constructive authenticity of the ceramics produced (Daniel, 1996). This process is particularly effective when tourists are ceramicists; Melecio describes how “potters from everywhere in the world” visit Margarites to learn from local craftspeople, validating local ceramic expertise and allowing both parties to unlock existentially authentic experiences by sharing knowledges (Wang, 1999). Ceramic-driven tourism to Margarites also creates the visitor demand necessary for community members to practice and share other crafts (e.g., Teresa, who makes jewellery) in turn allowing these practitioners to authenticate their identities and products.

Despite these emotional benefits, around half of the ceramicists interviewed report frustration at a perceived decline in the moral integrity behind ICH sharing practices, arguing that financial motivations erode the authenticity of the village as a ceramic centre:

*Somebody comes out and says, “come here, come, come, I’ll offer you raki!”, and this way of... Slavery, a kind of slavery, this way. I don’t like at all. Because it doesn’t show dignity. [...] When I speak with somebody who doesn’t respect the village, and he makes things in bad taste, I cannot have relations with him. So, there are people I don’t speak at all with. [Makhail, retired ceramicist]*

For Makhail, ICH products are only as authentic as the morality of techniques used to authenticate them for sale. Makhail harnesses his moral integrity to showcase the authenticity of his products and authenticate himself as their crafter. In comparison, other community members authenticate themselves and their products through extreme hospitality (or “slavery”), commodifying traditional Cretan hospitality culture until it becomes a business front increasingly removed from the reality of everyday life (Wall & Xie, 2005). The resultant divide between practitioners adopting different

approaches to authenticating their crafts highlights how participant definitions of authentic ICH as being produced with originality, emotion, and moral integrity are subjective and intertwined.

Participants criticise immoral price undercutting by certain ceramicists as eroding Margarites' authenticity as a tourist destination. Eva describes how one ceramicist is forced to "sell his large mugs for a shocking €4" although "realistically he would need to ask about €12" for his business to remain economically viable. This undercutting is exacerbated by a minority of cheap, imported ceramics sold in the village, with one shopkeeper explaining how they "baptise" customers to reshape their expectations of Margaritan ceramics, potentially eroding its long-term authenticity as a ceramics centre by encouraging tourists to favour 'inauthentic' mass-produced products over 'authentic' crafts (Timothy & Boyle, 2003). Consequently, community members predict unlikely scenarios of hyper-aggressive economic landscapes characterised by uncontrollable price inflation and business buy-outs. Even avoiding this extreme, participants largely agree that Margarites lacks a strong crafting community, hindering potential collaboration between ceramicists against the incursion of inauthentic ceramics into their market and indicating that inauthenticity through immorality weakens opposition to future inauthenticity in a positive feedback (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006).

#### 4.3.8 Summary of Impacts

These findings (summarised in *Table 4.3*) indicate that although participation in tourism activities fosters tensions between community members with different approaches to practicing and sharing their ICH, participation in tourism activities presents otherwise non-existent opportunities for practitioners to authenticate their ICH and themselves and so has a net positive impact on the authenticity of Margaritan ceramic crafts.

**Table 4.3: Summary of Impacts of Tourism on Practices of ICH Authenticity.**

Element	Impact
Practiced in Margarites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourist demand facilitates the continuation of Margaritan ceramic production, however authentic</li> <li>• ICH practitioners authenticate crafting practices and products by signifying their local site of production</li> <li>• Imported ceramics increasingly erode Margarites' authenticity as a crafting centre</li> <li>• Community members shift the burden of practicing authentic crafts to a few practitioners, potentially reducing long-term community resilience</li> <li>• Local ICH production attracts international ceramicists who temporarily engage in authentic ICH practices</li> </ul>
Linked with local tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism stimulates a revival of community interest in traditional culture</li> <li>• Tourist demand for modern-style ceramics means few practitioners practice crafts using traditional forms and techniques</li> </ul>
Limited to historic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contemporary crafting practices are authenticated through comparison with displayed historic ceramics</li> <li>• Tourist income allows ceramicists to engage in archaeological projects that (re)create ancient ICH knowledges</li> <li>• Historic authenticity should be considered as fluid and multi-faceted, not an ultimatum</li> </ul>
Produced individually	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ceramicists attempt to maintain authentic hand-crafting practices whilst meeting growing tourist demand, a balance that reduces the time available to train students and so safeguard ICH authenticity long-term</li> </ul>
Interpreted in original way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourist demand simultaneously encourages a standardisation of crafting practices that erodes ICH authenticity and inspires innovation and creative expression that strengthen it</li> </ul>
Practiced with emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commodification of ICH for tourism consumption increasingly shifts motivations for practicing ICH from emotional to financial, fostering intra-community tensions</li> </ul>
Shared morally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Practitioners authenticate themselves, their practices, and their products through tourist interactions</li> </ul>

Element	Impact
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tourism activities emphasise differing perceptions in ceramicists' moral approaches to sharing their ICH, fostering intra-community tensions</li> </ul>

#### 4.4 Summary of Findings

Tourism has a net positive impact on the authenticity of Margaritan ICH because without the financial stability supplied by tourist demand it is likely ceramic ICH would die out in Margarites as it has done in numerous other Cretan pottery centres. That is, although community members do not *improve* the authenticity of ICH by participating in tourist activities, such economic activities prevent authentic ICH from being eroded as otherwise might happen (Gordon, 2022). Furthermore, community members (including non-practitioners) engaging in tourism activities unlock opportunities to access and develop their authentic selves, preserving the constructive authenticity of tangible craft products and promoting the existential authenticity of those crafting them (Moore et al., 2021). However, tensions arise between community members with different perceptions of how best to practice their ICH authentically, particularly regarding people-based elements of authenticity involving concepts of originality, emotional expression, and morality, potentially reducing the long-term resilience of the community as an authentic cultural centre (Pham Hong et al., 2021). As such, although tourism has a limited overall effect on how community members perceive the *strength* of ICH authenticity, tourism indirectly affects how community members perceive the *nature* of authentic ICH because both authenticity and ICH are fluid concepts constantly shifting in response to the context they are situated in (Handapangoda et al., 2019).

## Chapter 5. Conclusion

The Cretan pottery village of Margarites largely depends on the tourism sector as its main source of income. Rising tourist numbers are placing increasing pressure on ICH practitioners to protect the authenticity of their ceramic craft (and thus the sustainability of Margarites as a ceramics centre and tourism destination) in the face of rapidly growing demand. This study employed an interpretivist approach that amalgamates constructionist and existentialist perspectives of authenticity to investigate how tourism impacts the perceptions and practices of Margarites community members regarding the authenticity of their ceramic crafting ICH.

### 5.1 Summary of Findings

#### *5.1.1 Research Question 1: How do Margarites community members define 'authentic ICH'?*

Margarites community members acknowledge numerous, diverse, and simultaneously operating interpretations of authenticity intricately woven into a tapestry of *place*-related elements (site of production and links to tradition and history) and *people*-related elements (individuality, originality, emotional investment, and morality). People-related elements dominate community definitions of authenticity, with the two most referenced elements being individuality (uniqueness through hand-crafting) and originality (creative expression and innovation). Through moral, emotional and creative intentions, practitioners breathe life and ideological significance into tangible ceramics to imbue them with unique and relative social meaning intrinsically tied to their tradition, identity and authenticity (Hughes, 1995). Authenticity may therefore be framed as a dynamic and ever-changing choice which practitioners must continuously make (Mkono, 2020). As Boyle (2004) concluded, the most authentic ICH is often “the most human” (p.44).

Complex, interconnected relationships between elements of authenticity appear inherent to community realities despite academic attempts to neatly sub-categorise the concept (Rickly, 2022). The reluctance of many practitioners to voice the term ‘authentic’ for fear of fostering intra-community tensions by implying that another’s work is *inauthentic* sheds light on the often-overlooked discord between theoretical constructs and real-world contexts. These findings underscore the need for an approach to understanding authenticity unrestrained by academic divisions that instead respects and is grounded in the multifaceted realities of the community (Cole, 2007; Wall & Xie, 2005). The structure of results presented in this thesis evidence this approach.

#### *5.1.2 Research Question 2: How does tourism impact community perceptions of authentic ICH?*

Tourism impacts how Margarites community members perceive the authenticity of their ICH through a complex interplay between economic, social and psychological factors (cf. Zhou et al., 2015; Khanom et al., 2019). From an economic perspective, commodification of ICH for tourist consumption affects how community members perceive the nature of authentic ICH by altering the values they imbue upon their craft (Gordon, 2022). For example, varied tourist demand results in a diversification of crafting practices and products, leading community members to place greater importance on elements of creativity and individuality in defining authenticity. The resultant adaptation of ICH to cater to contemporary tastes challenges traditional binaries between authentic historical and inauthentic modern crafts and highlights the need for ICH practitioners to negotiate tradition, emotion, ethics and economic sustainability as they preserve, protect and promote their authentic ICH (Wesener, 2017). Although ICH commodification strengthens perceptions of authenticity for individual elements (e.g., originality), the impact of tourism on the *overall* strength of authenticity is minimal because some elements (e.g., emotional and moral motivations) are perceived as being increasingly weakened as ceramicists pursue financial gain, to the extent that community members are increasingly importing

ceramics mass-produced overseas for sale in the village. Tourism therefore fosters intra-community tensions which compromise the constructive authenticity of crafting products and existential authenticity of their practitioners, highlighting how perceptions of authenticity are fluid, contradictory, and reflect the contexts in which they are perceived (cf. Cole, 2007; Guerra et al., 2022; Ranwa, 2022). Despite these contradictory perceptions, tourism and authentic ceramic ICH are perceived by Margarites residents to be so interwoven with the identity, economy, and social life of their community as to be almost unanimous with it.

### 5.1.3 Research Question 3: How does tourism impact community practices of authentic ICH?

Tourist demand for Margaritan ceramics makes the continuation of craftsmanship in Margarites economically viable and thus plays a pivotal role in sustaining the local ceramic industry, however authentic. In so doing, tourist demand stimulates a revival of interest in traditional culture, encouraging practitioners to continue crafting in innovative ways which reflect their heritage (Shepard, 2002). Diverse tourist demand therefore increases the variety of crafts practiced in Margarites compared to the homogenous *pithoi* production historically employed, despite concerns of diminishingly authentic ICH products and practices due to standardisation. Furthermore, tourism serves as a platform for knowledge sharing and interaction, allowing ceramicists to validate their skills and practices through demonstrations and exchanges with tourists, although the authenticity of such interactions is dependent on individual motivations (Moore et al., 2021). However, high levels of tourist demand reduce the time available to ceramicists to share knowledge and train future generations, potentially compromising the long-term authenticity of Margarites as a ceramics centre. This concern is particularly significant given that the community is experiencing a gradual generational shift away from traditional crafting practices as younger generations pursue alternative employment opportunities (cf. Oueslati & Slimene, 2022; Ismail & Prajanti, 2020; Pham Hong et al., 2021; Maruyama et al., 2008). The diverse ways in which community members authenticate and authentically practice their craft underscore the importance of striking a balance between economic viability, innovation of tradition, emotional connection, and moral integrity when informing future endeavours to safeguard and celebrate Margarites' ceramic crafting ICH and ensure its continued relevance and resonance in the lives of both practitioners and broader society.

## 5.2 Implications & Recommendations

The theoretical implications of this thesis concern high-level conceptualisations of authenticity. During the course of this research, it became increasingly clear that traditional academic distinctions between objective, constructive and existential authenticity are so focussed on deconstructing the concept from a high-level theoretical perspective to understand what authenticity 'is' that they fail to account for the actors, audiences, objective materialities and other practical circumstances involved in constructing, performing and experiencing authenticity in the real world (i.e., what authenticity 'means' and 'does') (cf. Wall & Xie, 2005). Although this research adds to a growing list of tourism studies demonstrating that objective, constructive, and existential approaches to authenticity are intertwined (see Rickly (2022) for a full review), is one of a very few which actively integrates multiple approaches into an interpretivist framework focussed on community members, and the only one (to the author's knowledge at the time of submission) that integrates constructive and existential approaches to authenticity in recognition of its subjective and multifaceted nature.

One case study cannot fully unpick the multitude of conflicting ways in which authenticity acts and is acted on, not least because academic theorisations, however framed, are always approximations of reality (Clifford et al., 2016). However, this research opens a dialogue of authenticity founded in the real-world experiences, perceptions, and practices of host community members which could inform

theoretical conceptualisations of authenticity for tourism and heritage researchers investigating other crafting communities. Furthermore, an executive summary of this research (translated to Greek) will be made available to those community members wishing to receive it (Yin, 2014; Stake, 1995). This integration of the experiences and needs of ICH practitioners is key to addressing a neglect of host community actors in literature (Stefano et al., 2014), and also helps address the practical study aim, which is to ensure the long-term cultural sustainability of the Margarites community and their authentic ICH by informing local tourism management strategies (Kim et al., 2019). Based on the research findings, the following three practical recommendations to help Psiloritis UGGp avoid this situation are proposed:

### *5.2.1 Monitor the Impact of Tourism Growth*

The effects of tourism on the authenticity of Margaritan ICH could intensify as the tourism industry continues to develop (cf. Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Whilst current resident perceptions of tourism in Margarites are generally positive, it is important to proactively address potential challenges that could arise from tourism growth. As the number of visitors to Margarites increases, early warning signs of over-tourism which could compromise the authenticity of local ICH (including deepened community frictions, rising sales of imported ceramics, and decrease in traditional crafting techniques) should be closely monitored through collaborative efforts involving local stakeholders and Psiloritis UGGp (Vourdoubas, 2020). Regular assessments of how tourism impacts both the community and the authenticity of their ICH should be conducted to help identify and mitigate these challenges before they become entrenched. This monitoring is particularly important given that before the advent of tourism in Margarites 'traditional' crafting practices endured with minimal change for around 3000 years, a striking contrast to the rapidly shifting trends in forms, techniques, tools, and inspirations that have occurred since this time (Keramion, 2022). Tourism therefore accelerates how authentic ICH is continuously, selectively, and imaginatively (re)invented by practitioners, highlighting the need to secure the adaptive capacity of host communities to monitor and benefit from such changes in the future (Handapangoda et al., 2019).

### *5.2.2 Redistribute the Responsibility of Practicing Authentic ICH*

The current reliance of the Margarites community on several individuals (Gregor and Kalogeros) to produce traditional ceramics raises concerns about the future preservation of authentic ICH, particularly considering that Kalogeros plans to imminently retire. To distribute the burden of upholding authentic ICH, the community should actively seek opportunities to involve more local potters in producing traditional-inspired pieces (cf. Handapangoda et al., 2019). Specifically, these opportunities should be targeted towards those ceramicists who identify tradition as an intrinsic element to authentic ICH, but who do not personally engage in traditional crafting practices, since these community members already possess relevant skills and interest. This may be achieved by encouraging partnerships between Gregor and other skilled potters, or by organising collaborative pottery events which celebrate the community's traditional crafting heritage (Elkasrawy, 2020). The sense of collective ownership and responsibility for ICH arising from these events could encourage ceramicists to value and practice their ICH outside a tourism context, which is essential to preserving its authenticity since tourism presents a viable *complement* to traditional industries, rather than an alternative or complete substitute (Ounanian, 2019). This approach may also diversify the ceramic offering of the Margarites community and allow ceramicists to identify new, traditional-inspired products which appeal to a different target market than they already cater to (Pham Hong et al., 2021). This is not to say that all Margaritan ceramicists should be pressured to pursue traditional crafting practices – although a greater wealth of ceramicists honouring traditional crafting techniques and knowledges could reinforce this aspect of authentic ICH, care should be taken to acknowledge the subjective and conflicting perceptions and values expressed by community members, which if

unaccounted for, could counterproductively undermine other elements of authenticity (Sotiriadis, 2017).

Furthermore, the responsibility for preserving traditional crafting practices may be redistributed by identifying potential apprentices (cf. Pham Hong et al., 2021). It is especially important to promote interest in ceramic crafts among local young people because many exhibit diminishing interest in their cultural heritage despite proving essential to safeguarding authentic ICH long-term (Su et al., 2020b). This may be achieved by establishing collaborative initiatives which merge traditional techniques with contemporary appeal, for example through workshops, school programs, and mentorships led by renowned ceramicists which leverage digital platforms and social media to encourage young people to develop emotional connections to their rich cultural heritage (Ismail & Prajanti, 2020). Although the greatest motivation for stimulating the learning of ICH inheritors is by improving their value cognition level (Su et al., 2020b), establishing ceramics as a viable profession by highlighting its economic prospects could also entice local youth to pursue ceramic crafts. In the meantime, Margarites ceramicists should continue to encourage international students to study in the village and so contribute (however briefly) to local crafting practices, for example by making affordable housing options available. Exploring ways to connect international students with local initiatives may also help enhance the intercultural exchange that contributes to the authenticity of local ICH, allowing Margarites to secure its ceramic legacy by cultivating inheritors to carry it forward (Oueslati & Slimene, 2022). As Su et al. (2020b, p. 828) note: “only by effectively training ICH talent can heritage protection work be sustainable”.

### *5.2.3 Educate Tourists about Margaritan ICH*

The incursion of internationally-produced pottery into Margarites presents an opportunity to educate both tourists and community members about the importance of supporting authentic local craftsmanship. Display boards could be set up in strategic locations to offer insights into the cultural significance of local ceramic production and highlight the differences between authentic locally-made products and imported alternatives. This educational approach could also draw attention to the interactive workshops and demonstrations already run by local ceramicists which allow visitors to witness the authentic crafting process firsthand. Additionally, ceramicists could establish a system of quality control or certification that helps consumers distinguish between authentic locally crafted ceramics and imported products (cf. Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011). By raising awareness and fostering a deeper appreciation for authentic ceramics, the community can encourage tourists to make more informed purchasing decisions, thereby contributing to the preservation of Margarites' cultural identity (Lee et al., 2021; Papathanassis, 2017).

Incorporating these recommendations into Margarites' tourism management strategy should facilitate a balanced approach that capitalises on the economic benefits of tourism while safeguarding the authenticity of its Intangible Cultural Heritage. Through collaboration, education, and proactive monitoring, the community can ensure that future generations continue to experience the villages' rich cultural identity.

## **5.3 Limitations & Further Enquiries**

This study contributes to filling numerous research gaps by investigating how host communities define, manage and practice authentic ICH in a Cretan context, but several study limitations should be addressed.

Although the small size of the Margarites community was accounted for during research design by adopting gatekeeper and snowballing approaches to participant selection, the practicalities of sourcing representative participants for this study during fieldwork nevertheless presented a

challenge. Despite efforts to maximise representation by including ceramicists, students, and shopkeepers in this study, the predominance of English-speaking participants (88%) could introduce bias in the data collected (Clifford et al., 2016). This bias is compounded because those with high levels of English are often non-Greek and do not possess the family crafting history and associated knowledges and values otherwise prevalent in the village. Notably, potters who declined participation when approached with a Greek-speaking interpreter largely produced the standardised “blue pottery” criticised by some ceramicists as eroding the authenticity of local ICH, although their lack of participation means that limited evidenced conclusions may be drawn from this observation. The reluctance of this demographic to engage with the study topic may therefore impact the breadth of perspectives captured by this research (Patton, 2002).

Another methodological short-coming pertains to the use of auto-photography. Despite being theoretically innovative and suited for this study due to its participatory and non-language dependent nature (Johnsen et al., 2008), this method proved a practical challenge to explain to community members, who, being used to tourists taking photos of their wares, struggled to understand that *they* were expected to take the photographs rather than the ‘tourist’ researcher. Furthermore, community members’ time constraints due to their long working hours meant that many who promised to complete the auto-photography task did not, even with numerous in-person explanations and prompts. As a result, only one participant was sourced through auto-photography, despite initial intentions to widen the breadth of perspectives captured by this research method. Finally, because photographs are merely representations of reality constructed by participants’ perspectives and intentions, the interpretations of images in this study are inherently influenced by cultural and contextual factors (Kendon, 2003). Despite best efforts to limit the potential misinterpretations or misrepresentations of participants’ intentions by employing Rose’s (2012) critical visual methodology, the findings drawn from this method should be interpreted with a critical awareness of the role of participant agency in shaping visual data.

Finally, this study’s reliance on a single-case approach limits the generalisability of its findings and recommendations to other ceramic centres. Whilst a case-study approach allows for a detailed and in-depth analysis of this specific case, allowing recommendations to be better tailored to local stakeholders and decision-makers including Psiloritis UGGp, it cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of how authenticity is perceived in different cultural contexts or regions (Clifford et al., 2016). Although through this case-study Margarites is framed as an island of tourism and ceramic production, in reality the community and its ICH are situated in a complex international web of people, products, flows, knowledges, and values, as evidenced by the inward migration of (student) ceramicists, the import of mass-produced ceramics, the export of locally-produced ceramics and, of course, visiting tourists (cf. Qiu et al., 2022). Furthermore, these international networks mean that the impacts of tourism “cannot be separated from more wide-ranging structural and cultural developments within contemporary societies (Urry & Larson, 2011, p. 78). Focussing exclusively on how tourism impacts authenticity therefore restricts the extent to which we can account for the role of non-tourism-related processes in affecting community perceptions and practices of authentic ICH. The aim of this research to understand the *particular* about the impacts of tourism on the authenticity of Margarites ICH rather than the *general* about tourism and ICH throughout Crete and beyond thus limits the implications of its findings (Stake, 1995).

Given this limitation of case-study research, as well as a general lack of studies considering how authenticity is *made*, what this *means*, and the role of host community members in determining these processes (Rickly, 2022), future research could compare Margarites with other Greek ceramic centres to provide insights into what extent the multitude of impacts on authentic ICH identified in this study

are a direct result of tourism activities. Additionally, further enquiries into how tourists in Margarites conceptualise authenticity and authenticate ICH could provide a valuable compliment to the experiences of host community members explored in this study. This research direction could prove especially insightful because tourists approach heritage with unique preconceptions and personal aims which must be closely aligned with those of community members to avoid the harmful re-interpretation of intended producer messages (Farrelly et al., 2019). Examining authenticity through tourist and practitioner lenses simultaneously could provide insights into how community members do, or could better, offer multidimensional representations of their ICH that enables different interpretations whilst preserving its essence and thus authenticity (Farrelly et al., 2019). The most effective heritage protection practices are, after all, those which account for the nature of authenticity as “an evolving concept of search and discovery” with numerous, contradictory, and irreconcilable meanings (Handapangoda et al., 2019, p. 433).

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## Appendix A: Data Collection Analysis

**Table A1: Data Collection Sample Analysis.**

	Absolute Number	Percent of Population (%)
Interviews approached	22	64.7%
Interviews conducted	16	47.1%
Auto-photography approached	25	73.5%
Auto-photography conducted	9	26.5%
<b>Total participants</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>50.0%</b>
Margin of error (90% confidence level)		14.4 %

**Table A2: Participant Demographics and Ceramic Backgrounds.**

Pseudonym	Age (approx.)/ Sex	Origin	Relationship with Ceramic Craft	Research Method
Mateo	35/male	Margarites	Ceramicist (3 <sup>rd</sup> generation)	Interview & Auto-photography
Kairos	60/female	Margarites	Ceramicist (3 <sup>rd</sup> generation)	Interview & Auto-photography
Gregor	55/male	Margarites	Ceramicist (2 <sup>nd</sup> generation)	Interview
Stelios	50/male	Margarites	Ceramicist	Interview & Auto-photography
Dureau	70/male	France	Ceramicist	Interview & Auto-photography
Melecio	50/male	Athens	Ceramicist	Interview & Auto-photography
Emilija	40/female	Lithuania	Ceramicist	Interview
Kalogeros	65/male	Margarites	Ceramicist	Interview & Auto-photography
Mikhail	75/male	Margarites	Ceramicist (Retired)	Interview & Auto-photography
Dumont	45/male	Switzerland	Student (Trains in Margarites annually)	Interview & Auto-photography
Eva	55/female	Germany	Student (Trains in Margarites annually)	Auto-photography
Merete	25/female	The Netherlands	Student (2-month programme)	Interview
Ofemija	25/female	Poland	Student (2-month programme)	Interview
Iliana	55/female	Margarites	Shopkeeper (Sells only ceramics)	Interview
Elissa	40/female	Margarites	Shopkeeper (Sells ceramics & other products)	Interview
Iakovos	60/male	Athens	Shopkeeper (Sells ceramics & other products)	Interview
Teresa	40/female	Margarites	Shopkeeper (Sells ceramics & other products)	Interview

## Appendix B: Interview Guide

**Table B1: Interview Guide.**

Research Section	Interview Content
Introduction	<p>Explain who I am &amp; the research I am conducting (previously held introductory meeting). Explain participation and consent form &amp; ask permission to audio record.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Could you give a brief introduction explaining who you are and what your connection to ceramic craft in Margarites is?</li> </ol>
RQ1. How do Margarites craftspeople define 'authentic ICH'?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. What makes ceramic craft authentic or inauthentic?</li> <li>3. What makes Margarites ceramic authentic or inauthentic?</li> <li>4. What does it mean to work with an authentic craft?               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What are the <i>benefits</i> of working with authentic crafts/cultural heritage?</li> <li>b. What are the <i>downsides</i> of working with authentic crafts/cultural heritage?</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
RQ2. How does tourism impact community <u>perceptions</u> of (existentially) authentic ICH?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. <i>Economic</i> impacts:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What proportion of your income does tourism bring you and your family?</li> <li>b. What are the <i>benefits</i> to making income from your ceramic heritage?                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Have these changed over time?</li> </ol> </li> <li>c. What are the <i>downsides</i> to making income from your ceramic heritage?                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Have these changed over time?</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> <li>6. <i>Social</i> impacts:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How does tourism (including visitors &amp; recreational activities) impact the atmosphere of Margarites?</li> <li>b. How does tourism impact your identity as a member of the Margarites community?</li> <li>c. How does tourism impact your identity as a Margarites potter/craftsperson?</li> <li>d. How does tourism impact your relationships within the community (including other craftspeople)?</li> </ol> </li> <li>7. <i>Psychological</i> impacts:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How does tourism impact your emotional connection with your ceramic craft/cultural heritage?                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Has this changed over time?</li> </ol> </li> <li>b. How does tourism impact levels of community attachment to ceramic crafts?</li> </ol> </li> <li>8. <i>Attitude to traditional culture</i>:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How does tourism impact your overall attitude to your ceramic craftsmanship?</li> <li>b. How does tourism impact the authenticity of Margarites ceramic craftsmanship? (Does tourism make ceramic craftsmanship more, or less authentic?)                   <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. How has your perception changed over time?</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> </ol>
RQ3. How does tourism impact community <u>practices</u> of (existentially) authentic ICH?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. How have levels of community support for tourism changed over time?</li> <li>10. How have levels of community participation in tourism activities changed over time?</li> <li>11. How does tourism impact how you <i>produce</i> authentic ceramics?</li> <li>12. How does tourism impact how you <i>share</i> authentic ceramics?</li> <li>13. How does tourism impact how you <i>preserve</i> and <i>protect</i> authentic ceramics?               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. How have these practices and processes changed over time?</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
End	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14. Is there anything else you would like to discuss in relation to authentic ceramic craft, cultural heritage, or tourism?  <i>Briefly explain the auto-photography task.</i></li> <li>15. Would you be willing to take part in this simple photography task?  <i>Many thanks.</i></li> </ol>

## Appendix C: Interview Consent Form

### Interview Participation Information & Consent

My name is Eleanor White, and I am a postgraduate Geography student at Radboud University (the Netherlands). I am working with UNESCO Psiloritis Geopark for my thesis project, examining the impacts of tourism on ceramic crafts in Margarites. My project aims to determine how the Margarites community understands, values and practices their cultural heritage, and how tourism affects this.

*You are invited to take part in this research project.*

### What will taking part involve?

You will be asked to participate in a short 1-hour interview in English, at a location of your choosing. The questions will be based around the objectives outlined above, exploring:

- Your relationship with and experiences of your cultural heritage
- How impacts of tourism, both positive and negative, affect how you *perceive* this heritage
- How impacts of tourism, both positive and negative, affect how you *practice* this heritage

### How will you benefit from taking part?

Your responses will provide a valuable contribution to this research project. The report will be made available to Psiloritis Geopark and other local stakeholders to assist in future tourism planning. At the end of the interview, you will be given the option of receiving a copy of the final report when it is completed in September 2023.

### What are your rights?

You have the right to reconsider and/or withdraw information at any point during and after the interview without giving any reason. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

### What will happen with your information?

Your personal contributions will be as confidential as possible, although Margarites as a village will be named. Your interview will be audio recorded for transcription purposes. Only Eleanor White and Huib Ernste (my university supervisor) will have access to the files and audio tapes. Your data will be anonymised – your name will not be used in any reports resulting from this study. All digital files, transcripts and summaries will be given codes and stored separately from any names or direct identification of participants. The report and interview transcripts may be archived at Radboud University for future students to access for their education.

Your privacy as a participant is protected according to applicable European law (European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)).

### What if you have a question?

Please don't hesitate to contact me at: [redacted email] and [redacted phone number]. If you have further concerns, you can contact Babis Fassoulas and Maria Kolendrianou at Psiloritis Geopark at: [redacted email] and [redacted phone number], or my university supervisor Prof. Huib Ernste at: [redacted email].

Many thanks, Eleanor White

### I have taken notice of the above information and give consent to take part in this study:

Name: .....

Date: (dd/mm/yy)

Signature:.....

## Appendix D: Interview Transcript Symbols

**Table D1: Interview Transcript Symbols (amended from Dunn, 2005: 98).**

Symbol	Meaning
//	The beginning of overlapping talk
...	Short, speaker-initiated pause
(...)	Longer, speaker-initiated pause
–	Unrelated, run-on clause
-	Speech that ended abruptly, without interruption
(mean.)	Meaning of discourse/ English clarification
(?)	Nest guess at what was said/ unintelligible word
[laughter]	Non-verbal actions, gestures, and facial expressions
[hesitantly]	Tone of voice
<i>Italic</i>	Stressed discourse

## Appendix E: Auto-photography Consent Forms

### Photography Participation Information & Consent

My name is Eleanor White, and I am a postgraduate Geography student at Radboud University (the Netherlands). I am working with UNESCO Psiloritis Geopark for my thesis project, examining the impacts of tourism on ceramic crafts in Margarites. My project aims to determine how the Margarites community understands, values and practices their cultural heritage, and how tourism affects this.

*You are invited to take part in this research project.*

#### What will taking part involve?

You are asked to participate in a simple photography task. Using a smartphone (or another easily accessible camera, I can provide if needed), please take no more than 10 pictures showing:

1. **Examples of authentic/inauthentic pottery**
2. **How tourism impacts the authenticity of Margarites' pottery heritage**

Please email each photo to Eleanor White with a short description of why you took it (in English or Greek) at: [redacted email] by *Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> May 2023*.

#### How will you benefit from taking part?

Your responses will provide a valuable contribution to this research project. The report will be made available to Psiloritis Geopark and other local stakeholders to assist in future tourism planning. You will be given the option of receiving a copy of the final report when it is completed in September 2023.

#### What are your rights?

You have the right to reconsider and/or withdraw photographs at any point without giving any reason. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

#### What will happen with your information?

Your photographs will be as confidential as possible, although Margarites as a village will be named. Only Eleanor White and Huib Ernste (my university supervisor) will have access to the files. Your data will be anonymised – your name will not be used in any reports resulting from this study. All digital files, transcripts and summaries will be given codes and stored separately from any names or direct identification of participants. The report and interview transcripts may be archived at Radboud University for future students to access for their education.

Your privacy as a participant is protected according to applicable European law (European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)).

#### What if you have a question?

Please don't hesitate to contact me at: [redacted email] and [redacted phone number]. If you have further concerns, you can contact Babis Fassoulas and Maria Kolendrianou at Psiloritis Geopark at: [redacted email] and [redacted phone number], or my university supervisor Prof. Huib Ernste at: [redacted email].

Many thanks, Eleanor White

#### I have taken notice of the above information and give consent to take part in this study:

**Name:** .....

Date: (dd/mm/yy)

Signature:.....

## Appendix E Continued: Auto-photography Consent Forms

### Πληροφορίες & Συναίνεση Συμμετοχής στη Διαδικασία Φωτογράφισης

Ονομάζομαι Eleanor White και είμαι μεταπτυχιακή φοιτήτρια Γεωγραφίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Radboud (Ολλανδία). Συνεργάζομαι με το Παγκόσμιο Γεωπάρκο UNESCO Ψηλορείτη για τη διατριβή μου, εξετάζοντας τις επιπτώσεις του τουρισμού στην κεραμική στις Μαργαρίτες. Η μελέτη μου στοχεύει να προσδιορίσει πώς η κοινότητα των Μαργαριτών κατανοεί, εκτιμά και εφαρμόζει την πολιτιστική της κληρονομιά και πώς τα παραπάνω επηρεάζονται από τον τουρισμό.

Σας προσκαλούμε να λάβετε μέρος σε αυτό το ερευνητικό έργο.

#### Τι περιλαμβάνει η συμμετοχή;

Σας ζητείται να συμμετάσχετε σε μια απλή εργασία φωτογραφίας. Χρησιμοποιώντας ένα smartphone (ή άλλη εύκολα προσβάσιμη κάμερα, μπορώ να σας δώσω εάν χρειάζεται), τραβήξτε όχι περισσότερες από 10 φωτογραφίες που δείχνουν:

1. Παραδείγματα αυθεντικής/μη αυθεντικής κεραμικής
2. Πώς ο τουρισμός επηρεάζει την αυθεντικότητα της κεραμικής κληρονομιάς των Μαργαριτών

Παρακαλώ, στείλτε κάθε φωτογραφία στην Eleanor White με μια σύντομη περιγραφή του γιατί την τραβήξατε (στα αγγλικά ή στα ελληνικά) στη διεύθυνση: [redacted-email] έως την *Τετάρτη 17 Μαΐου 2023*.

#### Πώς θα ωφεληθείτε από τη συμμετοχή σας;

Οι απαντήσεις σας θα προσφέρουν πολύτιμη συμβολή σε αυτό το ερευνητικό έργο. Η έκθεση θα τεθεί στη διάθεση του Γεωπάρκου Ψηλορείτη και άλλων τοπικών φορέων για να βοηθήσει στον μελλοντικό τουριστικό σχεδιασμό. Θα σας δοθεί η επιλογή να λάβετε ένα αντίγραφο της τελικής έκθεσης όταν ολοκληρωθεί, τον Σεπτέμβριο του 2023.

#### Ποια είναι τα δικαιώματά σας;

Έχετε το δικαίωμα να επανεξετάσετε ή/και να αποσύρετε φωτογραφίες ανά πάσα στιγμή, χωρίς να αναφέρετε κανένα λόγο. Η συμμετοχή σας είναι εντελώς εθελοντική.

#### Τι θα γίνει με τις πληροφορίες σας;

Οι φωτογραφίες σας θα είναι όσο το δυνατόν πιο εμπιστευτικές, αν και οι Μαργαρίτες ως χωριό θα αναφέρονται. Μόνο η Eleanor White και ο Huib Ernste (ο επιβλέπων από το Πανεπιστήμιό μου) θα έχουν πρόσβαση στα αρχεία. Τα δεδομένα σας θα παραμείνουν ανώνυμα - το όνομά σας δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθεί σε καμία αναφορά που προκύπτει από αυτήν τη μελέτη. Όλα τα ψηφιακά αρχεία, οι συνεντεύξεις και οι περιλήψεις θα λάβουν κωδικούς και θα αποθηκευτούν χωριστά από οποιοδήποτε όνομα ή άμεσο τρόπο ταυτοποίησης των συμμετεχόντων. Η έκθεση και τα αντίγραφα των συνεντεύξεων μπορούν να αρχειοθετηθούν στο Πανεπιστήμιο Radboud για πρόσβαση στους μελλοντικούς φοιτητές για την εκπαίδευσή τους.

Το απόρρητό σας ως συμμετέχοντος προστατεύεται σύμφωνα με την ισχύουσα ευρωπαϊκή νομοθεσία (Ευρωπαϊκός Γενικός Κανονισμός Προστασίας Δεδομένων (GDPR)).

#### Τι γίνεται αν έχετε μια ερώτηση;

Μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου στη διεύθυνση: [redacted-email] και στο τηλ. [redacted-phone-number]. Εάν έχετε περαιτέρω ανάγκη για διευκρινήσεις, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Μπάμπη Φασουλά και τη Μαρία Κολενδριανού στο Γεωπάρκο Ψηλορείτη στη διεύθυνση: [redacted-email] και στο τηλ. [redacted-phone-number] ή με τον επιβλέποντα από το πανεπιστήμιό μου καθ. Huib Ernste στο: [redacted-email].

Ευχαριστώ πολύ, Eleanor White

**Έχω λάβει υπόψη τις παραπάνω πληροφορίες και δίνω τη συγκατάθεσή μου να λάβω μέρος σε αυτή τη μελέτη:**

Όνομα: .....

Ημερομηνία:..... (ηη/μμ/εε)

Υπογραφή:.....

## Appendix F: Interview Coding Scheme

**Table F1: Interview Coding Scheme.**

Descriptive Code	Descriptive Sub-code	Thematic Statement	Example Quote
Practiced in Margarites (MARGARITES)	Place-bound	Authentic ICH determined by site of practice	"All pottery in the village is authentic because it is made in Margarites"
	Variable	Authenticity varies between stages of crafting process	"You can buy your clay from... England. And you can make your pottery in Margarites, and you sell in the US"
	Atmosphere	Authenticity of ICH depends on authenticity of Margarites	"It makes the atmosphere of the village nicer, because it is very sad for me to see houses without people in"
Linked with local tradition (TRADITION)	Functional	Authentic ceramics are traditionally functional	"All the pots, they were made to be functional, not just for decoration – but no one needs it now"
	Family	Authentic ceramics honour family heritage	"My family has two shops in the village and two shops here"
	Traditional vs modern	Authentic craft bridges past and present	"Maybe you could do something totally modern, but based on the ancient, has an inspiration, and it's something new"
Limited to historic context (HISTORIC)	Temporally-bound	Only ancient ceramics are truly authentic	"Authentic is the ancient, is authentic"
	Non-practitioners	External factors influence how authentic ICH changes over time	"Peddlers came and brought plastic barrels and would throw it up and down"
Produced individually (INDIVIDUAL)	Subjective	Authenticity is subjective	"Maybe for you, this one is the best pot, but for someone else they will say [dismissive tone] 'what is this?'"
	Unique	Authentic ICH differs between practice, practitioner & product	"You have to find your own style, to find your own objects to do"
	Hand-crafted	Hand-crafting techniques invoke authentic states of Being	"It's authentic because it's handmade"
Interpreted in original way (ORIGINAL)	Innovation	Authentic ICH is constantly evolving	"We try to take the ancient shape and make it useful for nowadays"
	Inspiration	Source of inspiration shapes authenticity of craft	"It might inspire me, but it's not that 'this is authentic'. I don't do copy"
	Creativity	Authentic ICH fosters creative expression	"I decide which bits of their designs I'd like to change, and I make my designs"
Practiced with emotion (EMOTIONAL)	Identity	ICH practitioners form an identity around their authentic craft	"Maybe ceramics saved me, yeah. Not going with a suitcase to be a banker, or things like this"
	Self-expression	Self-expression a form of authentic crafting	"Pottery makes good my soul. I live every piece"
	Respect	Authentic ICH practices are a responsibility	"In such a place you have to be with a lot of respect"
	Joy	Authentic ICH practices invoke joy	"It's not so easy, but I love it so much, and I try to keep the tradition"
Shared morally (MORAL)	Intention	Moral intent behind ICH practice shapes authenticity	"Authentic means you don't care if they can be sold or not"
	Action	Authentic ICH must be practiced through moral actions	"He made 20 pieces, and when he saw some fault on one of them, he was ruining it"
RELUCTANCE	Define	Avoidance of term 'authenticity'	"I cannot say... authentic, it's a very strong word"

## Appendix G: Sample Coded Interview Transcript

**Figure G1: Interview 3, Gregor.**

Participant (pseudonym): Gregor

Age (approx.): 50

Gender: Male

Origin: Margarites local

Role & Relation to ICH: Father potter. Went to school to learn ceramics. Owned shop 27 years with Maya (wife), who decorates.

Data format: Interview 1 of 1

Date & Time: 02/05/23, 1820-1920

Site: Gregor's shop & workshop

Language: English

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT	DESCRIPTIVE CODE	DESCRIPTIVE SUB-CODE	THEMATIC STATEMENT
<b>EW:</b> What makes your craft authentic?			
<b>GD:</b> Authentic pottery? Okay, for such a place (as Margarites) <sup>1</sup> , we are so historical... for me, authentic is something that... authentic. I cannot say... authentic, it's a very strong word <sup>2</sup> . Authentic is the ancient <sup>3</sup> , is authentic. <i>Today</i> , in such a place you have to be with a lot of respect <sup>4</sup> , to make something that is – I cannot say good quality or bad quality, because good and bad for someone is different <sup>5</sup> . So, for me, if you do something – maybe you could do something totally modern, but based on the ancient, has an inspiration, and it's something new <sup>6</sup> , something... you can make modern things very, very nice, and you can say these are authentic. You can say this word for such a technique, if it is made with a lot of sense, a lot of respect <sup>7</sup> , and all of this, not just to make something very quick, and just for money <sup>8</sup> , just to make a souvenir.	<sup>1</sup> MARGARITES <sup>2</sup> RELUCTANCE <sup>3</sup> HISTORIC <sup>4</sup> EMOTIONAL <sup>5</sup> INDIVIDUAL <sup>6</sup> TRADITIONAL <sup>7</sup> EMOTIONAL <sup>8</sup> MORAL	<sup>1</sup> PLACE-BOUND <sup>2</sup> DEFINE <sup>3</sup> TEMPORALLY-BOUND <sup>4</sup> RESPECT <sup>5</sup> SUBJECTIVE <sup>6</sup> TRADITIONAL VS MODERN <sup>7</sup> RESPECT <sup>8</sup> INTENTION	<sup>1</sup> Authentic ICH determined by site of practice <sup>2</sup> Avoidance of term 'authenticity' <sup>3</sup> Only ancient ceramics are truly authentic <sup>4</sup> Authentic ICH practices are a responsibility <sup>5</sup> Authenticity is subjective <sup>6</sup> Authentic craft bridges past and present <sup>7</sup> Intent behind ICH practice shapes authenticity <sup>8</sup> Moral intent behind ICH practice shapes authenticity
<b>EW:</b> So, in summary, it's about the effort that you put into something.			
<b>GD:</b> All of this. Your technique, your inspiration <sup>9</sup> , your heart, your soul <sup>10</sup> , your... So, you can see – <i>also</i> , for someone – maybe for you, this one is the best pot [gestures to honey pot], but for someone else they will say [gestures to honey pot, dismissive tone] "what is this? [gestures to different pot, positive tone] This, this is very nice" <sup>11</sup> . So, in art, we cannot say – <i>also</i> , how can you say "this is art", or "this is not art"? I don't want to say my pottery is art, and next door you find only rubbish <sup>12</sup> .	<sup>9</sup> ORIGINAL <sup>10</sup> EMOTIONAL <sup>11</sup> INDIVIDUAL <sup>12</sup> RELUCTANCE	<sup>9</sup> INSPIRATION <sup>10</sup> SELF-EXPRESSION <sup>11</sup> SUBJECTIVE <sup>12</sup> DEFINE	<sup>9</sup> Source of inspiration shapes authenticity of craft <sup>10</sup> Self-expression a form of authentic crafting <sup>11</sup> Authenticity is subjective <sup>12</sup> Avoidance of term 'authenticity'

## Appendix H: Sample Coded Photograph

**Figure H1: Participant Eva, Photograph 5.** “In Gregor and Maya’s workshop a similar approach is taken in that ancient vessels are displayed at the top. However, here wood firing and slip decorations are used to produce vessels in the same way as Minoan wares, which is one way of being authentic. They also ask a realistic €18 for one of their mugs, although the vessels are not dishwasher proof and not even fully waterproof just as they were in Minoan times.”



### Context:

Site of production: Eva.

Intended site of reception: Author.

Location: Gregor and Maya’s ceramic shop.

Photograph taken with smartphone by Eva at the end of May, specifically for this research project.

### Themes:

Authenticity as linked to local history and tradition

Complexity of defining ‘traditional’ v. ‘modern’ ICH

Authenticity as a sales technique

Authenticity as curated for tourists

Tourist demand causing (pricing) conflict among ICH practitioners

Balance between authenticity and quality of ICH

Passion for preserving and practicing traditional ICH

### Content:

#### *Textual analysis:*

- “Ancient vessels are displayed at the top” – Showcases how authenticity (as defined through tradition) is a pride point; a means to increase the perceived authenticity of wares for sale; a means to shape tourist experiences.
- Vessels are produced “in the same way as Minoan wares” – Describes how Gregor and Maya use traditional techniques to produce ancient-inspired vessels in a modern time. Highlights complexities of defining authenticity through concepts of tradition and history alone [link to Gregor’s interview]. Introduces elements of originality to authenticity definitions.
- They ask a “realistic €18 for one of their mugs” – hints at intra-community conflict centred around competitive pricing driven by tourist demand [link to Dumont’s interview].
- Vessels are “not even fully waterproof” – Introduces tensions/balances between authenticity (as defined through tradition) and quality [link to Emilija’s interview].

#### *Compositional analysis:* Frames selection of ceramics on stone display shelves.

1. Material of display unit invokes a feeling of traditionality (and authenticity) to the shop.
  2. Traditional water-carrying ceramics painted with the Margaritan motif are displayed as decoration (top). Below, Gregor’s modern but Minoan-inspired pieces are for sale. Decorations and grey colouring indicate Gregor and Maya use local raw materials and traditional wood-firing and decorating techniques.
  3. Speaker (far right) playing local music indicates an ‘authentic’ experience curated by Gregor, indicating that every stage of his ceramic process is inspired by authentic (tradition-inspired) ICH, including the visitor experience. Since no Minoan pieces exist in the shop, Gregor is staging authenticity for both himself and tourists, but the experience (of producing, sharing ICH) is nevertheless authentic as a modern interpretation.
- Not pictured: replicas of Minoan pieces from Museum of Heraklion; ceramics produced using imported raw materials and modern tools, decorated in modern glazes and colours (non-authentic?); Gregor’s motivation behind practicing traditional-inspired ICH.