

Tourism and Development
An Ideational Analysis of a Grassroots
Environmental Movement in Corfu,
Greece

Lund University

Department of Political Science

MSc in Development Studies

SIMV29- August 2021

Supervisor: Milka Ivanovska Hadjievska

By Michail Kyrillopoulos

Abstract

Tourism as an economic activity has been on the rise for the last decades. For that reason, it is labeled as a vehicle for development and for generating economic growth. While the sector is benefiting local societies it is also the root of societal and environmental problems. For that reason, local societies are mobilizing against the sector and its further development. The aim of this thesis is to examine a grassroots environmental movement (in Corfu), which opposes the privatization and a proposed tourist investment in an ecosystem named Erimitis. The main focus of this thesis is to demonstrate the diversity that exists inside the movement and to examine the content of the existing ideational elements of the movement, through the approach of orientational frames. Additionally, in order to understand the movement in a more holistic way, there is the need to examine the perceptions of the activists regarding development through tourism. However, examining the perceptions of the activists about development through tourism is an important issue on its own. By inspecting those perceptions, it is possible to understand how they experience development through tourism and where they trace the fallacies of the sector and development in general.

Keywords: Tourism, Development, Movement, Greece, Frame

Word Count: 19995

Acknowledgements

Thanking people for their help in such a short space is a hard task. Firstly, I would like to thank all the classmates from Lund. The conversations we had throughout those two years opened so many doors to me. Because of them I improved myself and I am happy that I met so many wonderful people. Moreover, I would like to thank all of our teachers (especially Anne and Yahia), who helped me realize what I want in my life. Furthermore, I want to thank Milka for being the most supportive supervisor I could have dreamt of. This thesis would not have been here without her. Lastly, I want to thank the activists from Corfu. Those people welcomed me in their community and opened themselves to me.

I want to thank my family and especially Sofia, Diomedes, Aggelos and Miranta for helping me fulfill my dream of studying Development Studies in Lund. Moreover, I want to thank Dimtiris, Pavlos and their family for helping me complete my fieldwork in Corfu. Additionally, I want to thank Loukas, Gianna, Georgia, Phaedra, Aggeliki, Giorgos, Iasonas and Elena for their support and tolerance for listening my complaints and for coping with my constant mood swings.

Closing, I want to thank the people that made me the person I am today. The people that disagreed with me with everything I did, but they pushed me doing it. I want to thank from the bottom of my heart Panagiotis, Christos, Marios and Thanos for all the beautiful memories that helped me push through the bad days. Lastly, I want to thank Danai as the person, who made every day of the last four years easier, happier and worth living for.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Abbreviations.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
1. Introduction.....	1
1A. Research Problem.....	1
1B. Research Questions.....	2
1C. Outline.....	7
2. Tourism in Greece: History and Issues.....	7
2A. Tourism in Greece: The Creation and the Rise of the Sector.....	7
2B. The Negative Impact of Tourism in Greece.....	9
2C. Contextual Information About the Movement.....	10
2D. Corfu and the Grassroots Movement.....	11
3. Theoretical Framework.....	13
3A. Post-Development Theory.....	13
3B. Conceptualization of the Movement, Framing Approach and the Orientational Frames.....	16
3B1. Conceptualization of the Movement.....	16
3B2. Orientational Frames.....	16
3C. Environmental Hermeneutics.....	19
4. Methods.....	22
4A. Data Gathering Methods.....	22
4B. Sampling of Respondents.....	23
4C. Data Analysis.....	25
4D. Ethical Concerns.....	26

4E. Limitations of the Study	26
5. Results.....	27
5A. Development Through Tourism in Corfu.....	27
5B. Orientational Frames	30
5B1. The “Whatever It Takes” Frame.....	31
5B2. Ideational Analysis of “Whatever It Takes”	34
5B3. The “Real Needs” Frame	36
5B4. Ideational Analysis of “Real Needs”	38
5B5. The “Struggle For Freedom” Frame.....	41
5B6. Ideational Analysis of “Struggle for Freedom”	42
5B7. Unity and Points of Conflict Between the Frames	45
6. Discussion.....	47
7. Conclusions.....	50
7.1 Future Research	52
8. Literature List.....	53
Appendix 1.....	66
A1. Interviewees’ Information	66
A2. Sampling Tree	66
Appendix 2.....	67
Appendix 3.....	69

List of Abbreviations

HRADF	Hellenic Republic Assets Development Fund
RN	Real Needs
SD	Sustainable Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFF	Struggle For Freedom
SMO	Social Movement Organization
SMTEs	Small and Medium Tourism Enterprises
ST	Sustainable Tourism
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WIT	Whatever It Takes

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Corfu with the capital and Erimitis (Source: Google Maps).....	3
Figure 2 Sampling Tree (Author's Illustration).....	66
Figure 3 Excerpt of the Codebook from Nvivo (Authors' Illustration).....	69

List of Tables

Table 1 Interviewees' Information (Author's Illustration).....	66
--	----

1. Introduction

1A. Research Problem

During the last years tourism has been framed as a tool for development and poverty alleviation (Ferguson, 2007). Tourism has the potential to generate and distribute income in local societies through the consumption of local goods and services (Liu, 2003). However, what matters for tourism is the satisfaction of the tourists (Burns, 2015), while the sector is driven by narratives such as development pushing tourism towards economic growth, disregarding the negative externalities locals have to face (Saarinen, 2014; Higgins-Desboilles et al., 2019). Additionally, the structure of the sector is influenced by capitalism and development, restricting the local communities from taking part in related processes and regulate the overuse of natural resources (Dodds & Buttler, 2010). To be precise, the power to manage destinations is exerted unequally by tour operators, restricting the power of communities (Sharpley, 2000). This growth-driven rationale, which revolves around short political gains like creation of jobs is also passed upon efforts of making the sector more sustainable (Dodds & Buttler, 2010). The goal is to keep the industry and the generation of growth relatively intact, without addressing in a structural way the aforementioned issues (Sharpley, 2020).

In that way, tourism produces negative social and environmental externalities for various communities around the world. For example, the development of various tourism projects in different contexts, have led to a reduced quality of life in terms of environmental pollution, loss of green space and inflation of land and property prices (Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019; Naidoo & Sharpley, 2016; Mathis & Rose, 2016). The aforementioned processes have led to a rise of protests against tourism and/or tourism-related projects (Kousis, 2000; Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019). Such episodes of social contention tend to get overlooked, since tourism is obliged to present a beautiful image for the various destinations to attract tourists (Divine & Ojeda, 2017). In social movement research, it is usual to examine a movement from a point of unity (Melucci, 1996). However, it is important to address the activists taking part in movements as reflective beings, highlighting the diversity inside a given social movement. This diversity is related to different worldviews, actions and alternative societal arrangements (Gillan, 2008).

This thesis aims at researching a grassroots movement against the plans for a tourism-related project in an ecosystem named Erimitis, which was also privatized, in Corfu (a Greek island in the Ionian Archipelago). By examining this movement, it will be possible to understand the negative externalities of tourism in Corfu as a whole and connect those perceptions with the planned tourist investment. In this process, the different ideas (ideational diversity) that exists inside the movement is highlighted and acts as the guiding principle of this thesis.

1B. Research Questions

Despite the aforementioned negative impacts of tourism, the sector remains for many countries around the world the harbinger of economic growth and up until recently there were no concerns about the environmental damage it has been creating (Garrod & Fyall, 1998). Greece is a country that is closely connected with tourism (Nikolakakis, 2017). This can become evident by the contribution of tourism to Greece's GDP, which is around 20% (Sharpley, 2020). However, negative impacts have been observed in cases like those of the reduction of the population of sea turtles in Zante (an island in the Ionian Archipelago), which was caused by the creation of tourist facilities associated with the nightlife of the island (Dimitriadis et al., 2018) and reduction of quality of life in Mykonos, which is located in the Aegean Archipelago (Coccosis, 2001).

As I will demonstrate in this thesis, issues that are related to the environmental degradation, the quality of life of local communities and to their needs are prevalent in Corfu and are created by the growth-oriented narrative of development and tourism. To explore the voice of local communities against the backdrop of privatization of natural resources for the needs of tourism development, this thesis focuses on a grassroots environmental movement that opposes privatization and investment plans for creating tourist facilities inside an ecosystem (named Erimitis) in the northeastern part of the island. The part of Erimitis, which the movement fights for, is around 438.229 m² and it has cultural, social and economic importance for the local community, while it houses an array of animals and vegetation (Save Erimitis, 2019d). Those privatization and investment plans have been backed up by the Greek governments of the last decade in the aftermath of the debt crisis, which began in 2008.

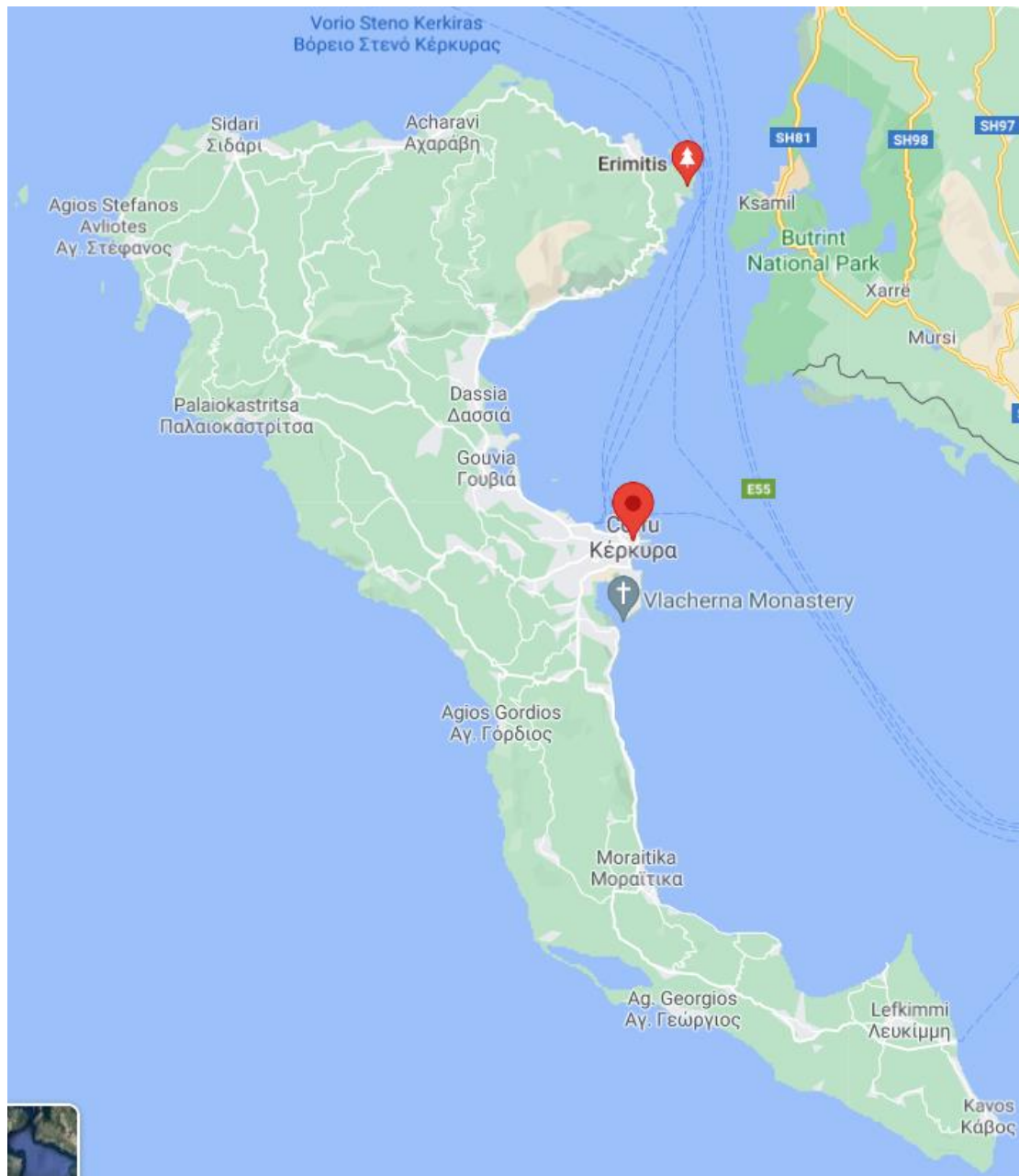


Figure 1 Map of Corfu with the capital and Erimitis Source: Google Maps

Inside movements different worldviews co-exist (Gillan, 2008). My aim is to examine those worldviews and show how they are linked to different actions and alternative arrangements for each different part of the movement. The approach that I will follow will be that of orientational frames and I will present it in a more holistic way in the chapter of theoretical framework (Gillan, 2006; 2008).

Moreover, by investigating the perceptions about tourism and Erimitis those worldviews will become clear, since they will be exemplified by both of the aforementioned aspects. Additionally, examining the activists' perceptions towards

tourism is an important research interest on its own since the privatization and the proposed investment are not procedures that happen in void. Such procedures are influenced by bigger narratives like those of capitalism and development (Higgins-Desboilles et al., 2019). Lastly, since the movement at hand is an environmental one, understanding how the activists perceive Erimitis is an important element for understanding the movement as a whole and the diversity inside it.

Hence, the specific research questions addressed in this thesis are:

1. *How do the activists of the movement perceive development through tourism?*
2. *What orientational frames can be observed inside the movement against the privatization and the investment in Erimitis?*

To be precise, this thesis investigates the ideational diversity among core groups of activists, who have been actively engaged in the movement. The thesis unpacks how activists' worldviews shape their understanding of the problem, repertoires of action and alternative arrangements. To do so this thesis draws on social movement research and the concept of orientational frames (Gillan, 2008), which can be briefly defined, as worldviews that are used by a movement's activists to make sense of their surroundings, justify particular responses and articulate alternative arrangements (ibid.: 254). Moreover, this thesis attempts to demonstrate that it is important to approach social movement activists as reflective beings in order to understand the complexity of a given movement and the social world (Gillan, 2008). Lastly, those frames are contextualized in a political and cultural way by the ideology they follow¹.

Since this grassroots movement revolves around procedures related to an ecosystem, it is important to map the different perceptions around Erimitis in order to better understand the diverse ideational content of the movement at hand. Moreover, the perceptions about Erimitis, that the activists hold, assist further in understanding the frames, which will be presented. By examining those perceptions, it will be possible to inspect various elements related to each frame, for example the demands that are articulated. To examine the perceptions around Erimitis I will use the approach of environmental hermeneutics.

¹ In the chapter of theoretical framework, I will explain in a complete way the relations between the frames and ideology.

Additionally, since I examine a tourism-related investment, I am inspecting how the participants of the movement perceive development through tourism². This research question will make it possible to understand, why the activists hold certain convictions about the planned investment and how they relate the latter with the tourism industry in Corfu. Additionally, perceptions about tourism, which Corfu depends on, will act as a vehicle to further understand how the activists perceive the relations between economy, society and environment.

Nevertheless, this research question has value on its own. By answering it, it will be possible to observe how capitalism and development (through tourism) impact the local communities. Based on those perceptions, I will proceed to make inferences about the whole situation in the island and its relations with narratives such as development and capitalism. This is important since analyzing the relations between tourism and development to understand fallacies of the latter, along with reactions of grassroots movements is absent in tourism research (Kousis, 2000; Sharpley, 2020). Lastly, the perceptions of the activists on that matter will be analyzed through the lens of post-development, which questions the narrative of development as a whole.

In my thesis, the conflict that takes place is considered as something given and I will not attempt to examine how it is manifested. My research interests lie in the examination of the movement and not in the examination of the opposition or the interaction of the latter with the movement.

Moreover, it is important to address how those different fields of research interact with each other in this thesis. In terms of social movement research, by examining the diverse ideational content of a given movement, I move away from the collective action frames and focus on frames, which are created by analytical abstraction from various individual beliefs³. The approach of orientational frames examines the ideas that exist inside a movement and brings to the surface the ideational diversity of the latter (Gillan, 2008). This is accomplished by focusing on the content of the frames themselves and not their strategic utilization, which is examined by focusing mostly on various social movement organizations (SMOs) (Gillan, 2006). In that way, it is shown that a movement is a field of different and reflective actors and not a unified entity (ibid.).

² I will elaborate more on that term in the chapter of theoretical framework.

³ Those processes and terms will be cleared out under the chapter of theoretical framework.

On the other hand, development studies and especially post-development scholars are interested in resistance against development projects and the narrative of development (Nustad, 2001). The movement at hand shows how and in what terms activists question particular instances of development. Through the orientational frames it is possible to explore the ideational content of movements, how activists make sense of their surroundings and how they trace fallacies in development. Moreover, the tourism investment in Erimitis exemplifies the way the activists perceive development through tourism. The narrative of development sets the context both for tourism and the investment. In that way, understanding how the activists perceive those procedures makes it possible to further understand the different orientational frames, which exist inside the movement.

Lastly, environmental movements have been on the rise for the last decades (Rootes, 1999). To understand the ideational content of such movements it is important to clearly understand how the activists relate to a given environment. For that reason, (post)development scholars, who focus on resistance towards the narrative of development, and social movement scholars, who want to inspect environmental movements, can understand such movements and processes in a holistic way, by exploring how activists relate to a given environment.

Closing, there are several reasons that justify the need for this research. Firstly, I believe that Corfu and the processes that take place exemplify arguments made by post-development, regarding the imposition of development and the dominance of economism. Second, this case assists in understanding how the activists make sense of the process of development through tourism and its implications for environment and society. In that way, the research provides valuable insights on how the participants of this grassroots movement make sense of their surroundings, including tourism, Erimitis, their relations with other social actors and various procedures like the decision-making processes. By examining those aspects, different worldviews that justify specific actions will arise. Lastly, focusing on a case as Erimitis is important, since the environmental aspect of austerity, which takes place in Greece since 2008, has not received enough attention (Calvario et al., 2017).

1C. Outline

The thesis is structured in the following way: First, I will present the historical and political context, in which tourism became one of the main (if not the main) vehicles for development in Greece, the issues this sector creates in other places around Greece and provide a justification for the selected case along with contextual information about the movement and the situation around Erimitis. Afterwards, I will introduce my theoretical framework and conceptualize development (through tourism), the movement itself and I will present the approaches of orientational frames and environmental hermeneutics. Next, I will outline the way I collected and analyzed my data and ethical considerations. Subsequently, I will demonstrate the results of my analysis and in the last two chapters I will discuss them and conclude this thesis.

2. Tourism in Greece: History and Issues

In this chapter I present a brief historical review of tourism in Greece. Additionally, I address the social and environmental problems, which stem from tourism. Lastly, I present contextual information about the movement at hand.

2A. Tourism in Greece: The Creation and the Rise of the Sector

In general, tourism in Greece has been used as a tool to help the areas of the periphery to catch up with the core of the country (Nikolakakis, 2017) and put on hold the emigration from the former to big cities (Buhalis, 2001). The narrative that was constructed around Greek tourism revolved around the “perfect” climate, the ancient history of Greece along with the traditional ways of life and the hospitable people that promised the visitors a relaxed way of living (Lichrou et al., 2017: 108). Additionally, tourism has been presented as a way to offer new job opportunities and address the issue of the deficit balance of payments (Buhalis, 2001). The Greek state, from the 1950s and even until today, has had an active role in the development of the sector, by facilitating the private sector and creating an investment-friendly environment (Nikolakakis, 2017). To be precise, the Greek state favored the big investors and was suspicious against the small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs). This occurred because the state was afraid that the latter would act in a parasitic way towards the bigger investors (ibid.).

The big turning point (and the onset of the mass tourism for Greece) for the Greek tourism sector occurred during the mid-60s, when a military junta took power combining nationalism along with liberal market policies and created a type of “market

fascism” (ibid.: 121). The junta acknowledged that tourism would be an important sector for the Greek economy along with importance of SMTEs (ibid.). Additionally, the junta used tourism to gain support from the people in the periphery of the country, since the population in the cities was aligned with the Left. In that way, the state boosted the SMTEs in the periphery, but no control-mechanism (for procedures like funding and spatial planning) was set up, resulting in an uncontrolled growth of SMTEs and to unprecedented environmental damage (ibid.).

Through these historical and political procedures, a tourism monoculture was created (Coccosis, 2001). Furthermore, because of all the aforementioned efforts and the past investment of resources, tourism could only be preserved and respected by the future governments (Nikolakakis, 2017). A similar impact also occurred at the level of society (at local and national level) since tourism became almost a natural and inseparable part of people’s lives (ibid.). For example, people in Santorini (a Greek island) acknowledge the negative impact of tourism but are not against the growth of the sector through all-year tourism (Lichrou et al., 2017).

Nowadays, tourism still has a dominant role in Greek policy cycles. For example, the current Minister of Tourism in one of his speeches in the Greek Parliament characterized tourism as the “heavy industry” of the country (Hellenic Parliament TV, 2019). Additionally, Greece is lauded by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) for the country’s efforts in promoting sustainable tourism development, which is based on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2020). Such statements are important, since UNWTO influences tourism-related policies at all different levels of governance (Ferguson, 2007).

To sum up, through state intervention tourism has become an important part of Greek society and policy cycles with the positive effects for the various societies being more evident during the first decades of the development of the sector (Nikolakakis, 2017). In the next section, I will demonstrate instances that are associated with the negative impact of the sector, which is becoming more prevalent for the local societies and their environment.

2B. The Negative Impact of Tourism in Greece

As mentioned before tourism revitalized the (economic) life in the periphery, but also created an array of issues. The improvement of living standards came through the process of modernization, which on its turn altered human values, traditional occupations and ecological balances (Sarantakou & Terkenli, 2019). For example, in Santorini, human relationships and behaviors tend to get commodified under the pressures of standardized offers and proper entrepreneurship (Lichrou et al., 2017). In other cases, like in Mykonos, the locals hold concerns about the negative effects of tourism and their quality of life (Coccosis, 2001). Such indicative examples show the negative impact that tourism has on the life of permanent residents in tourist destinations.

Negative impacts also exist in terms of landscape and environment in general. Through the transformation of the local landscapes into tourist destinations and the high levels of seasonality⁴, the landscape is gradually degraded (Lichrou et al., 2017). Inadequate spatial planning altered the aesthetic historical and cultural sites (Galani-Moutafi, 2004). Additionally, tourism has been related to the reduction of the loggerhead turtles in Zante (Dimitriadis et al., 2018), the contamination of soil in Santorini (Brtnický et al., 2020) as well as emerging contamination of coastal waters with sunscreens (Tovar-Sanchez et al., 2019). Another longstanding issue is the lack of drinkable water in Greek islands complexes like Cyclades. This issue gets worse during summer and tourism further exacerbates this problem (Buhalis, 2001). Lastly, there are issues that are related with settlement and costs of life. For example, the practice of Airbnb in Athens has led to the reduction of the stock of the long-term settlements, which are rented by the locals, because they are turned into short-term ones for tourism purposes (Balampanidis et al., 2019). This process has led to increased rents and living costs in general.

All these examples show that while tourism is an essential part of the local communities, it also comes with important costs and issues. Such negative externalities to the environment and society have led to local movements around such issues (Kousis, 2000). For that reason, it is important to inspect how development through tourism, in Corfu, affects the local population. Hence, I inspect the perceived existing impacts from

⁴ This expression means that tourism booms in Greece mostly during the summer and not during the rest of the year.

tourism in Corfu and also the perceived impacts of the privatization and investment in Erimitis by giving voice to the locals about the aforementioned procedures.

2C. Contextual Information About the Movement

The movement under examination emerged in 2011 following the announcements for the inclusion of Erimitis in the Hellenic Republic Assets Development Fund (HRADF). HRADF was created with the task of helping the repayment of the public debt (N. 3986/2011, 2011). In this part I will present some aspects of the HRADF, that are crucial to understand the context of the social movement and the meaning-making processes of the participants.

In terms of HRADF's legal framework, it is important to underline that the notion of public interest was reduced to the payment of the debt (Konstantinidis & Vlachou, 2018). This meant that the HRADF perceived the assets (e.g. public land, forests etc.) in monetary terms and as a way to repay the public debt disregarding the functions and meanings, which are created by local communities. Additionally, the local communities are excluded from all the related decision-making processes. Moreover, an asset is transferred to HRADF in a straightforward and fast-track way, aiming at making transactions easier and more attractive for investors. A commission⁵ that is responsible for privatizations gathers and decides whether the asset will be passed to the HRADF or not (Apostolopoulou & Adams, 2014). Additionally, the board of the HRADF has complete authority over decisions regarding the privatizations and consists of business executives, who have expert knowledge in restructuring businesses or in the development and management of assets (ibid.). Moreover, HRADF's assets are excluded from strict laws and regulations related to environmental protection (Konstantinidis & Vlachou, 2018). Lastly, once the asset is transferred to the HRADF, the asset cannot go back to the state (N. 3986/2011, 2011).

In the case of Erimitis, the HRADF granted concession of Erimitis to a fund, named NCH Capital to create tourist facilities inside the ecosystem, for 99 years and after this time has passed, the area will return to the HRADF in order for the latter to initiate similar procedures. Lastly, other parts of Erimitis were permanently sold to the same fund in 2016.

⁵ The commission is consisted of the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Development and the Minister, whose ministry is responsible for each specific asset.

Moreover, the HRADF has been created through the international memoranda, which the country signed. This means that changes of the legal framework are not a solely a matter of national policy nor a simple legal issue. In that way, the case of Erimitis exemplifies the processes of privatization and commodification of public land that take place inside the broader narrative of development through tourism (Bianchi & de Man, 2021).

2D. Corfu and the Grassroots Movement

Corfu is an island in the Ionian Archipelago and in 2019 it received 502.795 passengers in its airport (Ethnos, 2019). Corfu has played a special role in the history of the Greek tourism industry, since this island was important for the industry because of its proximity with Italy (Nikolakakis, 2017). However, since 1990 (as I have been informed by inhabitants of the island), its people have been fighting not to allow the privatization of Erimitis. Erimitis is divided in three private properties and one public, which got transferred to the HRADF. The movement at hand is fighting for the latter one.

After 30 years the state managed to privatize Erimitis (with the purpose of promoting a tourism investment) and the conflict between the locals and the state intensified. In addition to that, the inhabitants, voice arguments about the tourism saturation of the island and highlight the need to avoid to quantitatively increase tourism. The mobilization does not have a clear anti-tourism character, but as the privatization and the investment are tied with development through tourism in the agenda of political elites, it is key to bring to the surface the views of the inhabitants of the island about a sector that is so important both for Corfu and Greece.

The specific actors that are active in the movement are organized in three different blocks. First, there is the local community that lives near Erimitis and people that are concerned with the environmental issues in the island and in general. The people in the local community have also organized the SMO of the movement, named “Save Erimitis”. This part of the movement is not the biggest one, but it is more active inside the movement and organizes activities related to the issue of Erimitis. For example, they have written a song about the movement, they organize excursions and cleanings quite frequently and they also took the initiative of suing NCH Capital for the destruction it has caused inside Erimitis.

Another part of the movement is related to the “Communist Party of Greece” (KKE) and its ancillary structure, “All Workers’ Militant Front” (PAME). First of all, I would like to state that KKE is considered one of the most orthodox communist parties in Europe and adheres to Marxism-Leninism (Tsakatika & Eleftheriou, 2013). PAME is a party-controlled quasi-trade union organization that aims at coordinating the trade unions that are controlled by KKE. People that are related with PAME and KKE are able to mobilize much bigger proportions of the population of the island, but they do not engage that often into activities centered around Erimitis as the local community that was mentioned before.

The last part of the movement is composed of anarchists, who are associated with anarchism and squats inside the city of Corfu. This part of the movement is the smallest one and it does not engage frequently in activities related to the movement of Erimitis. However, they interact with the other parts of the movement and especially with the local community.

The current government has a friendly stance towards the investment. In August 2020, the prime minister visited the area in order to attend an event hosted by NCH Capital to celebrate the beginning of the investment-project. The movement organized a demonstration near the place of the event. This demonstration had 2.000 people and a lot of the activists perceive it as one of the most important moments for the movement. In that event the prime minister stated that if this area is not developed it will probably catch fire and lose any value it has (Avgi, 2020). Moreover, the government believes that this particular investment will empower the local community and economy and will assist in the protection of the environment, highlighting the connection with notions such as sustainability (Proto Thema, 2020).

Hence, this case is particularly interesting because of the historical importance of the island for tourism in Greece, the long duration of claims by the inhabitants, while the current timing is also crucial. After 30 years, the state managed to privatize Erimitis and initiate the tourism investment, which made the contest between inhabitants and the state much more intense.

3. Theoretical Framework

In the following chapter I will present the theoretical framework and the concepts that I will use for my analysis. Additionally, I will explain why I choose each theoretical component and how they interact with each other. First, I will talk about the post-development framework, next about the orientational frames and lastly about the approach of environmental hermeneutics.

3A. Post-Development Theory

In this thesis, I adopt a post-development perspective and I approach the term of development in a critical way. The reasons I chose that theoretical strand as my theoretical framework have to do with my positionality as a researcher and the way it treats procedures and terms like development. For post-development, development is not something that has to be attained, but as a notion it is critically scrutinized aiming at uncovering its meaning through the practices that have been followed (Escobar, 2012). In this thesis, development is perceived as a system, which is centered around the expansion of the liberal market system (ibid.), and I aim at criticizing those procedures through the example of tourism in Corfu. For that reason, the term of development is not used to describe an ideal type of it, while I do not seek to examine alternatives to development⁶. However, since orientational frames are concerned with alternative societal arrangements, as I will present in the next section, a glimpse of alternatives to development will be presented, but not in an extended way, since this is not the focus of this thesis.

Hence, in this thesis development through tourism is understood as the global narrative of development that perceives entities and relationships in a narrow economic way, and the way those processes materialize through tourism (Sharpley, 2020). Using post-development as the theoretical framework it will be possible to show the connections between development and tourism and criticize this structure in a holistic way.

For the United Nations (UN), the major problem for development is poverty (Escobar, 2012). According to the UN, poverty will be alleviated by generating economic growth through liberal market practices and technological progress through the imitation of the model of the developed western countries (Rist, 2019). In that way, it could be argued

⁶ The critique of development and related projects is something different from seeking alternatives to it (Nustad, 2001).

that development is a top-down and economic reductionist approach towards environmental, social and political issues, prioritizing the needs of economic growth (Douglas, 2014). Nowadays narratives around development are heavily associated with concepts like that of sustainability. The pairing between development and sustainability took place during the late 1980s, when the environmental degradation could not be further neglected and there was a need for solutions (Rist, 2019). In 1987, the UN, through the Brundtland report decided that the solution to those issues would be to couple development with sustainability. In that way, sustainability became part of development, the concept of sustainable development (SD) was born, and nature became a part of the notion of development. This allowed the further commodification of nature in terms of perceiving it as a resource for growth-oriented purposes (Escobar, 2012).

SD is defined by the UN, as “a way for humanity to make development sustainable by making sure that it meets the needs of the present without hampering the future generations to address their needs” (Rist, 2019: 182). The rationale of this definition demonstrates that what is to be sustained is development, which is mostly defined in terms of economic growth and the latter organizes all other aspects of societies and environment (Escobar, 2012; Pisani, 2006; Rist, 2019). Moreover, through this definition sustainability lost its radical character, that was pushing for a change of the global system (Fournier, 2008). This can be further exemplified by the fact, that for the UN and relevant policy cycles ecology is seen just as a form of efficiency (Escobar, 2012).

Additionally, this definition does not set any criteria or specific guidelines on how to achieve SD and its vagueness makes it possible to be hijacked by proponents of growth (Ziai, 2017). This becomes evident by the fact that the Brundtland report was created with the aim of being backed up by the business sector (Hall et al., 2015). Simultaneously, the current system and consumerism are left unquestioned (Pisani, 2006). In that way, nature is primarily seen as a resource to fuel the “desired” unlimited growth (Escobar, 2012). Moreover, for SD to avoid further environmental degradation and to ensure that development will continue without any hindrances, what is needed

is only better management of resources⁷ and blind reliance on technological progress (Rist, 2019). However, such measures are not enough to address social and environmental issues (Liu, 2003). Lastly, the newest UN project of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) follows the same rationale, since it does not challenge the foundations of capitalism and does not address issues like the reduction of production and consumption of goods and resources (Robra & Heikkurinen, 2019).

For UNWTO, tourism acts as a tool for economic development and for the alleviation of poverty (Ferguson, 2007). Additionally, the term of sustainable tourism (ST) follows the same growth-oriented logic as SD (Saarinen, 2014). What is to be sustained is tourism as an activity and not nature. Hence, in the context of this research the term of sustainable tourism development (STD), is understood as sustainable development (with the aforementioned contradictions and implications for nature and societies) through tourism (Sharpley, 2020). Additionally, STD is used by global bodies to greenwash growth agendas (ibid.). While there are forms of tourism that do not have the same negative impact as mass tourism (Bianchi, 2009)⁸, it has to be kept into account that such alternative forms of tourism are used in order to counter the criticism towards the tourism industry instead of solving the issues that are created by mass tourism (Higgins-Desboiles et al., 2019). Lastly, it should be highlighted that most (if not all) forms of alternative tourism complement mass tourism or at least depend on the latter (Zimmerman, 2018).

By connecting terms like those of development and tourism, the scope of this paper becomes clear. The focus is not only the perceptions (of the activists) of the impact of tourism, but also the activists' views regarding the processes in terms of decision-making, who and how, derives benefits from the sector and lastly how society's needs are addressed compared to the needs of the tourism industry in Corfu. Hence, by connecting development with tourism, it is possible to observe the tourism sector (its impacts and processes) in relation with a narrative that drives the industry towards specific directions related to economic criteria and disregarding the negative social and environmental impact it has on the local communities. Lastly, even if post-development

⁷ One of the proposed good ways of management of resources is that of privatization (Escobar, 2012). This argument can be exemplified in the case of Erimitis, since its privatization was a way to manage the ecosystem aiming mainly to ensure its contribution to economic growth.

⁸ This is also the case with development projects (Escobar, 2012). Some projects have positive results for nature and the people involved, but this is not the norm nor the bigger image, which is created.

is focused mostly on non-European countries, there are arguments that research for the fallacies of development and critique on them should expand in geographical terms without undermining the severity of issues the non-European countries face (Horner & Hulme, 2017).

3B. Conceptualization of the Movement, Framing Approach and the Orientational Frames

3B1. Conceptualization of the Movement

Environmental movements can appear in many scales like local, national, or global (Rootes, 1999). A broad way to understand them is by defining such movements as networks of informal interactions that may include organizations of varying degrees of formality and engage in collective action motivated by shared identity or concern about environmental issues (Rootes, 2016: 1). The actions of such networks range from activities, which are easily traced like protesting, to harder to observe like that of lobbying (ibid.).

However, it is important to highlight that the movement revolves mainly around the issue of the privatization and investment in Erimitis. To be accurate with the conceptualization of the movement it is important to focus on the geographical scale of it, while defining it in a way that does not confine the ideational content of the movement for example by confining the demands of the movement solely around pollution (Almeida & Stearns, 1998). Hence, it would be more accurate to follow Towers' (2000) conceptualization of "grassroots environmental movement". The core element of such movements is the struggle to oppose and block proposals for unwanted land uses in a given community.

This definition captures the basic essence of the movement at hand (the unwanted land use), while it does not confine the way the activists make sense of their surroundings (the reason why this land use is unwanted). Those meaning-making processes and the ideational diversity of the movement will be examined through the concept of orientational frames, which will be presented in the next section.

3B2. Orientational Frames

As mentioned before, post-development is used as an overall theoretical framework to conceptualize development (through tourism) and analyze (based on activists' perceptions) the sector and particular implications for the life of the activists. As it has been stated before this thesis aims at discovering the diversity (and potential tensions)

that exist inside that movement, regarding the worldviews that the activists hold and how the different worldviews push the activists to different actions and alternative arrangements. In order to understand how the participants of the movement make sense of their surroundings and how those meaning making processes shape the way they respond to the conditions and processes they face, I am using the framing approach (Kurzman, 2008).

In general, frames are considered “collective patterns of interpretation with which certain definitions of problems, causal attributions, demands, justifications and value-orientations are brought together in a more or less consistent framework for the purpose of explaining facts substantiating criticism and legitimating claims” (Gillan, 2008: 249). Frames offer important attributes to various groups like providing activists with a basic structure of arguments, which allows other aspects to be built around it (Snow, 2013). Approaches that focus on the collective level like that of strategic framing, inspect the SMOs and how the latter present a given issue in order to accomplish specific tasks like that of recruiting (Benford & Snow, 2000). Approaches such as that of strategic framing tend to perceive a given movement as a unified entity and not as a field of diverse actors and have received more empirical attention compared to approaches that focus on the content of the frames themselves (Gillan, 2008). In that way, the importance of the individuals as reflective beings is overlooked (Gillan, 2006).

Since the focus of this thesis is the diversity that exists inside a grassroots movement, assuming that the ideas that are presented by the SMO are completely espoused by all activists would be a mistake. Something that can exemplify this tension is the fact that the website of the SMO (Save Erimitis) focuses more on the investment and even terms like “sustainable economic growth” are used (Save Erimitis, 2019b; Save Erimitis, 2019c). However, on the homepage of the website there is a section with statements made by people that take part in the movement. One woman states that “If Erimitis gets spoiled I do not want to live on Corfu anymore. I will go away” (Save Erimitis, 2019a). Focusing only on the claims that are brought to the surface by the SMO creates the risk of losing sight of perceptions like the one that was mentioned above. This case shows that social movement activists should be addressed as reflective beings with specific motivations for action (Gillan, 2008). In order to focus on those belief structures of the activists, I am using the approach of orientational frames (Gillan, 2006; 2008).

Oriental frames identify a worldview that can be utilized by social movement activists to make sense of significant events and processes of which they are aware of, to justify particular responses to them and propose alternative arrangements (Gillan, 2006: 34). Inside a social movement multiple orientational frames co-exist and each of them, perceives an issue in different ways, leading to different implications (Gillan, 2008). Furthermore, orientational frames consist in an array of subject of belief such as political processes, moral values, visions for long-term change, agency of individuals or groups and the relations of the participants to other actors (ibid.: 254).

A problem with interpretative frames of individual activists is that they have a strong private character (ibid.). This means that the researcher may not have clear access to it (since the researcher cannot switch places with the activists). Additionally, there is the possibility of the frame being consisted of unconscious knowledge, that even the individuals are unaware of it (ibid.).

To surpass this issue, researchers should switch to an analytical abstraction of proclamations and behavior of activists (Gillan, 2006). This process aims at creating abstract elements, which should have general implications about society and societal change that are tied with the actions and statements at the level of the grassroots. Through those elements the reader should be able to understand what is taking place at the level of grassroots. In that process the goal is to transform those ideas into a clear structure. The method to work this out is by examining the statements made by the activists and understand their underlying meaning. To do that it is important to keep in mind that many signifiers may be used to communicate the same meaning (Gillan, 2008). Lastly, the elements may have not only a rational character, but also an emotive one, which will assist in understanding the frame (Gillan, 2006).

Moreover, for the approach of orientational frames, ideology is a key concept in two ways. Firstly, the construction of orientational frames is influenced by Freeden's (1998) approach on the analysis of ideologies (Gillan, 2008). This morphological approach dictates that ideologies are ideational formations, which are consisted of political concepts (Freeden, 1998: 42). The position of each concept and the connections between them, is what gives meaning to an ideology. In that way, the whole (ideology) gives meaning to its parts (political concepts) and each part, depending on its position and linkages inside the structure of the whole, gives meaning to each other and all of

them together give meaning to the whole. The orientational frames are constructed following this rationale. The elements that arise through the analytical abstraction gain meaning through the connections they form and the place they have inside the frame.

Secondly, ideology (and its concepts) is used as a way to contextualize the different frames and their ideational elements for each part separately and for the frame as a whole (Gillan, 2008). In that way an ideology affects the judgement of actors, who espouse it and makes it possible to further contextualize the frame politically and culturally. This occurs since some concepts phrased by activists that belong to specific organizations or parties have a particular meaning compared to activists of other organizations or parties. This contextualization has also temporal and spatial implications since specific actors use concepts in a specific way according to the context they act.

On the other hand, research on such grassroots environmental movements tends to focus on the lived experiences of the activists (Towers, 2000; Çoban, 2007). While this may be the case for one part of the movement this approach has certain limits. Assuming that every activist espouses a specific ideology would be something wrong. However, it would be equally wrong to assume that none of them is influenced by ideologies. If an activist is part of political organizations with specific implications, not seeking (as a researcher) to understand such connections further obscures this analysis. In that way, the ideas of some frames will be connected with the ideology those frames espouse, while for other frames, whose activists do not appear to espouse and act on the basis of an ideology, their ideas will be connected with their lived experiences. In the next and final subsection of the theoretical framework, I present the approach of environmental hermeneutics and the way that it will be combined with that of orientational frames.

3C. Environmental Hermeneutics

While I have presented an analytical tool to capture the diversity of beliefs, what is missing is an analytical lens for analyzing people's relation to a given environment. Therefore, I employ the approach of environmental hermeneutics to analyze the way the activists relate to nature. This theoretical framework fits my research interests because it does not dictate in a predetermined way, how an environment is perceived, but it allows for an array of different perceptions to emerge. Additionally, this approach is in par with the hermeneutical approach of the orientational frames.

An important point of this approach is that human beings are complicated themselves and so are the relations that people develop with nature. For that reason, it is needed to break away from binaries of technocratic or romanticized perceptions of environment, that place humans and the environment at distance (Clingerman et al., 2014). Environmental hermeneutics is a way to open spaces between those binaries. By not following such binaries that may obscure the understanding of relations between ourselves and nature, environmental hermeneutics open up spaces for an array of understandings of those relationships (Drenthen, 2016).

The main object of environmental hermeneutics is to study the sense of meaning of the environment⁹ for the perceivers (van Buren, 2014). This task takes the form both of narrative and interpretation (ibid.). The former is manifested through views of past, that are mediated to the present and both of them together influence the future views of an environment (Drenthen, 2016). An analysis related to environmental hermeneutics consists of three basic elements (the biophysical environment, the meaning that it carries and the carrier of the meaning, which is the text) and are analyzed in the following way (van Buren, 2014).

Firstly, the environment is studied in the lifeworld of immediate experience, meaning that an environment is examined in terms of its characteristics or related to a specific problem (ibid.). In the case of this thesis, the ecosystem of Erimitis is studied from the lens of privatization and its use for tourist settlements as a part of development through tourism. Secondly, the focus is shifted to the study of the meaning, which is constructed, and the researcher should try to understand it, but also to explain it (ibid.). In the case of Erimitis, I attempt to understand the different meanings that are created around the ecosystem, the way those meanings are created and how they motivate people to act against the aforementioned procedures. One more core task of environmental hermeneutics is to clarify and mediate the conflict of interpretations, in order to address the environmental conflicts at multiple levels (Clingerman et al., 2014). However, I am not analyzing the conflict that takes place between the state and the activists and I aim at examining the conflict of interpretations inside the movement and how the different perceptions co-exist. In the last step, the analysis should come back to the environment

⁹ Scholars from the field of environmental hermeneutics use the term of environment in a broad way referring not only to the physical environment but also to sociocultural and built ones (Clingerman et al., 2014)

and examine the alternative possibilities that are created by the participants (van Buren, 2014).

Lastly, all interpretations are associated, at least, to some kind of self-interpretation (Utsler, 2014). In that way the narrative form of the meaning provides people with self-understanding, identity and roles (van Buren, 2014). This thesis focuses on the different perceptions of Erimitis (and its connections with the different orientational frames) and not on the different identities. What matters is how people interpret themselves in relation to Erimitis.

Before summing up the theoretical framework, it is important to clarify, how the perceptions about Erimitis will be combined with the approach of orientational frames. As mentioned above, orientational frames focus on the worldviews that the activists have, which motivate particular actions and create alternative societal arrangements. For that reason, orientational frames are not confined by a specific movement issue like the protection of Erimitis. On the contrary, perceptions about Erimitis act as signifiers of meaning for the orientational frames. Those perceptions can emerge through statements and views on the privatization, the investment, and the position of Erimitis in the lives of activists and the feelings generated by the destruction of the ecosystem. Hence, the orientational frames that will be presented give light to the different perceptions of Erimitis that each frame has, while those perceptions act as signifiers of meaning for the concepts of each frame.

To sum up, the theoretical perspective to examine the perceptions about development through tourism and its links with the investment in Erimitis is that of post-development. This framework is appropriate since it aims at examining development in a critical way and giving voice to the communities that have to face the negative impact of development (Escobar, 2012: 153). The movement for Erimitis will be conceptualized as a “grassroots environmental movement”, because of its local character and focus. In order to understand and examine the different perceptions, which have different implications for actions and envision different alternative arrangements, that exist inside the movement I will use the concept of orientational frames. Moreover, in order to examine the perceptions about Erimitis (held by the activists), I will use the concept of environmental hermeneutics, which does not confine the understanding of the relationships between humans and a given environment to

binaries. In that way, the interpretations around Erimitis will emerge from the movement without imposing predetermined perceptions about it. Lastly, the perceptions about Erimitis and development through tourism act as signifiers of meaning for the different orientational frames.

4. Methods

The aim of this thesis is to examine the interpretations and worldviews of the participants of the movement and how they make sense of their surroundings. Hence, this research has a strong interpretive character (Prasad, 2002). In the following section, I will discuss the data gathering methods, the sampling of respondents, the data analysis and my ethical concerns.

4A. Data Gathering Methods

From my point of view semi-structured interviews suit my research interests for an array of reasons. First of all, interviews allowed me as a researcher to understand the worldviews of individuals and how they make sense of their surroundings (tourism and the way it operates, Erimitis, relations to other social actors, beliefs and values), since I was able to thoroughly discuss those aspects with the activists and understand the (possible) emotive dimension of their statements. As I will demonstrate below the emotional attachment of the interviewees to Erimitis is crucial for specific frames and interviews are one of the most suitable methods to observe such instances.

The interview guide (Appendix 2) is constructed around three different themes. The first examines how the way the activists perceive Erimitis while it inspects if a narrative related to Erimitis can be created. Environmental hermeneutics assisted me in that part especially for the creation of the narrative. The second part is related with how the activists perceive the planned investment and the last has to do with their perceptions about tourism. Post-development helped me understand some core issues around development through tourism like the decision-making processes. The interview guide acted as a model for the interviews. However, it was not followed in a strict way, and I was flexible in terms of allowing the interviewees to guide the conversation, while I was careful not to let it slip out of my research focus.

Moreover, some questions were added after I understood more thoroughly the context, through my fieldwork. For example, after the first two interviews, I understood that the court procedures are not viewed the same by everyone. Hence, I started asking each

interviewee about his/her perceptions towards this instance. Additionally, I understood that I should ask the interviewees about how they perceive each other or with whom they would be willing to ally. Orientational frames (as an approach) allowed me to understand that I should focus on such instances in order to build up the frames. This process of analytical abstraction will be exemplified through the analysis of frames.

My initial plan was to attend public meetings and actions that would have taken place. However due to the COVID-19 lockdown not many actions and any public meetings occurred. While this is something that constrained the fieldwork, I managed to mix up with the activists in other activities that took place in the island. For example, I took part in one of the squat's public meetings and activities and I was able to understand better this part of the movement and how it co-exists with the other parts. Additionally, I was interacting on a daily basis with various activists, I was present in conversations regarding tourism and the actions that the movement should proceed to and managed to meet all of them before conducting the interviews. Lastly, I took part in a sit-in and to a short excursion in Erimitis organized by the activists of the SMO.

The fieldwork was conducted between March and May 2021. In total, I conducted fifteen interviews (see table with information on interviewees in Appendix 1). Twelve of the interviews were conducted online (through Skype), while three were conducted in person. Online interviews remain credible method for data collection (Lo Iacono et al., 2016) and all the interviewees were free to choose, which method they preferred because of COVID-19 and the relevant restrictions. Lastly, after fifteen interviews I noticed that a saturation point was reached and there was no reason for continuing collecting data.

4B. Sampling of Respondents

The sampling process began by contacting three different organizations. One of them was the SMO, the other was the author of an article for a local newspaper about issues created by tourism¹⁰ and the third one was a squat. Those organizations were picked because they differ in many aspects and in that way I would be able to start having a diverse sample. In fact, those contacts turned out to be the starting point for the three different frames that I will present later.

¹⁰ This person turned out to be affiliated with the "Communist Party of Greece" (KKE).

From that point I followed the snowball method to create my sample (Noy, 2008). This method helped me to understand, which activists have an active role inside the movement and are important for the movement (and for my research). This can be demonstrated through the “sampling tree” (ibid.: 332) that I have built, where all the interviewees and their references are depicted (Appendix 1). By examining the sampling tree, it is possible to observe the frequency that some people are referred by others. This is something useful because I was able to spot the “core” activists¹¹ of the movement. The sampling tree helped me to understand that a saturation point was reached, since the same names kept being constantly mentioned. Moreover, another factor indicating the saturation point was that the same statements were being repeated. Lastly, since I was introduced to the movement by other activists, I managed to appear as more credible.

The two major selection criteria about the interviews, were that 1) the interviewees were inhabitants of the island and 2) that they have been engaging in activities related to the movement, which means that I was not aiming for simple supporters. First of all, interviewing inhabitants of the island was important, since those people have more frequent experiences with Erimitis, and it was possible for them to create a narrative around it. Moreover, the inhabitants have clear experiences about tourism and how it affects their lives and communities. Additionally, people that engage in the movement activities, was of major concern for the approach of orientational frames since it is an action-driven approach. As mentioned before this aspect is combined with the sampling tree in order to locate the “core” activists.

Another concern of mine was to interview activists that are related to the tourism industry. This is crucial because such people maybe are against the investment for economic reasons. Their relations with tourism, from my point of view, had to be direct ones. This means that such participants must own a type of business that is related to tourism like owning a tourism settlement or a service like boat tours. If someone is working as an employee in a tourism-related business, he/she may not believe that the tourism investment in Erimitis will directly affect him/her. In my sampling out of fifteen interviewees two had a tourism-related business and the narratives presented were consistent with the frame they belong to.

¹¹ By that term, I mean the people that engage frequently in movement activities.

4C. Data Analysis

The analysis followed an inductive approach, and the aim was to understand how people make sense of their surroundings and the implications of those meaning-making processes.

For the perceptions regarding development through tourism, I describe the perceived issues and based on them I make inferences about the relations between tourism and capitalism and development in the discussion part. The coding and analysis were centered around the issues that are associated with tourism, the way they arise and whom the activists consider responsible for those issues. Additionally, the perceptions around development through tourism were used to further understand the worldviews that give shape to orientational frames.

For the creation of the orientational frames, my starting point were the statements of the interviewees and from there I applied the approach of analytical abstraction that was mentioned earlier. From various statements I tried to understand the underlying meaning and construct a simplified structure. In order to do that, I had to be reflective on both the data and the fieldwork and understand which questions would bring to light elements of the frames. In that way, it can be observed that each frame follows a pattern of similar points/signifiers. For example, some of those points were the existing or potential allies, views towards actions of the movement, relations between the movement actors, views towards capitalism, the state and the government, proposed solution and the way to achieve it. While this is not the full list of the points I used, it indicates my way of thinking regarding the way I approached the data. Through the coding and my interpretations, I observed three different frames, which I gave them the following names: “Whatever It Takes” (WIT), “Real Needs” (RN) and “Struggle For Freedom” (SFF).

The data was coded in Nvivo12 and I used thematic analysis for the coding (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Thematic analysis allowed me to work my way inside the data and create themes and codes, while the interpretive approach of orientational frames allowed me to reach the needed level of abstraction. Lastly, I was paying attention not to exclusively focus on the coded data and lose touch with the bigger picture (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

4D. Ethical Concerns

The ethical concerns for any research can be numerous and most problems arise during the research. First of all, I revealed my identity as a researcher along with the topic and focus of my thesis. In addition to that, I abode by basic standards in the form of procedural ethics like anonymity, informed consent, and the fact that the data, which I collected, will not be used outside the context of this thesis (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Due to COVID-19 and the lockdown, which was in place in Greece (November 2020-May 2021) I did not risk breaching the restrictions imposed by the state. Moreover, I followed all the protective measures for myself and the interviewees. Additionally, another risk is that of my research being used by the authorities to understand how the movement works in order to suppress it. Lastly, in order to protect the squats, which is an illegal activity, and the people that take part in them, I will not name the former.

I started approaching the interviewees during October 2020 through the contact information on the website of the SMO. I informed them about my identity, my research interests and the way I was going to conduct the interview by audio-recording them. The interviews are stored in a safe encrypted place and will not be shared with third parties. The interviewees were anonymized and received random pseudonyms, which are totally unrelated to the interviewees. Additionally, in the section of the analysis I took care of removing any identifiable information about the identity of the interviewees to protect them.

My identity as a student writing his MSc thesis did not hinder my research nor someone was suspicious towards me. Each time I met someone I introduced myself as a researcher and presented the subject of my thesis and the activists were eager to help me with accessing information. Moreover, I stated that I am against the privatization and the investment. Showing empathy and sympathy towards the goal of the movement is not something that could harm my research, since I am interested in the way those people make sense of their surroundings. Lastly, since I was aware of my positionality, I was careful not to impose my beliefs (on the activists) and I structured the analysis based on the collected data.

4E. Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of this thesis is that no actions could be observed due to the COVID-19 lockdown in Greece (November 2020-May 2021). In order to counter-

balance this limitation, I interacted on a daily basis with the activists in the capital of Corfu, in order to understand their way of thinking in general and about specific issues like that of Erimitis, tourism and the movement.

In the next chapter, first I will present my findings related to the perceptions around development through tourism. In the subsequent sections I will present the points I observed in each frame. Since I aim at creating a narrative that will show the reader what is happening inside the movement, I will not present a list or refer to the coding scheme. Indicatively, I have attached an excerpt of my codebook in Appendix 3. Concluding, in the chapter of results I will back up the perceptions of tourism and the presentations of the frames by referring indicatively to the interviewees with their pseudonyms.

5. Results

This chapter aims at answering the two research questions. Firstly, I will address the first research question by understanding how the activists perceive development through tourism. Moreover, those perceptions will set the context, where the movement operates allowing for a better understanding of the situation. Those views will assist in the construction of the orientational frames, which will be presented in the subsequent sections, since they are lived experiences related to the main economic activity, which has societal and environmental implications, of the island.

5A. Development Through Tourism in Corfu

All of the interviewees acknowledged that mass tourism has been detrimental to the society and the island of Corfu. In the initial phase, tourism brought money to the island and improved the living standards of the inhabitants (Barney, Ross, Ellen). However, even this positive side of tourism seems to have lost its shine, since almost all of the interviewees talked about the bad and precarious working conditions in the sector (Ethan, Han, John). Those conditions have to do with long working hours without a break and low salaries.

While the salaries of people, who are employed in tourism, are low the living costs are getting higher and higher (especially during summer), creating issues in terms of living

costs¹² and finding accommodation (Neo, Rick, Ethan). The rapid expansion of tourism in the island has led to the reduction of long-term accommodation since it has been transformed to short-term one in order for the owners to gain more profit and match the existing tourist demand.

Additionally, there are statements about the consolidation of a tourism monoculture in the island, suppressing other industries and activities (Maximus, Michonne, Neo). Moreover, the interviewees commented on the saturation of the island in terms of tourist facilities (Julie, Rick, Sarah). In terms of the number of visitors, different opinions have been voiced. For example, some believe that there should be a limit on the number of visitors and that the overall number should be reduced (Negan, Kate, Michonne). Another way to tackle the issue of visitors is with a different (and better) management by extending the tourist season, promoting alternative forms of tourism away from the model of mass tourism and sun-sea-sand model and in that way dispersing the number of tourists throughout the year (Maximus, Maggie)¹³. This concentration of people (during summer) leads to excessive congestion of public spaces (Julie, Maggie, Ethan) and other issues like trespassing. This is something relevant to the privatization of Erimitis and the investment there. Almost all the interviewees raised the issue of the appropriation of open spaces in the island, in order for the latter to become tourist facilities. This is one of the main reasons that all the activists see the tourism investment in Erimitis as an extension of the existing mass tourism industry of the island.

However, tourism does not only create new issues, but exacerbates already existing ones. Some issues, which were observed, are those of water leaks, which occur because of the increased water needs by tourist facilities (Negan, Kate, Maximus). The inadequate infrastructures along with a high number of visitors place a lot of weight on the garbage and sewage management and the bad road network. Those experiences make all the interviewees believe that the industry of mass tourism of Corfu is growing at the expense of their needs. One theme that has been repeated quite often is a general comment about the colonial-like character of mass tourism in Corfu.

¹² For example, the rise in the prices of water bottles during summer (Neo). At this point it should be reminded that the water in Corfu is not drinkable and the inhabitants have to buy bottles of water to drink and in some places in Corfu they have to use bottled water to cook too.

¹³ Currently 70% of the yearly arrivals (according to the interviewees) come to the island between late June and August.

“One more factor is that in economic terms, a colonial-like system has prevailed in tourism. This happens because the enterprises come here only to take not to give. They take our space and use it for their own benefit, they take our natural resources and give us only problems.”- Rick

Those comments were supported on the grounds that the locals do not control this process, they have to witness the deterioration of goods, services and commons by tourists, while a small group of people (mostly outside the country) derives all the benefits, and the locals get almost nothing in return (Han, Ellen, John). In the case of the investment in Erimitis, all activists believe that only the people who work with the investors will gain benefits. Such views are connected to the complaints (almost by all the interviewees) about the power of tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs, who are concerned with the generation of profit and are facilitated by the various governments, and the lack of access (for the inhabitants) in the processes of decision-making for tourism. Those processes are further exemplified by the uncontrolled opening of tourism (last summer) without any concerns about COVID-19 (Julie, Ethan). Lastly, all of the interviewees believe that the same problems that have occurred with similar investments, like bad working conditions and enclosure of public space, in other places around the island will also occur in the case of Erimitis.

“Because of the absence of strong entrepreneurial strata in the island, the latter has been conceded to big tour operators and big tourism multinationals, which slowly buy tourist enterprises in Corfu. At the national and local level, the tourist activity is being concentrated at the hands of few.”- Negan

In terms of behavior, there were comments that connected the expansion of tourism with the cultivation of profit maximization attitudes, leading to the corrosion of social relationships between the people in the island (Barney, Trinity, Ethan). However, the ever-expanding tourism sector and the detrimental character it has on the island (for the lives of the inhabitants) is perceived as equally detrimental for the tourism sector (Maximus, Maggie, Julie). First of all, the implications for the small-scale tourism in villages near Erimitis are clear for the interviewees. The tourism industry there is built around a small number of tourists, that do not affect in a negative way the lives of the inhabitants and the latter do not want to end up having to cope with the same issues as the people in the city (John, Julie, Maximus).

Moreover, it is important to comment on the geographical dispersal of those issues. From the interviews it became evident that the people, who live near Erimitis do not experience in the same way the negative impact of mass tourism, which is prevalent in the capital of the island, since they reside away from it. Additionally, all of the interviewees are aware of the implications of mass and all-inclusive tourism in Corfu, because it exists in other parts of the island. For that reason, they believe that they have nothing to gain¹⁴, especially those, who live near Erimitis, and as mentioned above they are afraid that the destruction of Erimitis can have adverse effects on the model of tourism they have. Lastly, the activists' perceptions on development (through tourism) will become clear through the presentation of orientational frames.

To sum up, the mass tourism industry in Corfu is perceived in a negative way by the activists of the grassroots movement. As it was demonstrated, the negative impacts touch upon an array of aspects. In general, the inhabitants have to face the consolidation and monoculture of a sector, which is driven towards economic growth. Control over tourism and related procedures is not exerted by the inhabitants, who have to deal with the negative impact of tourism while their needs are disregarded. Tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs, who profit from the sector, control the procedures related to tourism and are facilitated by the various governments. In that way, Erimitis its privatization and the planned investment are seen as a continuation of the tourism sector in Corfu.

While this is an important matter on its own, it also sets the stage to understand the grassroots movement in a more holistic way. In the next section, I will present the structure of the orientational frames of the grassroots movement. The perceptions of the development through tourism will be useful, since they exemplify the way the activists from different frames interpret the relations between economy, society and environment. From those proclamations it will be possible through analytical abstraction to construct the frames.

5B. Orientational Frames

Each frame will be presented and examined in the following way. First, I will present the narrative of each frame as it is created by the activists inside it. Afterwards, I will

¹⁴ I would like to highlight here that even the people, who believe that can derive some profit are against the investment (Maximus, Ellen).

present my analysis of each frame. For example, after I present the “Whatever It Takes” frame in the following subsection, I present my analysis of it, by demonstrating its ideational elements. Parts that construct the orientational frames can be found in subjects of belief like values and (perceptions of) actions. For that reason, each frame revolves indicatively around views regarding actions, alliances, perceptions of Erimitis, the privatization and the investment, while perceptions about tourism also have an important role, as it was mentioned before. The analysis concludes by comparing the different frames to each other.

5B1. The “Whatever It Takes” Frame

The “Whatever It Takes” frame (WIT) consists of people that belong to the local community near Erimitis and people that care mostly about the protection of the ecosystem. Moreover, those activists belong to the SMO and/or to other small environmental organizations that operate in Corfu or in the island complex, where Corfu belongs (Ionian Archipelago). All of them were raised in Corfu or have lived most of their lives in the island. As I will demonstrate, this frame is built around the notion of protecting Erimitis no matter what because of the importance it has for the local community and because of the emotional attachment those activists have to it.

A good starting point for the construction of each frame is that of demands. WIT’s demands are related to leaving Erimitis as it is, without any facilities, ensuring the open and free access in it and canceling the investment. The demands are interconnected to the way the activists perceive Erimitis. Those activists expressed strong emotional attachment to Erimitis. This is evident from statements about describing it as paradise, about falling in love with it and in general feeling revitalized. Moreover, they express concerns for the non-human lives inside Erimitis (Maximus, Maggie, Rick, Julie). Additionally, heavy negative emotions are expressed because of the destruction of Erimitis.

“For people like us, who love Erimitis... it breaks our heart (seeing it getting destroyed).”- Julie

However, perceptions towards Erimitis are not confined to emotional statements. WIT perceives Erimitis as an important part of the local economy, which depends on small-scale tourism. This perception is connected with the expected impact from the investment. None of those activists believes that a positive impact could be generated,

since the proposed investment will disrupt the balance, which exists inside the community between the environment, the people, the economy, the culture and the history of the island (Maximus, Rick, John). For WIT this balanced community life is termed as development.

“It is a new model for tourism development, which is not a monoculture, and it does not destroy the natural resources and is tied with economy, environment and the history of the island.”- John

At this point, it would be helpful for the analysis to focus on the actions and the perceptions of actions by WIT’s activists. Here it is possible to observe that WIT’s activists are open to an array of actions and allies and highlight the importance of the court procedures (Maximus, John, Rick). Those actions and desirability to ally with people in a non-selective way (as long as they have the same goals as WIT) can also be exemplified by the way they communicate with the broader community of the island or other actors like the municipality. Activists from WIT want to inform others about the negative impact of the investment and about the importance of Erimitis, staying as it is. All those instances together show how important Erimitis is for WIT.

“Whichever action comes from the people at the bottom, who care about the environment, is something positive.”- Neo

Activists from WIT want other people and actors to espouse its views and feelings about Erimitis. For that reason, the narrative around Erimitis is constructed in terms of past, present and future interactions with Erimitis. This narrative is constructed around the desire to inherit the same experiences and feelings along with the aforementioned balanced life of the local community to the future generations. For WIT, if the investment is completed, Erimitis and the areas near it, will become like the other places in the island, where mass tourism with such facilities prevails. This is connected with the negative perceptions about mass tourism, which were mentioned before.

However, inside this frame there is a breach in terms of views and perceptions about actions and beliefs. The points of conflict are related to views towards capitalism and the views about the structure of property rights. The first subframe (neutral-WIT) does not criticize capitalism as a system, does not consider it as a threat to the life of the community and Erimitis and believes that there is no need to transcend this system. To be more precise, they believe that this situation, along with the negative impact of

development through tourism, are created because of mismanagement by the state and they are unrelated to the way capitalism functions. This is further supported by following narratives and terms like SD (Maggie, Rick, John).

Additionally, this subframe focuses more on the protection of Erimitis and is open to privatization of it. While it is against HRADF and privatizations that revolve around profit (like the tourist one at hand), it is not against the privatization of Erimitis if its protection and the free and unrestricted access to it are ensured. This arrangement is related to the three other private properties that exist inside Erimitis, where people can enter without restriction from the owners. Those privatization schemes according to them could be multi-stakeholder ones, where the local community will have a strong say (John).

“I would disagree if someone bought the area and wanted to profit from it, even by preserving it. Other than that, I would not have a problem with such a scheme (where private actors are included). This model has been implemented elsewhere and has many advantages and it possibly is a solution for us too.”-
Rick

On the other hand, the second subframe (anticapitalistic-WIT) is against schemes of privatization and criticizes capitalism and perceives the latter as a threat to the way of life of the local community. Those activists are hesitant to trust the municipality with the property rights of Erimitis or as an ally of the movement. Moreover, they believe that the municipality could hold the property rights only if the local community has a strong say on matters related to Erimitis. Additionally, those activists are suspicious towards the legal procedures, doubting that they can solve this conflict in their favor (Michonne, Julie, Barney). Moreover, this anti-capitalistic subframe opts not to express openly those views, fearing that such actions could harm the movement in terms of allies. Some of the allies of the movement are people, who own the other three properties inside Erimitis and are characterized as capitalists by the activists of WIT. According to one of the activists it would be contradictory to present an anticapitalistic frame while they cooperate with capitalists.

“There are capitalists inside the movement that oppose the investment. In other issues I may act in an anti-capitalistic way, but I would not put Erimitis under that framework, because nothing will happen if we define it like that.”- Barney

To sum up, WIT prioritizes the protection of Erimitis and wants to protect the life of the local community by leaving the area intact. For WIT, Erimitis is an inseparable part of the community while those activists are emotionally attached to the ecosystem. However, two subframes co-exist inside WIT. The differences are related to views towards capitalism and property rights. What makes me unify those two subframes under one frame and not presenting them as separate ones, is the fact that they agree on sustaining of the way of life of the community and express feelings about Erimitis and the non-human lives inside of it. Lastly, they both agree on the alternative arrangement of declaring Erimitis a natural reserve, ensuring open and free access and its protection and both believe that prioritizing a decentralized system with local decision-making could safeguard the community life.

5B2. Ideational Analysis of “Whatever It Takes”

WIT does not seem to be related to a specific ideology, since their perceptions and actions do not seem to point to a relevant direction. However, by examining the proclamations and the way those activists act it is possible to distill through analytical abstraction specific ideational elements. Hence, according to my interpretation, the elements of WIT are those of: community, decentralization and prioritization of goal over process.

“It is a local struggle, which is about the quality of life and the environment. Those who live there should not be divided by political beliefs.”- Maggie

The concept of community is one of the core elements of this frame. WIT mostly consists of people, who live near Erimitis. Hence, the concepts of this frame are affected by the immediate experiences of those people. For those activists what matters is to keep control of their community in order to sustain their way of life. In this context, the environment (and in this case Erimitis) is an inseparable part of the community (Çoban, 2007). For those activists it is not about saving either Erimitis or the community, but both since they are inseparable. This occurs because Erimitis is the foundation of the local tourism economy and a part of people’s daily life. Additionally, the strong emotional attachment of the locals to Erimitis should not be disregarded. For the anticapitalistic-WIT capitalism is a threat to the life of the community while for the neutral-WIT it is not. However, this balanced life of community is termed as development by both subframes.

Moreover, the concept of community is interlinked with that of decentralization. This second concept is presented as a way to sustain the life of the community and Erimitis. So far, the community has developed a local tourism, which is based on a small number of tourists, who respect the environment and the inhabitants. Furthermore, according to the activists, the working conditions are better, and they are able to interact with tourists showing the latter a piece of their lives. For that reason, the community does not experience the same issues created by mass tourism, as the people that live in the city¹⁵. Hence, they believe that if they continue to manage the life of their community, no negative externalities will occur. Additionally, they believe that Erimitis should be property of the municipality or even in the case of privatization, the local community should have a strong say. Lastly, something that links the mismanagement of the state to decentralization is the belief of the activists that the central state has no connections with the local population. Those arguments are common for such grassroots movements in Greece, where measures towards decentralization are welcomed by those activists (Close, 1999).

“A central state is working with summaries and is not looking at individual parts. This is not an ideological, but a structural matter. It is not structured to act that way. This can only be done if the administration has a good communication with local authorities, and the latter are properly staffed.”-

Rick

The third core element is that of prioritization of goals over the processes. As it became evident in the previous section, WIT is open to all kinds of actions and willing to ally with everyone that can help those activists to achieve their goal. For that reason, as they confess, they “have opened this matter as much as they could” (Barney) in order to receive more support from whoever espouses their goal. As it was mentioned before, Barney stated that it would be contradictory to promote an anti-capitalistic framework, which one of the sub-frames espouses, when they ally with capitalists. In terms of actions, WIT’s activists do whatever they can either to raise awareness about the issue or to gain attention or to cancel/ postpone the investment and both of subframes agree

¹⁵ The issues that they can trace are those that affect all the island because of mass tourism like waste management and water scarcity.

with that stance. This openness to actions is connected with the decentralization aiming to sustain the life of the community.

Additionally, something that demonstrates the prioritization of goals over processes is the use of terms like SD (especially by the neutral-WIT), disregarding that those narratives create such issues. Another term, which is used by the WIT is that of ecosystem services (ES). On its basis ES is used as a tool to place monetary value on an ecosystem in order to determine what decisions should be made about it (Lele et al., 2013). ES are consisted of provisioning, regulating and cultural services (Pueyo-Ros, 2018) and because of its main aim it is criticized that it pushes conservation to a neoliberal trajectory, since it aims to resolve such issues through the market (Spangenberg & Settele, 2010). Lastly, it was mentioned that there is no intention of putting a price to the ecosystem, but just to show its importance.

“We live in a capitalist world and sometimes it is necessary to show the value of something in order to convince people about it.”- Rick

Through those elements it is shown that for WIT, Erimitis is interpreted as an extension of themselves, as their home and most importantly as an inseparable part of the local community. In that way, WIT considers the local community capable of managing itself in order to sustain a way of life, which is different from the rest of the island. In that picture the state should have a supportive role, giving more room to the local community. The tourism sector there differs in an important way from the rest mass tourism industry of Corfu, and this is the reason the inhabitants near Erimitis do not experience the same negative externalities as the inhabitants of the capital of Corfu. Because they see their way of life and something they love (Erimitis) being threatened they are ready to do whatever it takes to stop this investment.

5B3. The “Real Needs” Frame

The second frame is that of “Real Needs” (RN). This frame consists of activists, who are associated with KKE and PAME¹⁶. Those activists are mostly located in the capital of Corfu. This frame focuses on the protection of Erimitis while keeping its public character. The protection is associated with the notion of meeting the needs of the people, which could be fulfilled only outside of the current capitalist system.

¹⁶ As was mentioned earlier KKE, is the “Communist Party of Greece” and PAME, it is the ancillary structure of KKE with the aim of coordinating the unions, which KKE controls.

As it was done with WIT, the starting point will be the demands of the frame. RN expresses demands about leaving Erimitis as it is, ensuring open and free access to it and canceling the investment. Moreover, RN is against any kind of privatization of Erimitis. Those demands are connected with RN perceiving Erimitis as something that has a specific goal inside society, and this is to meet specific needs of the people (Sarah, Han, Negan). Such needs can be recreation, gaining knowledge about nature in general or as a foundation for local tourism. This can be further understood in the way such activists talk about it. Whenever they talk about the importance of protecting Erimitis, right after they talk about a specific use of Erimitis. According to RN's activists an alternative arrangement for Erimitis would be to turn it into a protected and open natural reserve. RN's narrative is constructed around those terms, since it has to be preserved as it is in order to be utilized by future generations.

“Everything in a place has a role to play and everything has its own utility. In Corfu where we develop tourism, agriculture etc., that role belongs to the natural environment.”- Negan

Those perceptions are closely connected with the belief that Erimitis belongs to the people. Only if the ecosystem is a public good it can meet the aforementioned perceptions and the needs of the people. Moreover, by public good RN's activists mean that Erimitis should belong to the state (Sarah, Han, Negan). However, for RN a capitalist state is not something that can be trusted (since it will benefit the capitalists) and plan policies in a way to satisfy the needs of the people. This is closely connected with the anti-capitalistic views this frame has. RN is not against the state as an entity, but against a capitalist state. RN adopts a broader perspective, by connecting this grassroots movement for Erimitis with a struggle of transcending capitalism. This can occur by uniting with other movements, but the latter should follow the labor movement.

“The movement (for Erimitis) should unite with the other movements. It should unite with the labor movement, which is most dynamic part of the movement (for Erimitis).”- Sarah

For that reason, RN perceives the actions of the movement in a specific way. While RN's activists believe that they should take this struggle to court, they do not believe that courts can solve this issue. This is rooted in their belief that such procedures are

part of the capitalist system and cannot do justice for the people and their struggles. Additionally, they believe that the same is happening with the tourist industry in the island, since according to them, the state facilitates tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs that exploit the employees of the sector and destroy the environment (built and natural) of the island.

“The court procedures on their own cannot provide us with a solution even if the verdict is based on laws and this leads to a positive result it cannot be the only solution. I hold this conviction since such procedures can be turned over or the laws can be changed in order to facilitate the interests of the capital.”-
Negan

Moreover, activists of RN believe that the communication with the community should also revolve around the issue of cultivating class consciousness in order for the community to adopt an anticapitalistic view too¹⁷. In terms of alliances RN is against siding with people that have big enterprises or represent capital. They hold this conviction, because, according to them, sooner or later those people will try to exploit the movement and turn against it (Han). Lastly, they do not trust the municipality as an ally.

To sum up, RN is structured around anti-capitalistic views and traces the root of the problem in the way capitalism works. In this system, Erimitis cannot fulfill its purpose, which is the needs of the people. A way to achieve those goals would be for Erimitis to be turned into an open natural reserve. In order to change this, the grassroots movement should unite with the labor movement and follow it in the process of transcending capitalism.

5B4. Ideational Analysis of “Real Needs”

When analyzing a frame such as RN, what should be kept in mind is the people that represent it. That frame is exclusively made up by people that are associated with the “Communist Party of Greece” (KKE) and its ancillary structure “All Workers’ Militant Front” (PAME), which coordinates the trade unions that KKE controls. Keeping in mind that KKE is a strict Marxist-Leninist party makes it possible to observe the

¹⁷ This view will be further explained in the analysis of the frame, when I will make connections with the ideology this frame follows.

following core elements of this frame, which are: vanguard party, state ownership and central planning.

The notion of the vanguard party, which is run by professional revolutionaries, is a strong one in Marxism-Leninism and it is one of its defining principles (McLellan, 2014). To be precise, the role of the party is to organize and lead all the classes to a democratic revolution (ibid.). This can be seen inside the grassroots movement, when activists of RN claim that this movement should come and join forces under the labor movement, which would be guided by KKE. In that way the party controls mass organizations and organizes them according to the needs of the revolution. The labor movement is something important for Marxism-Leninism, since this ideology highlights the consciousness of the masses as something central for the further development of socialism and for reaching the latter stages of communism (Morgan, 2015; Brown; 2013).

The next notion is that of state ownership. The goal of the party for Lenin was first to destroy the state and replace it with a proletarian one, which would be controlled by the party (Brown, 2013). The party is interlinked with the people, and this is evident by the slogan “Party and People are One” (Morgan, 2015). This makes it possible to understand what is meant by state ownership of Erimitis being equivalent with the people owning Erimitis.

“It should not be property of one enterprise or its shareholders, but state property. The people will be the head of the state and not monopolies, which control the various governments.”- Sarah

The state ownership as an element should be seen in par with that of central planning by the state. The notion of planning is accompanied by that of democratic centralism, where decisions are taken by an authoritarian leadership, which is transferred from the party to the structure of the state (Brown, 2013). In that way policies and practices, which are decided on the upper echelons have a direct impact on the local production (Morgan, 2015). However, RN’s activists believe that the central state could and should provide a degree of autonomy to the local communities (Negan).

“A lot of conflict would not have happened, if there was a specific planning, which would define the terms of the economic activities and how to protect the environment.”-Negan

This central planning according to Marxism-Leninism is characterized by rationality, which is related to the pursuit of communal welfare goals. Those goals can be termed as a different, qualitative development based on satisfaction of needs freed from the motive of profit (Rist, 2019: 260)¹⁸. Additionally, those goals will be reached by utilizing the non-human nature to human ends (Freedden, 1998). Hence, the belief that Erimitis would be utilized in a correct way through the satisfaction of human needs gains much more weight when it is connected with this whole narrative. Furthermore, the concept of central planning is in line with how RN views tourism (and development) since according to RN's opinion this activity should be planned according to the needs of the people by a central state.

As for the behavior of RN inside the movement, connections with Marxism-Leninism and with the way KKE and PAME acts can assist in understanding the frame in a more coherent way. First of all, during the revolution of 1905, Lenin argued that the liberals could not be trusted for any revolutionary struggle (McLellan, 2014: 108). Something similar could be observed also in the current grassroots movement, where RN is not willing to trust and cooperate with the capitalists. Additionally, some activists of WIT commented that PAME is not joining their protests but prefers to hold its banners and use its chants. This attitude is something usual for the organization, since PAME holds its own strikes at the national, sectoral and local level and KKE in general is critical towards other social movements (Tsakatika & Eleftheriou, 2013).

Having located the organizing concepts of RN and contextualizing this frame inside the ideology of Marxism-Leninism now it is easier to understand how RN is structured. Firstly, a vanguard party should cultivate the class consciousness of the masses and after the revolution this party would replace the state. Additionally, since the party, inside the context of this ideology, is the people, this means that the state is the people. Through this way of thinking the property, which belongs to this specific state belongs to the people and it is utilized through the central planning of a rational socialist central state, which does not destroy Erimitis. This rationality allows people to meet their needs without environmental degradation and the transition from socialism to communism.

¹⁸ Those welfare goals will be achieved by reaching a level of growth, which will ensure material abundance to the population (Ziegler, 1982).

For RN, this grassroots movement is a part of the broader struggle and transition to socialism and finally to communism.

5B5. The “Struggle For Freedom” Frame

The last frame is that of “Struggle of Freedom” (SFF) and consists of people, who espouse anarchism and/or are members of two squats that exist in the city. As I have mentioned, it is the frame with the fewer people. The central aspect of the frame is the perception of Erimitis as symbol of freedom and the movement is conceptualized as a struggle for freedom.

The SFF’s demands have to do with leaving Erimitis as it is, allowing and ensuring free and open access to it, cancelling the investment, and not allowing any kind of privatization. Erimitis is perceived as a struggle towards capitalism and the state, without proposing an ideal perception of them. To be precise, SFF opposes in general state as an entity¹⁹. For that reason, the narrative around Erimitis is also structured around past and future struggles against state, capitalism, and any other form of authoritarianism. Hence, the state (as an entity) is criticized almost always along with capitalism. Moreover, Erimitis is also perceived as a public good. The activists of this frame believe that Erimitis belongs to society and there are even statements about belonging to both people and creatures, which live inside Erimitis (Kate). For that reason, SFF does not propose an entity to hold the property rights of Erimitis. This is highlighted by the opposition of property in general, so that no one can sell, rent or exploit it in whichever manner (Trinity, Ethan).

“Erimitis is part of my struggle. Part of the war I face against the state, the capital and authoritarianism.”- Trinity

“State and capital cannot become better. They are parasitic organisms at the expense of society.”- Ethan

According to SFF, the movement has a broader perspective, which is against capitalism and the state (Trinity, Ellen, Ethan). First of all, SFF’s activists believe that the communication with the broader community should also cultivate class consciousness, but without aspiring people to join their collectives and organizations. This conviction

¹⁹ Since they oppose state and its institutions, SFF is against working with the municipality no matter the issue.

is related with the belief that people in general should take their lives in their hands. Lastly, they do not trust capitalists as allies.

“From my point of view, you cannot ally with those people (she refers to rich people, as she called them, who own properties inside Erimitis) because one day they may get one offer and decide to abandon the movement. This is not their struggle, it is a struggle of the people at the bottom, it is a class struggle.”-
Ellen

In a similar manner, they oppose the court procedures for two reasons. Firstly, they do not believe that inside capitalism such institutional procedures can serve justice for the people and the former will always benefit representatives of capital. Additionally, they are against such practices inside a movement since according to them they appoint someone else to decide what is right and wrong (Ellen). However, those perceptions are also connected with the “Different World” those activists envision, which would be based on horizontal organizational structures and have freedom as a central value for this world (Ethan, Ellen, Trinity). According to them, such a world cannot be materialized if the actions are not consistent with this vision. Lastly, the anti-capitalistic views that SFF has are further exemplified by the statements about the mass tourism industry and the way it operates in favor of capital (facilitated by the state) and against the needs of the people.

To sum up, this frame is built on an anti-statist and anti-capitalistic basis, since its activists believe that those two elements work in par and against the freedom of the people. Freedom is something important for SFF, since the former is the root of the frame’s struggle, and this is what they see in Erimitis. As a space, which symbolizes freedom, and the latter is constrained by the joint actions of capitalism and state. Hence, Erimitis and the local movement are conceptualized as a broader perspective of struggle for freedom against state and capitalism.

5B6. Ideational Analysis of “Struggle for Freedom”

Again, a good starting point of making sense of SFF, would be the people, who espouse it and the organizations they take part in. Those people openly espouse the anarchist ideology and/or participate in squats that exist in the city of Corfu. Having those in mind and reflecting back to the data that has been gathered, in my interpretation the

core elements of the SFF are those of: freedom, contesting hierarchies of power and prefigurative actions along with anti-mediation.

As was noted, freedom is one of the main components of the frame. Freedom is not considered as individualism, but its conceptualization is close to socialism and social anarchism (Franks, 2013). In this case the focus is on the freedom of the individual, but the individuals exist as members of society and not outside of it. Statements about freedom can be found when the activists talk about the “Different World”, where the citizens are characterized as free people and also in statements about what the squat and the movement represent (Ethan, Trinity, Ellen). To be precise, the squat for them indicates a horizontal model of organization²⁰ for the “Different World” and is characterized as space of freedom and self-determination, where people can live free as they want while respecting each other. Moreover, Erimitis gains meaning through the movement. This becomes evident from statements indicating that those activists were not much engaged with it before the privatization (Trinity). SFF focuses more on the privatization and the fact that this space will cease to be a public one rather on the destruction that the investment will cause²¹.

On par with the focus on freedom, another element that is closely associated with the latter is the contestation of hierarchies of power. Deconstructing those power relations entails abolishing both the control over the other (domination) and the ranked power relations of dominance (hierarchy) and replacing them with horizontal forms of organization (Amster, 2018: 23)²². Moreover, anarchism does not present a predetermined way for action or organization but aims at presenting alternative structures that can be used in different contexts in diverse ways according to the needs of the applied context (Shannon, 2018). Lastly, power and relations stemming from the former can take various forms like gender and nationality, but in the movement at hand, SFF focuses on state and capitalism.

²⁰ Such models of organization are needed to ensure the freedom of people. For anarchism, freedom requires the replacement of oppressive institutions with new ways of political, economic and social organization, which will be built on democratic, voluntary and non-hierarchical basis (Mckay, 2018; Jun, 2018).

²¹ This focus does not downplay the environmental damage, which will be caused.

²² To exemplify those notions, think of capitalism (as a form of domination) and the relationship between for example a chief executive and the people below him/her (as forms of ranked power relations).

The state (and its institutions) is interconnected with capitalism and the protection of private property by the former (Kinna & Prichard, 2019). In that way, they are considered as systems of hierarchical power that suppress the freedom of the people. For that reason, capitalism and state (as an entity) are criticized by SFF's activists together. Hence, it could be argued that the movement for Erimitis is connected to that broader perspective for a struggle for freedom and a different world where such hierarchies will not exist.

The next two elements are very close as notions, but it is better to examine them as distinct. The first one is that of prefigurative actions and it indicates that the means should be consistent with the goals for the structure of the ideal society (Franks, 2012). For example, since SFF's activists perceive the state as an authoritarian institution, they do not believe that the ideal society can be built through such institutions. For that reason, actions like court procedures to accomplish the goals of the movement are considered false.

Close to the concept of prefigurative action is that of anti-mediation. Through this concept it is possible to further understand why the court procedures have been criticized. For SFF, the court procedures made the activists idle and halted them from pressing the matter through other actions. Furthermore, the notion of anti-mediation focuses on action by the oppressed and not by others in the name of the oppressed (Franks, 2013). Hence, SFF believes that the most vital part of the movement should be the people living near Erimitis and this community should not anticipate that the case of Erimitis will be solved in their name by others. To further exemplify this, SFF criticizes also instances where activists from other frames anticipate that the alliances with members of the Greek parliament or the municipality will solve the aforementioned issues in their name (Ellen). However, the community should act as it wants, without anyone forcing them (Trinity).

“(The court procedures) harmed the movement, because a lot of people thought that since those procedures are running, they do not have to do something on their own.”- Ellen

To sum up, SFF places a lot of weight on freedom. Freedom is the major principle of the ideal society, which is termed as “Different World”. Because of that focus, SFF opposes hierarchies of power like the state and capitalism and perceives them as

interlinked. Additionally, anti-mediation and prefigurative actions are also filtered through the importance of freedom, since the actions should be aligned with the goal, which is a free society while people should have the freedom to decide on their own, what to do and not concede this ability to others. Hence, the movement is interpreted as a broader anti-authoritarian struggle for a “Different World” and as a struggle against state and capitalism, which want to confine a symbol of freedom like Erimitis.

5B7. Unity and Points of Conflict Between the Frames

From the presentation of the frames, it is possible to understand the points of conflict, how people make sense of their surroundings and how this meaning-making process affects their actions and the alternative arrangements they propose. However, points of conflict that stem from the different perceptions can be located.

RN believes that the planning from the capitalist state is irrational and not fit to meet the needs of the people. Clear examples are the tourist planning and the case of Erimitis, where private interests are prioritized over the needs of the people. According to this frame this issue can be solved in a socialist central state, which opposes capitalism and leaves room for a degree of autonomy for the local communities. On the other hand, SFF perceives the aforementioned issues in a similar way, but does not believe that a state, which would oppose capitalism can bring solutions. Hence, SFF proposes replacing such institutions with horizontal ones, which will be rooted inside each community and against hierarchal structures. Lastly, WIT frames the issues related to the investment in Erimitis and tourism as issues of mismanagement by the state. Following that rationale, WIT proposes a more decentralized system of governance (without denying the existence of a state) inside or outside of capitalism, in order to safeguard the balanced life of the community.

Furthermore, the relationships and the views that each frame has for the other, are not hostile. One element that plays a crucial role on that matter should be the fact that most of the activists know each other either through their personal lives and activities or through co-existence in other organizations. Hence, activists from different frames acknowledge the diversity and the unity of the movement and believe that those different perceptions and beliefs enrich the movement and keep the latter alive (Neo, Ethan, Han, Rick).

However, one activist from WIT mentioned that she would prefer if the activists from RN would not bring the banners from their organizations neither shout their chants but follow WIT (Maggie). Moreover, SFF criticized some actions like sit-ins from the side of the WIT, since from the former's point of view, those actions were bringing the movement to a defensive stance against a "fully armored enemy like the state" (Ethan). Additionally, activists from SFF criticize the fact that when a public meeting is held the central committee of the SMO has to discuss first. From SFF's point of view this does not follow the horizontal non-hierarchical organization that should be in place.

Additionally, it is evident that SFF and RN focus more on the privatization compared to the investment, while the anticapitalistic-WIT is concerned in an equal way for both of those matters. On the other hand, the neutral-WIT is mostly concerned about the environmental damage, which will be caused. As it was mentioned, WIT (as a whole), because of the strong bond between the community and Erimitis wants to save the latter no matter what. That concern makes WIT criticize instances, where SFF or RN employ their broader perspectives and those activists choose not to employ every possible mean to stop the investment. Such perspectives, which are related to the ideology they espouse, make SFF and RN criticize specific allies (e.g. the three owners inside Erimitis) or actions like the aforementioned sit-in.

As it was mentioned in the early parts of this thesis, I do not aim at exploring alternatives to development. However, for this section it is important to discuss briefly the different perceptions of the three frames around development. RN and WIT believe that development exists as a notion and can occur inside their aforementioned proposed arrangements. SFF avoids using the term development and states that what is termed as development can be something different for every person. Moreover, SFF does not want to impose a predetermined way of their ideal society, as RN, nor it espouses a narrative like SD, as neutral-WIT.

"A form of development can be to live with each other without struggling to do so. Development for each person is something different and I will not say how it should be, but now we live inside a system that should be changed."-Trinity

To sum up, it is evident that those three frames have many differences and express criticism towards each other, but all of them perceive what is happening around them in a negative way. To be precise, all three frames disagree with the investment plans

and with the specific privatization, with SFF and RN opposing any kind of privatization. Lastly, the diversity does not mean that there is no unity. Hence, the activists are able to co-exist, work together, and oppose those investment plans, even though they interpret the world and this situation in a different way.

6. Discussion

The main findings of this paper are the following. First of all, development through tourism in Corfu is viewed in a negative way in an array of different levels. All activists criticized development through tourism in terms of its impact on the environment and society along with the top-down planning, which is imposed by the alignment of the governments with the tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs. Moreover, all activists observe the growth and expansion of the sector at the expense of their lives, since current existing problems are exacerbated, and tourism gives rise to new societal and environmental issues.

Additionally, three different orientational frames were observed inside the movement. Firstly, WIT is structured around the lived experiences of the local community and focuses on the protection of its way of life. The core concepts are those of community, decentralization and prioritization of goals over processes and perceives Erimitis as an inseparable part of the local community. In that context, Erimitis and the negative impact of tourism and development are associated with state mismanagement and the need for a decentralized system in order to alleviate the island from those issues and protect the way of living of the local community. For anti-capitalistic WIT, capitalism is considered as a threat in general, while neutral-WIT believes that solutions inside capitalism are possible.

RN is influenced by Marxism-Leninism and focuses on the matter of privatization. Its core values are the existence of a vanguard party, state ownership and central planning. Erimitis is perceived as an entity that fulfills the needs of the people only under a socialist state, which owns it. This state would align and manage the industry of tourism (and development) with the needs of the people, while leaving room for some autonomy for the local communities. RN and WIT propose as an alternative arrangement for Erimitis to be turned to a protected natural reserve. For WIT, there are proposals for schemes, where private actors are also prevalent, while RN advocates for Erimitis belonging to the state.

SFF follows anarchism and its elements are those of freedom, contestation of hierarchies of power and prefigurative actions along with anti-mediation. In that way, SFF perceives Erimitis as a symbol of freedom against hierarchies of power. For SFF, property is a form of domination. Therefore, Erimitis should not belong to someone. The issues related to Erimitis and tourism are perceived as the aligned work of capitalism and the state, which (re)produce social inequalities and confine freedom. SFF does not believe that solutions through state or capitalism can alleviate the current situation and underlines the need for horizontal anti-hierarchical structures, while it avoids presenting blueprints for directions. Lastly, RN and SFF perceive this movement as a struggle for transition to their respected different societies.

By examining the narratives around tourism, its structure and the negative impact of the sector for Corfu, it is possible to make inferences about this strategy of development (and development in general), its failures and let those fallacies emerge, which is one of the goals of post-development (Nustad, 2001). It is evident that the current model of development through tourism in Corfu is perceived in a negative way. A lot of issues that stem from tourism (that exist in other places too) like water scarcity (Coccosis, 2001), increased traffic (Brtnický et al., 2020), difficulties in finding housing (Balampanidis et al., 2019), the bad and precarious working conditions and the loss of open spaces (Bianchi & de Man, 2021) are also prevalent in Corfu. Inside this context the root of these issues is the unequal distribution of power between the locals and the tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs in the sector (Sharpley, 2020).

What is observed is the way the current top-down growth-driven approach related to power inequality in terms of planning and decision-making, ends up favoring those, who have the power in their hands (Navaro-Jurado et al., 2019; Dodds & Buttler, 2010). Additionally, it is evident that the activists of the movement at hand (as in other cases) are not willing to suffer the (social and environmental) costs for the maximization of economic growth (Garavan, 2007). In the examined case the state allows the tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs to promote their agendas, which are influenced by a dominance of growth. In that context the UNWTO lauds Greece's commitment towards STD (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2020). This shows that what the UN perceives as development is not related with what people experience. Those societal and environmental issues are created by an ever-growing tourism

industry in the island, which is driven by narratives such as development with the sole purpose of generating growth (Higgins-Desboilles et al., 2019).

The fact that tourism is a source for growth in Greece along with the conditions that turned the sector into the “heavy industry” of the country, pushes it to a direction of monoculture (Nikolakakis, 2017). In Corfu, this monoculture of tourism at the expense of other sectors was documented, while it has to be kept in mind that monoculture of a sector is not considered something sustainable even by the UN (Sharpley, 2020). However, this growth-driven monoculture may have greater implications, since those processes could be related to the argument about the second contradiction of capital. According to it, capitalism destroys the social and environmental conditions and relations, on which it depends, while reorganizing them at their expense, handling and managing everything as a commodity (Escobar, 2012: 200; Castree, 2000). The privatization and the investment in Erimitis, further exemplify those arguments, since the expansion of this narrative of development, threatens the way of living of the local community, the bonds that the people of the broader community of the island have formed with Erimitis, the environment of Corfu and even the tourism sector itself.

The bigger picture is that the specific top-down structure of growth-oriented tourism in Corfu creates societal and environmental externalities for the community for the sake of economic growth as in other cases around the world (Everingham & Chassagne, 2020; Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019; Naidoo & Sharpley, 2016; Mathis & Rose, 2016). The perceptions about development through tourism set the context for the orientational frames and makes it possible to further understand the latter. By understanding how the activists perceive tourism it is possible to connect the investment in Erimitis, with the broader context of the island. Erimitis is not something new in terms of the tourism industry in Greece and Corfu. Erimitis is a part of this expansion.

By examining the movement through the approach of orientational frames important findings came to light. It became obvious that there are reasons to examine a movement from a point of diversity, since this allows us to understand it in a different way (Gillan, 2008). If an approach related to collective action frames was followed, the movement would have been examined as a unified actor and the aim would be to find a set of principles and articulations, which all of the activists agreed to, by observing movement activities as deliberative and goal directed (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Moreover, if the focus had been the SMO and its content, it would probably have led mostly to the observation of WIT, since mostly WIT-activists are associated with the SMO. Additionally, as it was demonstrated, different interpretations (about Erimitis) with conflicting implications co-exist inside the movement, for example in terms of property rights (van Buren, 2014). Lastly, it was shown that while lived experiences are important for grassroots environmental movements, they limit the scope of the analysis. There are activists that are part of the broader community of the island and take part in the movement for different reasons, one of them being their ideology, which pushes them to act in specific directions (Gillan, 2008).

7. Conclusions

Before closing this thesis, I would like to state how it contributes to the fields of development and social movement studies. First of all, for development scholars it is shown the need to closely inspect movements that question instances of development. The current model of development through tourism and the investment in Erimitis are perceived by all activists in a negative way. All activists seem to locate the problem in the power inequality between them and the tour operators and big tourism entrepreneurs and the growth orientation of the sector, which is facilitated by governments. However, as it was demonstrated, each frame perceives differently the fallacies related to those processes. Additionally, some activists (WIT and RN) propose their models for development, while others (SFF) seem to avoid the use of such terms and perceive the world as something, which is open to many different interpretations. Those different views were possible to be traced because of the focus on the diversity inside the movement. This further indicates that activists are reflective beings and should be treated as such in order to understand the ideas that exist inside a given movement (Gillan, 2008).

Additionally, examining development in places like Greece, which by conventional standards²³ is considered a developed country, can be fruitful to open up the field of development studies to explore the negative impacts of development in European

²³ Greece is categorized is categorized by the UN in the “Very High Human Development Category” in terms of the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2021). Additionally, for the World Bank, it is categorized as a “High Income” country (World Bank, 2021).

countries (Horner & Hulme, 2017). Lastly, understanding the perceptions about development through tourism sets the context to understand better the local movement.

On the other hand, in social movement theory, frame analysis is broadly used in a way that focuses on SMOs and the (strategic) way they present the issues at hand to accomplish tasks like recruitment (Gillan, 2008). While examining what comes out in the public from SMOs is something important for understanding specific aspects of a social movement, this thesis demonstrated some possible limitations. In a rather small island like Corfu, inside a grassroots movement, it was possible to demonstrate and inspect the ideational diversity that exists inside it. This diversity does not imply that there is no unity inside the movement, but it shows the complexity of the social world and we as researchers should not act in a way that may omit such differences.

Moreover, during the last years environmental movements have been receiving an increasing focus (Rootes, 1999). In order to understand those movements, it is essential to understand how those activists perceive a given environment. In that way, environmental hermeneutics open the way for the research of such movements, since as it was shown the activists under study relate to Erimitis in different ways. Moreover, combining environmental hermeneutics with orientational frames turned out something helpful to understand the perceptions about Erimitis, since the latter acted as a signifier for the orientational frames, which illuminated the analysis and the convictions of the activists.

Concluding, from my point of view, the situation in Corfu points to the direction that simple tweaks inside the current system cannot alleviate what is happening in the island. On the contrary, it is demonstrated that as long as growth and economy dominate all the aspects of social life, such issues will not cease to exist, but multiply. Alternative forms of tourism complement mass tourism or act as a way to repel criticism towards the sector (Higgins-Desboiles et al., 2019; Sharpley, 2020). The tourism sector in Corfu, the case of Erimitis and the connections with the narrative of development and its representatives (like the UN) show that, what is needed is a holistic transition to different social imaginaries, which question the dominance of economy and growth (Rist 2019).

7.1 Future Research

Future research on similar issues can be more fruitful, if it has a stronger participatory essence. For example, observing a place, when tourism is booming or observing actions and meetings of a movement. Lastly, future research could also focus not only on critique of development through tourism, but also focus more on alternatives to development that may arise inside a movement or a society.

8. Literature List

- Almeida, P. Stearns, L.B. (1998) 'Political Opportunities and Local Grassroots Environmental Movements: The Case of Minamata' *Social Problems*, [Online] 45(1): 37-60 available at <https://academic.oup.com/socpro/article-abstract/45/1/37/1734876?redirectedFrom=fulltext> [accessed on 12 February 2021]
- Amster, R. (2018) 'Anti-Hierarchy' in Franks, B. Jun, N. Williams, L. (ed.) *Anarchism: A Conceptual Approach*. New York: Routledge: 15-27
- Apostolopoulou, E. Adams, W.M (2014) 'Neoliberal Capitalism and Conservation in the post-crisis Era: the Dialectics of "Green" and "Un-green" Grabbing in Greece and the UK' *Antipode*, [Online] 47(1) available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262772860_Neoliberal_Capitalism_and_Conservation_in_the_Post-crisis_Era_The_Dialectics_of_Green_and_Un-green_Grabbing_in_Greece_and_the_UK [accessed on 20 October 2020]
- Avgi (2020) 'K. Mitsotakis: O Erimitis Kapoia Stigmi Tha Kaei... Moni Sotiria to Kassiopi Project'. *Avgi*. 14 August. [Online] available at https://www.avgi.gr/arheio/360929_k-mitsotakis-o-erimitis-kapoia-stigmi-tha-kaei-moni-sotiria-kassiopi-project-video [accessed on 20 August 2020]
- Balampanidis, D. Maloutas, T, Papatzani, E. Pettas, D. (2019) 'Informal Urban Regeneration as a Way out of the Crisis? Airbnb in Athens and its Effects on Space and Society' *Urban Research and Articles*, [Online] available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17535069.2019.1600009> [accessed on 26 February 2021]
- Bazeley, P. Jackson, K. (2013). '*Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo*' London: SAGE Publications
- Benford, R.D. Snow, D.A. (2000) 'Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment' *Annual Review of Sociology*, [Online] 26: 611-639 available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/223459?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents [accessed on 24 January 2021]

Bianchi, R.V. (2009) 'The "Critical Turn" in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique' *Tourism Geographies*, [Online] 11(4): 484-504 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241746862_The_'Critical_Turn'_in_Tourism_Studies_A_Radical_Critique [accessed on 10 March 2021]

Bianchi, R.V. de Man, F. (2021) 'Tourism, Inclusive Growth and Decent Work: A Political Economy Critique' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 29(2-3): 353-371 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669582.2020.1730862> [accessed on 2 May 2021]

Brown, A. (2013) 'Communism' in Freedon, M. Stears, M. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Brtnický M, M. Pecina, V. Vašinová Galiová, M. Prokeš, L. Zvěřina, O. Juříčka, D. Klimánek, M. Kynický, J. (2020) 'The Impact of Tourism on Extremely Visited Volcanic Island: Link Between Environmental Pollution and Transportation Modes' *Chemosphere*, [Online] 249 available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0045653520303118?via%3Dihub> [accessed on 3 March 2021]

Buhalis, D. (2001) 'Tourism in Greece: Strategic Analysis and Challenges' *Current Issues in Tourism*, [Online] 4(5): 440-480 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13683500108667898> [accessed on 9 March 2021]

Burns, G.L. (2015) 'Ethics in Tourism' in Hall, M.C. Gossling, S. Scott, D. (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge: 117-126

Calvario, R. Velegrakis, G. Kaika, M. (2017) 'The Political Ecology of Austerity: An Analysis of Environmental Conflict Under Crisis in Greece' *Capital, Nature and Socialism*, [Online] 28(3): 69-87 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10455752.2016.1260147> [accessed on 21 January 2021]

Castree, N. (2008) 'Marxism and the Production of Nature' *Capital & Class*, [Online] 24(3): 5-36 available at

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247788608 Marxism and the Producti
on of Nature](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247788608_Marxism_and_the_Producti
on_of_Nature) [accessed on 20 March 2021]

Clarke, V. Braun, V. (2013) '*Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*' New York: Sage

Clingerman, F. Treanor, B. Drenthen, M. Utsler, D. (2014) 'Introduction: Environmental Hermeneutics' in Clingerman, F. Treanor, B. Drenthen, M. Utsler, D. (ed.) *Interpreting Nature: The Emerging Field of Environmental Hermeneutics*. New York: Fordham University Press: 1-16

Close, D. (1999) 'Environmental Crisis in Greece and Recent Challenges to Centralized State Authority' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, [Online] 17(2): 325-352 available at <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/21872/pdf> [accessed on 20 February 2021]

Çoban, A. (2007) 'Community-based Ecological Resistance: The Bergama Movement in Turkey' *Environmental Politics*, [Online] 13(2): 438-460 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0964401042000209658?tab=permissions&scroll=top> [accessed on 1 February 2021]

Coccosis, H. (2001) 'Sustainable Development and Tourism in Small Islands: Some Lessons from Greece' *Anatolia*, [Online] 12(1): 53-58 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13032917.2001.9686999> [accessed on 6 March 2021]

Dimitriadis, C. Fournari-Konstantinidou, I. Sourbes, L. Koutsoubas, D. Mazaris, A. (2018) 'Reduction of Sea Turtle Population Recruitment Caused by Nightlight: Evidence from the Mediterranean Region' *Ocean & Coastal Management*, [Online] 153(1): 108-115 available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0964569117306300> [accessed on 9 February 2021]

Divine, J. Ojeda, D. (2017) 'Violence and Dispossession in Tourism Development: A Critical Geographical Approach' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 25(5): 605-617 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09669582.2017.1293401> [accessed on 24 January 2021]

Dodds, R. Buttler, R.W. (2010) 'Barriers to Implementing Sustainable Tourism Policy in Mass Tourism Destinations' *Tourismos*, [Online] 5(1) available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46298071_Barriers_to_implementing_Sustainable_Tourism_Policy_in_Mass_Tourism_Destinations [accessed on 14 February 2021]

Douglas, J.A. (2014) 'What's Political Ecology got to do with Tourism' *Tourism Geographies*, [Online] 16(1): 8-13 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/doi/full/10.1080/14616688.2013.864324> [accessed on 16 November 2020]

Drenthen, M. (2016) 'Environmental Hermeneutics and the Meaning of Nature' in Gardiner, S.M. Thompson, A. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Ethics*. Oxford University Press: New York

Escobar, A. (2012) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press

Ethnos (2019) Ta Tria Ellinika Nisia me tous Perissoterous Touristes gia to 2019. *Ethnos*, 18 August. Available at https://www.ethnos.gr/ellada/55958_ta-tria-ellinika-nisia-me-toys-perissoteroy-toyristes-gia-2019 [accessed on 15 October 2020]

Everingham, P. Chassagne, N. (2020) 'Post COVID-19 Ecological and Social Reset: Moving Away from Capitalist Growth Models Towards Tourism as Buen Vivir' *Tourism Geographies*, [Online] 22(3): 555-566 available at https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14616688.2020.1762119?casa_token=MHvYa6c5VcsAAAAA%3AQAS5ZKMDHZq8IIhSJQhcnVHE1szFrkKi8RbXLwj9md3IbUsRCUQyPXd2C0To5KfCHoNFsJ5PHQo [accessed on 15 January 2021]

Ferguson, L. (2007) 'The United Nations World Tourism Organization' *New Political Economy*, [Online] 12(4): 557-568 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13563460701661587> [accessed on 20 May 2021]

- Fournier, V. (2008) 'Escaping the Economy: The Politics of Degrowth' *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, [Online] 28: 528-545 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235291340_Escaping_from_the_economy_the_politics_of_degrowth [accessed on 15 November 2020]
- Franks, B. (2012) 'Between Anarchism and Marxism: The Beginnings and Ends of the Schism...' *Journal of Political Ideologies*, [Online] 17(2): 207-227 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13569317.2012.676867> [accessed on 20 April 2021]
- Franks, B. (2013) 'Anarchism' in Freedon, M. Stears, M. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Freedon, M. (1998) *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Galani-Moutafi, V. (2004) 'Tourism Research on Greece: A Critical Overview' *Annals of Tourism Research*, [Online] 31(1): 157-179 available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S016073830300104X> [accessed on 12 February 2021]
- Garavan, M. (2007) 'Resisting the Costs of "Development": Local Environmental Activism in Ireland' *Environmental Politics*, [Online] 16(5): 844-863 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254900262_Resisting_the_costs_of_development_Local_environmental_activism_in_Ireland [accessed on 10 April 2021]
- Garrod, B. Fyall, A. (1998) 'Beyond the Rhetoric of Sustainable Tourism?' *Tourism Management*, [Online] 19(3): 199-212 available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0261517798000132> [accessed on 14 February 2021]
- Gillan, K. (2006) *Meaning in Movement: An Ideational Analysis of Sheffield-based Protest Networks Contesting Globalization and War*. Doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield. Available at: <http://kevingillan.info/wp-content/uploads/2007/01/Gillan-2006-Meaning-in-Movement-FULL.pdf> [accessed on 10 February 2021]

- Gillan, K. (2008) 'Understanding Meaning in Movements: A Hermeneutic Approach to Frames and Ideologies' *Social Movement Studies*, [Online] 7(3): 247-263 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14742830802485643> [accessed on 30 January 2021]
- Guillemin, M. Gillam, L. (2004) 'Ethics, Reflexivity and "Ethically Important Moments"' in Research' *Qualitative Inquiry*, [Online] 10(2) available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1077800403262360> [accessed on 20 December 2020]
- Hall, C.M Gössling, S. Scott, D. (2015) 'The Evolution of Sustainable Development and Sustainable Tourism' in Hall, C.M., Scott, D. Gössling, S. (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism and Sustainability*. London: Routledge: 15-35
- Hellenic Parliament TV (2019) 'Th. Theoharis (Ipourgos Tourismou) (Programmatikes Diloseis) (21/07/2019)' [Video Online] available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtMBIxPHUEM&t=10s&ab_channel=HellenicParliamentTV [accessed on 20 November 2020]
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. Carnicelli, S. Krolkowski, C. Wijesinghe, G. Boluk, K. (2019) 'Degrowing Tourism: Rethinking Tourism' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 27(12): 1926-1944 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332565985_Degrowing_tourism_rethinking_tourism [accessed on 20 October 2020]
- Horner, R. Hulme, D. (2017) 'From International to Global Development: New Geographies of 21st Century Development' *Development and Change*, [Online] 50(2): 347-378 available at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/dech.12379> [accessed on 12 March 2021]
- Jun, N. (2018) 'Freedom' in Franks, B. Jun, N. Williams, L. (ed.) *Anarchism: A Conceptual Approach*. New York: Routledge: 44-59
- Kinna, R. Prichard, A. (2019) 'Anarchism and non-domination' *Journal of Political Ideologies*, [Online] 24(3): 221-240 available at

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13569317.2019.1633100> [accessed on 20 April 2021]

Konstantinidis, C. Vlachou, A. (2018) 'Appropriating Nature in Crisis—ridden Greece: Deepening Neoliberal Capitalism, Part 2' *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, [Online] 29(2): 108-121 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10455752.2016.1264712> [accessed on 24 January 2021]

Kousis, M. (2000) 'Tourism and Environment: A Social Movements Perspective' *Annals of Tourism Research*, [Online] 27(2): 468-469 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256987520_Tourism_and_the_environment_-_A_social_movements_perspective [accessed on 20 January 2021]

Kurzman, C. (2008) 'Meaning-making in Social Movements' *Anthropological Quarterly*, [Online] 81(1): 5-15 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236818621_Meaning-Making_in_Social_Movements#:~:text=Meaning%2Dmaking%20is%20not%20limited,norms%20and%20institutions%20of%20society [accessed on 29 January 2021]

Lele, S. Springate-Baginski, O. Deb, D. (2013) 'Ecosystem Services: Origins, Contributions, Pitfalls and Alternatives' *Conservation and Society*, [Online] 11(4): 343-358 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235356250_Ecosystem_Services_Origins_Contributions_Pitfalls_and_Alternatives [accessed on 20 February 2021]

Lichrou, M. O'Malley L. Patterson, M. (2017) 'Making Santorini: Reflecting on the Past, Imagining the Future' *Journals of Place Management and Development*, [Online] 10(2) available at <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JPMD-07-2016-0050/full/html?skipTracking=true> [accessed on 3 March 2021]

Liu, Z. (2003) 'Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 11(6): 459-475 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669580308667216> [accessed on 14 February 2021]

Lo Iacono, V. Symonds, P. Brown, D.H.K. (2016) 'Skype as a Tool for Qualitative Research Interviews' *Sociological Research Online*, [Online] 21(2): 103-117 available at

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.5153/sro.3952?casa_token=C-wusu6Dz6sAAAAA%3AgBvHLgMO-_qN15TIZlekRvjU02bBDyO0A7nWCH841FKI3VgcolgRt64CX6vqbGpIGVr-UajCtdw [accessed on 10 March 2021]

Mathis, A. Rose, J. (2016) 'Balancing Tourism, Conservation and Development: A Political Ecology of Ecotourism on the Galapagos islands' *Journal of Ecotourism*, [Online] 15(1): 1-14 available at

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291388685_Balancing_tourism_conservation_and_development_a_political_ecology_of_ecotourism_on_the_Galapagos_Islands [accessed on 23 January 2021]

McKay, I. (2018) 'Organization' in Franks, B. Jun, N. Williams, L. (ed.) *Anarchism: A Conceptual Approach*. New York: Routledge: 115-128

McLellan, D. (2014) '*O Marxismos Meta ton Marx*' [Marxism After Marx]. Translated by Vranas, R. Papaioannou, T. Athina: Ekdoseis Savvalas.

Melucci, A. (1996) '*Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*' New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morgan, J.W. (2015) 'Marxism-Leninism: The Ideology of 20th Century Communism' in Wright, J.D. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Oxford: Elsevier: 656-662.

N. 3986/2011 (2011). *Epeigonta Metra Efarmogis Mesoprothesmou Plaisiou Dimosionomikis Stratigikis 2012–2015*. Efimerida tis Kivernisis (FEK 152A/01.07.2011) Available at

http://www.publicrevenue.gr/elib/DesktopModules/PdfViewer/web/viewer.html?file=/elib/DesktopModules/ViewModule/Documents/gr-act-2011-3986-3986_2011.pdf [accessed on 15 January 2021]

Naidoo, P. Sharpley, R. (2016) 'Local Perceptions of the Relative Contributions of Enclave Tourism and Agritourism to Community Well-being: The Case of

Mauritius' *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, [Online] 5(1): 16-25 available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212571X15000505> [accessed on 20 January 2021]

Navarro-Jurado, E. Romero-Padilla, Y. Romero-Martinez, J.M. Serrano-Munoz, E. Habegger, S. Mora-Esteban, R. (2019) 'Growth Machines and Social Movements in Mature Tourist Destinations Costa del Sol-Malaga' *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 27(12): 1786-1803 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669582.2019.1677676?journalCode=rsus20> [accessed on 8 January 2021]

Nikolakakis, M. (2017) '*Moderna Kirki: Tourismos kai Elliniki Koinonia tin Periodo 1950- 1974*' Athens: Alexandraia

Noy, C. (2008) 'Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, [Online] 11(4): 327-344 available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248988673_Sampling_Knowledge_The_Hermeneutics_of_Snowball_Sampling_in_Qualitative_Research [accessed on 26 October 2020]

Nustad, K.G. (2001) 'Development: The Devil We Know?' *Third World Quarterly*, [Online] 22(4): 479-489 available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/3993352?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents [accessed on 22 February 2021]

Pisani, J.A. (2006) 'Sustainable Development-Historical Roots of the Concept' *Environmental Sciences*, [Online] 3(2): 83-96 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15693430600688831> [accessed on 5 March 2021]

Prasad, A. (2002) 'The Contest Over Meaning: Hermeneutics as an Interpretive Methodology of Understanding Texts' *Organizational Research Methods*, [Online] 5(1) available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1094428102051003> [accessed on 3 March 2021]

- Proto Thema (2020) 'Mitsotakis Apo Kassioyi Kerkuras Proteraiotita mas I Proselkusi Xenon Ependuseon' *Proto Thema*. 11 July. [Online] Available at: <https://www.protothema.gr/politics/article/1025796/mitsotakis-apo-kassioyi-kerkuras-proteraiotita-mas-i-proselkusi-xenon-ependuseon/> [accessed on 15 July 2020]
- Pueyo-Ross, J. (2018) 'The Role of Tourism in the Ecosystem Services Framework' *Land*, [Online] 7(111) available at <https://www.mdpi.com/2073-445X/7/3/111> [accessed on 16 January 2021]
- Rist, G. (2019) *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* London and New York: Zed Books
- Robra, B. Heikkurinen, P. (2019) 'Degrowth and the Sustainable Development Goals' in Leal Fihlo, W. Azul, A.M. Brandli, L. Lange Salvia, A. Wall, T. (ed.) *Decent Work and Economic Growth*. Switzerland: Springer
- Rootes, C. (1999) 'Environmental Movements: From the Local to the Global' *Environmental Politics*, [Online] 8(1): 1-12 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09644019908414435> [accessed on 1 February 2021]
- Rootes, C. (2016) 'Environmental Movements' in Ritzer G. (ed.) *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Saarinen, J. (2014) 'Critical Sustainability: Setting the Limits to Growth and Responsibility in Tourism' *Sustainability*, [Online] 6(1): 1-17 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272757358_Critical_Sustainability_Setting_the_Limits_to_Growth_and_Responsibility_in_Tourism [accessed on 24 February 2021]
- Sarantakou, E. Terkenli, T.S. (2019) 'Non-institutionalized Forms of Tourism Accommodation and Overtourism Impacts on the Landscape: The Case of Santorini, Greece' *Tourism Planning and Development*, [Online] 16(4): 411-433 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21568316.2019.1569122?journalCode=rthp21> [accessed on 15 March 2021]

Save Erimitis (2019a) Available at [Online] <https://www.erimitis.gr/en/erimitis-eng/> [accessed on 20 November 2020]

Save Erimitis (2019b) *Economic Value* [Online] Available at: <https://www.erimitis.gr/en/oikonomiki-aksia-eng/> [accessed on 20 November 2020]

Save Erimitis (2019c) *Opposition to “Investment Plans”* [Online] Available at: <https://www.erimitis.gr/en/antithesi-eng/> [accessed on 20 November 2020]

Save Erimitis (2019d) *The Value of Erimitis* [Online] Available at: <https://www.erimitis.gr/en/aksia-erimiti-eng/> [accessed on 20 November 2020]

Shannon, D. (2018) ‘Economy’ in Franks, B. Jun, N. Williams, L. (ed.) *Anarchism: A Conceptual Approach* New York: Routledge: 142-154

Sharpley, R. (2000) ‘Tourism and Sustainable Development: Exploring the Theoretical Divide’ *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 8(1): 1-19 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669580008667346> [accessed on 10 February 2021]

Sharpley, R. (2020) ‘Tourism, Sustainable Development and the Theoretical Divide: 20 years on’ *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, [Online] 28(11): 1932-1946 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09669582.2020.1779732> [accessed on 18 January 2021]

Snow, D.A. (2013) ‘Framing and Social Movements’ in Snow, D.A. della Porta, D. Klandermans, B. McAdam, D. (ed.) *The Willey-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Spangenberg, J. Settele, J. (2010) ‘Precisely Incorrect? Monetising the Value of Ecosystem Services’ *Ecological Complexity*, [Online] 7(3): 327-337 available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/223454920_Precisely_incorrect_Monetising_the_value_of_ecosystem_services [accessed on 20 February 2021]

Tovar-Sanchez, A. Sanchez-Quiles, D. Rodriguez-Romero, A. (2018) ‘Massive Coastal Tourism Influx to the Mediterranean Sea: The Environmental Risk of Sunscreens’ *Science of Total Environment*, [Online] 656: 316-321 available at

https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0048969718347545?casa_token=97k2LyIQ_LwAAAAA:W55AQRSKkVgs3U6BySVAL19LKqUegQ0TclpqWTz93K_irXD3N6rOTSTou0Ssxu3-siaWRsXv [accessed on 20 February 2021]

Towers, G. (2000) 'Applying the Political Geography of Scale: Grassroots Strategies and Environmental Justice', *The Professional Geographer*, [Online] 52(1): 23-36 available at https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/0033-0124.00202?casa_token=IY2eWKvSFu4AAAAA:u9mtRxUYxNNiNR3JBy3IBW6_fxIjntLnjq3tjXN9FTVK3mBnlvIQNSKMv3ry77kg8bsW3cruMnK [accessed on 1 June 2021]

Tsakatika, M. Eleftheriou, C. (2013) 'The Radical Left's Turn Towards Civil Society in Greece: One Strategy, Two Paths' *South European Society and Politics*, [Online] 18(1) available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263478064_The_Radical_Left's_Turn_towards_Civil_Society_in_Greece_One_Strategy_Two_Paths [accessed on 10 April 2021]

United Nations Development Programme (2021) *The Next Frontier: Human Development and the Anthropocene. Briefing Note for Countries on the 2020 Human Development Report: Greece* [pdf]. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/GRC.pdf> [accessed on 20 June 2021]

United Nations World Tourism Organization (2020) *Greece Welcomes UNTWO Support for Sustainable Tourism Growth* [pdf] Madrid: UNWTO. Available at: https://webunwto.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2020-02/PR_18022020-greece_0.pdf [accessed on 5 February 2021]

Utsler, D. (2014) 'Environmental Hermeneutics and Environmental/Ecopsychology: Exploration in Environmental Identity' in Clingerman, F. Treanor, B. Drenthen, M. Utsler, D. (ed.) *Interpreting Nature: The Emerging Field of Environmental Hermeneutics* New York: Fordham University Press: 123-140

van Buren. J. (2014) 'Environmental Hermeneutics Deep in the Forest' in Clingerman, F. Treanor, B. Drenthen, M. Utsler, D. (ed.) *Interpreting Nature: The*

Emerging Field of Environmental Hermeneutics. New York: Fordham University Press: 17-35

World Bank (2021) 'Data for High Income, Greece' [Online] Available at <https://data.worldbank.org/?locations=XD-GR> [accessed on 20 June 2021]

Ziai, A. (2017) "'I am not a Post-Developmentalist, but...'" The Influence of Post-Development on Development Studies' *Third World Quarterly*, [Online] 38(12): 2719-2734 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01436597.2017.1328981> [accessed on 4 April 2021]

Ziegler, C.E. (1982) 'Soviet Environmental Policy Parameters: The Macro-Value Framework' *Studies in Soviet Thought*, [Online] 23(3): 187-204 available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/20099067?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents [accessed on 30 April 2021]

Zimmermann, F.M. (2018) 'Does Sustainability (still) Matter in Tourism (Geography)' *Tourism Geographies*, [Online] 20(2): 333-336 available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14616688.2018.1434814> [accessed on 22 February 2021]

Appendix 1

A1. Interviewees' Information

Nickname	Born and raised in Corfu.	Relationship with tourism	Living In	Organization	Gender	Date of the interview	Duration of the interview
Barney*	Yes	Entrepreneur	(Near) Erimitis	Save Erimitis	Male	23/04/2021	01:33:59
Ellen*	Yes	None	Town	Member of Squat	Female	07/04/2021	01:21:56
Ethan	No	Employee	Town	Anarchist (not in an organization)	Male	15/04/2021	1:09:09
Han*	No	None	Town	KKE/PAME	Male	04/05/2021	01:35:22
Negan	Yes	Related Trade Union	Town	KKE/PAME	Male	21/04/2021	01:18:16
John*	Yes	None	(Near) Erimitis	Save Erimitis	Male	31/03/2021	01:01:34
Julie*	Yes	None	(Near) Erimitis	Save Erimitis	Female	24/03/2021	01:57:39
Kate*	Yes	Employee	Town	Member of Squat	Female	12/04/2021	01:16:53
Maggie*	Yes	None	Town	Save Erimitis	Female	13/04/2021	01:22:54
Maximus*	Yes	Entrepreneur	(Near) Erimitis	Save Erimitis	Male	25/03/2021	01:41:31
Michonne*	Yes	None	(Near) Erimitis	Save Erimitis	Female	15/04/2021	00:48:35
Neo	Yes	None	Town	Save Erimitis	Male	19/04/2021	00:55:27
Rick*	Yes	None	Town	Save Erimitis	Male	21/04/2021	01:21:14
Sarah*	Yes	None	Town	KKE/PAME	Female	02/04/2021	01:19:22
Trinity*	Yes	Employee	Town	Member of Squat	Female	03/04/2021	01:21:00

*= Those interviews were conducted online

Table 1 Interviewees' Information (Author's Illustration)

A2. Sampling Tree

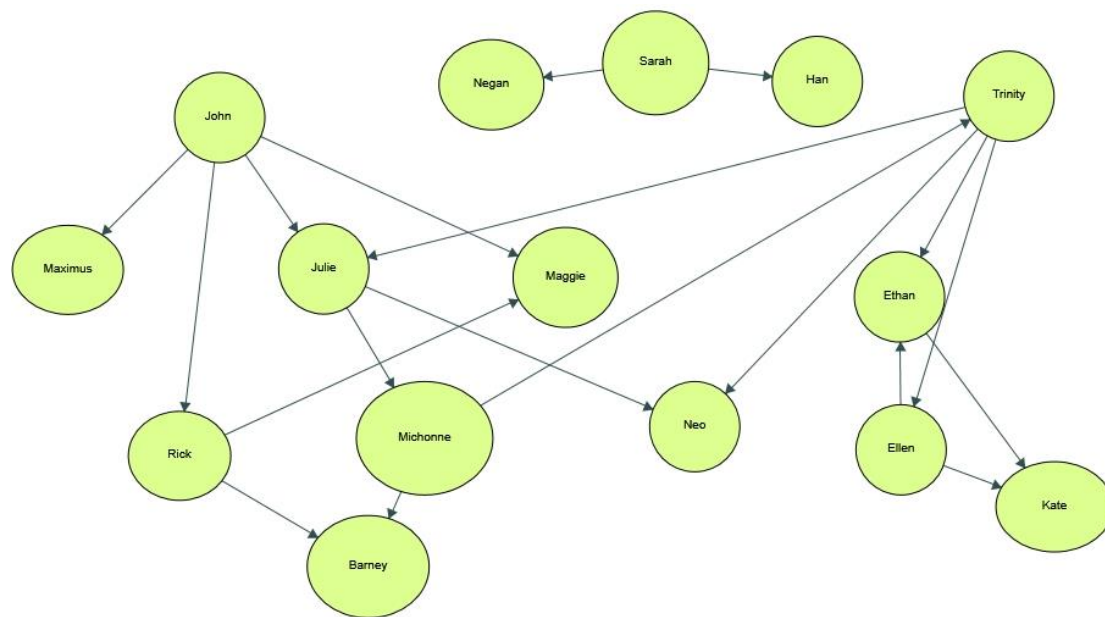


Figure 2 Sampling Tree (Author's Illustration)

Appendix 2

Section 1- Relationship with the Ecosystem

1. When was the first time that you got there? What do you do when you are there? Do you have any particular memories?
2. What do you believe that Erimitis offers to
 - a) you personally?
 - b) the other inhabitants of the island?
3. What does Erimitis mean to you?
4. How important is the ecosystem as part of your culture and history as an inhabitant of the island?
5. Do you believe that the ecosystem and what it offers you could be valued in monetary terms?

Section 2-Tourism Investment

6. As a participant of the movement, what is the problem according to you?
7. As an inhabitant, what are your views
 - b) on the privatization of Erimitis?
 - a) on the resort that will be built here? Do you believe that this investment is signaling a new way for tourism? Why (not)? Should tourism activities take place inside Erimitis? What kind?
8. How does the investment impact your
 - a) relationship with Erimitis?
 - b) your aforementioned feelings?
 - c) relationship with the culture and history of the island?
 - d) *How will the investment impact you as a tourism entrepreneur?* (question only for the those that are directly related to tourism).
Do you believe that the tourism investment can benefit you?
[If yes, How?], Why (not)?
9. What are your views on the stance of the current government towards
 - a) the investment?
 - b) the decision-making processes that take place? How they should be?
 - c) the treatment of the movement?

10. As a participant of the movement, what is the solution to this situation?
What actions should the participants of the movement do in order to reach this solution? Have you taken part in such actions?

Section 3- Tourism

11. Do state (or local) policies take in consideration citizen needs over the needs of the tourism industry?
12. How has tourism affected your life? What is the most important problem related to tourism that impacts your way of life?
13. Do you feel that tourism has benefited the island? Why? How? Whom?
14. Does the island need more tourists?

Extra questions that were added during the fieldwork

15. Would you like to describe me some actions that you consider important for the movement?
- a) What are their goals?
 - b) Are there actions that you disagree with? If yes, why?
 - c) What is your opinion on the decision of the movement to take this issue to the court?
16. Do you believe that the movement has broader implications?
If no, do you believe that other parts of the movement perceive it in that way? If yes, what is your opinion on that matter?
17. With whom you would be willing to ally for the movement to accomplish its goals? Are there any criteria?
18. How do you interact with the other activists? Are there any points of conflict?

Appendix 3

Name	Files	References
Perceptions About the Movement		15 249
Alliances		14 58
Ally with		11 34
Not Allying With		10 24
Movement Actors		12 139
Diversity in the movement		9 29
Unity inside the movement		8 16
Critique on Movement Actions		8 32
Critique on Movement Actors		7 33
Identity of Participants		5 15
Cooperation		4 7
Allignment		2 7
Perspective of the Movement		11 52
Environmental		7 10
Broader Implications		6 31
Local		3 4
Class Struggle		3 7

Figure 3 Excerpt of the Codebook from Nvivo (Author's Illustration)

Name	Description
Perceptions About the Movement	Theme that is related to the perceptions the activists have about the movement, its actors and actions.
Alliances	Subtheme under the theme of “Perceptions About the Movement” that revolves around statements about possible allies or alliances that cannot/should not materialize.
Ally with	Code under the subtheme of “Alliances” that revolves around statements about possible alliances. Example: Without any discretion we would work with everyone, who has a clear position about the protection of the ecosystem.
Not Allying With	Code under the subtheme of “Alliances” that revolves around statements about alliances that cannot/ should not materialize. Example: As a squat we are against working with the municipality.
Movement Actors	Subtheme under the theme of “Perceptions About the Movement” that revolves around perceptions about the actors of the movement and their actions.

Alignment	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that includes statements that revolves around the call of other parts of the movement to follow the labour movement.</p> <p>Example: The movement should unite its voice with other movements. If this movement does not join the labor movement, which is the most dynamic, nothing will change.</p>
Cooperation	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around statements indicating cooperation between the actors of the movement.</p> <p>Example: Whenever we work together the outcome is positive.</p>
Critique on Movement Actions	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around critique towards actions of the movement.</p> <p>Example: Taking this case to the court is something that does not express me, but I understood why it was done and I did not believe that it would harm the movement.</p>
Critique on Movement Actors	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around critical statements towards the actors of the movement.</p> <p>Example: I only blame the movement for slowing down during the tenure of the last government.</p>
Diversity in the movement	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around the diversity that exists inside the movement.</p> <p>Example: I believe that a movement is diverse and it is created by the contradictions that exist inside it.</p>
Identity of Participants	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around perceptions about who are and who can be participants of the movement.</p> <p>Example: In all movements that are open, because a movement should be open, you cannot impose a single way of thinking. If this happens then it is not a movement.</p>
Unity inside the movement	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Movement Actors” that revolves around statements about the unity that exists inside the movement.</p> <p>Example: I do not believe that there is a movement-related action that would bring into conflict the different parts of the movement.</p>
Perspective of the Movement	<p>Subtheme under the theme of “Perceptions About the Movement” that revolves around statements that show the activists’ perspective for the movement at hand.</p>
Broader Implications	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Perspective of the Movement” that revolves around statements, which expand the perspective of the movement beyond the local setting and Erimitis.</p>

	<p>Example: There is a risk if we focus only on saving the trees. If that happens we lose what is important.</p>
Class Struggle	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Perspective of the movement” that revolves around statements, which categorize this movement as a class struggle.</p> <p>Example: It is important to highlight the importance of the element of class inside the movement. We are not all together in this (<i>She refers to the people, who own the other three properties inside Erimitis.</i>)</p>
Environmental	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Perspective of the movement” that revolves around statements of the activists, who perceive the struggle for Erimitis as an environmental one.</p> <p>Example: We do this to protect Erimitis and nothing else.</p>
Local	<p>Code under the subtheme of “Perspective of the movement” that revolves around statements of the activists, who perceive the struggle for Erimitis as one for the protection of the local community.</p> <p>Example: It clearly is a local struggle that has to do with the quality of life and the environment of the area, where people live.</p>