



# GENDER AND ALCOHOL USE IN A GREEK TOURIST TOWN

Roland S. Moore

Prevention Research Center, USA

**Abstract:** This paper considers tourism's impact on changes in alcohol consumption by men and women in a small Greek town. Successive waves of foreign and domestic tourism have altered normative drinking patterns within the constraints of local gender ideologies. More specifically, foreign tourism has helped to create the addition of beer to men's drinking regimen of locally made wine and distilled spirits. The more recent phenomenon of domestic tourism, on the other hand, has loosened social restrictions on women's drinking in the town. These findings underscore the importance of gender in the social availability of alcohol. Furthermore, they indicate that the impacts of domestic and foreign tourism may differ significantly. **Keywords:** gender, alcohol, impact of tourism, Greece.

**Résumé:** Hommes, femmes et alcool dans un village touristique en Grèce. Cet article examine l'impact du tourisme sur la consommation de boissons alcoolisées par les hommes et les femmes dans un village grec. Des vagues successives de tourisme international et national ont changé les habitudes normatives au sujet de l'alcool dans le contexte du comportement des hommes et des femmes. Le tourisme international a contribué à ajouter la bière à la carte masculine de vins et spiritueux locaux. Le phénomène plus récent du tourisme national, par contre, a desserré les restrictions locales sur la consommation de boissons alcoolisées par les femmes. Ceci souligne l'importance du sexe dans la disponibilité sociale de l'alcool. On trouve aussi que les impacts du tourisme international et national peuvent être très différents. **Mots-clés:** femmes et hommes, alcool, impact du tourisme, Grèce.

## INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, a number of anthropological studies have documented the wide-ranging repercussions from the conversion of traditional economies to tourism economies (Smith 1989). These repercussions have included substantial alterations in traditional gender relations. Throughout the world, alcohol use has served as a particularly dramatic indicator of gender differences. For example, naturalistic observations of California bar behavior and other studies point to marked contrasts in men's and women's drinking styles and beverage preferences (Hunter, Honnon and Marchi 1982:339). Furthermore, changes in men's and women's drinking patterns have proven to be an index of acculturation or modernization in a variety of settings. Gilbert (1987) reports that drinking among Mexican-American women in-

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Roland Moore holds a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from University of California at Berkeley. His research interests include cultural change and the impact of tourism, especially in Southern Europe. As Research Anthropologist at the Prevention Research Center (2150 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley CA 94704 USA. E-mail: "moore@qal.berkeley.edu") he studies aspects of US workplace environments which promote or inhibit alcohol use. He also continues to conduct research on tourism in the Central Greek town discussed here.

creases in both quantity and frequency with each succeeding generation after migration to the United States, reflecting increasing integration into the wider US society. This paper is devoted to a related issue in a rural Greek setting: How does the introduction of different kinds of tourism affect the local patterns of drinking by men and by women?

Gender relations in Greece are expressively displayed in patterns of alcohol consumption (Damer 1988; Gefou-Madianou 1992; Papataxiarchis 1991). For example, the marked spatial separation between men's and women's domains noted by anthropologists in Greece and other circum-Mediterranean countries creates shielded arenas in which only men may drink, and in which women's drinking is stigmatized (Cowan 1991; Papataxiarchis 1991). The influences of foreign and domestic tourism on changing forms of drinking can be analyzed as they are related to gender.

This case study in a small town on Greece's Mount Parnassos is based upon historical documents, interviews with town residents, and close to two years of participant observation conducted between 1986 and 1993. The Boeotian community of Arachova has a current population of 3,000 (Moore 1992). Alcohol as an important index of change emerged gradually in the course of carrying out research in Arachova. As Heath (1991:90) and others have noted, many anthropologists who have written on alcohol use did not include alcohol in their original research designs, but only wrote up an analysis of the social context of alcohol use upon reviewing the number of times the topic of alcohol appeared in their fieldnotes.

Alcohol consumption has long been a prominent feature of tourism. Noteworthy exceptions were Thomas Cook's anti-alcohol "temperance tours" in the 19th century, which according to Brendon (1991:5-8) signaled the birth of modern mass tourism. However, most forms of contemporary tourism are inextricably linked to the consumption of alcohol, sometimes in prodigious amounts. Watts and Rabow conclude that domestic tourism within the United States "has a strong effect on consumption when availability, income and urbanism are statistically controlled" (1981:800). They cite the examples of Nevada and Washington DC, which display both the highest per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages and the greatest number of visitors per capita in the United States (1981:798).

Relevant theoretical perspectives informing studies of alcohol and tourism include availability and the demonstration effect. The alcohol availability literature provides support for the idea that increasing ease of physical and social access will be reflected in higher consumption rates (Abbey, Scott and Smith 1993; Gruenewald, Ponicki and Holder 1993). In line with this perspective, the many retail alcohol outlets created for tourists will create more opportunities for local consumption as well. Examples of the outlets in Arachova serving alcohol to both tourists and locals include bars, discos, coffeehouses, and restaurants, in addition to small grocery and liquor stores selling alcohol for off-premise consumption. Notably, Arachova has over four times as many alcohol outlets as the nearby agrotown of Davleia, which contains as many inhabitants but is located on neither domestic nor foreign tourist circuits.

Alcohol availability in many settings, including Arachova, is affected by gender ideologies. Limiting the availability of alcohol to women through spatial restrictions and other social sanctions has been practiced in a variety of cultures and for thousands of years (Morgan 1987:131). While tourism has greatly increased the physical availability of alcohol in Arachova, the local gender system has been slower to grant equal social availability of alcohol to the town's women. Except during such celebrations as weddings or Easter, local women report that they feel uncomfortable drinking alcohol in most public spaces in which men drink relatively freely. As detailed below, comparatively recent bars initially targeting domestic tourists have provided an exceptional setting in which younger women feel fewer restrictions on their drinking.

The demonstration effect (de Kadt 1979) consists of host population emulation of the behavior and especially the consumption practices of the tourists who visit them. Of course, people on vacation often behave in ways that they never would at home (Graburn 1989). As Ryan states, "Behavior which at home might threaten a loss of job, on holiday, far from home, becomes, if not excusable, tolerated to a degree, and indeed, is in part expected" (Ryan 1991:27). Therefore, host peoples often have a distorted view of the nature of their guests' home cultures, including their exaggerated patterns of alcohol consumption, as well as the nature of interactions between men and women. In light of this theory and in the context of international tourism, developing countries without established patterns of alcohol use may be at greater risk of experiencing socially disruptive patterns of drinking as a result of tourism (Mosher and Ralston 1985).

Greek society is not such a candidate for disruptive results from this demonstration effect; as Allen observes, wine, beer, and distilled spirits have a lengthy history in Greece, stretching back to the Bronze Age and perhaps earlier (1985:461-462). In Greece, as in Italy (Lolli, Seranni, Golder and Luzzatto-Fegiz 1958), wine drinking is thoroughly integrated into everyday life as well as special events, and as a result uncontrolled public drunkenness is extremely rare. Blum and Blum (1964:95) state that alcoholism is for these reasons nearly unheard of in Greece. The community of Arachova shares this heritage of integrated wine use, but drinking patterns there are changing. These changes are clearly linked to the development of tourism.

The central argument of this paper is that instead of foreign mass tourism, it is domestic tourism that is producing the most profound changes in Arachova's gender-specific patterns of alcohol consumption. Domestic tourism is led by a national elite whose leisure practices—including drinking—are visible indicators of their social class. Within the same social or moral universe, many of the younger members of the town desire to follow the example of these elites. For the sake of clarity, gendered drinking patterns in Arachova will be discussed first in contemporary celebrations, and then as they fall into three phases: prior to 1960, between 1960 and 1980, and 1980 onwards. The turning points of 1960 and 1980 correspond to the initial significant influences of foreign and domestic tourism, respectively.

## GENDER AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

Men and women in Arachova display differences in their drinking practices and styles, both on an everyday basis and even more vividly in festival contexts. Alcoholic beverages other than wine are consumed by both groups; the most basic contrast is in the sweeter taste of "feminine" drinks and the dryer or more bitter taste consumed by men (Cowan 1990:66-67; 106-115). Perhaps the most important feature of the gender gap in drinking is that in contrast to occasional displays of intoxication by men, women rarely permit themselves to appear drunk. Moderation in drinking, especially for women, is characteristic of Greece, with limited exceptions (for an Austrian parallel see Honigmann 1963:169). The challenge Greek women face is to maintain control during certain celebrations that require men to engage in displays of excess in order to be considered successful.

An example of men's and women's alcohol use in a celebratory context is the following abbreviated description of an engagement party in Arachova. The party begins in the house of the bride-to-be, where the future in-laws exchange gold jewelry. Then friends, neighbors, and relatives greet and congratulate the fiancées. Women from the bride-to-be's family serve their guests sweets and drinks (ouzo for men, sweet liqueurs for women, and soft drinks for children). The crowd then retires to a public hall for a celebratory dinner in which copious amounts of food are accompanied by wine in carafes and beer in bottles. At one such dinner, the first dance was headed by the groom-to-be, followed by his bride-to-be, and their sisters. Later, more and more relatives danced at the urging of the father of the bride, who then broke an entire case of full beer bottles in the center of a group of his female relatives. Some men danced immediately after, and gleefully broke the few bottles in the case that had not been broken.

In the setting of the wedding banquet, women again did not exhibit any behavior that could be characterized as drunken. Some of them, in fact, displayed visible disapproval of the men's bottle-breaking. Destructive behavior of this kind is understood by the participants to be an external sign that the men are experiencing *kefi*, a rambunctious joy fueled not only by alcohol but more importantly by the high spirits of the assembled companions (Papataxiarchis 1991:170-172). Such scenes are also comparable to aspects of the Northwest Coast native American ritual of the potlatch, in which hosts destroy and distribute material goods in order to augment their prestige.

In dances associated with festivals, someone, usually a close friend or relative of the lead dancer, brings a wine bottle or carafe and two or three small glasses and treats the dancers in succession to wine. The wine is a compliment to the dancers and may not be refused, although taking a small sip and tossing away the bulk of the wine in the glass is acceptable and common. As elsewhere in the world, gifts (particularly ones containing alcohol) help to solidify relationships and cannot be declined lightly (Mauss 1967).

Another example of alcohol use in a festival context is the four-day festival honoring Saint George, the patron saint of the community.

Each night of the festival is devoted to intense celebrations revolving around music, dance, food, and especially alcohol. One coffee-house, for example, serves beer as a live band blasts amplified folk music. Table by table, groups of friends or relatives take their turn on the dance floor. Conspicuous consumption is rampant as dancers give exorbitant tips to the musicians (at least 5,000 drachmas, about US\$40 in 1989, for two or three songs) and as men order scores of cans of beer to be sent to the dancers and to their friends at other tables. While most of the women at these tables drink soft drinks, men consume almost all of the beer that is delivered to their tables.

During the festival, Arachovites are obligated to make multiple ceremonial name-day visits to the homes of neighbors, close friends, and relatives who carry the masculine or feminine forms of the name of the town's holy patron, Saint George. Most of these visits are carried out by women and require ritual toasts and the consumption of sweets or plates of regional cuisine (Bennett 1988). Hostesses offer these guests a small foil-wrapped chocolate or cello-wrapped sweet, and on a small tray covered with a lace or embroidered cloth, they offer a homemade dessert and an alcoholic drink in a small expensive tumbler. The drink offered to women is usually a liqueur colored bright blue, orange, or green—which women often use only for a toast and a sip. For men the drink is usually something harder like whiskey, although ouzo and tsipouro are also offered in accompaniment with sweets. Name-days of the various saints are celebrated throughout the year, but maintaining sobriety and tactfully refusing proffered food during the town's main festival become a challenge in a town where Giorgos and Georgia are by far the most common names. Alcohol is salient throughout the celebration; even during the closing ceremonies of the festival, members of the town's government serve locally-made red wine free of charge to locals and visitors alike as an offering of hospitality.

Beverage preference is a significant aspect of gender differences in alcohol consumption. For example, in the United States, beer is favored by men more than women (Dawson 1993). Likewise, in Greece, beer is considered primarily a men's drink. Engagement parties and saint's day festivals are just two examples of celebrations in which men and women in Arachova drink in accord with different gender-specific expectations. The examples described here reflect long-standing drinking patterns in the town, although the descriptions of the engagement party and the dance in the coffee-house prominently featured beer, which is a relatively recent addition to the drinking repertoire of Arachovites.

### *"Traditional" Drinking Patterns Prior to 1960*

The production and consumption of alcoholic beverages has a long history in Arachova. Earlier in this century, the dark and sweet wine of Arachova was well-known in distant parts of Greece (Lambert-Gocs 1990:175–180). The wine was a staple within Arachova and was the drink of preference at tavernas and coffee-houses in the region. In 1943, over a hundred Arachovites were registered as producers of wine

for sale, in addition to hundreds of others who made enough wine for home consumption.

Currently, some 50 families in Arachova produce small amounts for their own consumption and only five make wine with the intent to sell the surplus. Viticulture is labor-intensive, particularly in the weak soils of Parnassos. Therefore, as other jobs became available, vineyards began to be abandoned during the 1950s, when a devastating epidemic of phylloxera wasted the roots of the vines and effectively spelled an end to wine as a valuable export commodity.

Winemaking has ceased to be an economically viable profession in Arachova, but it has not died out entirely because the local demand for wine to accompany meals justifies the labor put into winemaking. Certainly the people who make wine save themselves the cost of buying many bottles of wine, but cost is not the issue; rather it is the importance of having homemade wine for the table. Elsewhere in Greece, for similar reasons, individually-produced wines are in demand (Pechoux and Katsaros 1988). If the wine has been made by friends or relatives, it is more highly valued than store-bought wine; the source of the wine at any meal is the subject of lively conversation. Locally-produced wine has become a marker of local identity as part of a complex of traditions that Arachovites feel distinguish themselves from their Athenian visitors. Ironically, however, most tourists in Arachova who enthusiastically praise the wine they are served do not realize that it is likely to be made from grapes grown elsewhere.

In addition to wine, the other form of alcohol made in significant amounts in the town is a distilled ouzo-like liqueur. The compacted stems, skins, and seeds which remain after grapes are pressed, *tsipoura*, are distilled with anise and other herbs in the locally-produced potent liqueur derivatively named *tsipouro* (Liakos 1990). The town's five *tsipouro* distillers use old bronze stills heated by wood ovens to produce tons of the liqueur for consumption in local coffee-houses, bars, and homes. An important feature of the strong locally-made *tsipouro* is that it is consumed exclusively by men.

Whether it is locally produced or imported, wine is consumed by both women and men to accompany meals. It is perhaps the only beverage consumed by both men and women in any substantial quantities. In a study of drinking practices on the Greek island of Lefkada, wine was found to constitute 98% of women's alcohol intake, compared with 80% of men's alcohol intake (Powles, Macaskill, Hopper and Kenas 1991:228). Apart from wine consumption at meals and festivals, men and women drink in segregated contexts. In Arachova, as elsewhere in the world, men drink more and more often than women.

While "traditional" drinking patterns in Arachova had undergone various changes prior to 1960, when foreign tourism became a major component of the town's economy, they may be characterized in general terms. Wine, especially locally-produced wine, was the primary alcoholic beverage consumed by men and women in daily and festival contexts alike. Locally-distilled *tsipouro* was (and continues to be) used exclusively by men, whereas the only alcohol women drank besides wine consisted of colored sweet liqueurs during formal visits on saints' holidays. While in these "traditional" drinking patterns men are ex-

pected to drink to excess on certain ceremonial occasions, the norm for women is to appear in control of themselves at all times. This norm reflects the rigorous gender ideology of the community, which is by no means unique. Morgan has observed that in general two ideological underpinnings for the spatial and social barriers between women and alcohol are the belief that alcohol causes disinhibition and the belief that women should not act in an uninhibited fashion (1987:129–130).

*Influence of Tourism on Men's Drinking (1960–1980)*

The number of foreign tourists in Arachova has increased at a steady pace since the end of the Second World War, accelerating when the road from Athens (through Arachova) to Delphi was paved in its entirety in the 1960s. Government statistics for 1986 record over half a million visitors to the site of Delphi—nearly all of whom passed through Arachova. The type of foreign tourists who travel to Delphi have tended to be upper class, educated people from the United Kingdom, the rest of Europe, and North America. In summer, a substantial subset of the tourists on the Delphi circuit consists of young budget travelers from these same countries.

Drinking practices of the foreigners who have visited the town in increasing numbers have influenced drinking patterns of the local men. For example, local men have increasingly favored beer, which was initially sold to foreign tourists requesting it, over the locally produced wines. However, during the period of 1960 to 1980, foreign tourism did not substantially alter the fundamental segregation of the sexes in the community, nor did it create many more socially acceptable opportunities for local women to drink alcohol. A local woman in her 30s believes that beer was somehow viewed as unfeminine when she was growing up; when asked if she had seen any women over the age of 50 drinking beer, she started laughing, and said, "I couldn't imagine it! Never!"

Although the primary goal of foreigners on the popular tourism route, which includes such archaeological sites as Olympia and Delphi, is to pay homage to the distant past, Arachova is a stopping point noted in numerous guidebooks on Greece for its quaint houses, its weaving, and its wine. According to local author Haritos, consumption of wine in Arachova has dropped to 50% of its prewar level, especially because of men's increasing consumption of beer and spirits (1991:9). This assertion is echoed by an editorial in the Arachova Trimonthly about wine production in town, which states, "Young children don't know much about the grapevine and wine. They were born and grew up in a period of diminishing wine consumption, supplanted by beer and 'harder' alcoholic drinks. Let's not fool ourselves—this is due to the imitation of foreign prototypes" (Arachova Trimonthly 1991:3). This editorial provides support for the demonstration effect which is cited in both folk belief and scholarly literature on the impacts of tourism. In the case of Arachova, however, many of the foreign prototypes of drinking mentioned in the editorial have been "demonstrated" by cosmopolitan Athenians, who in turn have been influenced by drinking patterns abroad.

Arachova's total alcohol consumption trends mirror those in the rest of Greece: Figures of distilled spirit consumption in Greece unfortunately are not available, but the beer and wine statistics are telling. Between 1961 and 1990, Greece's per capita consumption of beer rose spectacularly from 5.3 liters per person to 39.8, while annual per capita consumption of wine actually dropped from 41.9 to 32.6 liters (PVGD 1992:56). As Yfantopoulos points out, foreign tourists drink large amounts of all beer sold in Greece (1985:97); an increasing number of tourists accounts for some of the increase in Greece's beer consumption. Because beer has a lower alcohol content than wine, Greece's total per capita intake of pure alcohol rose only slightly, from 5.3 liters in 1961 to 5.9 liters in 1990 (PVGD 1992:56). In most of the developed countries, beer has formed the primary basis of additional drinking patterns. "An examination of the alcohol economy of the world as a whole reveals beer to form a significant part of a new-type consumption" (Sulkunen 1976:10).

The second phase of drinking identified in this paper, during the 1960s and 1970s, may be summarized as a time when men in Arachova began drinking beer at the tavernas and coffee-houses that had originally imported the beer for the foreign tourists. Consequently, beer became a commonplace accompaniment for men's midday meals. Informants, especially men engaged in outdoor work such as construction, reported beer as a particularly appropriate beverage in the warmer months of summer, when most of the foreign tourists visit. Although beer was a significant addition to men's drinking repertoire during this time, women in Arachova did not adopt beer into theirs.

#### *Influence of Tourism on Women's Drinking (1980 Onward)*

A 1973 article in the local newspaper boasted that "Arachova is one of the few towns of Greece which the tide of tourism has not been able to drag into its kind of morality, even though it is visited by hundreds of foreign tourists daily." This belief that the town never has been affected morally by the visiting foreigners persists, despite some nostalgic claims of a closer-knit community in the distant past. In contrast to this belief, a great deal of rhetoric surrounds the spoilage of Arachova's moral fiber due to the recent development of winter tourism.

Until the mid-70s, winter was a slow time for tourism. At 1,000 meters above sea level, the town sometimes receives snow, and is often cold. Olive gathering below the town kept a good part of Arachova's population busy during the winter months; then came the ski lifts above the town, the result of lobbying by several key townsmen. The Athens Ski Club opened in 1974, and the Greek National Tourism Organization followed suit with two better-situated complexes of ski lifts in 1977 and 1982.

In addition to seasonal jobs in the ski centers and businesses catering to domestic tourists, renting rooms out to these visitors is a way in which roughly half of Arachova's families benefit from the winter tourism economy. Because women are responsible for a majority of domestic duties such as child care, laundry, cooking, and cleaning, the upkeep of these rented rooms as well as most of the contact with the



guests seems to fall upon their shoulders. Men as a group, therefore, seem to have somewhat more leisure time during winter for gathering with their friends in public than do women.

In the height of the ski season, Athenians parade up and down the streets, many of them wearing expensive ski fashions modeled after Northern European and American designs, including *après ski* boots covered in shaggy fur, neon-colored overalls, and fur hats. Now most young Arachovites buy similar apparel and spend their winter evenings in the bars that were opened for the skiers—pursuits that require spending lots of money by local standards.

Restrictions on women's drinking have been loosened since the advent of domestic winter tourism in the mid-70's. The many bars and discos that opened to cater to affluent Athenian skiers now provide local women with the opportunity to drink a variety of imported spirits and to interact with local men more freely. One reason for this is that these centers of night life, as new institutions, foster a cosmopolitan atmosphere. The relatively stable patterns of interaction between men and women that are expected in such established public places as tavernas and coffee-houses are less restricted in the bars and discos, in which nearly all of the local clientele is under the age of thirty.

In part because of their cosmopolitan nature (and in part because of their loud music), Arachova's bars and discos are focal points of complaints from priests and neighbors. Many bars are located in renovated ground floor stables of old homes. Arachovites of all ages find it amusing that goats and other livestock used to be kept there, "and now they've put a new kind of animal in the ground floor," they say jokingly. Citing moral corruption, the priests refuse to bless the bars as they do when other local establishments open for the first time.

The bars are especially attractive to young men and women in Arachova, who often spend much of their disposable income there. A local teacher in his 20s said that in order to be accepted by their peers, or to feel normal, most young people in Arachova have to expend a lot of money at the bars. Therefore, he thought that they are not particularly gaining materially from tourism, but instead paying for it. He added that if he lived somewhere else, then he would be investing his teaching salary in something more practical than alcohol. The teacher's statement was consistent with observed behavior of many young men and women as well as their own discussions of their spending habits. Ultimately, young people in Arachova face difficulties in investing their tourism-related earnings in property or other long-term items of value when they spend so much of their income on consumable goods.

While superficial elements of the decorations of the bars and discos may reflect local architectural traditions, the style of the establishments is decidedly non-local. For example, the ground floor of a two-story home that used to contain mules and chickens was elegantly renovated and decorated in a "traditional" style as one of ten bars that were open in the winter of 1987–1988. On a Saturday night that winter, the bar's disk jockey preferred to play non-Greek music such as Frank Sinatra songs. Sitting in a corner of the bar, a local 30-year-old economist who now works in Athens said that in spite of superficial changes, he thought that gender relations in Arachova had remained fairly con-

stant. He said, "If you go to bars, and you see a group of men sitting together, you know they are Arachovites. And it is still very rare to see groups of young women out past nine o'clock at night." According to the economist (and a number of older informants as well), in the 1960s Arachovites became used to seeing many visitors from abroad, but they did not actually change their behavior substantially.

The Greek tourists who came to the ski centers on Mount Parnassos from the mid-1970s onward began to have a profound effect on local behavior in the 1980s. It was only when the Athenians came in significant numbers to visit the ski center and spend by local standards large amounts of money at the dining/drinking places that the economist and other informants witnessed major changes in Arachova. Therefore, the demonstration effect on Arachovites' behavior, and in particular drinking behavior, is more profound in the case of domestic rather than foreign tourism. A significant reason for this is that the Arachovites consider the Athenians to inhabit their same social (if not moral) universe and thus have been more likely to imitate their behavior than that of the more alien foreigners. The relative ease with which foreign women get drunk—in the eyes of the Arachovites—has certainly not been imitated by the women of Arachova.

Alcohol availability for the women of Arachova is limited in part by spatial restrictions on women's drinking: With the exception of weekend or festival nights, women still report feeling unwelcome in male-dominated spaces of the coffee-houses and tavernas in the town. Cowan refers to such spatial manifestations of gender ideology as the moral geography of public leisure space (1990:70). The territoriality of men's drinking is prominent throughout Greece: Papataxiarchis has described in great detail the spatial monopoly of male drinking partners on an Aegean island (1991:168–169). This phenomenon is found elsewhere in Southern Europe as well, such as in rural Spain (Brandes 1979:4–5). Cross-culturally, women's drinking in public is far more likely to be stigmatized than men's drinking (Gomberg 1982:345). In the bars originally intended for Athenians, however, the young women of Arachova can feel comfortable and relatively free from the disapproving gaze of elder men.

## CONCLUSIONS

The changes in Arachova's drinking patterns do not occur in a vacuum. The changes in kinds and amounts consumed of alcoholic beverages mirror alterations in both Greek and global drinking trends. As Stewart observes, the meteoric rise in Greece's whiskey imports—"from 124,000 liters in 1971 to more than 4 million liters in 1982 [is] . . . evidence of the degree to which this element of elite style had been embraced by the society at large"—including males in rural Greece (1991:126–127).

Makela (1975:350–353) has found support for the hypothesis that new patterns of alcohol consumption overlay older ones in a process of addition, rather than substitution. In Arachova, per capita consumption of wine appears to have diminished somewhat due to the decimated grape harvests, and beer and spirits have replaced wine in a few

settings, indicating some substitution of beer and spirits for wine. However, the newer drinking patterns involving beer and imported distilled spirits are for the most part additive, in keeping with Makela's findings.

Tourism is by no means the only sort of phenomenon capable of effecting such changes in drinking patterns as described here. Elsewhere in Europe, for example, Caetano, Suzman, Rosen and Voorhees-Rosen (1983:29) found that oil developments in the Shetland Islands brought in foreigners, new jobs, and increased income, provoking increases in beer consumption and in young people's drinking, analogous to the changes seen in Arachova.

The additions to Arachova's traditional drinking patterns may be connected to what Makela, Room, Single, Sulkunen and Walsh call "the diversification of drinking situations" (1981:24). In Arachova, the greater number of drinking outlets created for the tourism market have led to increased physical and social availability of alcohol in a variety of settings. With this change that foreign and domestic tourism have brought about in Arachova, what evidence is there for alcohol-related problems? Arachovites themselves classify some five to ten individuals as alcoholics in their community, and view these men more with pity than scorn. While there have been no recent reports of intra-family violence in the town, alcohol plays a catalytic role in fights that break out in winter between locals and Athenians over cars blocking traffic circulation on the town's main road. Most serious is the widespread problem of driving while intoxicated, which has caused the deaths of several local residents in recent years. One factor moderating availability that is worth noting is that the high costs of drinks in the town's trendy bars limit the number most Arachovites order in an evening.

In Arachova, drinking large amounts of alcohol remains a predominantly male activity. There are exceptions, notably the ritualized visiting that requires women to at least sip sweet liqueurs as they toast their hosts, and wine continues to accompany both everyday meals and ceremonial feasts for both men and women. An additional exception is that the more recent openings of bars for Athenian tourists has also created more opportunities for young women to drink in public. But the principle of moderation, or at least the idea that one should avoid visible drunkenness, appears to be carefully observed by women young as well as old. Thus, the apparent freedom of younger women continues to be tempered by informal but powerful forms of social control.

According to Makela et al, "The increase in female drinking is less important in its implications for alcohol problems among women than as an indication of changes in the social position of both women and drinking, particularly in cultures where drinking used to be a male prerogative and where drinking occasions were insulated from daily routines" (1981:23). Even in the contemporary "looser" public environment resulting from the town's new status as a winter resort for Athenians, women experience considerably greater social constraints regarding drinking than do men. In the tourism town of Arachova, physical availability of alcohol is more salient for men, whereas social availability of alcohol is the main limiting factor for women.

One of the broader implications of this particular case study is that domestic tourism has the power to bring about greater social changes

than foreign tourism is believed to have wrought. Specifically, a locality's prevailing patriarchal gender ideology may be transformed through exposure to alternative models of gender-appropriate behavior that are accepted within the wider culture.

Changes in the gendered use of alcohol mirror wider changes in the gender system. The established order of gender relations is undergoing a substantive transformation in Arachova, echoing the more rapid gains in gender equality in Athens and elsewhere in the world. For example, Arachova elected its first woman mayor in the 1980s. Moreover, feminist issues are discussed on a regular basis during the local meetings of women's club. These discussions and awareness-raising sessions among some of the town's women to an extent have affected local women's and men's views and actions in the realm of gender relations, as have nationwide legal reforms and features in newspapers and television. Nevertheless, the traditional patterns of gender ideology continue to wield a powerful influence on local expectations concerning differential gender-appropriate behavior.

In summary, this paper has identified three distinct phases of alcohol use in the town of Arachova. The first phase (prior to 1960), which may be termed "traditional," refers to local drinking practices that were not static but not heavily influenced by tourists. This "traditional" phase is characterized by men's drinking locally-produced wine and *tsipouro*, and by women's drinking of wine with the family at meals or celebrations, always in moderation. The second phase (between 1960 and 1980) marks the influence of foreign tourists on local men's, not women's, increasing choice of beer to supplant their existing drinking regime. The establishment of places where tourists and locals drink and the importation of beer to satisfy the tourist demand made beer physically more available to the local population. Since drinking of beer takes the place for the most part in public, and women feel that their behavior, and particularly their drinking behavior, is carefully scrutinized by their fellow town residents, women's beverage preference and amount consumed did not markedly change during this second phase. But in the third phase (following 1980), the increasing number of bars and discos opened for the well-off Athenians who came to visit the ski resort provided a haven for young women to drink more and varied drink selections without being stigmatized (provided they avoid visible drunkenness) and for men to drink more imported spirits, thanks to the influence of the bars which initially targeted foreign tourists as customers. Therefore, domestic and foreign tourism can have perceptibly distinct impacts on a single host locality, as in this example of the gender-specific forms of alcohol consumption in a small Greek town. □ □

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