UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The role of conservation policies in local understandings of heritage in living heritage places: a Greek testimony

Katapidi, Ioanna

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Link to publication on Research at Birmingham portal

The role of conservation policies in local understandings of heritage in living heritage places: a Greek testimony

Ioanna Katapidi

Published online: 27 Feb 2023.

Submit your article to this journal ⬚

Article views: 348

View related articles ⬚

View Crossmark data ⬚

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The role of conservation policies in local understandings of heritage in living heritage places: a Greek testimony

Ioanna Katapidi

Ironbridge Centre for Heritage, School of History and Cultures, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

ABSTRACT

Despite the widespread acknowledgement of the role of local communities in heritage co-production and management, conservation approaches often remain top-down, 'expert' driven and state-centred. This paper considers the pragmatic manner in which heritage conservation policies affect local understandings of heritage. Focusing on the lived Greek heritage of traditional settlements, this paper interrogates the underexplored experienced angles to heritage conservation in conjunction with the official narratives. Expanding our knowledge on the impacts of conservation on heritage values, the paper argues that conservation policies can negatively affect local notions of heritage if the living aspect is not tactfully addressed and balanced against preservation priorities. The research furthers our understanding on the damaging impact of the AHD, problematising the disjunction between authorised and grassroots stances to living and lived heritage and providing a point of reference in respect to the dependent relationship between heritage conservation approaches and local community's understanding of heritage.

Introduction

Despite the increasing focus on participatory approaches to heritage delineation and management, conservation policies and practices remain top down, state-centred and expert driven in many parts of the world (Smith 2006; Silverman, Waterton, and Watson 2017; Schofield 2014; Watson and Waterton 2010; Waterton 2015). Western Conservation principles still heavily favour tangible over intangible expressions of heritage, leading to associated top-down heritage policies and practices that predominantly cater for materiality and physical appearance, often undermining the voices of local population (Poulios 2014a). This paper unfolds the effects of such Authorised Heritage (Smith 2006) approaches on local communities and their understandings of heritage.

Taking an example from central Greece, the paper interrogates local perceptions of conservation policies in the context of a relatively contemporary and liveable heritage, that of traditional settlements. Living heritage sites refer to

> heritage sites that maintain their original function, as continually reflected in the process of their spatial definition and arrangement, in response to the changing circumstances in society at local, national and international level. (Poulios 2011, 151)

Traditional settlements refer to settlements that have been organically developed through the interaction between human activities and the natural environment as manifested in both their built form through vernacular architecture and the presence of customary systems in their socio-

CONTACT Ioanna Katapidi ✉ i.katapidi@bham.ac.uk 🅑 Ironbridge Centre for Heritage, School of History and Cultures, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

cultural basis. A great majority of them are rural and they used to rely mainly on agriculture as encoded in their landscape, experiencing dramatic population loss after the two World Wars, as a result of the heavy waves of immigration and urbanisation. It was during that period and until almost the 1960s that a number of buildings in these settlements were abandoned and with no conservation policies in place to assess their value and consider their future valorisation. However, infrastructural works improving the connection of Greece with Western Europe paired with the inclusion of tourism in the political agendas of the various governments led to the reorientation or diversification of a number of these settlements' economies from the 1950s onwards. These settlements constitute part of a relatively 'contemporary' and mundane heritage, representing a more 'humble' past of the Greek society in contrast to the glorious heritage of ancient times.

Greece is a representative example of a country in which 'classical heritage' dominates over any other form of heritage. Indeed, the UNESCO logo iterates the 'international appeal' of the Classical past and unconsciously symbolises an institutionalised preference for traditionalist conservation approaches. This worldview – overlooks the particularities of other types of heritage (Poulios 2014a, 2014b; Lekakis and Dragouni 2020), neglecting their capacity to enrich the 'identity' of modern Greece. This has consistently resulted in preventive conservation policies the applicability of which in living heritage is questionable. Following a qualitative case study approach and through a series of in-depth interviews with the local population and heritage officials, in six listed traditional settlements in central Greece the paper interrogates local perceptions of the applied conservation approach.

The research advances our knowledge in the role of conservation policies in grassroots evaluation of heritage problematising views on the self-evidential value of conservation (Hobson 2004, 5). Heritage conservation policies have long been seen as strategic instruments for the maintenance of historic and/or architectural important edifices the implementation of which is often assumed to have no consequence in their cultural significance. Yet, '*conservation activities modify the way we interpret and value objects, landscapes and sites*' (Lemaire and Stovel 1994, 2). Arguably the impacts of conservation policies on local lifestyle can mould heritage understanding depending on their positive or negative outlook (Lowenthal 1996; Larkham 1996, 2000; Pendlebury 2009) as it will be unpacked in the following sections.

Interrogating the purpose of heritage conservation

Scholarly work has systematically problematised the scope, justifications, processes and impacts of heritage conservation (i.e.Hobson 2004; Larkham 1996; McManus 2000; Smith 2006). Western approaches to heritage conservation have insofar privileged certain attributes of heritage following a defensive paradigm based on experts' value judgements focusing essentially on historicity and architectural significance. However, these approaches have been heavily criticised for their inadequacy to deal with living and intangible aspects of heritage and consequently with change (Fouseki 2022; Harrison 2012, 2018). Yet, conservation of built heritage still tends to be mono-dimensional in practice, focusing on the maintenance of the fabric and opposing to contemporary forms of development and modernisation (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009). Harrison (2018, 1373) suggests that '*precise collecting and ordering practices . . . are related to specific governmental rationalities*'. This is particularly reflected in Greek conservation policies. Prioritisation of and overreliance on Classical heritage have been at the centre of national narratives, either for nation building or tourism development purposes (Hamilakis 2007), leading to 'conservation in aspic' doctrines that 'operate in the light of threats to heritage; of destruction, loss or decay' (Knippenberg, Boonstra, and Boelens 2021).

Statutory protection of traditional settlements is underpinned by the same principles, 'supported by planning controls over potentially damaging development' (Fairclough, 2006) failing to cater for the living socio-cultural attributes of the locale. Any change in the built forms is perceived as a looming hazard bearing potential distortions of architectural integrity and 'traditionality'.

Notwithstanding, the arguments about the significance of adaptive reuse in heritage continuity, accommodation of modern living standards are taken as synonyms to destruction restricting interventions in the built environment (Grimwade and Carter 2000).

On the other hand, scholarly work underpins the need to maintain and enhance the continuity of historic environment, ensuring at the same time the fulfilment of local needs (Ashworth and Graham 2005; Rodwell 2007, 58; Pendlebury 2009, 30) and adaptation to new economic, political and social conditions (Howard and Pinder 2003). Paradigm shifts in heritage management, from hegemonic and object-focused approaches to value-based (Avrami and Randall 0000; Harrison 2012) and living heritage conservation approaches (Poulios 2010), underline the need for participatory approaches to heritage delineation and management. '*The values and significance of a place ought to be the touchstone of management decisions*' (de la Torre 2005, 8) requiring input from local stakeholders to move beyond an 'aesthetic', 'historically' and 'architecturally' centred conservation framework impervious to heritage intangibility and functionality (Poulios 2010).

Heritage conservation purpose is now more than ever focused on the 'continuity of socio-economic functionality (Rodwell 2007, 59) recognising change as an inherent element of continuity (Poulios 2011). Arguing for a living heritage approach, Poulios stresses that continuity of local communities association with their heritage sites should be the main aim of heritage conservation (; Poulios 2014a, 2014b). This can be attainable by ensuring: the functional continuity of a site (i.e. continuation of the function of a site), continuity of the process of maintenance of the space (i.e continuation of the process of maintenance and arrangement of the social and physical space of a site) and continuity of the physical presence of a site's community (Poulios 2010).

Securing continuity requires community's active involvement in conservation through public participation and engagement processes (Smith 2006). Public participatory processes are internationally promoted to enable synergies between cultural heritage management and sustainable development (Cissé 2012; Ferretti and Gandino 2018; Husnéin 2017). The underpinning principles are based on the premise that the active involvement of local stakeholders enhances their commitment, support and therefore the 'voluntary' application of conservation measures (Shankar and Swamy 2013; Boyle-Baise and Sleeter 2000, 2000; Srivastava 2017). Chitty (2018, 9) goes further stressing the role of participatory conservation practice '*in generating honesty and trust*' by working together in protecting and mobilising heritage. The engagement of local community from the early stages of heritage identification to the stage of its management and mobilisation enhances feelings of inclusion motivating locals to act as information providers and management partners (Li, Krishnamurthy, and Pereira Roders 2020).

Yet there is still a discrepancy in community's active role in heritage making and protection between scholarly theoretical frameworks and policy making in countries with top-down systems of heritage conservation such as Greece. Based on the notion that authenticity is non-renewable, profoundly focusing on palpability and negligent of the local community, these conservation approaches result in questionable policy frameworks, the implementation and impacts of which on heritage understanding require further exploration.

Conservation culture and legislative framework in Greece

Heritage management in Greece relies predominantly on the state, with power resting centrally, especially in the case of antiquities and medieval monuments and sites. According to the Law 'For the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General' traditional settlements are places of 'collective human action' or 'historical sites' the protection of which lies on '*their folklore, ethnological, social, architectural, industrial, historical and scientific significance*'. The 'traditionality' of these places depends on their architectural 'authenticity', as delineated by officials at a Ministry level based on the architectural typology and age of the built forms. There is a range of traditional settlements varying significantly in terms of architectural form and layout, located in different geographical areas across Greece. While the architectural and typological characteristics of these

settlements have been explored, knowledge on the 'living aspect' of these settlements and its interaction with the conservation framework is still limited (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020).

Greece's national narrative has systematically focused on ancient heritage of the Classical period, prioritising the protection of tangible heritage and concentrating on their physical condition and maintenance, despite the abundance and variety of more than a thousand listed 'contemporary'[1] monuments and sites.

As Lowenthal aptly notes 'G*reece is the archetype of stress between local and global heritage*' (Lowenthal 1996), 244). Conservation principles, however, are driven by the idea of 'Global heritage' concentrating on the ancient 'unchanged' heritage of 'global status' (Hamilakis 2007) with primary concern on 'aesthetics' and resistance to change, undermining local and vernacular heritage despite its richness, liveability and closer relation to the modern Greek 'identity'. Although Greek conservation policies and practices have expanded, incorporating a range of heritage typologies of different historic periods their development and deployment remain top down and highly technocratic following an Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006). Exploring the legislative framework in the following section will facilitate unpacking local understandings of heritage conservation and their impacts on local notions of and actions upon heritage.

Greek legislation on conservation of traditional settlements

According to Article 24 of the Greek Constitution (1974), the protection of natural and cultural environment is the state's obligation and – as added in 2001—everyone's right. Despite this acknowledgement and the revision of national conservation policies, the involvement of local communities in heritage conservation and management is still limited.

Traditional settlements were acknowledged as contemporary heritage, quite late in the 1970s with the General Construction Code (GOK) establishing the criteria of selection and protection, focusing essentially on distinctive '*historical, cultural, aesthetical, architectural and urban features*' of a building or an inhabited (or not) settlement. The pertinent rules refer to constructions, interventions and morphological characteristics of individual buildings and structures rather than entire settlements with their socio-cultural aspects as a whole (Greek Law 1577/ 1985). The New General Construction Code (NOK) (Greek Law 4067/2012) extends the 'subject' of protection, stating that individual buildings and structures or certain uses of traditional character within the settlement may be listed separately. The focus of the legislative framework is on the built environment with rules and regulations determined by architects at Ministerial level (Voudouri 2010).

Designation and 'protection' of traditional settlements is subject to the Ministry of Energy and Climate Change.[2] The selection process is driven by the appointed Minister, and the protection of the settlements is legislatively secured through Presidential Decrees detailing the rules and regulations for the listed settlement(s). Local community involvement is almost non-existent in this process. The first Presidential Decree issued in 1978, listing more than 400 settlements, establishing a number of general rules and regulations regarding the morphological characteristics and land uses as well as constructions and interventions in the built environment, with the premise that more specific rules, regulations and procedures would be established by more 'case' specific Decrees (Presidential Decree 1978). Despite the number of Presidential Decrees followed, the specifications remained quite general and the 1978 Act has never been updated.

The listing criteria are produced by policymakers and experts of specific professional backgrounds i.e. architecture, focusing entirely on the formal aesthetics of the built environment. Despite the constitutional amendments (2001 and 2008) that view cultural heritage as an important part of an integrated approach to sustainability, the dialogue between citizens and administration as a critical towards this approach remains limited (Voudouri 2010).
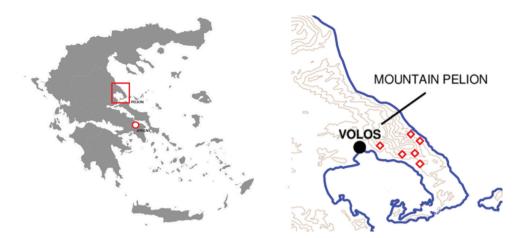
Figure 1. Map of the study area, created by the author.

The conservation framework in Pelion settlements

The research focuses on six designated traditional settlements in Pelion Mount in central Greece (see Figure 1), known in Greek mythology as the summer resort of the Olympian Gods and the home of the mythic centaurs. The mountain lies between the Aegean Sea and the Pagasitic Gulf and its thick and diverse vegetation including oak and chestnut forests, fir, plane and poplar trees but also olive groves reaching down to the sea create an idyllic 'blue and green' landscape as often described in tourist guides.

Although signs of habitation can be traced back to the 12th century these villages flourished during the Ottoman Occupation in the 18th and 19th century due to the unique privilege of 'self-governance' granted to them. Located in a mountainous terrain not easily accessible and cultivable, the area was not favourable for exploitation by the Ottomans who decided to allow a self-governed regime, requiring an annual tax payment by the local population.

Agriculture has long been the main economic activity in the area focusing on but not limited to apple, chestnut, pear and olive production combined with pastoralism which has significantly declined after the 1960s as an increasing number of population moved to urban centres in seek of better job opportunities. On the other hand, the establishment of the main road network in the 1950s connecting Pelion with the nearest city of Volos encouraged more people to travel in the area and tourism started to grow. The first hotels appeared in the area and a good size of the local population started to complement their income by partaking to tourist-related activities although, the highest investments came from external and wealthier actors who saw an opportunity in the area. Nowadays, Pelion is a well-established tourist destination mainly at national and less at international level famous for its impeccable natural environment in harmony with its traditional architecture.

'Pelion' architecture, an example of Balkan architecture, involves different building styles ranging from mansions and tower houses built by the wealthy families in the area to small agricultural residential units consisting usually of the main living area and separate space for domestic animals, either at the basement for two (or more) storey buildings or an adjacent building for one storey units. The configuration and uses have changed with the decline of pastoral activities and the advent of tourism, with the majority of spaces for domestic animals being transformed to extra residential and storage space and in some cases repurposed to support tourist activities. Similarly, a number of mansions and tower buildings have converted to hotels, mainly by wealthy external investors while others have been abandoned due to the high costs of repurposing and maintenance as a result of the conservation framework as will be explained in the following sections. Yet agriculture still plays a

Figure 2. Examples of Pelion architecture. Source: https://www.greeka.com/thessaly/pelion/architecture/photos-1/

significant role in the areas' economy while the great majority of locals are home and landowners also occupied in small-scale tourist industry. This adds to the self-sufficiency of the area as proven by the relevant economic stability and the limited effects of the economic crisis on these villages.

Stone built arched bridges and built fountains connected by a grid of 'typical' cobblestoned paths and with at least one main square and a church located centrally in each settlement are characteristic elements of the built landscape in the area (see Figures 2 and Figure 3). Local stone and wood are dominant materials in the built structures typifying a 'uniform' and distinguishable architectural identity the significance of which was acknowledged by the legislative framework in the late 1970s.

In terms of the conservation regime, settlements in the case study area fell under two Presidential Decrees, the PD of 1978 and the PD of 1980 or the so-called 'Pelion Presidential Decree' (Presidential Decree 1978 and Presidential Decree 1980). The Pelion PD focuses on the '*Designation of traditional settlements in Pelion area and determination of special rules and building restrictions to be applied within their borders and in the wider area of the Municipality they belong to*'. The Decree classifies the settlements into three categories, the first one containing the settlements of 'impeccable' character with minimum 'distortions' and modern interventions in their built

Figure 3. Example of central square in Mouresi village, Pelion. Source: https://greecetravelideas.com/pelion-greece-travel-guide/

environment, the second one in which settlements maintain their authentic character to an extent despite some distortions and changes in their built form and the third one comprising settlements with high degree of architectural distortions and modifications. Accordingly, the rules and regulations are stricter and more fixed in the first category settlements and more flexible in the settlements belonging to the third category, with rules for the second category settlements lying in between. Regulations refer to the size and geometrical characteristics of buildings as well as to construction materials and the formal aesthetics of new buildings and constructions to align with the traditional character of the settlements. For example, the use of the local 'Pelion slate' is obligatory for the construction and repair of roofs in first and secondary category settlements (Presidential Decree 1980).

The stricter provisions in first category settlements are also evident in the regular and tighter controls in these settlements. For example, the construction of a new building in first category settlement is inspected at various stages of its development to ensure its compliance with the standards posed by the conservation framework, minimising therefore the likelihood of illegal interventions or alterations. On the other hand, controls in second category settlements are required until the completion of the frame construction and the acquisition of electricity in the property. As a result, diversions of the original design are often observed; such as ceramic tiles instead of local slate in roofs or more vivid colours than the allowed ones on the external walls. The following sections unpack local residents' perceptions of the conservation framework, highlighting the mismatch between policy and practice, questioning the effectiveness of conservation policy in ensuring sustainable ways of heritage management and challenging the way by which conservation approaches impact on heritage appreciation.

Research operationalisation

As the main aim of the research was to gain a deeper understanding of locals' comprehension of heritage conservation and its potential impact on heritage appreciation, a qualitative case study approach provided a well-fitted methodology. The study focused on six listed traditional settlements; two belonging in the first category of protection Vizitsa and Makrinitsa and four settlements of the second category of protection (Tsagkarada, Mouresi, Agios Lavrentios and Afetes).

Qualitative interviewing was advantageous in 'exploring the points of view of the research subjects' (Miller and Glassner 2004, 127) – especially regarding the meaning and understanding of real phenomena such as the value and impacts of heritage conservation (Silverman 2005, 96). An ethical approval was obtained by the School of Geography and Planning at Cardiff University prior to the fieldwork research, ensuring the protection of both the research participants and the researcher.

Seventy-two in-depth interviews with local residents were conducted over a five months period to gauge attitudes towards the built environment. Eight interviews with policymakers and heritage 'experts' at central and local level were also carried out. Three focus groups, consisting of 12–15 participants, supplemented data collection, contributing to the triangulation of data. A focus group was a way to examine people's views, at a communal level where areas of agreement or disagreement became immediately apparent. Focus group discussions took place in local cafes in Mouresi, Afetes and Makrinitsa.

The sample targeted a spread of respondents' characteristics regarding age, sex, occupation and length of residency to ensure that different voices are being heard. Open-ended questions were used to allow people to express their views and develop their ideas based on their own beliefs and experiences (Oppenheim 1992, 74). The comparability of data was achieved by maintaining the focus of the discussion on the subject, and an interview schedule of themes of questions was prepared in advance. Questions were formed around the following themes:

- Whether and the extent to which people are aware of the conservation framework in the area

- General knowledge and impression about the conservation framework/policy in the area
- Positive and negative impacts of heritage conservation
- Views about the value and 'use' of heritage in the area

After completing some interviews initial inferences about themes of analysis were formed and tested in the next interviews. Reflections on the general impression of the interviews and notes on the key issues raised in each interview contributed to a rich pool of qualitative data which was subsequently filtered out for its relevance and coded accordingly. Codes with similar meaning were grouped together and a list with key issues was developed and organised in thematic areas as presented below.

Awareness of the conservation framework

The first step in investigating local understandings of the official conservation approaches was to explore the level of awareness regarding the relevant conservation framework. Based on responses from 72 residents in the six settlements under study, awareness of the conservation framework varies greatly between first and second category settlements. The great majority of residents in the former ones were cognisant of the listing of their settlement as traditional and the existence of a relevant conservation framework. On the other hand, a number of residents in second category settlements were ignorant of the 'traditional' status of their settlements. Some of them justified their negative answers regarding the enlistment of their village as traditional by making comparisons to first category settlements highlighting the difference:

> Is it (the settlement) characterized as traditional? I don't know . . . I don't think so . . . I mean thinking about Makrinitsa (first category settlement) which is traditional, I don't think our village is . . . We haven't become known and popular as a destination. . .as Makrinitsa has become   *(Woman 55, Afetes)*

This difference in awareness is attributed to two reasons: 1) the abundance and condition of the original built heritage, such as old mansions and cobblestone roads, which are not only numerically more but also more concentrated, and well maintained in first category settlements as compared to the second category ones; and 2) the experiential encounter with conservation framework by the majority of residents in first category settlements in contrast to second category ones.

Concerning the first one, the prevalence of an unchanged architectural identity characterised by the omnipresence of local wood and stone in constructions, the dominance of the original imposing mansions of the late 19th and early 20th century in combination with more humble yet unaltered houses of the same period and the cobblestone paths as the main road network in the settlements manifest the presence of certain building regulations (see Figure 4).

These characteristics are less obvious in second category settlements; Indeed, the built environment is a mingle of more contemporary and older buildings, including the incorporation of other than the local materials such as roofing tiles instead of the stone slate, mansions and tower buildings are scarce while the cobblestone paths are rather fragmented and scattered across the village, often interrupted by conventionally paved roads accessible by vehicles (see Figure 5). In this regard, the existence of conservation framework is not as vehemently displayed in the built landscape as in the settlements of absolute protection (first category settlements).

The second reason behind the disparity of awareness of the conservation framework in first and second category settlements, relates to the direct experiences of the majority of local residents of the increased strictness of conservation framework in the former ones.

Most interviewees in first category settlements admitted that they have had first-hand experience of the policy's 'implementation' through their encounter with rigid rules and restrictions applying to building projects or alterations to existing buildings. A building permit on the 'appropriateness' of the architectural character is required prior to any planning permit, granted by architectural boards at regional level. Board members in the area admitted issuing these planning and building

Figure 4. View of Makrinitsa (1st category settlement). Source: https://www.volosinfo.gr

Figure 5. View of Tsagkarada (2nd category settlement). Source: https://www.amalthia-pelion.gr

permissions is procedurally easier in second category settlements than in first category ones. The architectural boards tend to be more flexible regarding geometrical characteristics and architectural dimensioning. For instance, they allow wider windows, or configurations of buildings slightly different to the old traditional buildings, in second category settlements. Similarly, interventions such as demolition of old buildings, removal of functional or decorative elements of buildings as

well as alterations in private or public structures (such as walls, cobblestone roads, built fountains) are not prohibited in second category settlements unlike in first category ones. Statutory rigidness in design standards is the overarching doctrine in first category settlements with any potential interventions in the built environment being examined in deeper detail and with higher concern for potential distortions of the traditional character.

Due to the stricter regulations in first category settlements residents become 'unavoidably' aware of the conservation framework. Indeed, even participants who were oblivious to the traditional 'status' of their settlement were cognisant of the application of certain building rules and regulations in the area; especially those they or other fellow residents had to comply with, confirming Pendlebury's observation on the role of direct or indirect experience in heritage and conservation awareness (Pendlebury 2009).

The majority of participants referred particularly to restrictive measures rather than conservation incentives, as the latter ones are particularly limited and 'situational'. Almost all residents used words such as 'restrictions', 'banishment', 'obligation' when referring to conservation rules and regulations. Yet, they used the word 'protection' when describing the impact of conservation policy in the area, pointing to its contribution to safeguarding the 'traditional' built environment. What is especially interesting is that most residents use restrictive terms for a conservation framework that admittedly protects elements commonly acknowledged and appreciated as heritage by the majority of them. This manifests a kind of 'internal' dispute as on the one hand the conservation framework is perceived as an 'imposed' tool whilst on the other hand as a 'protective' although 'unavoidable' mechanism for specific aspects as it is further unpacked below.

Conservation framework as a mean to raise awareness and appreciation of heritage aesthetics

Despite the almost unanimous view on the 'restrictive' character of the conservation framework, most participants recognised its contribution and provisions to the maintenance and enhancement of the aesthetic qualities of the built environment. A common view among residents is captured in the following statements:

> The positive thing is that the village is 'protected' by law and the character of the village has been maintained due to this" (Man 35, Agios Lavrentios) The advantages of conservation framework refer to building and construction which helped to keep the homogeneity and identity of the village *(Man 60, Makrinitsa)*.

Most interviewees noted that building regulations and restrictions have been key in maintaining the area's 'traditional' character and its aesthetic value. They highlighted the positive role of conservation framework in the architectural homogeneity, which appears to be one of the most appreciated attributes of the built environment in the area. Most participants confirmed that the absence of building rules and restrictions would have led to excessive use of flimsy building materials, altering the traditional built environment, as evidenced in a number of construction and restoration works prior to the adoption of the framework.

Both experts and residents argued that legislative restraints in interventions in the built environment were crucial in preventing distortions in local architecture, especially at a time that the level of awareness of built 'heritage' and its aesthetic qualities was low. The conservation framework was a catalyst in raising awareness of the area's special architectural interest and its contribution to the places' character, confirming other similar studies in the role of conservation policies in promoting the architectural values of heritage (Clark 2003, 59). Yet, despite the appreciation of the above components, i.e homogeneity of built structures and the unique 'architectural' character, local population was somewhat 'forced' to retain them. As a result, local communities support and commitment to the applied conservation policies and the capacity of these polices to raising heritage awareness (Carbone, Oosterbeek, and Costa 2012; Srivastava 2017) beyond the 'officially'

determined architectural values is questionable (Shankar and Swamy 2013; Boyle-Baise and Sleeter 2000; Srivastava 2017).

Conservation framework as an economic impediment

Notwithstanding the otherwise acknowledged positive impacts of the conservation framework on the area's architectural identity the majority of participants underlined the economic burdens ensued. They stressed that conservation involves high and often unbearable costs, pointing to the absence of economic contribution by the state. The permitted building materials, such as local stone, are undeniably expensive compared to other more economical 'substitutes', such as roof tiles which are strictly prohibited by the conservation framework. The cost is particularly high in villages, with limited vehicular access, such as Makrinitsa, which require pack animals, such as horses and donkeys, for the transportation of building materials within the settlement.

Refurbishment of existing properties is unaffordable, according to a number of locals who also refer to hindrances of building on their land due to the high costs as captured in the following statements:

> Many people want to refurbish the old houses but they do not have the money' (Woman 50, Vizitsa) 'I wish we could repair the old building but it requires a lot of money so it is not possible . . . we don't have the money, if we had we would do it for sure, we wanted it a lot . . . I wish we could . . . (Woman 50, Agios Lavrentios).

The local view is that it is impossible for a medium income 'villager' to restore a listed old property. It is instead only higher income individuals, who are in majority 'external' investors that undertake restoration projects and rip the associated benefits:

> In order to fix, maintain or build a new house you must have the money . . . and here in the village most of the residents are occupied in agriculture and have low incomes . . . how can they afford it? (Woman 35, Afetes). People who can refurbish the old houses are mainly wealthy people who want to make an investment and they come to this area . . . It is very expensive to do something like this. If locals had the money they would have done it but the cost is prohibited. When we bought the land here there was an old building which we wanted to refurbish, however even the architect discouraged us because we had to pay a lot   (Man 35, Tsagkarada).

Indeed, the great majority of restoration and reuse projects in the area are mainly associated with repurposing old residential buildings to hotels and have been initiated by more affluent external investors. Although some of these 'external' investors may have links with the area, either through family connections or familiarity developed through their regular visits in the area, they are not permanent residents whose main economic activity is based in the area.

Conservation seems to impose an unfortunate economic burden which does not correspond to the economic status of an average local. The specification and obligation to use certain materials, even in buildings and structures for secondary uses such as stables, hencoops and warehouses, intensifies the situation further. Locals stressed that the compulsory use of expensive and 'luxurious', materials is irrational bearing an adverse effect in supporting community to develop or expand some of the local activities. Heritage experts at the *regional/local level*, also agreed with this view. Characteristically, the President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region, explicated that conservation policies focus purely on the materiality of heritage in the area disregarding functionality issues pertaining to the contemporary lifestyle in the area. Concurring with this view residents argued that while the built environment under protection was created by and for medium income people it has now become an unaffordable luxury. As a result, a number of old buildings has been abandoned or sold to wealthy people. Indeed, the increase of refurbishment and building costs as a result of conservation regulations often lead to a negative mentality about heritage perceiving it as an impediment in covering basic needs, such as restoring, fixing or altering current residences.

The negligence of social values of heritage by the conservation framework

The economic implications of conservation paired with the rigid rules on interventions in the built environment also changes the social meanings of heritage in the area. What was once a bottom-up community-driven activity with focus on functionality and usability has been transformed to a top-down, high cost conservation process of the physical fabric, overlooking the principles on which this fabric was originally built i.e the societal practice of mutual support in building (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020), accommodation of people's needs, consideration of the environmental conditions and availability of local resources. Indeed, prior to the conservation framework building in the area did not require 'official' planning permits and architectural designs or standards by 'trained' professionals. It was instead a process based on tacit knowledge on the use of local resources and materials, such as stone and wood, creating structures and spaces correspondent to people's immediate needs and compliant with the geomorphological and environmental landscape. This process involved villagers coming together and supporting each other in building their houses under an unwritten and subtle 'framework' of solidarity (see also Lekakis and Dragouni 2020). Skilled and experienced craftsmen mastering the art of hewing and with solid knowledge of the use of local materials and basic construction principles such as structural stability, insulation, and ventilation would lead the process. Hence, heritage for locals goes beyond the tangible manifestations of the past; embedding and carved by societal practices and traditional techniques.

Conservation policy on the other hand, caters for the products of these practices, namely, the architectural features of the built environment overlooking its social meanings and values. Building regulations confirm what Nasser suggests; that '*more value is placed on the exterior rather than valuing the building as an integral whole*' (Nasser 2003). As a result, heritage has been transformed from a product and reminder of strong social relations and interactions with the nature to an imposing and artificial process irresponsive to its foundations. The President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region specifically notes:

> I think that originally traditional settlement 'listened' to its residents and their needs and they were built according to their capacities ... The rules (of the conservation framework) haven't taken into consideration that people really live in these settlements and as a result they have changed the logic and the pattern above ... We do not listen to the locals anymore, because back in time this is how these (villages) were constructed, and from '80s onwards prohibitions were established ... prohibitions that restrain and do not listen to residents' needs ... Flimsy materials and constructions were always part of these settlements ... it was not only local stone and specific dimensions ... it was whatever people would find available and suitable for a construction. Traditional architecture was based on people's needs ... By attempting to protect it we probably distorted it even more ... When something was done in the village back in time it was pioneering, why we cannot do pioneering things in these settlements anymore? Traditional settlements were not just mansions and ideal houses ... there were some landmark buildings, yes, but we cannot base conservation only on them.

As the statement reveals, what is legislatively recognised and 'protected' as heritage, has been a product of a particular lifestyle following certain norms. Yet these norms are either disregarded or even prohibited by the current conservation framework. Residents and experts at the local level highlight the prohibition of certain uses, such as livestock housing in the basement of residential units or in adjacent buildings, due to the prioritisation of creating an aesthetically pleasant and tourist attractive environment.

Residents point to the inability of conservation policy to respond to the contemporary needs of the village communities'. A focus group in Agios Lavrentios gave the example of the protection of cobblestone pedestrian paths which prevents vehicular access to the village failing to provide alternative solutions for the transportation of heavy loads (see Figure 6).

Similarly, a number of shop owners in Makrinitsa complained about the banishment of awnings, necessary for 'protecting' their exhibited 'traditional' products, such as local sweets, from their exposure to the sun. The President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region also pointed to the incapacity of the conservation framework to offer provisions in the built environment for certain local activities, stating:

Figure 6. Narrow cobblestone path in Agios Lavrentios. Source: Capture taken by the author

. . . if an apple producer wants to be legal and follows the regulations s/he cannot do it because s/he is not allowed to build the big storey houses necessary for storing his/her production

It becomes clear that the empirical, voluntary and organic work of the community, such as collective building and user-centred architectural design, has not been viewed as an integral part of heritage in the area by the conservation framework. Statutory protection concentrates on maintaining a 'fixed' imaged of the past neglecting the living dimension of the villages, constituent of the local community and the intangible aspects of heritage which are according to locals intertwined with and inseparable from the 'listed' built heritage as confirmed in other similar studies (see Lekakis and Dragouni 2020).

The old fire ovens constitute a good example to further illustrate this argument. Fire ovens in the area can be found as individual small buildings adjacent to or embedded in the residential unit. Whilst their primary use was cooking, they were also used as semi-private spaces for socialisation. Days dedicated to cooking in the oven were regularly set up by the owner inviting their neighbours to partake in the process. The whole process of using (intangible aspect) the oven (tangible aspect) as well as the food (tangible and intangible) prepared, are considered by locals as inseparable traditional elements which played a significant role in the social life of the village and their sense of place. It is not only the physical object perceived as heritage but also what this object hosts: 'the lighting' (intangible aspect) of the oven (tangible aspect), the gathering (intangible aspect) around it, cooking together and sharing the local news (intangible aspect), the kind of food that was prepared (tangible and intangible aspects). The majority of these ovens are nowadays derelict and rarely used (see Figure 7); albeit certain conservation rules for the preservation of their tangible aspect are in place, respective provisions for their use and the customs associated with them are missing.

In view of the above, locals view conservation as a process that favours tangible elements, neglecting its role in 'making places and social connections' (Bluestone 2000, 66). This further highlights the challenges for conservation framework to balance between architectural priorities and the living and lived aspects of the villages, which contribute to the 'organic' continuity of the intangible aspects of heritage in the area (Poulios 2011).

Figure 7. Derelict built oven. Source. Caption taken by the author

The gap between conservation delineation and conservation implementation

The conflicting views on heritage conservation acknowledging on the one hand the positive impact of certain measures on building aesthetics and questioning on the other hand their applicability due to socio-economic and functionality issues as discussed above are reflected on residents' actions towards the built heritage. Compliance to the established conservation principles and rules depends on locals' judgements of the balance between what is aesthetically pleasant and what is practically necessary and plausible. Residents go against certain provisions of the conservation framework even if those are admittedly recognised for its contribution to the aesthetic value of heritage if their applicability is considered futile, impractical or irrelevant to the local conditions. In view of economic restraints and functional impediments to contemporary lifestyle, locals tend to be at best tolerant and at worst ignorant about architectural 'distortions'. A great number of residents admitted that they have themselves been involved in 'illegal' interventions or constructions, noting that compromising the aesthetic character of a built structure is very often an inevitable evil. For instance, a resident explicates how he used materials other than the permitted ones for the restoration of his roof and the construction of his veranda:

> If my roof falls apart do you know how much I need to fix it? What can I do? To be honest I'll put ceramic tiles . . . If they pay me I can put whatever they want, I cannot make it differently! The problem is mainly economic . . . For example in order to construct my veranda I had to use wood but I need five times more money and I have no choice but to use cement instead. Everyone agrees that the materials imposed by law are beautiful but If you don't have the money you' ll find another way to do it and this wouldn't be the best in terms of beauty
> *(Man 60, Makrinitsa).*

Following from the above statement many residents confirmed that they would rather break the law and pay relative penalties, rather than 'religiously' follow architectural and aesthetic standards that come at a high price and disregard the economic capacity, the needs and interests of the locale. It is also clear that the appreciation of aesthetic qualities of the built environment may be overshadowed by the economic and functional implications that the conservation framework bears. This is mainly due to scepticism about the conservation framework and the failure of the conservation policy to create an environment of 'honesty and trust' (Chitty 2018).

A number of residents argue that 'experts' developed the conservation framework in distance from the 'real' subject; that being the local communities at stake. What was originally created by lay people based on the local know-how, their needs and means is now 'controlled' by experts who rely mainly on their professional and educational background, undermining the living and experiential aspect of the settlements:

'Experts' made the law from their offices they thought how it would be beautiful and it is beautiful for those who come for a visit . . . but for us who live here is difficult, and no one thought about it (Focus group, Agios Lavrentios).

Similarly, another local resident noted that: '*Conservation policy is developed by people in their offices who do not have an idea of how we live here*', showing clearly the gap of communication between the government and local communities and the dissatisfaction regarding the way in which this policy is applied.

As the current legislation fails to cater for the customisation of the built environment to residents' needs acknowledging and enhancing the strong social relations shaping this environment locals do not commit to, let alone voluntarily apply the conservation rules (Shankar and Swamy 2013; Boyle-Baise and Sleeter 2000; Hovater 2007; Srivastava 2017). As the living aspect of the settlements is almost absent from the conservation framework, mainly due to the lack of cooperation between local stakeholders and policymakers, its capacity to safeguard the continuity of their socio-economic functionality (Rodwell 2007; Zancheti and Similä 2011; Poulios 2014a) remains convoluted. Ignoring the dynamic and constantly changing nature of living heritage which encompasses and embodies local communities (Poulios 2014a, 2014b; Poulios,2011) and prioritising selective tangible elements, reflects an outdated approach to conservation fetishising a specific image (Bluestone 2000, 66) and demonising any incurred morphological changes regardless of the purpose that these may serve (Grimwade and Carter 2000).

Discussion and concluding remarks

This research explored local understandings of conservation policies, unravelling their impacts on locals perceptions of heritage in traditional settlements in central Greece. The study adds to the heritage discourse by illustrating the damaging impacts of AHD (Smith 2006) and unpacking its effects on grassroots heritage evaluation. Questioning the often argued self-evidential value of conservation (Hobson 2004, 5) the paper demonstrated that heritage conservation appears to be a conflicting process for local communities when top down, state centred and expert driven regimes prevail On the one hand such conservation regimes can raise public awareness of a sanctioned set of heritage values such as 'formal aesthetics' and 'architectural significance'. On the other hand, they overlook living and experienced values compromising not only grassroots heritage, such as intangible heritage, but also key principles of sustainable conservation, such as accommodation of contemporary needs (Ashworth and Graham 2005; Rodwell 2007, 58; Pendlebury 2009, 30) and heritage harmonisation with the socio-economic functionality of a place (Rodwell 2007, 59). Heritage conservation in that sense prioritises the protection of architectural authenticity at the expanse of the integrity of the place and its people. This in turn may inevitably harm the continuity and liveability of place while leading to the erosion of intangible heritage.

Indeed, unlike theories which view change as an inherent element of continuity (Poulios 2011; Doratli et al. 2004; Howard and Pinder 2003) sterile top-down heritage policies repel change reducing its meaning to a lurking threat towards architectural consistency, which can only be moderated through canonical measures. The compulsory character of these measures with little consideration of the pragmatic living aspect of the conserved 'place' imperils the 'socio-economic' and functional continuity of the area (Poulios 2010) as local community is obliged to operate under a restricted environment unconducive to new ideas and uses of the heritage at stake.

The rigity of conservation principles result in negative perceptions of heritage depicting it often as an impediment rather than as an asset. For instance, conservation policy is often perceived as a

cumbersome mechanism bearing economic burdens and impediments in addressing functionality issues relevant to adaptive reuse and accommodation of important local economic activities.

The research demonstrated thus how the impacts of conservation policies on local lifestyle can mould heritage understanding (Larkham 1996, 2000; Pendlebury 2009). Beyond challenging the assets of conservation (Hobson 2004, 5; Pendlebury 2009), it indicates that when conservation is unsupportive of the intangible heritage and conflicts with the context of people's lives, heritage values are challenged and compromised by them. The organic social bonds to heritage are being transformed to 'artificial' and dogmatic compliance to rules, questioning the very nature of traditionality in these villages. Contrary to theories on heritage adaptability to contemporary conditions and local needs (Doratli et al. 2004; Pendlebury 2009; Fouseki 2022) heritage gradually transmutes from a process in which human activities are the epicentre of its existence to a potentially 'lifeless' building envelope inauspicious for various contemporary uses. As a result, even well-agreed values such as that of aesthetics and architectural significance are compromised or disregarded in favour of other immediate needs the fulfilment of which is a key requisite for the continuity of life in the area.

In addition, the negligence of intangible elements of heritage from conservation policies in living heritage settings challenges the social values of heritage

constituting consequently a hindrance to the 'protection' of their unique character. For the majority of locals, heritage is the amalgamation of tangible and intangible elements moulding a distinctive 'atmosphere', characteristic of the so-called traditional physiognomy of the area. The built environment is mainly the reflection of the social relationships and the local know how, rather than a valuable entity on its own. Isolating and 'protecting' only what is architecturally valuable dismissing its cultural context leads to a series of rules discordant with the social dynamics of the locale.

Evidently, there is resistance to shifting to more anthropocentric approaches such as value-based conservation (Avrami and Randall 2000; Harrison 2012, 2018) or a living heritage approach (Poulios 2010) which not only recognise the diversity of meanings and values imputed to heritage but also the range of actors involved in heritage making. Expounding Harrison (2018, 1373) argument on the dependency of conservation processes to specific governmental rationalities the study shows that the rigid conservation policies in this research are symptomatic of despotic governmental rationalities inconsiderate of the value of community participation in heritage production and management.

By expanding our knowledge on the interplay between heritage conservation policies and local notions of heritage, the research highlights the need for new and informed thinking about conservation approaches based on a constructive dialogue between authorised and experienced discourses of heritage. The current disjuncture between the two discourses is the result of mutual distrust between policymakers and local communities. The former ones rely heavily on their professional expertise perceiving locals as an 'imminent' threat to the built environment, while the latter ones are driven by experiential and autobiographical accounts of heritage (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020) developing a disbelief on the statutory system due to its inadequacy to embed their accounts in policy making. Indeed, heritage policy making in this context resembles a sacred abaton, essentially a no-go zone, accessible only to the officially qualified in distance from those considered as ineligible commoners by the current regime. In line with Hodges' and Watson's research the role of heritage in community life and its potential in community development and cultural identity (Hodges and Watson 2000, 232) is absent from relevant policies. The limited and rather passive local community involvement in heritage management leads to critical gaps in communication between the official and local (heritage) agents. This further intensifies residents' lack of trust towards an inclusive conservation approach (Chitty 2018, 9).

Fostering an environment of trust and mutual understanding between policymakers and those immediately affected by these policies can be critical in minimising the negative impacts of conservation on local views of heritage. Communities involvement in decision making can mitigate

the disparities between cultural heritage preservation and socio-economic development by balancing out conservation priorities and functionality issues (Lewis 2015; Poulios 2014a; This in turn can enhance the continuity of locals' association with their heritage. Ensuring community ownership and encouraging co-creation of heritage policies is important not only for 'saving' the places that people value but, more importantly, for developing frameworks capable of covering their needs (Margaryan 2018, 3). However, this requires challenging current mentalities on both sides. Shifting from a top-down obligatory process to a collaborative and co-managing approach with shared roles and responsibilities requires exploration of systems and mechanisms capable of smoothly repositioning the status quo and allowing space for 'self- ascription' and 'self-management'. Creating a climate conducive to communication between the multiple agents of heritage at various levels, from national to local, is the first step towards this direction and further research on the factors behind effective modes of dialogue between 'authorised and experiential heritage discourses is essential in informing relevant policies and practices.

Notes

1. The term contemporary stands for listed monuments and sites built after 1830 according to the pertinent Greek Law (Law 4858/2021 - FEK 220/A/19-11-2021).
2. With the exception of settlements located in the Region of Macedonia and Thrace and those located in the Region of North Aegean.

Disclosure statement

Funding

Notes on contributor

Ioanna Katapidi is a Lecturer at the Ironbridge Centre for Heritage, University of Birmingham, interested in the interaction between people and place and the role of heritage in this interaction. Her work focuses on the role of heritage in place making and place identity in urban and rural areas, exploring local communities' perceptions and their dynamics and potential in informing relevant conservation and planning policies. For the past ten years Ioanna has undertaken research in the identification and appreciation of heritage in living heritage places and has involved in funded projects in various parts of the world. Ioanna holds a PhD degree from Cardiff University, UK focusing on the way by which local communities and experts perceive heritage in living heritage places in Greek traditional settlements. During her Master's degree at the University College of London she worked on the relationship between heritage conservation policies and economic development, focusing on the efficiency of Greek conservation policies in addressing this relationship. Before joining University of Birmingham, Ioanna worked as a Teaching Associate at the Department of Planning and Regional Development, University of Thessaly in Greece and as a Research Associate at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University.

References

Ashworth, G. J., and B. Graham. 2005. *Senses of Place: Senses of Time (Heritage, Culture and Identity)*. London: Routledge.

Avrami, E., and M. Randall And Marta de la Torre, 2000.*Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Bluestone, D. 2000. "Challenges for Heritage Conservation and the Role of Research on Values." In *Values and Heritage Conservation Research Report*, edited by E. Avrami, R. Mason, and M. de la Torre, 65–68. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Boyle-Baise, M. 2000. *Multicultural Service Learning: Educating Teachers in Diverse Communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Boyle-Baise, M., and C. E. Sleeter. 2000. "Community-Based Service Learning for Multicultural Teacher Education." *Educational Foundations* 14: 33–50.

Carbone, F., L. Oosterbeek, and C. Costa. 2012. "The Educational and Awareness Purposes of the *Paideia* Approach for Heritage Management." *Natural Hazards and Earth System Science* 12 (6): 1983–1986. doi:10.5194/nhess-12-1983-2012.

Chitty, G. 2018. *Heritage, Conservation and Communities: Engagement, Participation and Capacity Building*. London: Routledge.

Cissé, L. 2012. ""The Strength of a Cultural System: Cliff of Bandiagara (Land of the Dogons), Mali"." In *World Heritage: Benefits Beyond Borders*, edited by A. Galla, 188–199. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, K. 2003 "Capturing the Public Value of Heritage." *The Proceedings of the London Conference*. London: English Heritage: 79–84.

de la Torre, M. 2005. "Part One: Project Background." In *Heritage Values in Site Management: Four Case Studies*, edited by M. de la Torre, M. MacLean, R. Mason, and D. Myers, 1–13. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Fairclough, G. 2006. From assessment to characterisation: current approaches to undertsanding the historic environonment. In *Archaelogical resource management in the UK*, editted by J. Hunter and I. Ralston, 253–275. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Ferretti, V., and E. Gandino. 2018. "Co-Designing the Solution Space for Rural Regeneration in a New World Heritage Site: A Choice Experiments Approach." *European Journal of Operational Research* 268 (3): 1077–1091. doi:10.1016/j.ejor.2017.10.003.

Fouseki, K. 2022. *Heritage Dynamics: Understanding and Adapting to Change in Diverse Heritage Contexts*. London: UCL Press.

Greek Law 1577/1985, FEK 210/18.12.1985 A'. General Construction Code, Traditional Settlements and Listed Buildings. Protection of the Natural and Cultural Environment. In Greek Περί Γενικού Οικοδομικού Κανονισμού, Παραδοσιακοί Οικισμοί και διατηρητέα κτίρια. Προστασία του φυσικού και πολιτιστικού περιβάλλοντος.

Greek Law 4067/2012, FEK 79/9.4.2012 A'. New Construction Code. In Greek Νέος Οικοδομικός Κανονισμός.

Grimwade, G., and B. Carter. 2000. "Managing Small Heritage Sites with Interpretation and Community Involvement." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6 (1): 33–48.

Hamilakis, Y. 2007. *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, R. 2012. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London; New York: Routledge.

Harrison, R. 2018. "On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage." *Anthropological Quarterly* 91 (4): 1365–1383. doi:10.1353/anq.2018.0068.

Hobson, E. 2004. *Conservation and Planning: Changing Values in Policy and Practice*. London: Spon Press.

Hodges, A., and S. Watson. 2000. "Community-Based Heritage Management: A Case Study and Agenda for Research." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6 (3): 231–243. doi:10.1080/13527250050148214.

Howard, P., and D. Pinder. 2003. "Cultural Heritage and Sustainability in the Coastal Zone: Experiences in South West England." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 4 (1): 57–68. doi:10.1016/S1296-2074(03)00008-6.

Husnéin, A. 2017. "The Evolving Role of Modern Urbanistic Heritage in Shaping Sustainable Public Realm: The Case of Abu Dhabi." *International Review for Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development* 5 (3): 5–24. doi:10.14246/irspsd.5.3_5.

Knippenberg, K., B. Boonstra, and L. Boelens. 2021. "Communities, Heritage and Planning: Towards a Co-Evolutionary Heritage Approach." *Planning Theory & Practice* 22: 1–17. doi:10.1080/09654313.2021.2019684.

Larkham, P. J. 1996. *Conservation and the City*. London: Routledge.

Larkham, P. J. 2000. "Residents' Attitudes to Conservation." *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 6 (1): 73–89. doi:10.1080/13556207.2000.10785262.

Lekakis, S., and M. Dragouni. 2020. "Heritage in the Making: Rural Heritage and Its Mnemeiosis at Naxos Island, Greece." *Journal of Rural Studies* 77: 84–92. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2020.04.021.

Lemaire, R., and H. Stovel 1994. The Narra Document on Authenticity. Accessed March 2 2018. www.internationalicomos.org/narradocenghtm

Lewis, J. 2015. "Preserving and Maintaining the Concept of Letchworth Garden City." *Planning Perspectives* 30 (1): 153–163. doi:10.1080/02665433.2014.971127.

Li, J., S. Krishnamurthy, and A. Pereira Roders. 2020. "Community Participation in Cultural Heritage Management: A Systematic Literature Review Comparing Chinese and International Practices." *Cities* 96: 102476. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2019.102476.

Lowenthal, D. 1996. *The Heritage Crusades and the Spoils of History*, 1998. London: Cambridge University Press.

Margaryan, L. 2018. "A Review of Heritage, Conservation and Communities Engagement, Participation and Capacity Building, Edited by G. Chitty." *Tourism Geographies* 20 (3): 575–577. doi:10.1080/14616688.2018.1462845.

McManus, P. 2000. "Conservation." In *Dictionary of Human Geography*, edited by R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts, 106–107. 4th ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Miller, J., and B. Glassner. 2004. "The "Inside" and the "Outside": Finding Realities in Interviews." In *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, edited by D. Silverman, 125–139. London: Sage.

Nasser, N. 2003. "Planning for Urban Heritage Places: Reconciling Conservation, Tourism and Sustainable Development." *Journal of Planning Literature* 17 (4): 467–479.

Oppenheim, A. N. 1992. *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter.

Pendlebury, J. 2009. *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*. London: Routlege.

Poulios, I. 2010. "Moving Beyond a Values-Based Approach to Heritage Conservation." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 12 (2): 170–185. doi:10.1179/175355210X12792909186539.

Poulios, I. 2011. "Is Every Heritage Site a 'Living' One? Linking Conservation to Communities' Association with Sites." *The Historic Environment* 2 (2): 144–156. doi:10.1179/175675011X13112044136550.

Poulios, I. 2014a. *The Past in the Present: A Living Heritage Approach-Meteora Greece*. London: Ubiquity Press.

Poulios, I. 2014b. "Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation: Living Heritage Approach as an Example of Strategic Innovation." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 4 (1): 16–34. doi:10.1108/JCHMSD-10-2012-0048.

Presidential Decree. October 13 1978, P., FEK 594/Δ "Regarding the characterisation of traditional settlements and delineation of building rules and restrictions." In Greek Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως παραδοσιακών οικισμών τινών του Κράτους και καθορισμού των όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως των οικοπέδων αυτών (13101978)." In Greek Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως παραδοσιακών οικισμών τινών του Κράτους και καθορισμού των όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως των οικοπέδων αυτών (13101978).

Presidential Decree. July 4 1980, FEK 374/Δ "Regarding the Characterisation of Traditional Settlements in Pelion Area and Delineation of Building Rules and restrictions." In Greek Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως παραδοσιακών οικισμών της περιοχής Πηλίου και καθορισμού ειδικών όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως εις αυτούς και εις την περιοχήν των διοικητικών ορίων των Δήμων ή Κοινοτήτων εντός των οποίων ανήκουν ούτον» (4." In Greek Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως παραδοσιακών οικισμών της περιοχής Πηλίου και καθορισμού ειδικών όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως εις αυτούς και εις την περιοχήν των διοικητικών ορίων των Δήμων ή Κοινοτήτων εντός των οποίων ανήκουν ούτον» (4071980).071980).

Rodwell, D. 2007. *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schofield, J. 2014. *Who Needs Experts: Counter Mapping Cultural Heritage*. London: Ashgate.

Shankar, B., and C. Swamy. 2013. "Creating Awareness for Heritage Conservation in the City of Mysore: Issues and Policies." *International Journal of Modern Engineering Research* 3 (2): 698–703.

Silverman, D. 2005. *Doing Qualitative Research*. London.

Silverman, H., H. Waterton, and E. Watson. 2017. *Heritage in Action: Making the Past in the Present*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

Srivastava, S. 2015. "A Study of Awareness of Cultural Heritage Among the Teachers at University Level."*Universal.*" *The Journal of Educational Research* 3 (5): 336–344. doi:10.13189/ujer.2015.030505.

Timothy, D. J., and G. P. Nyaupane. 2009. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Voudouri, D. 2010. "Law and the Politics of the Past: Legal Protection of Cultural Heritage in Greece." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17 (3): 547–568. doi:10.1017/S094073911000024X.

Waterton, E. 2010. *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waterton, E. 2015. "Heritage and Community Engagement." In *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, edited by T. Ireland and J. Schofield, 53–67. New York: Springer.

Watson, S., and E. Waterton. 2010. "Heritage and Community Engagement." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (1–2): 1–3. doi:10.1080/13527250903441655.

Zancheti, S. M., and K. Similä. 2011. *Measuring Heritage Conservation Performance.6th International Seminar on Urban Conservation*. Brazil: CECI and ICCROM.