'NOTHING WITHOUT NEIGHBOURS' – INTERLOCAL RELATIONS AND CAMPANILISTIC NARRATIVES ON TWO CROATIAN ISLANDS

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On the Croatian islands of Hvar and Brač, there is a diversified system of rivalry and animosity among island communities, defined by the term campanilism. It is based on stereotypes about inhabitants of neighbouring island localities or neighbouring islands and on the production of mocking collective nicknames. Anecdotes, jokes, proverbs and similar oral forms are used as a means of confirming characteristics attributed to certain communities. Nowadays their performance is mainly connected to sporting events, celebrations of patron saints' days and school children's disputes. Previously they were considered to be a form of exclusively intra-island knowledge. Islanders mostly found them insulting. However, some communities have decided to turn these stereotypes into brands, highlighting them in representations of local identities and in tourist promotion. In this paper we analyze the way in which certain stereotypes focusing on islanders' flaws or virtues are used in contemporary identity strategies and the construction of local uniqueness.

Introduction

'This is a story about a land of a thousand islands, her magical nature and rich heritage, her great men whose great deeds have forever etched the name of Croatia in large letters on the map of the world. This is a story about a land whose beauties have been celebrated since ancient times.' (Orlić 2006: 3)

With these words, tourism policy makers present Croatia in a catalogue entitled *Croatia: The Mediterranean as it once was*. The same title is used by the National Tourist Board for its marketing and branding project initiated in 2002. Islands feature prominently in this project. They are presented as hidden locations, outside of the spaces regulated by our everyday routines. It is also outside of ordinary time, a realm of some utopian past where the summer season lasts the whole year long. Such tourist representations are very much in line with Graham Dann's exploration of British tourist brochures, where diverse varieties of 'paradise' are used to create yet another context for consumption (1996: 63–79). As in the texts and images analysed by Dann (1996: 68–69), islands constructed as destinations in the Croatian promotional materials are surprisingly devoid of local people. When they do emerge out of the insular landscape, they are presented as preservers of traditional culture in 'the Mediterranean as it once was'—as fishers mending their nets, wine-producers tasting wine in their cellars, performers of traditional dances and plays, etc. They are rarely shown in larger groups and in their contemporary everyday roles. 'Diversity' and 'numerousness' are terms commonly

used to describe the Croatian islands. However, on the pages of promotional brochures they all look largely the same, as 'tiny dots on a sea of blue', since they are mostly viewed from a bird's eye perspective (McCall 1994: 1). Differences are overshadowed with selected common denominators, such as the beauty of the landscape, well preserved cultural heritage, age-old traditions and peaceful atmosphere. This narrative of Croatian islands is produced on the continental mainland, primarily in the country's capital of Zagreb. Myths and myth making in tourism, as shown by Tom Selwyn, can be understood as 'articulations of such centre/periphery relations' (1996: 10) and as the construction of the Other—of 'the imagined resident of those geographical and economically peripheral regions which are also tourist destinations' (Selwyn 1996: 10). Here we can draw an analogy with the statement of John Gillis, who concludes that because of their central place in the Western imagination, islands have rarely been understood on their own terms (2004: 4, cf. McCall 1994).

In this article, we analyze the microcosms and subdivisions of the islands through the perspective of people actually living there—the islanders. By doing so, we wish to contribute to the debate on how and on whose terms we can actually study islands when it comes to pursuing island studies (Baldacchino 2008). Our focus is on the ways in which local inhabitants perceive and form distinctive communities on an island. Such a perspective reveals to us how people living on islands draw symbolic boundaries within and between island communities. What grants us access to this process is a diversified system of rivalry and animosity among different communities living on the same island, as well as between the neighbouring islands, which can be defined by the term *campanilism.* Campanilism has been observed and researched in Mediterranean communities and listed in the cluster of socio-cultural features singled out by anthropologists of the Mediterranean (Gilmore 1982a: 178).

The emergence of intra- and inter-island rivalries has been explored on archipelagos, as well as on separate islands. On the inter-island level campanilistic relations were analysed in Sicily (Blok 1998) where 'campanilismo colours every aspect of living' (Cipolla 2010: 1), in highland Sardinia (Sorge 2008), in Corsica (Candea 2010), in Greek islands: Thera (Hoffman 1976), Meganisi (Just 2000) and Anafi (Kenna 2001). The most common rivalries are those between bigger island towns and administrative centres: between Valletta and Birkirkara in Malta (Armstrong and Mitchell 2011) or in Sicily, where 'the game of associating vices and shortcomings with the names of the cities (is) practiced with the vengeance' (Cipolla 2010: 1). Inter-island rivalries have also been explored in and between certain archipelagos: the relationship between Malta and the nearby, smaller island of Gozo is marked by numerous jokes, anecdotes, proverbs and insults which Maltese and Gozitans exchange amongst themselves (Xerri 2002: 242). On the Azores, inter- and intra-island rivalries seem inherent; they remain in various forms of folklore (*cantorias ao desafio*). Stronger rivalries, mutual stereotyping and the mocking of collective nicknames exist between inhabitants of the islands of Terceira and Santa Maria towards the dwellers of the island of São Miguel, and between the inhabitants of the islands of Faial and Pico (Baldacchino and Ferreira 2013: 96).

The term campanilism is derived from Italian word *campanile*, bell-tower: a symbol of independence in many villages in central Italy. We approach the notion of campanilism as 'a system of values that evaluates the vast majority of facts and events through the extreme standards of one's homeland' (Rogić 1994: 442). In some of our interviews, the islanders themselves used this concept to describe the drawing of symbolic boundaries of their local communities. In the words of Ivan (Stari Grad town, island of Hvar): '. . . everything that is of any worth I can see from my bell-tower, and things which I can't see from my bell-tower

are of no worth, that's what campanilism is all about . . .' In some cases campanilistic narratives are related to *kampanel* (a dialectal term for bell-tower) itself, as the central topos of the locality. Mocking its appearance or its sound, or highlighting something unusual relating to the process of its construction and/or its usage, is often understood as an insult on the whole community. For instance, people from various localities on the island of Brač often greet inhabitants of Sutivan with the question 'do you still keep a cat in your bell tower'. This saying points to the 'strange, moaning' sound of church bells in Sutivan that, as depicted by inhabitants of neighbouring places, resembles the moan of a cat. This was well presented by Ivica (Postira, island of Brač):

> It all started with my grandfather, who was teasing the inhabitants of Sutivan that they come from a place where the church bells sound like an old tomcat. And for them this was the most annoying comment, as if you were making fun of something important for them. And the provocation still works!

The space and the boundaries of an island settlement, or in some cases of an island as a whole, form the basis of campanilism. We will use the term to point to those aspects of identification where one's own village and community, when compared to others, are defined through idealisation of one's own by belittling the other, usually the neighbouring one. Campanilistic rivalries and animosities are based on the creation and potentiation of differences between the neighbouring island groups on the intra-island and inter-island levels. Since 'what is closest' also represents 'the greatest threat' (Bourdieu 1984: 479), differences between similar groups can also lead to the 'narcissism of minor differences'. Freud writes that such narcissism increases cohesion within the group by directing aggression towards outsiders (Freud 1953: 114). According to Blok (1998) minor differences underlie a wide range of conflicts: from forms of campanilismo to civil wars. The problem with Blok's usage of Freud's concept as an explanatory theory of conflicts and relations between different groups lies in the definition of what is 'major' and what is 'minor'. It is ultimately a matter of perspective: 'what looks like a minor difference when seen from the outside may feel like a major difference when seen from the inside' (Kolstø 2007: 165). In campanilistic rivalries differences are defined as 'both significant and of considerable magnitude' (Cohen 1985: 109). Status and power have a strong influence on hierarchical position, dominance or inferiority in relations between communities on one island or between the neighbouring islands.

Such a process is frequently connected with the production of stereotypes. Stereotypes, as shown by Stuart Hall, reduce the members of a particular group to 'a few, simple, essential characteristics', which are represented as inherent, 'fixed by Nature', unchanging and inflexible. Stereotyping deploys a strategy of 'splitting' the normal and acceptable from the abnormal and unacceptable, 'bonding together all of Us who are normal into one imagined community' and excluding the Other (Hall 1985: 257–258). Due to their pronounced simplification and seemingly self-evident comprehensibility, stereotypes featured prominently in the repertoire used to depict the Other in the island communities we studied.

However, on the islands where we conducted our research, the Other is not positioned solely outside the island. More frequently, stereotypes refer to communities that are close and neighbouring rather than those which are considered foreign or alien. And what is considered neighbouring, as the data from the island of Hvar indicates, does not exceed a distance of 10 kilometres (Perinić Lewis 2011: 218–219). This strong sense of belonging to a specific place and a highly localized form of identity, where the 'outside world' begins 'just outside one's

own immediate locality' contrasts with experiences of modernity. It is negatively evaluated as a 'narrowness of world-view' (Pickering 2001: 81–82). However, processes of change did not destroy that cultural complex, since people appear to need forms of self-identification and one strong form of self-identification is with one's own community (Tak 1990: 90).

In order to explore the plurality of identification strategies on islands by means of campanilistic relationships, we have chosen two neighbouring Croatian islands for our case studies: Brač and Hvar (Figure 1). These two islands belong to the group of Middle Dalmatian Islands. Brač, with an area of 395 sq. km., is the third largest island in the Adriatic, and Hvar,
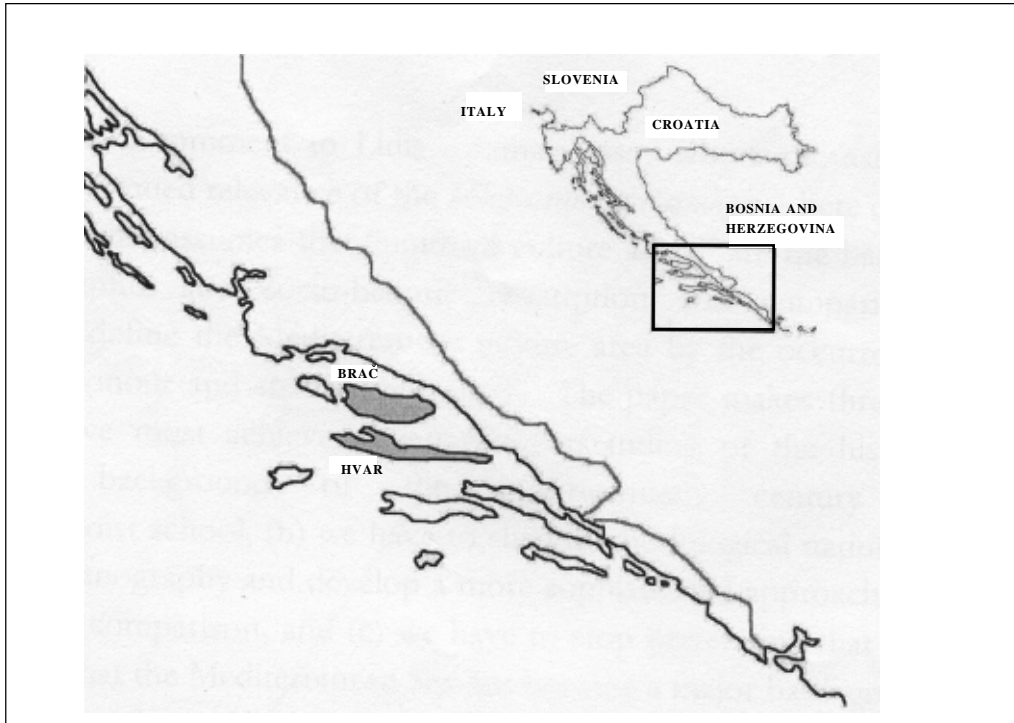

Fig. 1.   *Islands of Brač and Hvar, Croatia*

with an area of 300 sq. km, is the fourth largest. They are also among the relatively most densely populated Croatian islands,[1] whose population has in the past been largely engaged in agriculture, cattle-breeding and fishing, and, over the last century, has had great success with tourism. None of the settlements on these two islands are spared from campanilistic notions (Figure 2). Our methodology is based on ethnological and cultural anthropological research, primarily on results gathered through semi-structured, in-depth interviews during field research, media analysis and participant observation of certain practices.[2] Our position on the islands we study, that is, being and acting as insiders within island communities, has helped us understand social relations that can otherwise easily pass unnoticed: Nevena Škrbić Alempijević was born and raised on Brač, whilst Ana Perinić Lewis has family connections to the island of Hvar—Perinić being a Hvar family name. Each author has explored a single island, its settlements and communities, their intra-island boundaries, inter-communal rivalries and stereotyping.
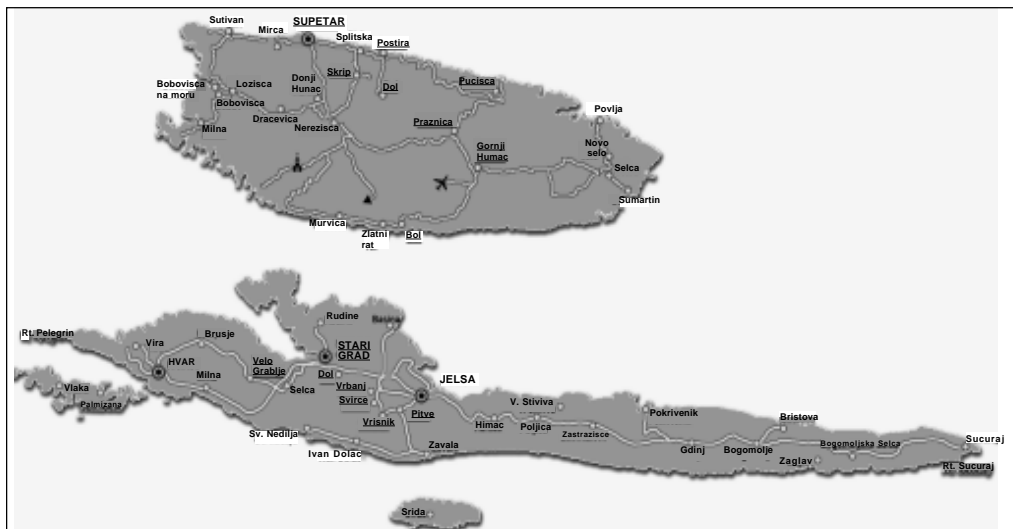
Fig. 2.   *Islands of Brač and Hvar, Croatia*

Although they are neighbouring islands, Hvar and Brač are separate and throughout history each of these islands has had its own administration and city government. They were populated at different points in time (Novokmet *et al*. 2011). From the 12th century onwards, they belong to a common diocese (the Diocese of Hvar-Brač-Vis) with its seat in the town of Hvar, on the island of Hvar, although that did not result in a greater connectedness between the two islands. It is only in recent years that the island of Hvar and the island of Brač have become connected by shipping lines: Jelsa (Hvar)-Bol (Brač), and, during the summer months, Hvar (Hvar)-Milna (Brač). As of 2012 onwards, we have been researching relations and rivalries between the island of Hvar and island of Brač together. Our research has revealed a much larger number of instances of stereotyping and of oral-literary forms that are associated with them on an intra-island, rather than inter-island level. A large number of informants have confirmed to us that they rarely visited a neighbouring island and that they did not have acquaintances there. In fact, they often met the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, especially those belonging to the younger generation of islanders, only when they left their island and went to the cities of Split or Zagreb for their studies or work.

Different island communities that are based on everyday communication and mutual acquaintance amongst their members have a strong sense of belonging to their own community. They strongly emphasize a number of differences regarding their insular neighbours, ignoring similarities between them. Such differentiation of a local community in relation to others on the same island or to others on the neighbouring islands is based on a variety of selected distinctive features: on the position of the locality (especially in relation to the seaside), on the dominant types of economic activities, on the proclaimed origins of the inhabitants, on their political orientation, food preferences, specific cultural practices, as well as on a number of notions and stereotypes concerning their physical appearance, mental capacities, their character, morality, etc. In many campanilistic narratives, diverse categories of distinctive features are brought together to highlight the superiority of the 'we-group' in comparison to the Other. Differences in the way of life between fishers and wine-growers (and nowadays

tourism entrepreneurs) in the localities near the sea on the one hand, and the cattle-breeders in the interior part of the island on the other, offer a rich basis for the drawing of symbolic boundaries between local communities and for the production of hetero-stereotypes, as illustrated by Stipe (Bol, island of Brač) in the following example:[3]

> People from Humac have quite a different mental framework to us. They are wild, they used to be shepherds, they are descendants of Illyrians. . . . In contrast to them, the inhabitants of Bol arrived as refugees from the mainland, they are a peaceful lot. They were cultivating their fields and vineyards, they lived off the land. The cattle owned by people from Humac frequently entered their property and caused damage to their crops. . . . That is why there have always been fights between the inhabitants of Humac and Bol, they have been calling each other names due to that.

Campanilistic relationships between communities have been expressed by antagonisms, mocking songs and even physical violence between the inhabitants of certain villages in the past. On the island of Hvar, a fair number of interview partners have mentioned, as a memory from their youth, throwing stones between groups of boys and adolescents from the neighbouring villages. Kuzma (Svirče, island of Hvar) recalled the folowing:

> There has always been a tension between Vrbanj and Svirče, a lot of tension. . . . I remember when we were kids, we used to play near the church, and when somebody shouted out: 'There go the kids from Vrbanj!' we would run, run straight away, because they would throw stones at anyone they could see.

On the island of Brač, our interview partners revealed to us that young men from one village used to throw stones or eggs at wedding processions that were taking 'their lasses' away to another hamlet. As remarked by Sava (Škrip, island of Brač):

> I remember, before the war (the Second World War), youngsters used to take revenge on grooms from other places who married their girls and . . . they took them away from their home village. They would do some sort of prank on them or even cast stones at them.

This mention of 'stoning' as an aggressive and dangerous form of peer violence has also been recorded in other Mediterranean communities (Tak 1990: 95; Pagliai 2003).

On both islands, open mocking is associated with sports contests (especially with football matches), where rival teams' supporters from various island villages shout insults at each other and sing mocking songs related to the island's stereotypes about certain island villages. Among school children, both in the past and today, a whole spectrum of various forms of local stereotyping is very much alive. Children from various island villages meet at schools in bigger settlements, and in their quarrels sing mocking songs like this: 'Vrisnik folks have horns like goats! Tailed Vrisnik folks, tomorrow you'll croak.*'* These verses are rather old because they are equally well remembered by grandfathers and grandmothers, and are still sung today in the same form by their grandchildren. The same is the case on the island of Brač, where nowadays children from other villages shout at pupils from Pražnica that 'their brains have run off'. They are referring to a traditional tale of the gullible people of Pražnica that were persuaded by a merchant that by buying a pumpkin, they were actually buying brains. When a mouse escaped from the pumpkin and slipped into a nearby pile of stones, the people of Pražnica rushed after it fearing they would lose their hard-earned brains (cf. Bošković-Stulli 1975: 74).

Our interviewees mentioned that disputes between villages, sometimes escalating to physical violence, occurred at *fieras/fiestas*, celebrations of the patron saint of a village, when inhabitants of the neighbouring villages would come by. Instances of such aggressive behaviour are today reduced to a form of verbal aggression manifested in the use of mocking collective nicknames, mocking songs, sayings and jokes. In some cases, the attribution of the local church to a certain saint is explained by campanilistic notions. According to a legend which continues to circulate, places on Brač were attributed to their patron saints in accordance with the qualities and virtues that they symbolized, in order to make up for the lack of those features among the local people. So, the village of Pražnica, where people, from the perspective of their neighbours, are not very pious, got Saint Clement as their patron saint, since he stands for piousness; Saint Maximus became the protector of Pučišća because people living there were considered tiny and short; Saint Victor was meant to provide the inhabitants of Supetar with the courage they utterly lacked; and finally, Saint Justus was chosen to serve as a model for the supposedly dishonest people of Postira (Žuljević 1996: 103–104).

Nicknames for Island Neighbours

On the two islands, the system of campanilism often finds expression in giving collective mocking nicknames for inhabitants of entire villages, usually embodying certain negative traits. Similar forms of hostile nicknaming have been recorded in various communities throughout the Mediterranean (Gilmore 1982b: 697), which quite often comprise notions about the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements. Nicknames are 'verbal representations of collective identity' (Gilmore 1982b: 697) and they often 'bear within them an evaluative, mostly negative assessment of the other' (Čapo Žmegač 1998: 288). These refer to local abridged stereotypes. Anthropologists dealing with Mediterranean studies were among the first to document mocking group nicknames. Pitt-Rivers (1954: 9), Iszaevich (1980) and Brandes (1975) mentioned inter-communal rivalries and mocking nicknames between Catalonian and Spanish villages, while Tak (1988) recorded as many as 23 group nicknames in the villages of the mountain area of Tuscany. On the island of Hvar, 24 such mocking group nicknames have been recorded (Perinić Lewis 2011), while research on the island of Brač is still being conducted.

Most scholars have analysed nicknames in terms of their role in maintaining a local social system. John H. McDowell and Anton Blok argue that the use of nicknames is much more ambiguous. McDowell (1981) writes that nicknaming also comments on the existing order of things, challenging, inverting or subverting prevailing moral standards. Blok (2001) disputes the view that derogatory nicknames are means of enforcing community values and of stigmatizing deviance. Nicknames reflect dominant cultural codes and values, but they also inflect back on them (Blok 2001: 172). However, in the context of campanilismo where the differences and distinctiveness are deliberately exaggerated and borders are the bases of the separation, the collective mocking nicknames 'operate as boundary-defining and boundary maintaining mechanisms' (Cohen 1986: 111). Our aim is not to list all of those nicknames on the islands of Hvar and Brač, but to shed some light upon the processes that lead to their production, as well as their usage and contemporary redefinition. Although these nicknames are of a highly local nature and the islanders are reluctant to give them away to outsiders, some of them have recently become used in the commercial promotion of a particular village for the purpose of tourism, providing a kind of basis for the identification of certain island communities.

These nicknames can be divided into two basic groups. One group of stereotypes and collective nicknames is based on objective traits such as speech, clothing, way of life and customs. This is the group to which we assign those that are motivated by the food preferences of the population, which we will discuss in the next section, with a focus on the *dormice-eaters* on both islands. The second group is composed of stereotypes and mocking names which were formed on the basis of subjective traits. These are much more common, but also more offensive, since they are based on prejudices about certain unusual physical characteristics[4] or an undesirable character trait which is ascribed to all inhabitants of the locality. For instance, throughout Hvar the rich inhabitants—in terms of landowning—of the village of Pitve are considered to be people who like to eat and drink. In the neighbouring villages, they have been given the mocking nicknames of *Bonkulovići* (Italian *bono culo*; 'big/fine buttocks') and *Požerine* (from the verb *proždirati*; to devour) which suggests that they are the gluttonous, the gourmands. Apart from highlighting their propensity for food and drink, the other islanders regularly mention the strong constitution of *Pitovjani* (people from Pitve), thus calling them *the Mules* after the beast of burden, with characteristics such as enormous strength and endurance. Almost all of our interviewees claimed that people from Pitve are big and strong folks, describing them as giants. It is this notion of *Pitovjani* as huge that has inspired stories of their ability to eat and drink a lot, but also to work much more than an average person. These stories contain elements of exaggeration and hyperbole, which sometimes enter the realm of the unbelievable and miraculous. David (Zaraće, island of Hvar) recounted the following: 'There was this one man from Pitve, he could lift up two sacks of cement weighing 100 kilos, but he would eat 15 salted sardines before starting to eat properly! Or two mullets, a kilo each, this was nothing for him to eat, and he could graft away like mad.*'* In the village of Pitve itself, this stereotype is reversed—to its inhabitants, the notion that they eat and drink more than the others has been turned into a story: they do it because they can, because in the past they had been richer than those in Hvar's other villages. In so doing, they emphasise their difference in status and their superiority as compared to other islanders. They proudly pointed out that they are a village of big and merry folks and tell jokes about their appetite and joyfulness such as in the following example narrated by Nada (Pitve, island of Hvar):

> A man comes to an Inn to ask 'Were the Pitovjani here?', and the owner says, 'How am I to know if the Pitovjani were here?' And the man says, 'Did they eat a lot?'
>   – 'They did.'
>   'Did they talk a lot?'
>   – 'They did.'
>   'Did they drink a lot?'
>   – 'They did.'
>   'Then these were the Pitovjani!'

These nicknames are based on a stereotype about a physical trait that was first noticed, in most of the cases, only in one member of a certain community before then being ascribed to all the other members.[5]

The stereotyping relating to an excessive concord and togetherness of certain settlements is also a subject of ridicule. Firmly interconnected communities where everyone protects their own folk and in which people always act as a team are referred to as a 'a pack' or 'a clan'. Based on that stereotype, a mocking group nickname for the inhabitants of Velo Grablje was created—*The Sioux*—after the well-known American Indian tribe, which alludes to their tribal

connectedness. Perica (Hvar town, island of Hvar) explains that: 'People from Grablje are called "The Sioux", as if they were the Indians, for they are like a herd . . . they are always to be seen in groups, see, you won't see any of 'em standing on their own, they are always in a group.' This is in fact considered to be a positive trait, which the inhabitants of this village proudly highlight, using this nickname as a name for their five-a-side football clubs which participate in island and inter-island football tournaments.

However, in campanilistic narratives, the homogeneity of a group are also referred to as negative and harmful characteristics. This is the case with the status that the inhabitants of Milna 'enjoy' among other Brač communities. People from that locality are regularly described as reserved, as a closed and tight community, named the *Šempjuni*—the silly, crazy people. In popular discourse, this trait is explicated by a long and steadfast tradition of endogamous marriages and by the unwillingness to accept newcomers in their community.[6] Miro (Pučišća, island of Brač) noted: 'We use the expression: 'Have you gone to Milna?' That means: 'Have you lost your mind?' And we still use that saying. Milna was a closed place, isolated from others. That is why they have a lot of crazy people there.' Most of the stereotypes and mocking group nicknames on islands are based on negative character traits and human weaknesses. Herman Tak (1990: 93) stresses that:

> potential negative behaviour is in fact projected onto the neighbours on one side as a communal warning against misconduct. If people behave like that then they are themselves snails or hunchbacks; on the other hand, it strengthens their identity; it defines community membership and its boundaries; and it emphasizes one's own superiority.

It is possible to observe a certain 'moral cartography' on the island of Hvar, which is based on mortal as well as venial sins—according to the teachings of the Catholic Church— that are ascribed to the inhabitants of certain Hvar settlements. Alongside the gluttonous inhabitants of Pitve village, dwellers of the small town of Sućuraj are considered to be slothful, people from the village of Vrbanj quarrelsome, while the inhabitants of the town named Stari Grad—who had mostly been traders and craftspersons—are called *The Jews*, due to their stinginess and shrewdness (Perinić Lewis 2011). Contrary to *Pitovjani* who turned the stereotype about them into a means to promote their village, inhabitants of the other Hvar settlements consider the stereotypes and group nicknames based on human flaws to be offensive and do not emphasise them. The one exception is the stereotype about the inhabitants of the neighbouring island of Brač, to whom excessive stinginess is ascribed.

On the island of Brač, the inhabitants of Postira are referred to as *Kvasinari* (Vinegarians), because they, so it is told, water down their wine so much that it is more akin to vinegar. There is a tale that is often retold, about a man from Postira who sent his son to a well to water down the wine. The son dropped the little wineskin into the well and he scooped up water from it. His father's comment was: 'Couldn't you have watered this down a tad?*'* On the island the stereotype concerning stinginess has mainly been ascribed to the inhabitants of this locality. However, within the region of Dalmatia as a whole, stinginess has become synonymous with people from Brač in general, regardless of interlocal perceptions on the island. Jokes and anecdotes about the stinginess of the Brač islanders have gradually surpassed regional boundaries and become a national phenomenon, common to all parts of Croatia. Nowadays, they form a special brand of humour: entire anthologies and a large number of web portals and forums consist of jokes about people from Brač (cf. Vranjičić and Senjković

2000, 2004). Many of them thematize the use of the island's natural resources to a great degree, as well as specific branches of economic activity (olive oil production, wine-growing, but also the islanders' ways of dealing with tourists), encounters of the islanders with the mainlanders, etc. Within these, there is a tendency to put the people of Brač on a par with globally known embodiments of misers, so one may come across jokes in which it is said that the Scots are in fact descendants of people from Brač who were driven away from the island due to their excessive prodigality.[7]

Stereotypes at the Tourist Market

The tourist gaze is searching for difference as it focuses on 'stimuli that contrast with the everyday and mundane' (Urry and Larsen 2011: 3). Stereotypes concerning the inhabitants of certain island localities and of islanders in general, expressed through nicknames, offer potent grounds for constructing that difference, for adding a pinch of extraordinariness to the visitors' experience of the islands. Only this time the motifs used in the imagining of the islands for the purposes of tourism are not introduced by tourism policy makers at the national or global level—they are provided by the island communities themselves. They can then be taken over by tourism agencies, rearranged to answer the visitors' desire to search for each island's authenticity, branded as 'peculiar traits of local culture'.

Some of the campanilistic narratives and nicknames we have presented are still considered to be too offensive to be shared in the public sphere, especially with outsiders. In such cases being familiar with the nicknames is a signal of belonging to an island community. In other cases, the criticism directed towards those on the other side of a symbolic boundary on the two islands and verbalized through derogatory nicknames has lost much of its sharpness. Gradually they have been turned into 'bits of everyday life' on the islands, reframed and resignified in order to become 'the means to participate in the social realms of the tourism contact zone' (Picard 2010: 144). Through that process, what was once, not so long ago, considered an insult that frequently resulted in a quarrel, fight or the plotting of another insult in return, has recently been recognized as an image, albeit stereotypical, which can be used to provide tourists with what they, from the local inhabitants' point of view, are looking for: exoticism, uniqueness, a peek at the 'strange and yet unconquered island world', to use the words of tourism operators from Bol on the island of Brač.

The stereotype about the stinginess of the Brač people serves as a good illustration of that process. Recently Brač itself has become one of the main centres for the production and promotion of jokes about the inhabitants of Brač. A link to 'jokes about Brač islanders' is placed on the home page of the island's official portal *Brač online*.[8] The municipalities of Brač act as publishers of such books of jokes, which can be bought in souvenir shops and at kiosks on the island. Furthermore, from 2012 onwards the Island Museum has joined in the national event each year named *Night of the Museums*, choosing a programme entitled *The Night of Brač Parsimony* as a means of promoting the island. In this way, a stereotype has been transformed into a brand, which for islanders loses its offensive component and becomes a device showcasing the island's uniqueness, rendering it more visible in a wider regional context and marking it as a recognizable tourist destination. The author from Brač has witnessed situations on several occasions in which foreign visitors have been introduced to the island (that is, to their private accommodation) by their hosts with a plate of well-known Brač sheep cheese, a glass of red wine and the creation of a pleasant atmosphere through the telling of

jokes about the 'cheap locals'. When asked why they reach for a stereotype that does not show the islanders in a good light to create a story for tourists, the hosts have explained that 'it is difference that matters on the tourist market', and that this is provided by this campanilistic narrative. Detachment from its offensive component is found in the explanation that the stereotype has nothing to do with the reality that they live. On the contrary, as an organizer of the programme that focuses on jokes about Brač islanders explained, they believe that the very evocation of the stereotype shows them off to their visitors in a good light since in that way the locals present themselves as people 'with a good sense of humour, generous and bighearted enough to tell jokes on their own account'.

Another case in which previous stigma is transformed into a brand used to highlight the location within a symbolic geography and provide it with visibility and uniqueness directed at the tourist relates to local food cultures that previously triggered disgust among their island neighbours. Concretely, the inhabitants of Dol on Hvar and Dol on Brač, mocked in the past for their gastronomic habits by the nicknames Pusi (*Dormice*) and Puhožderi (*Dormice Devourers*) nowadays mark their distinctiveness compared to other tourist destinations by organizing events and opening restaurants where visitors can taste dormouse meat. There is an analogy here between Hvar and Brač, due to the fact that there is a place called Dol on both islands, and in both cases the inhabitants are known to be passionate dormice eaters. The majority of the inhabitants from other island localities found this distasteful and offensive since they compared the consuming of that rodent to eating mice or rats. Andro (Sveta Nedilja, island of Hvar): 'Those dormice were everything to them, while me, I detest all these mice and dormice, I wouldn't know.'

On both islands the saying 'A slice of dormouse between two slices of bread—what a lovely spread!' has been recorded (Baretić 2006). It is this saying that gave the name to an event that starts on Hvar each year at the peak of the tourist season, dedicated to tasting dormouse meat specialties. Also in Dol on Brač, where dormouse meat is served in local inns, this dish has become widely known and its owners had to hire people from other island localities to hunt for dormice to satisfy the needs of its customers. As the owners of an inn reveal, they get orders for dormouse meals months before the summer season, both by regular tourists visiting as well as by members of diasporic communities from Australia and America, who visit their home island in search of local tastes and experiences. In that way, the trait that was once used to mock them became a basis of identification of and for the local community and an integral part of the tourist offer.

In these cases elements of local culture transposed to the cultural tourism sphere are defined by local inhabitants as a layer of their everyday life that belongs to them and reflects their worldview much more than the imagery of 'a land of a thousand islands' promoted through the brand of the Mediterranean as it once was. However, regardless of that, we are reluctant to view those processes as a way of giving the island community a voice and power to create independently their own version of the tourist offer with a local flavour, bottom-up. We are more inclined to observe such usage of stereotypes, even if the locals do not mind them, as a context in which the usage of 'the elite language of the socially and culturally privileged' (Bhabha 1994: 19) leads to another instance of exoticization. Indeed, the potentially negative aspects of that process are largely analogous with Noel Salazar's critical analysis of community-based tourism discourses (Salazar 2012).

Conclusion

The image of Croatian islands produced in media, tourism and political discourses, no matter how plausible and idealistic it may be, is a rather flat representation focused only on similarities thus ignoring important differences among island communities. This image is challenged if we take the interpretations and experiences of people on the islands as our starting point. Their imaginary of the island is by no means uniform. As shown through the examples of campanilism, they create heterogeneous sets of worldviews, narratives and practices in order to form meaningful relations with the space they inhabit and other members of island communities. 'Nothing without Neighbours' is a motto we have chosen for our title since neighbours and friends were essential for the survival on islands and for identification strategies of islanders for centuries. It indicates that, according to our analysis of campanilistic narratives and situations, as a rule we delineate our own community in relation to its neighbouring groups. Therefore, to construct our own identity means to distance ourselves from those who are close to us, but still not us, to provide them with Otherness, which is always placed on a lower level of a symbolic hierarchy.

On the Croatian islands, campanilism is still very much alive today. It is a part of everyday life and local identification strategies. Campanilistic narratives (nicknames, jokes, proverbs, songs, rhymes) and stereotypes about neighbouring localities are used as mechanisms of expressing local sentiments. They strengthen solidarity, a sense of belonging and connection with one's own community by projecting negative, different and strange characteristics outwards onto others. However, in some situations the Other can redefine stereotypes attached to them, turning what was once considered offensive into a local particularity. The examples of the dormouse-eating inhabitants of Dol on Brač and Hvar, as well as of the gourmands in Pitve on Hvar, show that stigmas can be transformed into brands, highlighted in tourist promotion, but also in local identification strategies. The instance of parsimony amongst the inhabitants of Brač indicates that a negative attribute that the islanders previously associated with a certain place can become a kind of trademark for the whole island at the national level. Specific questions therefore arise: why do people accept stereotypes about their island communities and make them part of their core identity? This question echoes Michael Herzfeld's famous dilemma: why does it matter to people to be Mediterranean, especially since the Mediterranean often serves as the Western European Other (2005: 51)? Herzfeld enumerates a vast variety of reasons for which the local people 'accept stereotypical permutations of their own collective (in this case Mediterranean) identity': from the argument of local men justifying assaults on female tourists as an act attributable to the 'hot Mediterranean temperament' to the reaching for knowledge of local and regional culture unavailable under the repressive regimes of the past (Herzfeld 2005: 50–63). Agreeing to such essentializing discourses does not necessarily mean that these communities accept their inferior positioning in the European hierarchy of nations and cultures. In some cases, they can twist the meanings attached to such simplified images. In this way, the inhabitants of Brač and Hvar themselves explain their usage of hetero-stereotypes: they turn them into a means to mark an island locality as unique and visible on the tourist market. Still, the redefinition of such inter-local stereotypes within the tourist industry, in our opinion, can lead to yet another creation of island Otherness.

Notions about islands and island communities are dynamic and constantly shifting. Meanings attached even to traditional forms and terms are renegotiated in response to the contemporary needs of the people who use them, produce them and live by them. In these

cases, we perceive the reinterpretation of campanilistic narratives not as an acceptance and continuation of some traditional order; but rather as a hands-on approach to the firmer positioning of island communities; an attempt to mark their home-places as specific and unique on the global tourist and cultural maps.

Notes

1. The island of Brač has 14,434 inhabitants, a population density of 35.4 people per sq. km. and 22 settlements, whilst the island of Hvar has 11,077 inhabitants, a population density of 34.3 people per sq. km. and 24 settlements (Croatian Census 2011, http://www.dzs.hr/ Accessed: March 21, 2014)

2. Ana Perinić Lewis conducted field research on the island of Hvar in November 2006 and May 2007 as a part of her doctoral thesis named *The pluralism of local identities of Hvar islanders in written sources and oral poetry*. She conducted interviews with 100 interview partners from each of the major settlements on the island. All interview partners gave oral informed consent to the interview and were guaranteed anonymity. Research on the island of Brač has been carried out by Nevena Škrbić Alempijević since 2004, with a focus on cultural practices such as carnivals, fiestas, sporting events etc. Also, as an insider in one of the Brač communities, she was expected to share a kind of tacit knowledge of what makes its inhabitants different (read: 'better') from all the others.

3. This contrast between the inhabitants of the valley and the mountain people, often thematised by our interview partners on Brač and Hvar, is in line with one of the core demarcation lines between peoples and cultures discussed in Mediterranean studies ever since Fernand Braudel's statement that the 'mountains come first' (Braudel 1995: 25–52).

4. Physical characteristics can be described as objective traits since they are visible and measurable. However, in assigning nicknames that are motivated by physical traits, a single physical characteristic, which may be specific for an individual or a family from the village, becomes a universal category which is then ascribed to all of the villagers. The majority of the authors were focused on personal and family nicknames, but collective nicknames based on apparently objective and 'benign' physical traits always involve mocking certain deviant forms of behaviour. No matter how objective physical characteristics may be, since they are noticeable, they are, in the case of collective nicknames, extremely subjective. For instance, on the island of Hvar, where the inhabitants of the fisherman's village of Sućuraj are called *Kilavci* (Hernians; as in *hernia*), because, being fishermen, they were prone to the disease, but that nickname is also associated with their laziness, because they tend to avoid hard physical labour.

5. Is the stereotype about the above-average height of men from the village of Pitve merely subjective? As part of the multidisciplinary biological-anthropological research that has been conducted on the island of Hvar, the morphological and physiological characteristics of the population were examined over the course of field research in 1978 and 1979. The research was limited to the adult population of nine villages in the island's hinterland. Out of the entire population of the mentioned nine villages, about 30% of inhabitants were randomly chosen and invited to voluntarily sit an examination. 487 male and 437 female adult subjects, aged between 18 and 83, responded. Among the data gathered, especially interesting are those on the average height of men, which showed that the men from Pitve really are the tallest with an average height of 180.6 cm. (Smolej 1985, Rudan *et al.* 1990).

6. There is also a somewhat different explanation of the derogatory nickname for the inhabitants of Milna. On Bol we were told that the perception of people from Milna as being inclined to mental disorders is related to the fact that an institution for the elderly and disabled was located there, so that persons with mental problems from all places on Brač were institutionalized in Milna.

7. For examples see: *TV Dnevno.* http://webtv.dnevno.hr/zabavai/kako-su-nastali-skoti (Accessed: May 24, 2014).

8. *Brac online.* http://www.braconline.com.hr/dva-bracanina/bracki-vicevi.html (Accessed: May 24, 2014).

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