

Social and Economic Integration of Cultural Heritage and Related Policies in Greece: a State-of-the-art Review

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1. Introduction: cultural heritage, time and socio-spatial processes

This report concerns mainly the built heritage and policies for its protection, preservation and enhancement. Nonetheless, according to its general definition, cultural heritage does not refer only to tangible objects, like monuments, archaeological sites, churches, monasteries and castles; old buildings, traditional settlements and historic town centres; libraries, cinema rooms, theatres and concert halls; as well as movable property and artefacts (e.g. paintings, pieces of sculpture, engravings, books and an enormous host of other objects of this kind). It also refers to language, dance, music and other forms of expression and communication, tradition, customs and habits. But, above all, it concerns intangible matters like the thickness of information and history that each and every separate item of these kinds contains. The more endowed an object is with information as to materials and techniques used for its production and as to the social conditions and the historic contingencies within which it was produced and acquired, as well as about the historic personalities involved in the process, the more valuable it is as a culture token. Obviously on many occasions this valuation of the various cultural heritage items has little or nothing to do with their artistic value. They constitute part of a country's or a nation's heritage, simply because they happen to embody crucial information of the above kinds, which makes them invaluable no matter how important their artistic and aesthetic value may be.

Cultural heritage objects speak not only about societies, economies and technologies; they also speak about space in general as well as about particular places. This is a crucial characteristic of theirs, especially as far as non-movable elements are concerned (like monuments, buildings and settlements). Through their history, places (be they countries, regions, cities or villages) have sheltered several tribes, social groups, nationalities and civilisations, each one of them enriching the territory within which they flourished with their own cultural products. Therefore, places constitute rich and densely packed depositories of past cultures and, since the transition from one civilisation to another or from one historical period to another does not always happen peacefully, cultural antagonisms are inscribed on places, in the same manner that social and the national ones are (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1997). For this reason space is not a static storehouse that passively receives and shelters cultural artefacts. On the contrary, it constitutes a dynamic field of culture production and destruction, assimilation and rejection, modification and adaptation, definition and redefinition. Thus the cultural heritage of any part of the European territory today hardly is the product of the people who happen to inhabit it at this moment of history. On the other hand, the cultural heritage itself is not a fossil of the past. On the contrary, it is very much alive, vibrant and changing continuously.

However, one of the tragedies of places and, consequently, of the cultural heritage they embody is that social, economic, political, nationalist, religious and other types of conflict developing over time and space have often resulted in freezing time, as if places have never had a history; and in fixing the definition and the characteristics of the heritage, as if the only heritage that places have is the one that suits the victors in these conflicts. This is understandable, because the longer the historical past and the more heterogeneous the cultural heritage incorporated into a place, the more the *status quo* created by the victors is put to danger. This is why nationalist movements always put the task of defining their cultural identity as one of their first priorities, while national policies intending to the formation of a common culture within the territorial limits of the national states have always been a threat to

the rich cultural heritage of the various countries. For the same reason and despite the fact that the idea of exploring the meaning of the European identity and developing the common culture in the European Union may have undoubted merits, such an objective may also constitute a danger for Europe's rich historic past (McNeill 1999). In short, very often there is a huge difference between the cultural heritage created by the population inhabiting a place and the heritage embodied in that place that remains to be discovered and re-evaluated when dominant definitions and attitudes towards it are reconsidered. The crucial question is whether this 'undiscovered heritage' can be conserved for future generations and the tragedy is that usually the answer is negative.

Apart from clashes and wars that fix time and lead to narrow definitions of heritage, many other human activities lead to the same outcome. For instance, heritage tourism privileges space over time and therefore it is an ideological framing of history that has the power to reshape culture and the national identity (Johnson 1999), especially when it is combined with 'proper' narratives of local, regional or national history to achieve pre-set political goals. To add one more complication to this problem, while at first sight the work of professional historians is supposed to be the objective treatment of heritage matters, as postmodernism has shown fake heritage and genuine history are not always easily distinguishable from one another.

One could develop on several other related aspects of these difficult issues, such as the question of ownership of a place's cultural heritage; the use of cultural heritage as a means for raising nationalist claims on territories of neighbouring countries; the purposeful destruction of the cultural heritage as a method of taking revenge against the enemies; or the disregard of the impact of war on the cultural heritage of the countries involved.¹ There are several examples of all these cases from recent history that have to be considered very carefully by those responsible for the exercise of heritage conservation policy. However, one very significant characteristic of heritage, that has been neglected in the past and for this reason requires more consideration in the future, is that it is always produced in some relationship with or as a response to the natural and the already existing man-made environment. This means that policies for the protection and the enhancement of heritage cannot be successful unless they include the whole set of relationships between the cultural heritage and the environment (natural and man-made) in which it was produced.

This is why the more a society becomes interested in its cultural heritage the more it develops a global view about environmental management, as well as about sustainable development and spatial planning. The provisions incorporated in the Constitutional Charts of many countries evidence this observation. In them, the conservation of the national heritage is sought for together with the protection of the natural environment, the implementation of the principle of environmental sustainability and the protection of the most basic human rights.² Finally, it must be underlined that the significance of environmental protection for heritage conservation was understood long before macro-level relationships between these two activities were appreciated, simply because the negative impact of air pollution from gas emissions, acid rain and other related phenomena, was observed a long time before the absolute necessity of sustainable development became unquestionably recognised.

¹ During the 20th century human ingenuity has developed the means to cause very quickly an enormous amount of damage to the building stock that in previous centuries could happen only through long-protracted wars. From the five bombardments that Belgrade had in the 20th century (1914, 1915, 1941, 1944 and 1999) the last one seems to have been extremely and disproportionately destructive even though it was very short (see Perović and Žegarac 2000).

² Another manifestation of this trend is the formation of mergers from previously distinct policy-making bodies. For instance, Scottish National Heritage, created in 1991, supplanted and undertook the task of two previously existing bodies, the Nature Conservancy Council for Scotland and the Countryside Commission for Scotland. However, it is interesting to note that it was the first institution in the UK to be given the additional mandate to promote sustainable development (Ross *et al.* 1995).

2. Globalisation and the question of cultural homogenisation on a world scale

Globalisation is a relatively new term. In the 1970s it was used by American Express to underline the easiness of use of its credit card worldwide (Harvey 2000). Since then there have been thousands of conferences and discussions on its meaning and the impact it has on many aspects of contemporary societies.

On several occasions globalisation is given a definition not different from that of internationalisation. An economy is internationalised from the moment it opens to the outside world. Import and export restrictions are removed; foreign direct capital investment is encouraged and supported by institutional and legal reforms; and domestic capital finds its way to invest abroad. From that moment there is a stronger inflow and outflow of workers than ever because obstacles to the mobility of labour are eliminated; there is a flow of students in and out of the country; and there are many international cooperation programmes in cultural matters and several other fields. At the same time international competition intensifies, deregulation makes state intervention policies in the functioning of the market and other fields (like employment, education and culture) difficult and perhaps ineffective. Nonetheless, under these conditions the world economic system is still nothing but a set of internationalised economies.

Even when a supra-national body like the European Union is established, the cooperating member-states reserve for themselves the right to decide on several crucial issues. Actually, so far the most significant objective of European policies has been to get rid of the hindrances to the free mobility of goods, capital and labour. Homogeneity of the internal market and socio-economic cohesion are pursued on the basis of a few indicators while there are still significant differences between member-states as to their socio-economic, political and administration structures, as well as in their detailed social and economic policies. For instance, for a person who has lived and worked in North Europe it is still impossible to settle as a pensioner in South Europe and receive medical treatment and services in the residential place preferred as in the country of origin. Obviously, the situation on a planetary scale is much looser than this. It is clear that for this international economy to become a globalised one there is one more condition that has to be satisfied: the world system has to function in real time and all changes in any corner of the planet have to be instantaneously transmitted to the rest of the system.

Evidently the process of internationalisation has existed for a very long time, for at least four and a half centuries, ever since the New World was discovered. On the other hand, globalisation is a recent process. So far very few aspects of the world economy can be considered global, like the stock exchange market and the mobility of capital. In other policy fields, like employment, education and culture, the influences of the international environment are very strong but each country has so far been exercising its own policy that is not instantaneously influenced by policy changes in other countries. There is no doubt that the mass media have created a state of strong cultural influence between countries. The 24-hour world TV show on the New Year's Eve of year 2000, eloquently illustrates this situation. Nonetheless, the present condition can best be described as an internationalised system rather than a globalised one.

Of course, one should not underestimate the determination of the more powerful nations to proceed with the creation of a globalised economy because, according to the theoretical model they accept, any friction of distance and time has a cost to their economies. So they promote the idea of linking all economies into a single real-time operating system. However, this system has so far been unable to function smoothly by itself. It requires direct interventions by the governments and the high technology of the advanced nations for fixing oil prices, interest rates and a lot of other magnitudes, belonging to a very narrow range of policy means, while in other extremely crucial matters, like environmental policy, disagreement among them is more than conspicuous.

In addition, internationalisation processes do not necessarily lead to full homogeneity on a world scale.³ For instance, the very moment that international competition intensifies, the market becomes more fragmented, divided and local. Mass production of cheap clothing in South East Asian countries for the world market, based on the just-in-case principle, belongs to the past. The implementation of the principles of just-in-time production and flexibility three decades ago, has led to the replacement of large firms, which used to have integrated all stages of production within their premises, by extended networks of smaller subcontracting firms, each one of them specialising in one of the production stages or manufacturing one of the components of the final product.⁴ These networks may form dense clusters of production units concentrated in a small region, as in the Silicon Valley, in California or Emilia Romagna in Northern Italy (Saxenian 1985; Leonardi and Nanetti, eds, 1991). But they may also be at an immense distance from one another, as happens with the production of the various computer components or the Benetton factories dispersed over the continents. This can be seen even in car production: first, there are many more types of cars addressed to specific niches of the international market now than a few decades ago, when the market was less internationalised; second, the various car components are very often produced in countries located even in different continents. Similar remarks hold for cultural matters. For this reason an astonishing observation is that, while western culture is becoming more diversified than before, some countries (especially a few of the less developed ones) try to imitate what, according to their view, accurately represents western culture.

To conclude, given that the socio-spatial processes of cultural heritage production are dynamic and conflictual, there is always the threat of a loss of a significant part of this heritage. But this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the world moves to the direction of complete homogeneity in cultural matters. To some extent this depends on each country's policies aiming at the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage. On the other hand, the success of these policies is closely related to whether conservation and spatial planning are coordinated and do not lead to opposite and conflicting directions (Delafons 1997). The following section elaborates on a few more aspects of this issue.

3. Changing strategies in heritage policy

More people today than ever believe that the preservation of cultural heritage can happen only through the encouragement, empowerment, involvement and participation of the local society, i.e. of each and every citizen. This is apparently related to the fact that today the production of culture is based not so much on a centrally administered supply of cultural goods and facilities from the public sector but on the demand for them by the population and the response to this demand by a large number of public, semi-public, and private profit-making or non-profit institutions. Some of them, usually the central state ones, play a coordination role, but an enormous part of the actual cultural policy is in practice exercised by a vast number of independently acting agents. The public sector itself is not a homogeneous entity, since it includes ministries, decentralised central government services, public corporations and local government institutions. In other words, cultural development is led by demand to a much more significant extent today than a few decades ago, while coordinating the actions of the agents responding to this demand is a very difficult task.

³ According to Pangalos, the predecessor of the present Minister of Culture of Greece, cultural homogeneity within the European Union is not a serious problem. A much more significant danger originates in the American culture, which has invaded Europe and is replacing the local traditions. To his view the strategy of European countries and localities against this threat should be the development and enhancement of local particularities and distinctiveness (interview published in the weekly newspaper *To Vima*, 18.6.2000). However, one should observe that it is not the 'American culture' in general but a very specific part of it that constitutes a threat to the rest of the world as well as to America itself.

⁴ Bibliography on this matter is over-abundant and was mainly produced during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. See e.g. Cooke *et al.* 1992; Donaghu and Barff 1990; Gertler 1988 and 1992; Harvey 1989; Storper and Scott, eds, 1992; and Storper 1994.

The positive aspect of it is that a higher population percentage are actively involved in this process and, in principle, the tastes of individuals can influence more decisively culture production in this bottom-up process. In addition, as the percentage of the population with high education and living standards increases, as working time decreases and as more money is spent on leisure (at least within the European Union), the demand for culture facilities and activities rises and people show a more lively interest in history and culture. Actually, this process has led to the emergence of grassroot and social movements raising new kinds of cultural demand. This is combined with a stronger interest in environmental protection and related activities, like agrotourism, as well as in environment-friendly models of development (e.g. organic agriculture, non-polluting manufacturing production processes, regional development and infrastructure projects that respect the ecosystem).⁵ And the whole process ends up by exercising a strong pressure on central, regional and local governments, as well as to supra-national bodies, like the European Union, to devote more effort and resources to culture policy.

A threat against these positive developments comes from the increasing commercialisation of the cultural production processes and the fact that the market may gradually supplant completely public policy and planning. While too strict a model of central planning is inapplicable, too much confidence on the merits of the market in culture matters is unwarranted. This threat has led to the recognition of the need for new strategies and attitudes to be adopted by those responsible for the exercise of cultural policies. Instead of being the provider of cultural goods, the public sector has to play a strong and consistent role of coordination and mediation, in order to create opportunities and guide the market and the various private or public agents creating, protecting or enhancing the cultural heritage. The public sector has also the responsibility of enhancing the potential of individuals and private firms and, most of all, of providing to everyone free access to information about heritage (Schuster, ed., 1997).

Another threat comes from the over-exploitation of culture for urban economic development purposes. As is well-known and documented, during the 1980s, in many European cities 'flagship' cultural projects have been used in promoting the cities' image in order to strengthen their competitive position and make them attractive to capital investment in the most advanced and innovative industries. City selling or marketing, boosterism, cultural industry and waterfront regeneration projects with strong cultural components, are some of the terms and expressions used in the related bibliography.⁶ Although the use of cultural capital of the European cities for such purposes is not by itself an improper or unacceptable objective, there are many examples of urban regeneration projects or tourism development policies based on the exploitation of cultural heritage in such a way that in the end the cultural capital instead of having increased, it has diminished. In other cases, as has been argued by some authors for the Thatcher era in Britain, heritage policies were used as a means for assisting the market system to expand in fields (like culture) where it had no place in the past (Corner and Harvey, eds, 1991). Finally, urban regeneration through heritage conservation, supposedly under the principle of sustainable development, has on many occasions transformed into construction-led development,⁷ while the principle of sustainable development has slackened so much that in reality policies have moved away

⁵ Of course, one has to be very cautious because for the international community there is still a long way to go until significant progress is made in environmental pollution matters. For instance, the fact that some time ago the American president declared that he is not putting into effect the Kyoto agreement will negatively affect the whole issue of curbing the carbon dioxide emissions on a planetary level. This will have consequences not only to the glasshouse effect and climate change; it will also have a direct negative impact on monuments.

⁶ See for instance Bianchini and Parkinson, eds, 1993; Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Griffiths 1993; Kearns and Philo, eds, 1993.

⁷ This trend took a very worrying shape in the former centrally managed economies of Central and Eastern Europe, when they adopted the free market system. See e.g. Hammersley and Westlake 1993; Newman and Thornley 1996.

from this principle rather than towards it. That is, there has been an ambivalent attitude to sustainable development and a constant attempt to compromise and reinterpret the concept to support the aim of economic development (Couch and Dennemann 2000).

Another very significant change that has taken place during the last couple of decades, is the gradual recognition that there are no successful national policies of heritage protection, unless there is cooperation between countries in larger regions. For instance, none of the Mediterranean countries alone can exercise an effective policy to this matter, which also respects all civilisations that have flourished in that area a long time ago, unless she cooperates with other countries whose heritage contains monuments and remnants from the same civilisations. On the other hand, a Mediterranean country, which shares part of the world history with a specific set of countries, may also share another part of history with the Balkan countries, or the West-European ones, or the African ones and so on. That is, each country belongs to several groups of countries and has to simultaneously cooperate with all of them for restoring and protecting various parts of her heritage, referring to different historical periods. In this sense, the European projects of international cooperation initiated by the European Union are not only extremely interesting; they constitute the only reliable method of heritage protection, conservation and enhancement in Europe. This happens not only because through these programmes there is an exchange of information on technology matters and of 'good practice' but mainly because this is the only way of formulating long-term strategy that truly respect Europe's heritage. Thus the more this principle is understood in a country the more the old chauvinist attitudes are abandoned and that country becomes more willing to cooperate with her neighbours.

In the end, there are many reasons why spatial planning and heritage policies have to be closely coordinated. First, a large part of both of these activities refers to space in general as well to particular places and buildings in which heritage elements are mixed with other structures. Without coordination what heritage policy tries to conserve may be destroyed by other projects. Second, both of them have to implement the principle of sustainable development. Third, both of them concern policy areas in which the public sector has not the exclusive right to intervene. On the contrary, in both cases there is a strong private market and voluntary sector, which shape needs, objectives and policy procedures. Under these circumstances, the role assigned to the public sector is to function as a coordinating, enabling and regulating institution. But most of all what is demanded from the public sector is to make possible the empowerment of the population and the collaboration between the interested parties (Grove-White 1997; Healey 1997; Bor 1995). On the other hand, there are significant differences between countries as to how exactly these principles can be put into effect.

4. Cultural heritage policies in Greece: the broad long-term socio-economic and culture framework

Greece is a typical case of a country in which the largest part of the officially defined heritage belongs to the state. However, another substantial part of it belongs to individuals. The share of individual owners is even greater if the heritage that is still not officially recognised is taken into account. Therefore, there is a significantly large private market that has to be taken into consideration in heritage policies. The definition and production of culture, as also the means used for the protection and enhancement of the heritage, are matters of a complex system of economic, ideological, social, political and power relations, in which state and civil society, the public, the church, the voluntary and the private sector, central and local government services, as also the various research and other institutes, play some role. There is also a set of external factors, related with the history of the Balkan peninsula, the position of Greece in South-Eastern Europe and her affiliation with the western world, which for a long period acted as an obstacle in her relations with the rest of the Balkans, her past and the processes by which Hellenism developed during many centuries in the Mediterranean basin, social and political instability and economic problems and restructuring in her immediate region, as well as her present relations with her neighbours. All these factors, as also practices followed in this part of Europe by the various

countries as to the existing cultural heritage, and the specific way in which heritage protection and conservation policies relate with spatial planning, have strongly influenced the policies exercised within the country.

Obviously, the following analysis cannot present all these processes in full detail. So it is selective and concentrates on issues that are useful for the subsequent analysis of the operation of the state heritage policies and the structure of the policy machinery.

In 1995 approximately 25,000 historic monuments and sites, 700 complexes of buildings and 5,000 traditional buildings were under protection in Greece. However, the actual number of buildings and building complexes requiring protection is much higher. For instance, in the Aegean Islands there exist 1,260 settlements but only 230 of them are protected by Presidential Decrees and in only 39 of them detailed regulations have been specified. Further, the Internet site of the Ministry of Culture presents a list of 462 archaeological sites and 317 monuments that can be visited. Of course the actual number of sites, including those in which excavations are in progress but are not ready to receive visitors, is much higher (almost 900). However, the complexes of traditional or neoclassic buildings within the historic centres of large cities are very few. Apparently the only reason that some of them still refuse to disappear is that various ownership complications have not permitted their owners to redevelop their land.⁸

For a long time the emphasis of heritage policies has focused on ancient and Byzantine monuments. The definitions used by legislation are very clear about this. This is understandable because since the early 19th century and until the middle of the 20th century the country was almost uninterruptedly in a state of war, trying initially to expand its territorial surface and subsequently to protect her borders. This, together with the fact that during the 19th century there was a strong romantic ideological European influence on the country, emphasizing her glorious ancient past, pushed policies to that direction while other historical periods were neglected. The Bavarian kings themselves had aspired to resurrect that ancient past. This is after all the main reason why Athens was chosen to become Greece's capital city. On the other hand, they were not much interested in the Byzantine period, partly because this was reminding the Europeans of the schism between the Catholic and the Orthodox Church. As to monuments, buildings and settlements from the Ottoman period, these were not properly treated by official policies. On the contrary, for some period the main objective of town planning policies was to put order to the messy traditional settlements, to eliminate or hide the physical elements that were giving the Greek cities an oriental appearance, especially the minarets built by the Turks in front of the orthodox churches which were converted into mosques, and renovate the urban environment according to the principles dominating in Western Europe. It is worth noting however that even the Ottoman Empire itself had already begun to implement urban renovation policies, in order to give the cities a more western appearance, as happened for instance in Thessaloniki during the second half of the 19th century (Bakirtzis 1997; Karadimou 1997). So the first plans prepared by the Greek government for Athens and Thessaloniki, as also for other smaller cities, were commissioned to architects and planners from Europe, like Klenze, Schaubert and Hébrard.⁹ Finally, in the period between the two world wars many new settlements were designed

⁸ This can be said for instance about the 'olive-oil commercial area' (Ladadika) and the Old City of Thessaloniki. Many properties in them could not be built under the existing regulations set by the city plan or there were complexities concerning their owners. Otherwise those areas too would have been completely redeveloped through the *antiparohi* system (see note 11).

⁹ Apparently the Bavarians had a conception of planning very alien to Greek society and institutions. Grandiose physical planning in 19th-century Germany was supported by a specific structure of landed properties as well as by the power that local authorities had acquired, through long-drawn socio-political processes, to intervene in this matter (Sutcliffe 1981). These conditions, present in other European countries as well, were completely absent in 19th-century Greece. Landholdings were small and local authorities, as today, had not the competence, the decision-making power, the financial sources and staff to exercise planning policies. No wonder then that the first plans were never implemented and resulted in failure (see Yerontas 1972; Biris 1933 and 1966; and Travlos, 1960).

according to western principles of urban design, for housing the refugees from Asia Minor and the Balkans.

Nonetheless, one should carefully consider that fact that due to the gradual expansion of the country for almost one century and a half, her regions have followed development patterns differing from one another. Thus the condition of the architectural heritage is completely different in continental Greece and Rhodes as well as many of the South Aegean Islands, which used to belong to Italy until the end of World War II. The same is true about the Ionian Islands, which were annexed to the country in 1864, but in which Greece's Civic Code was introduced as late as at the end of World War II.

However, the foregoing remarks do not mean in any way that the ancient past has been properly treated and enhanced. During a very long time, i.e. for many centuries, cities and smaller settlements were built on top of the ancient remnants. Thus when town planning regulations and policies were first implemented by the newly formed state machinery, the buildings within the historical urban centres, hiding significant treasures under their land, belonged to individuals who had of course to be compensated for their properties if the state wanted to make use of compulsory expropriation methods. For many social, political and economic reasons this never took place. Even when attempting to enhance monuments situated in dilapidated areas by clearing their surroundings from small buildings ready to collapse, policies followed a piecemeal strategy, leaving everything to happen by itself, i.e. through the market. However, this has only rarely led to success, let alone the objections that one might raise against this particular conception of what constitutes 'enhancement' of heritage.¹⁰ Such issues were not consistently considered and persistently pursued even when a new phase of redevelopment took place from the end of World War II.

In order to present a very concise outline of Greece's urban history and of the process by which a large part of the country's heritage was damaged, let us observe that the structure of Greece's settlement system and the processes of urban development are overwhelmingly the result of successive waves of immigration and rural-to-urban migration towards the biggest cities of the country. This happened first when Athens was chosen to become the capital city of the newly established country (1834) and subsequently during the successive phases of liberation of Greece's territories from the Ottoman Empire. The small and humble village of about 5,000 inhabitants, that Athens was before the revolution, reached the size of 47,750 in 1861, 87,117 in 1879, 242,328 in 1907 and 453,042 in 1920. Then in the aftermath of the Asia Minor disaster, there was a massive population exchange between Turkey and Greece, which resulted in the influx of 1,5 million refugees in the country, which at that moment had around 5 million people. Obviously, this massive population displacement and immigration had a tremendous impact on the country, resulting in serious changes in the population distribution and the urban system, as well as in the economy, society and culture. By 1940 Athens had reached the size of 1,124,109 inhabitants, while Thessaloniki, a city somewhat bigger than 100,000 at the time of its liberation (1912), had grown to 278,145. Later, in the 1950s and 1960s, when a massive process of rural-to-urban migration took place, Athens and Thessaloniki grew at astonishingly high rates, while smaller urban centres followed closely. Thus, in the period 1951-1971 Athens and Thessaloniki almost doubled their population, while Larisa, Patra, Herakleio and Volos grew by 25-35%. But these smaller cities continued growing fast in the next decade as well, while Athens and Thessaloniki grew at slower rates.

¹⁰ For instance, should a project of culture heritage protection and urban renovation demolish the humble houses built during the Ottoman occupation by the side of the remnants of Acropolis's walls in Thessaloniki? The old view would be favourable to such a project. Nowadays, there is a strong argument in favour of conserving these houses –even if they have to change use and become e.g. workshops– because these houses also constitute part of Thessaloniki's history and, therefore, form its cultural heritage.

The irony is that the decision-making machinery moves so slowly that if the authorities decide to conserve them the houses may be in such a bad state that they will not be able to do anything but demolish them.

However, during a period of more than a century and a half, only rarely did the Greek State show a practical interest in trying to confront the housing problems of the migrants, by elaborating and implementing plans for new settlements for them, helping them to earn their life and granting landholdings to their families. This only happened in the mid-1920s. In all other instances the concentration of migrants in the largest cities of the country has taken place within a vacuum of urban and regional policy. Especially during the 1960s, when there was a strong flow of rural-to-urban migration, the state has taken no measures that could help the migrants stay at the villages of their origin or guide and direct them to small cities. Actually, if it were not for the administration system of the country, which requires a city-capital with central government services in each of the 52 prefectures, population concentration in the largest agglomerations would have been much stronger.

The result was that a large percentage of these migrants had recourse to illegal methods to shelter their families. For example, it is estimated that more than three quarters of Thessaloniki's built-up surface and half of Athens' surface was developed illegally, while there are many other examples of illegal construction activity within the central area of the city. In those circumstances, any attempt to protect the architectural heritage, however serious, was meaningless. On the other hand, this very same process is responsible for the creation of a divide between urban districts covered by unauthorised buildings, lacking all basic facilities and inhabited by poor families; and urban neighbourhoods of a better quality, equipped with the necessary facilities and inhabited by richer families. Therefore, this process accounts for social exclusion patterns observed in Greek cities even today (Tsoulouvis 1996 and 1998). To see these processes from another angle, the neglect of heritage conservation policies in Greece and the demolition of old buildings accounts for why one cannot find poor families living in houses ready to crumble.

The state, because of its inability to exercise a positive urban development policy chose to introduce a Law through which everything could possibly run by private enterprise. This is the *Law About the Plans of Cities, Townships and Settlements* (1923) which, together with the institution of *antiparohi*,¹¹ and the *General Building Regulations Code* have constituted the almost exclusive legislative framework, centrally controlled, for the production of the built environment in Greek settlements for a very long period. It is only since the mid-1980s that some effort has been made for the introduction of more comprehensive policies, but their success is doubtful.

Under these circumstances, since the end of the 1940s there has been a tremendous increase of building activity within the city centres. Thousands of old houses were demolished to give place to modern multi-storey buildings. This created a double loss. On the one hand, among those old buildings there were many houses or industrial buildings that by present definitions constituted part of the country's cultural heritage. On the other hand, the objective of properly revealing and enhancing the ancient past within cities was lost. And this happened despite the austerity of Greek legislation, which can stop any construction activity when remnants are found in the plot under development. In addition, as this practice spread all over the country, many traditional villages also lost their identity. Further, town-planning legislation has never incorporated an extensive package of provisions for the exercise of comprehensive heritage protection policies. Even the legislation recently introduced contains only a cursory reference to this issue. What is more, while there has

¹¹ This is a land-ownership transference scheme according to which the owner can transfer his/her land rights to the developer who undertakes the task of redeveloping the plot. The developer has to pay the landowner in kind, by transferring to him/her part of the building constructed, according to their agreement. In other words, the economic transaction between the developer and the landowner is carried out in kind. This makes things easier for both the landowner and the developer, but in order to function effectively it requires high plot ratios and the demolition of old buildings. Therefore the outcome is not conservation-friendly, while there is also a substantial increase of the cost of land and of the population density, which have very serious negative effects on the quality of the urban environment.

certainly been made much progress in techniques, methods and know-how used in the conservation of individual buildings and the protection of ancient monuments, in the public sector there is still no experience in formulating a long-term comprehensive policy in these matters. In short, the weakness in the exercise of heritage protection policy parallels the extremely restricted scope and the deficiencies of urban planning.

This shortcoming is reflected on similar drawbacks observed in the education system and research. For instance, the overwhelming majority of research projects and publications on heritage policy concern the state of the monuments and methods of conservation while the discussion of broader policy issues is very rare. Related to this is the inadequate attention paid by the Ministers of Culture to organizational matters in major exhibitions or to how the museums of the country are staffed and run (Skaltsa 1997). The fact that in 1998 the Minister of Culture created a National Commission for the Museums, in order to advise him about policy matters, may be interpreted as a very encouraging sign. The only problem with such individual initiatives is that when a Minister leaves his or her office, everything is forgotten and the new Minister makes new arrangements.

Finally, it should be underlined that Greece's accession to the European Communities (1981) and her participation in various international cooperation programmes (see e.g. Table 1), has certainly acted as a positive factor of change. It is not accidental that for the purpose of harmonising her administration system with the rest of the member-states while becoming a competitive partner, Greece adopted the system of 13 administrative regions; introduced new legislation for the consolidation of small municipalities into larger units; adopted the system of elected prefecture self-government; introduced reforms in the planning system, prepared plans for almost all settlements and commissioned studies of the architectural heritage in them; reformed the legislation concerning regional planning; and introduced sustainable development as an objective of paramount importance in urban and regional planning. The question is how these significant developments can best be exploited for an in-depth restructuring of the whole social, economic, political and cultural system, given that previous experience suggests that there is always the danger of stopping at the surface of these reforms and never exploiting their full potential.

5. An example: the project of unification of the archaeological sites of Athens

In April 1920, the High Technical Council issued a decision about the Master Plan of Athens. They suggested that no building activity should be permitted in the area of archaeological sites in central Athens, so that excavations could proceed unimpeded. The members of the Council urged the government to declare this area a 'zone of monuments', to expropriate private plots and take all measures available to enhance the monuments (Moutsopoulos 1997). As often happens these suggestions were not considered seriously and the result has been fatal for the archaeological sites. Today, it is impossible for any government or Minister to recreate in central Athens the conditions of the 1920s.

Nonetheless, since several decades now there has been the idea of physically linking all archaeological sites in central Athens by means of pedestrian ways, greenery and other arrangements. In the 1980s Tritsis formulated this idea in a more operational form. His proposals were subsequently integrated into the Athens' Structure Plan. The basic principle is that Athens' archaeological sites constitute the principal element of the city's cultural heritage as well as the most vivid testimony of its continuity through the ages. Thus the Ministry of the Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works together with the Ministry of Culture decided to supervise and finance the implementation of a plan prepared in 1997, the objective of which is the rehabilitation of the historic, cultural and architectural identity of central Athens and the integration of all archaeological sites of that area into a coherent whole. This implies the creation of a network of major cultural landmarks such as the principal monuments and archaeological sites of the city, interconnected with a sequence of open spaces, greenery, service facilities and areas designated for cultural activities and recreation.

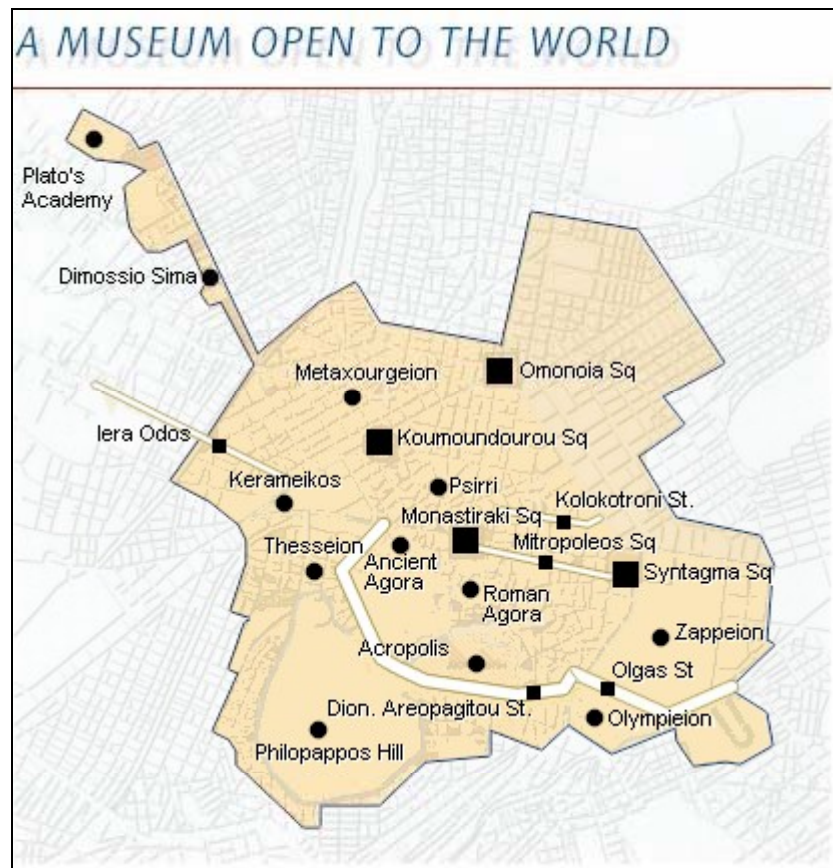


Figure 1: The area covered by the central Athens project of unification of the archaeological sites (Source: Internet site of the project)

The plan is implemented by a state-owned corporation created for this purpose, i.e. the *Unification of Archaeological sites of Athens S.A.* (law 909/15.10.1997). However, the project is a joint venture involving not only the two Ministries, but also the Municipality of Athens and other authorities at various public administration levels, like the Planning Authority of the city of Athens.

As to interventions in the local traffic system, the basic concept is to use state-of-the-art telematics-based applications that will maximise the use of information and support travel demand, as well as to ensure that the energy required for the operation of the information management system is supplied by renewable energy sources (RES). So there will be public transport passenger information supplied in-vehicle and at-the-stop as regards trip and waiting times and other level-of-service characteristics; smart cards used for multi-payment and booking of transport and parking services; driver information on traffic conditions and route guidance using Variable Message Signs and RDS messages. All this will make easier the use of the underground, tramways and central area mini buses.

This project is financed by European funds (Community Support Frameworks II and III) and national funds.

To conclude, there are two points that can be raised in connection with this example. First, the objective of the project to persuade the visitor about the historic continuity of this area runs against the historic facts. Athens was literally resurrected to become the capital of the country and central Athens did not develop gradually beside the monuments. On the contrary, it developed in a very short time, after the middle of the 19th century, on top of the remnants. But the dominant ideology wants to transmit a very different impression.

The second point is that the best that this project can do is to organize efficiently all interventions in this area, in the very restricted open space that has been left. It cannot reclaim all land that could possibly be acquired in the 1920s. Thus the country has to be satisfied with an intervention that can change very little, because a few decades ago some

politicians did not take the decisions by which a lot more could now be available to the Athenians and the visitors.

6. Greece's administration system as regards cultural heritage policies

Formally, the primary role in the exercise of heritage protection policy lies with the *Ministry of Culture* (MoC). Nonetheless, the *Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works* (YPEHODE) and the *National Tourism Organisation* (EOT), which is supervised by the *Ministry of Development*, have substantial power in these matters. Other Ministries, like the *Ministry of the Aegean* or the *Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace* may also intervene in various cases, as happened recently, when the Minister of the Aegean decided to exercise a stricter policy as regards the protection of traditional settlements in the Aegean Islands. Further, the Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace supervises the *Centre for the Preservation of the Athonite Heritage* (i.e. of Mount Athos), whose activities overlap with those of the Ministry of Culture. As to the *Church of Greece*, it has some independence as to decision-making in planning matters. However, it has to apply for a building permit to the proper state authorities.

There are also prefecture and regional services of the three central institutions (MoC, YPEHODE and EOT), whose objective is to implement policies at the local level. However, the territorial areas of jurisdiction of these services do not coincide with the territorial administration system of the country. The whole system is very centralised and all major decisions are done at the Ministerial level. The municipalities and the prefecture self-government have no power in planning matters and for this reason have no competence in heritage protection.

6.1 Ministry of Culture

This Ministry has the responsibility for the preservation, conservation, restoration and legal protection of monuments as well as for the listing and planning control of historic and archaeological sites. Three General Directorates within the Ministry deal specifically with the architectural heritage:

- i. The *General Directorate of Antiquities* is responsible for monuments dated before 1830 (i.e. for the prehistoric and classical antiquities, the Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments), as also with movable objects and publications before 1830.
- ii. The *General Directorate of Restoration, Museums and Works* is responsible for restoration studies and works on monuments of all periods.
- iii. The *General Directorate of Cultural Development* is responsible for cultural development in general. It includes a *Directorate of Folk Culture*, within which there is a *Modern Monuments Section* responsible for the listing of monuments dated after 1830.

At the central level there are two bodies to advise the Minister on all important questions, like the inclusion of heritage items in the list of monuments, the approval of restoration studies and works, and the approval of building permits in places containing or adjacent to monuments and archaeological sites. These are the *Central Archaeological Council* and the *Central Council for Modern Monuments*, responsible for monuments dated before or after 1830, respectively.

There are also decentralised *Inspectorates*, responsible for monuments located within their territory of jurisdiction, divided into three categories, i.e. ancient, Byzantine and modern. It has to be underlined that these Inspectorates are directly controlled by the MoC and have no connection whatsoever with the municipalities and the prefecture self-government, which is completely powerless and has no competence in this field. There are 25 Inspectorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, 13 Inspectorates of Byzantine Antiquities, and 7 Inspectorates of Modern Monuments. Superintendents in these Inspectorates are archaeologists except for the Inspectorates of Modern Monuments, whose superintendents are architects. Finally, the country is subdivided into six regions and each one of them has a

Regional Council of Monuments that plays on a regional scale the role that the two central Councils play on the national one.

6.2 Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works

This Ministry has the responsibility of the implementation of the General Building Regulations, for planning permission and control over construction in general, including monuments and new constructions in archaeological or historic sites, and sites of special natural beauty, jointly with the MoC, as well as for groups of traditional buildings listed by the Ministry of Environment. Within YPEHODE the *Directorate of Urban Planning* deals with the architectural heritage. This has also a *Traditional Settlements Section*. At the regional level, there are 13 *Directorates of YPEHODE*, supervised by the *General Secretaries of the Regions*, while the *Local Planning Services* belong to the prefecture (second-level) self-government. There are also local *Architectural Control Boards*, advising the local services on the proper application of regulations.

6.3 EOT

Through its promotional work in the tourism sector, EOT is involved in the conservation of complexes of buildings, particularly of very small traditional rural settlements, lacking the most basic facilities and depopulated to such an extent that they are not viable for tourism.

6.4 Centre for the Preservation of the Athonite Heritage

The object of this Centre is to study the Athonite Heritage (movable and non-movable) and help to its protection, preservation and enhancement. It prepares plans, publishes studies and organizes exhibitions, controls the implementation of the regulations set and supervises all projects carried out on Mount Athos, in close collaboration with the Athonite community and the Athos Governor.

6.5 Other institutions

Apart from the above institutions, there are many others, apparently much weaker than the previous ones, but with considerable total impact. The following categories of institutions are worth mentioning:

- i. Foreign archaeological Schools: there are 15 of them, doing work in various sites in the country (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA).
- ii. Several significant museums (public and private), which not only present the country's cultural heritage, but also shape views about it through the information they provide to the visitors.
- iii. Important exhibitions and cultural events, like the exhibition of the Athos treasures in 1997, when Thessaloniki was the cultural city of Europe.
- iv. Educational Institutes run by the National Bank of Greece, the Agricultural Bank and the National Bank of Industrial Development. These institutes commission research projects and the writing of books on many subjects related to heritage.
- v. University Departments specialising in archaeology or architecture, conducting research and teaching heritage protection, conservation and enhancement.
- vi. The Greek Branch of ICOMOS is not an institution carrying out or commissioning research projects. Also, it has no competence in implementing policy. Nonetheless, it organises events, follows closely heritage policies and makes recommendations. By so doing it disseminates new ideas and approaches.
- vii. Research institutes, like the *Institute of Balkan Studies*, the *Society of Macedonian Studies* and the *Institute of Studies of the Peninsula of Aimos*, which are conducting research, publicizing books and organizing national and international conferences on their field of interest.
- viii. Voluntary institutions, like the *Greek Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage* and the *Archaeological Society*; or institutions created

under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, like the *Company for the Promotion of the Hellenic Cultural Heritage*.

7. Legislation related to heritage policies

7.1 Provisions in the Constitution

Greece's Constitution (Articles 24 and 117) requires the State to protect the natural environment and cultural assets by means of preventive and punitive measures. It is worth noting that the 1975 Constitution was the first on a world level to incorporate provisions for the protection of forests.

7.2 Legislation concerning the protection of monuments

There are two Acts governing the protection of monuments. The *Act 5351/1932* places all pre-1830 monuments under automatic protection, while the *Act 1469/1950* concerns post-1830 monuments. As to the surroundings of monuments, the first Act specifies that monuments that existed before 1453 (fall of Constantinople) must be protected by a zone, within which quarrying, excavation, construction work and development, which might impair the site, are prohibited unless an exception is approved. The second Act, concerning *inter alia* the protection of monuments located on sites of outstanding beauty, does not formally stipulate any protection for the surroundings of monuments. In practice however such protection is ensured. Finally, there are two levels of protection. In 'zone A', which is directly adjacent to a protected archaeological site or ancient monument, no new construction is allowed. In 'zone B', however, certain types of building activity are permitted.

As these details indicate, every law has some exceptions, which obviously have to exist for very special cases. Nonetheless in Greece such exceptional provisions very often become the rule, with detrimental effects to the country's heritage.

7.3 The protection of groups of buildings

Act 1577/85 (the General Building Code), administered by YPEHODE, affords protection to buildings or groups of buildings of special architectural, historical, artistic or cultural value, together with their natural surroundings. These regulations apply especially to traditional settlements and to historic town centres.

However, as the foregoing discussion has suggested, the major issue with urban and regional planning legislation is that there is not an adequate set of provisions and policy tools for the conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage.

7.4 Other related legislation

Apart from the above-mentioned pieces of legislation, referring directly to the heritage of the country, there are other Acts, concerning other related subjects. For instance, the *Act 1155/81* declares Patmos a holy island, while the *Act 2351/95* does the same thing for Meteora. The law tries to protect these two places in a comprehensive way, by forbidding any activity in them.

8. Conclusions: summing up the present situation and commenting on future prospects

Discussions on policy matters very often focus on legislation and procedures as if these are enough for the exercise of policy. However, the exercise of policy requires something more than plans, bureaucratic regulations, programmes and legislation. The foregoing analysis in this report tried to present a broader view of the situation in Greece. Public policy in the field of protection and enhancement of Greece's cultural heritage has always been characterized by centralism, without this meaning that state intervention has been much effective. This is not surprising at all, since this is the peculiarity of the whole system of public policies in the country and can be accounted for on the basis of the statist ideology that has dominated the Greek society for a very long time. Of course, the other side of this attitude is

the fact that the private sector has been unwilling to innovate and invest in risky businesses, like the production and development of culture or the protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage, without strong state support and guaranteed profits, while the voluntary sector has remained underdeveloped. Another expression of this condition is the view that Greece's cultural heritage is so important that even if all other European countries would decide to abolish their Ministries of Culture, Greece should still preserve her own Ministry to formulate strategies and coordinate individual actions.¹²

Further, as the foregoing analysis has shown, Greece has lost the train of decentralisation and of establishing a system of local government able to exercise an efficient urban planning and cultural heritage policy at the local level. So the central state, through its decentralised services has to play the role of a coordinating, enabling and regulating institution. However, before succeeding in this, it has to realise that on economic grounds, the benefits that the country as a whole has from archaeological sites and the museums are very significant. There are several people expressing the view that Greece's cultural heritage is the most important export good, through which the country can attract foreign investments, even in the advanced sectors of the 'new economy', i.e. in high technology and the producer services.

One more issue concerns the relationship between archaeological sites and their natural environment. The protection of the former cannot happen if the latter is neglected or, even worse, if it is damaged by human activities. So the efficient protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage can take place only if the natural environment of the country is also protected. This means that Greece has to develop policies for the protection of wetlands and areas of natural beauty near the archaeological sites; and for the restriction of unauthorised use of garbage sites, which are not run according to specific rules and are not constructed after a careful study of the impact of garbage on the environment and according to specifications by which summer fires can be avoided.

Another dimension of this question concerns the study of ancient Hellenic towns and cities or archaeological sites situated in other countries. So far Greece has not created institutes and research centres for the study of these very significant tokens of her cultural heritage. For instance, Greece should do much effort to study the ancient colonies in South Italy and the Black Sea, while one may find in Athens several foreign institutes, run by scientists from France, Germany, Italy, Britain, as well as from many other countries of the world.

However, the most important difficulty to be overcome is for the Ministry to be able to make decisions for the country as a whole and, at the same time, to pay the proper attention to regional and local differences. The usual mistake of central government institutions is that they overlook local needs and peculiarities and try to regulate everything with the help of a couple of wide-spectrum policy means. For example, there is no reason why the protection of heritage has to happen on the basis of the same tools all over the country. As earlier remarked, for a very long time some regions were following their own development pattern and, therefore, their problems are different from those of other regions.

As for the country's future prospects, it seems that the present situation is very favourable for a substantial reform in cultural policy matters, the protection of the architectural heritage included. First, for the next five years Greece will receive strong financial support from the European Union and she will participate in several European programmes. Second, during this time there will be an increased demand for culture events and a stronger interest for the country's heritage from foreign visitors, given the fact that the MoC is organising a Cultural Olympiad and the country is organising the Olympic Games of 2004. It is hoped that the Acropolis Museum will be ready by 2004 and other important museums will have by then expanded and acquired more exhibition rooms. New museums are to be built in downgraded urban sites. So this programme will support urban projects intending to upgrade derelict land and old industrial buildings both at city centres and

¹² See Pangalos' interview in the weekly newspaper *To Vima*, 18.6.2000.

peripheral sites of the urban regions of the large cities of the country. At the same time, the MoC has acquired magnificent buildings that once used to be famous cinemas, traditional buildings for exhibitions and other events, as well as industrial buildings in order to convert them into museums.

Finally, the interest of the population, especially of the young, all over the country for culture matters is on the increase. This pushes local authorities to respond to the higher demand for culture goods. So, after the creation of a network of many cities based on the operation of cinemas, the MoC intends to establish a network of cities with significant culture facilities, like Athens, Thessaloniki, Veria, Volos, Patra and Cephalonia. Smaller cities with fewer facilities could also participate in this network, so that the country as a whole can host a multitude of events taking place in a certain period of time all over the country. This can contribute to the success of the Cultural Olympiad.

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Table 1: Euromed Heritage I programmes in which there is participation by Greek authorities (EU Internet source)

Project, subject budget and duration	Co-ordination / participating countries	Greek Institution participating in the project	Description and basic objectives of the project
<p>1. CORPUS Traditional Mediterranean architecture € 1,041,050 30 months</p>	<p>Ecole d'Avignon – Centre de formation à la Réhabilitation du Patrimoine (France) 14 countries</p>	<p>4th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of the Dodecanese (Ministry of Culture)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of conservation conditions for traditional Mediterranean architecture with the goal of integrating it into the contemporary culture. • To collect existing information for the description and the understanding of Mediterranean architecture, to build a collection of data • To evaluate the current level of competence and skills in trades related to conservation. • To analyse architectural transformations in relation to the effectiveness of rehabilitation policies. • To propose training for architectural heritage in the various trades involved in building/maintenance/conservation. • To raise the awareness of the public-at-large towards this common culture. • To create a Web site.
<p>2. SALAMBO Professional qualification for Architectural heritage arts € 272,812 25 months</p>	<p>Fondation Européenne des Métiers du Patrimoine (FEMP, France) 13 countries & FEMP (Fondation Européenne des Métiers du patrimoine)</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project aims at the training of trainers and leaders for the conservation and the restoration of architectural heritage. • A pilot phase will define the space where the Euro-Mediterranean co-operation would permit progress of knowledge and professional qualifications. • This international approach will lead to a common reflection about the methodology and the engineering of the training and will aim to prepare a programme of co-operation between partner countries.
<p>3. RIAS Euro-Mediterranean forum for archaeological under-water heritage (F.E.M.A.M) € 285,379 16 months</p>	<p>Ministerio de Educación y Cultura Dirección General des Bellas Artes y Bienes Culturales (Spain) 14 countries</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture, Department of Under-water Antiquities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-operation between the Mediterranean countries for the preservation and the research in the underwater archaeological heritage. For this purpose, a forum will be created: F.E.M.A.M. Organisation of a global meeting in order to define the bases of coordination for international progress. • To stimulate and increase contacts and exchanges between researchers, professors and students from the European Union and the Mediterranean partner countries. • To stimulate the general interest and raise the awareness of the public towards the underwater archaeology. • To preserve the underwater archaeological heritage of the Mediterranean.
<p>4. UNIMED HERIT Post-graduate training course in cultural heritage and heritage management € 404,565 17 months</p>	<p>Università del Mediterraneo (Italy) 11 countries</p>	<p>University of Athens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The project, a three years post-graduate training course for the management of cultural and environmental resources, aims to concentrate in one course the different disciplines which should compose the background of specialists for cultural heritage. • The course will be articulated around a core area and specialised modules. • The core area will deal with methodological problems as well as technical and operative subjects needing disciplinary integration for the management of cultural heritage. • The course's design will be defined after an appropriate survey of the demand.

Table 1 (Continued)

Project, subject budget and duration	Co-ordination / participating countries	Greek Institution participating in the project	Description and basic objectives of the project
<p>5. P.I.S.A. Integrated programming of archaeological sites € 3,210,037 36 months</p>	<p>IMED–Istituto per il Mediterraneo (Italy)</p> <p>9 countries & FEMP (Fondation Européenne des Métiers du patrimoine)</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture</p>	<p>This project deals with the preservation and highlighting of archaeological sites in the Mediterranean area.</p> <p>The global goal is to make a confrontation between the different experiences of some of European and Mediterranean countries.</p> <p>It is an interdisciplinary project that integrates different skills. It will be done by integrated programming. Integration is a new kind of approach, with two levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • global management of sites • global management of areas where the sites are located. <p>The activities of the project will be: research, experience exchanges, transfer of savoir-faire, elaboration of experimental actions and distribution of results.</p> <p>The methodology is an “action research”.</p> <p>A Web site and CDROMs will be created as information and promotion ways.</p>
<p>6. UNIMED SYMPOSIUM Conference on intangible culture € 114,400 12 months</p>	<p>Università del Mediterraneo (Italy)</p> <p>15 countries & UNESCO Division du Patrimoine Culturel</p>	<p>Theatre ‘Dora Stratou’ and National Capodistrian University of Athens</p>	<p>The global goal of the conference is to underline the importance of the “intangible culture” as an unifying union element able to overcome divisions and to favour the dialogue between nations and different mentalities in the geopolitical Euro-Mediterranean space.</p> <p>The “intangible culture” is a set of values linked to collective memory and to the imaginary that contribute to the identity of each country or each social group.</p> <p>The conference aims to bring together specialists, researchers, conservators, cultural operators and artists, in order to finalise concrete strategies for the development, diffusion and conservation of the heritage of “intangible culture” in the Mediterranean world.</p> <p>The project aims to create links between the world of the scientific research, museums, centres of conservation and documentation, and the world of artistic production. It also aims to promote intervention and support by the institutions for the intangible aspect of this culture.</p> <p>The project aims to create a network of institutions and specialists in order to co-ordinate and plan common actions in the field of diffusion and education.</p>
<p>7. EXPO 2000 EUROMED HERITAGE Exhibition on Euromed cultural heritage in connection with the EXPO 2000 in Hanover € 458,840 13 months</p>	<p>Dezernat für Kultur Stadt Hildesheim (Germany)</p> <p>18 countries</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture</p>	<p>The exhibition “Saving Cultural Diversity - Cultural Heritage in the Euromed Countries” will serve for the real presentation of the Mediterranean countries in terms of cultural heritage safeguard and preservation.</p> <p>The project aims to focus on the historical heritage to preserve it for the future.</p> <p>It will allow exchange forum of experience between the Euro-Mediterranean partners, on preservation and showing historical heritage to an advantage national politics.</p> <p>Seventeen Mediterranean countries will present a real aspect of preservation and showing project to an advantage at national level.</p>

Table 1 (Continued)

Project, subject budget and duration	Co-ordination / participating countries	Greek Institution participating in the project	Description and basic objectives of the project
<p>8. EURO-MEDITERRANEAN HERITAGE DAYS The European Heritage Days and their extension to the Mediterranean region – Feasibility study € 146,406 17 months</p>	<p>Fondation Roi Baudouin (Belgium) 11 countries & the Council of Europe</p>	<p>Ministère de la Culture, Direction des Affaires Européennes</p>	<p>The European Heritage Days have allowed to discover unknown monuments and historic sites, components of a common cultural heritage. This feasibility study aims to ascertain the conditions for the extension of these European Days to Mediterranean countries. The study will include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identification of actions for raising awareness • identification of possible partners in order to create a Euro-Mediterranean network of Heritage Days • definition of an exchange program related to the organisation of Heritage Days.
<p>9. MANUMED Manuscripts of the Mediterranean: Safeguard and development of the heritage of libraries in the Near East € 1,284,625 36 months</p>	<p>C.C.L.- Centre de Conservation du Livre – Coopération – Formation – Prévention (France) 11 countries</p>	<p>National Book Center of Greece</p>	<p>The project aims to encourage the inventory, the safeguard and the development of the heritage of libraries and archives in the Near East. The project will include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • missions of evaluation and inventory of collections not yet treated, • basic and specialised training of professionals, • technical and permanent support through to the opening of specialised resources centres in each Mediterranean partner of MANUMED. <p>All these actions will permit to realise the above objective. A Web site and CD ROMs will be created as information and promotion ways.</p>
<p>10. MUSEO-MED Technical assistance in museology and in museography € 97,089 15 months</p>	<p>ICOM – Conseil International des Musées Comité National Héliénique (Greece) 5 countries</p>	<p>Ministère de la Culture, Direction des Affaires Européennes</p>	<p>The project aims to give training in museology and in museography and to deal with main questions related to the procedure and methods for the creation of a modern museum. For this purpose, the participants will attend to 6 seminar-courses, workshops, trips and visits of museums, sites, laboratories, and exhibitions.</p>