
Perceiving Heritage in Greek Traditional Settlements

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Abstract

This research examines the way in which people perceive heritage in living heritage places focusing on Greek traditional settlements. Despite the widely acknowledged idea of heritage as a social construct which may be understood via perceptions, our knowledge is still far from complete. The thesis particularly examines what is identified and valued as heritage, and why, and how conservation may affect these processes. It reveals that these are not three different aspects which can be explained through single independent factors alone, but they are interrelated forming people's perceptions of heritage. The research indicates that the way in which people perceive heritage depends on a dynamic relationship across the identification, evaluation and conservation of heritage and on a multiplicity of influential factors behind these processes. Examining both experts' and residents' perceptions in six traditional settlements, the study indicates that heritage may be collectively and individually perceived, as evident through the similarities and differences among participants.

The conceptual framework uses a qualitative perception-based approach in which the different aspects of perception are examined. It is found that this may contribute to the way in which perceptions of heritage may be examined in future research. In addition, the examination of both experts and residents' perceptions adds to our incomplete knowledge about the extent to which these two groups understand the concept of heritage. This suggests that their distinction as often presented by other studies may be inadequate in explaining the way in which heritage is perceived. The study also addresses the gap between perceptions of heritage and perceptions of conservation, showing how conservation can affect the way in which lay people identify and value heritage. Overall, the thesis contributes rich empirical evidence to the conceptualisation of heritage as a social construct.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rethinking the concept of heritage

“There is really no such thing as heritage” (Smith 2006, p. 11).

Smith (2006) with the above quote introduces the argument about heritage as a social construct, the existence of which relies heavily on people’s perceptions. The reconsideration of heritage from a given ‘object’ with pre-defined meanings and values, to a process constructed, enacted and performed by individuals, based on their current values and needs has been receiving an increased interest (Ashworth 1994; Ashworth 2012; Lowenthal 1985; Smith 2006; Schofield 2014).

The idea of heritage as the result of deliberate selection rather than as an ontological reality of intrinsic and uncontested worth has stimulated studies in understanding people’s perceptions on the issue (Graham et al. 2000; Graham 1994, p. 135; Graham 2002; Smith 2004; Stubbs 2004). If we accept that heritage is the outcome of perception (Schofield 2014; Hall 1997, p.61 in Graham and Howard 2008, p.2), the examination of values and meanings related to heritage is crucial to understand what heritage is about (Smith 2006; Paillard 2012; Ashworth 1994). As Carman and Sorensen (2009, p. 23) note:

“From a taken-for-granted position at the end of the 19th century that heritage is about and belongs to the nation, we have reached a point where the concerns and awareness of what constitutes heritage, what roles it plays and what challenges it raises have been exploded”.

Acknowledging the significance of perception-based approaches, participatory approaches encouraging the engagement of local communities, in decision making in general and in the identification and evaluation of heritage in particular, have been proliferated (Walker 2014, p. 181 in Schofield 2014; Van Balen and Vandesande 2015).

Officially sanctioned heritage, as expressed via conservation policies, have been questioned about their capacity to respond to local needs and to represent locals’ meanings and values. Schofield (2014) argues that since heritage relies on personal perceptions and interpretations

everyone may be an expert, in a sense that everyone may have his/her own insights regarding the 'object' and 'value' of heritage. In this respect, examining the way that heritage is perceived not only by experts but also by lay people may contribute significantly to understanding what heritage is about and why. Similarly, Carman and Sorensen (2009, p. 12) characteristically point out: *"Heritage is too important a field of inquiry to be left to experts who wish to fix it (and thereby kill it stone dead)"* (Carman and Sorensen 2009, p. 12). This is not to diminish experts' insights but instead to complement them with the understanding of local people's perspectives, as those who first and foremost live and experience heritage.

The Faro convention on the value of cultural heritage for the society (Council of Europe 2005, pp. 211-20) is also exemplary of an emerging and radical heritage agenda (Schofield 2014). However, in practice experts viewpoints are still prioritised and dominate over lay people's perceptions in a number of cases, with little to be known about the people who live with and 'make' heritage (Borer 2006; Hubbard 1993; Pendlebury 2009). Scholars however argue about local communities' rights to decide over their heritage as well as the need for a better understanding of their involvement and knowledge about this heritage in conjunction with experts. Carman and Sorensen (2009, p. 17) in particular stress:

"Our relationship to heritage shifted from a taken for granted field of meanings and practices to becoming an area calling out for investigation and analysis aiming to understand how heritage becomes constituted what it is and does and how different groups engage with it".

Despite the increased interest in examining the ways by which people perceive heritage (Smith 2006; Paillard 2012; Ashworth 1994; Tweed and Sutherland 2007), our knowledge about lay-people perspectives of heritage in conjunction with these of experts within an area is still limited (Larkham 2000; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Borer 2006; Ashworth 2012). In particular, while a great body of studies have been focused on how to preserve heritage, less work has been done on what qualifies heritage and why it is so (Tweed and Sutherland 2007, p. 62) and much more less attention has been paid to whether conservation may impact on these issues (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2). First hand research is in its early stages (see Smith 2006; Schofield 2014), lacking detailed case studies. A number of

studies remain at theoretical and abstract level reflected in generalising theories rather than grounded examples (Borer 2006; Hubbard 1993). These examples however reveal how individuals and groups think, 'construct' and make sense of heritage, thus contributing to the democratisation of heritage (Smith 2006). Examining the plurality of perceptions may indeed contribute to understanding what matters and why to people most closely related to heritage. Listening to, and understanding the various voices may prevent the exclusion of a sizeable range of social actors' opinions-needs (Landorf 2011; Rodwell 2007) and especially that of residents about the 'object' of heritage and its appreciation (Schofield 2014).

1.2 Understanding heritage as a social construct via perceptions

Understanding what heritage may be about and why for different people as well as the influence of conservation policies on these aspects, requires the examination of people's perceptions. In conjunction with the arguments about the examination of heritage via perceptions (see for example Tweed and Sutherland 2007; Green 2010), the current study investigates the nature of perception in relation to heritage i.e how perception is formed, what it consists of and what may affect it.

While relevant studies tend to address specific aspects or elements of perception of heritage separately – for example awareness of heritage and values of heritage (see for example Avrami et al. 2000; Getty Conservation Institute 2002; Tweed and Sutherland 2007) or evaluation of conservation policies and practices (see for example Pendlebury 2009) – this study attempts to bring them together in order to understand how perceptions of heritage are shaped holistically. Acknowledging the contribution of relevant studies in addressing the different aspects of perceptions with regards to heritage, this study attempts to go one step further asking how these aspects may work together in forming the way that people perceive heritage.

This study borrows concepts from psychology in order to examine perceptions and their components in an attempt to extract and interpret experts' and lay people's insights into the issue. This is explained in detail in Chapters 3 and 4. Attaining knowledge about the different

aspects of perceptions of heritage as well as the factors that may affect those may contribute to build more comprehensive and welcoming conservation policies.

1.3 Aim and Research questions

Heritage is claimed to be perceived according to the values and meanings it holds for people, their experiences with it and/or the needs that it helps to fulfil (Ashworth 1994; Smith 2006). In line with the idea of heritage from a given 'object' to a socially constructed concept, understanding heritage necessitates the engagement with people who are directly involved with it. While heritage may involve a number of various actors (Graham and Howard 2008), experts as well as residents in heritage places have been particularly stressed by relevant studies. This is due to the legitimacy attained through professional channels for the former, and due to their everyday contact and interaction with heritage for the latter (Schofield 2014; Pendlebury 2009). In view of the above,

The main aim of this research is to examine how people, experts and residents in 'authorised' living heritage places, shape perceptions of heritage.

Responding to inquiries about the 'what' and 'why' of heritage, 'for whom' and 'whose heritage we are talking about' (Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tunbridge 1984; Tweed and Sutherland 2007) the study explores the factors that affect the identification and appreciation of heritage and the role of conservation policies in these aspects. Drawing on both similarities and differences across perceptions of experts and residents, rather than focusing on differences as in the case of relevant studies (see Schofield 2014; Rappoport 1985), the thesis explores factors that may shape perceptions of heritage and the way that conservation policy may further affect these perceptions.

Authorised heritage places refer to places that have been inscribed as heritage and are officially under a particular conservation policy. By living heritage places I refer to entire areas listed as heritage as a whole and which are habituated by people. This study in particular focuses on Greek traditional settlements as it is further presented below.

The broad research aim presented above is addressed through three key research questions:

- How do people identify heritage?

Responding to questions about what constitutes heritage the study asks what people identify as heritage exploring the factors that may affect this identification. This research in particular examines what participants, experts and residents, identify as heritage, what they select and do not select, why and how this may vary among them.

- How do people value heritage?

Despite the increased number of studies in the values of heritage (see for example Smith et al. 2010; Avrami et al. 2000), there are still gaps in our knowledge about the way that these values are perceived by different actors. This thesis explores the range of values attributed to heritage by different participants in order to add empirical evidence to concepts often theoretically approached. It asks in particular not only what these values may be but also how these are perceived and experienced. In conjunction with the previous question, the thesis further explores whether and how the identification of heritage relates to the way that it is valued. Current studies argue that something is identified as heritage when it has value for someone (Alonso 2012). This study goes one step further exploring the links between the reasons behind the identification and appreciation of heritage.

- How does conservation affect perceptions of heritage?

The last research question seeks to explore the role that conservation plays in the way that people shape their perceptions of heritage. While scholars speculate that conservation policies and practices may affect our perceptions of heritage, there is scant research on the issue (Alonso 2012). This study examines whether conservation plays a role in the way people identify and value heritage. Examining participants' views on the role of conservation in the study area, and juxtaposing these to their views about heritage, the study shows how perceptions of heritage have been affected by conservation policies.

1.4 The context of the research

The impetus of the research inquiry was triggered by general theoretical arguments about heritage as a social construct. However this idea may become cleared and answered only if examined within a specific context. Inspired and driven by the discussion about the views of people who live within heritage places (Ashworth 2012; Green 2010; Green 2012; Van Ballen and Vandesande 2015; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999) the research is directed to living heritage places, such as historic cities or settlements, rather than to non-inhabited heritage sites, such as ancient relics.

What is especially intriguing and challenging with living heritage places over the non-inhabited ones is that residents are in everyday contact with heritage, affecting and being affected by it, while conservation of heritage in these places may directly impact on their lives. In this respect, heritage is a 'living' organism within these places rather than a fixed and unchangeable 'object' only visited and viewed. However, our knowledge about residents' perceptions of heritage in heritage places is limited (Larkham 2000; Schofield 2014) as it is often experts' viewpoints about the identification and value of something as heritage that may still dominate (Clark 2003; Pendlebury 2009).

The study focuses on Greek traditional (pre-industrial¹) settlements, which flourished during the period of Turkish occupation in 18th century, constituting "*complexes which maintain their traditional urban grid and their traditional structures and features*" (Komilis 1975, p. 91; Petronotis 1975).

The reasons for selecting this specific context are numerous. Greece is a country rich of heritage places, providing the advantage of selection among a number of places. However heritage has hardly been subjected to a systematic theoretical account (Loukaki 2008, p.6), while perceptions of heritage within the Greek context remain an unexplored field. The few

¹the industrial era in Greece does not match the industrial era in the rest of Europe and US, as it basically starts in 1920's

studies on Greek heritage focus on ancient sites (see for example Loukaki 2008) rather than on more recent heritage places, such as traditional settlements which indeed are abundant in the country.

Heritage in Greek policy making and academia is still treated as a given rather than as a social construct and hence perceptions and in particular lay people's perceptions are overlooked. Despite the number of traditional settlements, almost 800, there is no research addressing locals' perspectives on their heritage. In addition, conservation of these settlements is based on a centralized system in which decisions and evaluations of heritage are made by experts, especially those at the Ministry of Environment and Building works with limited if any input by local communities.

On the other hand, Greek traditional settlements provide manageable places for such a demanding research, which involves different levels of understanding experts' and residents' perceptions of heritage; the small size of the settlements along with their cultural homogeneity contributes to the manageability of exploring perceptions of heritage holistically. Hence, although multicultural places would be relevant in examining differences in the way in which heritage is perceived (Tweed 2003; Gifford 2002; Tunbridge et al. 1996), they are beyond the confines of this study as they would add extra complexity. The selection of the particular settlements is analysed in detail in the methodology Chapter (4).

1.5 Value of the study

The study aims to contribute to the debate about how heritage is conceptualised (Ashworth 2012; Graham and Howard 2008, p.2; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) by understanding residents' and experts' perceptions of heritage. The thesis seeks to expand our knowledge about heritage as a social construct by closing the gaps related to local's conceptualisation of heritage in comparison to that of experts' (Schofield 2014; Clark 2003; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999).

Drawing on the similarities and the differences among perceptions as well as the factors that explain them can better inform the different participants about the perspectives of the others. Understanding residents' perceptions especially may contribute to the sustainable development of towns and cities (Neil 2004; Tweed and Sutherland 2007, p. 65) by enabling policies to respond better to residents' needs (Wyman and Taylor 2010, p. 544). On the other hand, understanding experts' perspectives can inform residents about the 'legitimate' views of heritage and what may lie behind them, informing them about aspects which they may be unaware of. This understanding may in turn facilitate to reach a consensus about heritage and its appreciation leading to more democratic and welcoming conservation policies.

In addition, the thesis seeks to contribute to the debate centring on the ways in which heritage can be studied (Sorensen and Carman 2009; Andrews 2009) as there is "*little dialogue about how heritage as a phenomenon can be investigated*" (Sorensen and Carman 2009, p. 4). In the attempt to understand perceptions of heritage the study employs a conceptual framework derived from psychology, in which the different aspects of perceptions are addressed together, rather than focusing on some of them. Taking into consideration factors that may affect perceptions as identified in relevant perception based studies as well as in knowledge derived from psychology, the study pays also particular attention to the way that various factors may impact on the configuration of perceptions of heritage, expanding our knowledge on the issue. This approach may be helpful for relevant future studies in different contexts.

However, it is important to note that this thesis especially contributes knowledge to the particular context constituting the first theoretical and empirical account of perceptions of living heritage places within the Greek context.

1.6 Thesis structure

The thesis consists of two main parts: the literature review and the analysis, which are bridged by the Chapter of context and methodology. The main aim of the first part is to introduce the key concepts of this research such as heritage, conservation and perceptions and to analyse the gaps in the field of perceptions of heritage. These are explored in the first two Chapters.

Specifically, Chapter two introduces the key concepts of heritage and conservation. The main aim of this Chapter is to position heritage as a socially constructed concept the existence of which relies on people's perceptions. The Chapter illustrates that despite the wide acknowledgment of heritage as a social construct research on perceptions' of heritage is still limited. Introducing how heritage is defined, what heritage may be about and what it incorporates, it stresses that all these are matters to subjective or objective selection. The Chapter further discusses the reasons for appreciating heritage as these are further examined in this study. It then moves on to the concept of conservation, highlighting its evolution. It especially emphasises the need to broaden out its scope and to involve both local people's and experts' perspectives. It also draws on the advantages and misgivings of conservation as issues that may impact on perceptions of heritage, informing further this study.

The third Chapter reviews the concept of perception which is used to explore heritage as a social construct. The Chapter initially draws on the relation between people and place highlighting their interaction as a basis on which this research is built. The Chapter defines the concept of perception, introducing its constituent elements and the factors that may affect perception within a particular place. This facilitates the examination of perceptions , providing the various aspects to be taken into account in 'extracting' as well as analysing participants' perceptions in this study. The Chapter also presents approaches to the study of perceptions in other relevant studies as well as in the wider field of urban environment, demonstrating the lack of research on people's perceptions in heritage places and their conservation.

Chapter four discusses the methodological approach followed in this research. Taking into account the alternatives in conducting such a research the Chapter shows how a qualitative case study approach fits best the purposes of this research. The Chapter further demonstrates how and why particular case studies and participants were selected. In addition, it presents in detail how the study was conducted from the stage of data collection to the stage of data analysis providing the traces of evidence for the analysis.

Chapter five introduces the context of this research. The Chapter introduces the area of study as well as the selected settlements, presenting their profile and characteristics in order to

better understand the case of this study. In addition, it outlines the Greek conservation policy for traditional settlements as well as the particular framework in the area, necessary for understanding the analysis of the findings which follow.

The next three Chapters constitute the analysis of this study responding to the research questions. These three Chapters link parts of the storyline together, showing how heritage is perceived in total in the traditional settlements under study. For structural and presentational purposes, each of the three Chapters addresses one of the three research questions.

Chapter six focuses on the first research question which asks what is perceived as heritage. The Chapter examines selection of heritage and the factors that may affect it. Drawing on the similarities and differences among participants, the Chapter discusses the role of factors internal and external to the individual.

Chapter seven addresses the second research question which asks why heritage is appreciated. Drawing on the evaluative aspects of perception the Chapter addresses the reasons for which heritage, as selected and identified in the previous Chapter, is valued. Building on the previous Chapter, this Chapter also reveals how the factors that affect identification of heritage may further influence the reasons of appreciating heritage, indicating that selecting and valuing something as heritage may be inseparable.

Chapter eight responds to the third research question related to whether and how conservation may affect the way that heritage is perceived. Examining initially the extent to which participants are aware of conservation, the Chapter further investigates whether conservation has an impact on identification of heritage. The Chapter then examines how conservation has affected a number of values of heritage as these identified in the previous Chapter.

Finally the last Chapter draws out themes as emerged from the empirical findings, presenting how these respond to the main aim and the questions of this research. The Chapter also discusses the theoretical implications of this study as well as its contribution in understanding

heritage as a social construct, by reflecting back to the current knowledge. Acknowledging the limitations of this research the Chapter concludes with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: APPROACHING HERITAGE AND ITS CONSERVATION

Introduction

This Chapter introduces the concepts of heritage and its conservation discussing their nature and the way that these are constructed. The Chapter is divided in two main parts. The first one addresses the concept of heritage and the second one the concept of conservation. The aim is to illustrate the socially constructed nature of both, according to which their existence lies on people's perceptions and interpretations.

In the first part, I focus on the idea of heritage, in order to understand what heritage is about, how it is defined, what it incorporates, stressing that heritage is a matter of selection. Drawing on its socially constructed nature, the existence of which depends on people's perceptions of what constitutes heritage and why (Graham and Howard 2008; Graham et al. 2000), this part discusses the objectivity and subjectivity involved in selection, questioning the extent to which perceptions of heritage may be objectively or subjectively addressed. The Chapter further explores the reasons for which this selected heritage may be appreciated indicating the focus of different studies on specific values, rather than their examination as a whole in a specific context.

The second part deals with the concept of conservation, illustrating, apart from its socially constructed nature its evolution from a sterile defensive approach to a more open and socially minded one. This part highlights the need for taking into account local people's perspectives in order to build more democratic conservation policies. The Chapter then questions the role of conservation in the way that heritage is perceived, underlying the limited research on the issue. Finally, it raises the several advantages and misgivings of conservation, as identified by relevant studies, which may function as a basis for examining the influence of conservation on perceptions of heritage.

2.1 Identifying heritage

2.1.1 Introducing the concept of heritage

“Heritage is not a thing so much as a construct, something we think about, create and compartmentalize in terms of the memories, stories and values we attach to particular places or things” (Schofield 2014, p. 3).

Heritage is far beyond a clear cut concept. The broadness of the concept challenges the provision of an inclusive definition. Broadly speaking heritage is viewed as a thread that connects the past, the present and the future. This is reflected in both academic and officially sanctioned definitions of heritage as presented below. Heritage is etymologically connected to patrimony, denoting the possessions, values, conditions and traditions inherited and transferred from the past to the present and future (Howard 2003, p. 6; Millar 1995; Rodwell 2007, p. 7). Similarly, Thomas (1994, p. 70) states that the concept of heritage should *‘stand for things created, maintained and held within a community which it wants to continue to maintain and hold’*. According to UNESCO (2009, p. 1) *‘heritage is our legacy from the past what we live with today and what we pass on to future generations’*. Official processes of heritage relate to the sanctioned care by the State, involving documenting, listing and managing places as heritage (Harrison 2012).

Although heritage was associated mainly to material aspects, i.e. structures and buildings which were signified as such due to their characteristics, such as age, architectural elements, historic interest, this approach was challenged in the following years, from the 1960’s and onwards. While in the 19th century experts in the field, such as Ruskin and Morris, argued about the intrinsic characteristics and values of objects as determinants for their identification as heritage, this has been vehemently disputed by contemporary scholars (Ashworth 1994; Lowenthal 1985; Smith 2004). Contemporary arguments about heritage instead refer to heritage as a social construct, the existence of which depends on people’s perceptions (Ashworth 1994; Graham and Howard 2008).

According to this discussion, heritage is heritage because it is selected and valued as such, constituting *'the outcome of individual and group consciousness relating to a sense of place'* (Ashworth and Phelps 2002, p. 3). It is meanings and values placed upon certain elements that signify them as heritage rather than an intrinsic and uncontested worth (Graham et al. 2000; Graham 1994, p. 135; Graham 2002; Smith 2004; Stubbs 2004). It is people who make heritage and not objects in themselves (Hall 1997, p. 61 in Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2). Characteristically Ashworth (2012, p. 5226) states that *"the stones and bricks are not heritage until recognized and designated as such"*. In this respect, heritage may be viewed as creating something not about preserving anything' (Lowenthal 1985). This creation lies heavily on present values, meanings and needs (see Ashworth 1994; 2012; Lowenthal 1985; Wertsch 2002; Urry 1996) which the past transformed to heritage can help satisfy (Ashworth 2012; Lowenthal 1985).

In this sense, heritage may be viewed as a 'product' and 'reflection' of a contemporary *society'* (Lynch 1972) based on a continuous re-creation of the past (Urry 1996, p. 48 in Smith 2006, p. 58). Hence, heritage is a contemporary phenomenon which is based on people's views and feelings and thus its existence depends on selective present interpretation and representation by the present societies (Fowler 1992). Heritage as a social construct, as the arguments above suggest, means that it does not exist per se but it is created when someone selects it and names it as such. Hence it cannot be subject to an objective consideration and as a result this approach to heritage "calls for a deeper understanding" by researchers (Dormael 2012, p. 108).

Heritage may be seen as a creation and thus as a process, outcome and experience, rather than as an object artefact or a site, which instead may be viewed as resources of heritage (Ashworth 2012, p. 5221). Within this frame, characterizations such as tangible, intangible, urban, natural, cultural cannot really describe heritage (Ashworth 2012). In view of the above, I purposely decided to use the concept of heritage in this study rather than to delineate it with any particular adjective such as built or urban, although it is clearly place-based and connected to the built environment, as it is further argued below.

The shift from a purely 'material' and specifically defined heritage to a socially constructed concept which encompasses immaterial aspects (Stubbs 2004; Ashworth 1994) was evident in legislation too. At international level, in the Venice Charter, as adopted by ICOMOS (1964), and in the charters that followed²: *"the scope of heritage has broadened from a concern for physical heritage such as historic monuments and buildings to groups of buildings, historic urban and rural centres... and to non-physical heritage including social factors and intangible values"* (Ahmad 2006, p. 294). The intangibility of heritage and the role of meanings and values rather than its intrinsic characteristics have been particularly stressed further by scholars in the field. Heritage therefore may be viewed as external to its 'objects' as Smith (2006, p. 55) further argues *"If heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes in a sense intangible"* as it is subject to one's perception.

What is however important to note is that the distinction between tangible and intangible may not represent heritage as a whole as these may blend together (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 4; Smith 2006, p. 55). Smith (2006) for example indicates that heritage is a 'product' of values and meanings (intangible aspects) which in turn are symbolized or represented by heritage elements such as sites, objects, customs, stories, practices (tangible and intangible aspects). Drawing on the work of Thrift and the construct of affect³ (see also next Chapter section 2.1), Smith (2006, p. 56) argues that heritage is an affect involving tangible and intangible aspects which may be inseparable. Tangible and intangible have a mutual relationship which constitutes heritage as a whole (Wijesuriya et al. 2006). However, it is still questionable whether and how this totality may be experienced and understood by people.

In view of the above, the interest in the way that heritage is perceived has been growing. As Graham and Howard (2008, pp. 4-5) note *"The crucial questions are thus arguably less about tangibility or intangibility but with the identities and motives of those projecting or commissioning meanings through heritage which, after all, is meaning whatever its form"*. However, despite these arguments the knowledge about/ of perceptions of heritage, i.e. how

² such as Washington Charter, 1987, the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia, 1999), the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003), the Vienna Memorandum (World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape" (UNESCO, 2005)

³ according to which urban space and the way that this is shaped and used embodies emotions and thoughts

this is identified, what is the role of tangibility and intangibility, internality and externality of heritage and how these aspects blend within a certain context is far from complete, leaving us often with abstract ideas on the issue (Smith 2006; Ashworth 2012; Sorensen and Carman 2009).

2.1.2 Heritage as a matter of selection

Sorensen and Carman (2009, p. 12) suggest that in our attempt to understand what heritage is, for whom and why, we should *“Stop seeking quick and simple fixes to complex problems, to engage with the debates that take place and recognize the complexity and fluidity of the phenomena we deal with”*.

As introduced above, the existence of heritage lies heavily on selection (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). *“The key word here is selection”* (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2). Larkham claims that *‘heritage is neither history nor place; it is a process of selection and presentation of aspects of both’* (Larkham 1996, p. 14).

The question that arises here is who makes this selection. Whose heritage is being selected and for whom? (Larkham 1996; Larkham et al. 2002). As Graham and Howard (2008, p. 4) note *“any detailed investigation of a particular heritage item or site will soon reveal a vast array of actors and stakeholders*. Similarly Paillard (2012) stresses the variety of actors involved in the selection or invention of heritage over time. However, the domination of certain groups over others has been consistently observed (see Smith 2006; Samuel 1994; Rautenberg 1998). From these actors, two key groups have been especially stressed in the process of selection; experts, due to their ‘legal’ admission to heritage on the one hand, and local communities, due to their direct contact with their heritage, on the other hand (Larkham 1996; Larkham 2002; Ashworth 2012; Schofield 2014; Smith 2006).

However, it is more experts’ views about the identification of heritage that are reflected in conservation policies, while still little is known about the way that residents identify and value heritage (Smith 2006; Schofield 2014; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999). Despite the arguments about wider public participation and consultation (Pendlebury 2009) it is still

experts' views considered to be of more importance in 'qualifying' something as heritage. This is due to the fact that these views lie mainly on more 'objective' and justifiable criteria such as architectural aspects as developed through their expertise (Dicks 2000; Waterton 2005; Smith 2006; Graham et al. 2009). Smith (2006) talks about 'authorised heritage', elaborating further on the idea that defining heritage falls often to an elite authority, specifically that of experts (Wright 1985; Hewison 1987).

Similarly a number of scholars (Relph 1987; Kearns and Philo 1993; Negussie 2012, p. 204) note that heritage, as part of the past, is not given but it is determined by the present through contemporary '*interests and ideologies*' (Negussie 2012, p. 204), which often mainly represent experts and policy makers. Characteristically, Tunbridge (1984, p. 171; 1994) underlines that what is identified as heritage is highly dependent upon policy makers and experts (Negussie 2003; Smith 2006; Moffat 2000). The process followed is in many cases top-down and expert driven, where the locals' perceptions are overlooked and/ or their involvement in terms of its influence on the outcome is restricted (Ashworth 2012, p. 5228).

In view of the above Rautenberg (1998) makes the distinction between, heritage by designation and heritage by appropriation. The first one refers to the officially sanctioned heritage as established by official processes, labelled and designated as such by experts and politicians. Heritage by designation (Rautenberg 1998) or alternatively authorized heritage (Smith 2006) lies upon specific technical, historical and architectural criteria, such as historicity and aesthetic value, set up by experts. These criteria focus on the physical form and the age of the objects (Smith 2006, p. 53), undermining in many cases their meanings for local communities (Tweed and Sutherland 2007 b). Smith (2006) argues that experts often attempt to naturalize heritage, focusing on the physicality and materiality, based thus on its 'internal characteristics' leading to a singular past which can be evidenced through specific tangible elements, such as certain monuments and building, as opposed to other forms of expression. Within this context it is often the 'great and the grand' that is selected as heritage as depicted through certain distinguished architectural forms rather than other more ordinary and everyday ones (Tait and While 2009, p. 722).

The selection of specific material elements as heritage have excluded for a long time understandings of heritage that are not strictly bound with material assets (aspects internal to heritage) but with meanings and feelings (aspects external to heritage) as determined by people (Smith 2006). Certain elements as selected by experts have been often indisputably recognised as heritage, due to an authorised expertise overlooking other elements that may be equally recognised as heritage by the wider public. The limited knowledge in these aspects started to trigger the interest in examining how heritage may be perceived by locals.

On the other hand, heritage by appropriation arises from preferences and lay people's perceptions of the past (Hobson 2004, p. 51). Ashworth (2012, p. 5227) argues that in this case, values used for the characterisation of something as heritage are "extrinsic and ascribed to the object by those who experience it" and in that sense it is a "*user-driven bottom up validation*". Heritage by appropriation refers to a democratic process in which lay people in general and local communities in particular, determine the 'object' of heritage according to their perceptions as shaped by emotions, memories, and psychological attachments.

'Rather than being a phenomenon emanating from top-level political interests, heritage is the pluralist representation of interest, perception and use of the past' (Hobson 2004, p. 51).

Heritage by appropriation stems from personal assimilation, rather than from enforced political authority or '*imposed by didactic politics*' (Hobson 2004, p. 51). In a similar vein MacMillan (1993) asserts that heritage, extends beyond the archival historic study, composing simultaneously an imaginative individual representation of it. According to distinguished academics (Lowenthal 1981; Hobson 2004, p. 51) such an approach may provide a dynamic and effective way of redefining conventional ideas of heritage (Lowenthal 1981). In this respect it is worthwhile asking whether and how heritage may be similar or different in the two approaches mentioned above, in order to examine and understand how heritage may be constructed in people's minds.

Following the above arguments, two critiques are particularly relevant to this research. Firstly, a number of current studies focus primarily on the first category of heritage, i.e. heritage by designation, seeing it as a given object, examining issues regarding ways and techniques of its

conservation and management. The question that tends to be addressed in these cases is ‘how to do it’, although it is equally if not more important to firstly understand ‘what’ constitutes heritage why; and ‘for whom’ (Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tunbridge 1984). Although a number of studies have dealt with the last questions (see for example Smith 2006; Sorensen and Carman 2009), there is a consensus that there is a need for further research in these complex issues in order to better understand the concept of heritage as a social construct. Secondly, there is a need for further research in examining the similarities, overlaps and discrepancies as well as influences between experts and residents, so as to identify the underpinning values that signify something as heritage (Lowenthal 1975; Tweed and Sutherland 2007). Understanding the issues above is a key challenge in the field of heritage as recognised by the current literature (Paillard 2012).

2.1.3 Balancing between objectivity and subjectivity

Heritage as a social construct relies upon selection and value judgments. In this respect heritage may not be considered objectively (Wright 1985; Lowenthal 1985; Dormaels 2012, p. 108). Drawing on the socially constructed nature of heritage and not to its internal characteristics, as determinants for its identification (O'Brien 2010, p. 20, see also 2.1.1), a number of scholars attribute this subjectivity to people’s characteristics which make different individuals view heritage through a whole series of lenses (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2) (see 3.3.3).

Ashworth characteristically argues that all heritage is essentially individual, as each person creates his/her own heritage according to their “*own resources of personal relics, histories and memories for their own self-identification and self-positioning within society*” (Ashworth 2012, p. 5230) despite the evidence about shared heritage among different people (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; Green 2012). This ‘shared’ heritage according to Ashworth (2012) is due to the similar characteristics among the individuals and mainly due to their common socio-cultural background. The many different characteristics of the individual may influence his/ her perception of heritage in how he/she selects it and values it. As perceptions derive from the individual, it is expected that individuals from different backgrounds, will shape different perceptions of heritage (INHERIT 2007, pp. 14-15; Chawla 1992; Relph 1976; Green 1999; Green

2010). The multiplicity of meanings depending on different individuals has been highlighted by a number of authors (Upton 1984, p. 197; Tait and While 2009). Different studies present examples of different perceptions of and attitudes to the urban environment in general and heritage places in more particular (see Pennarz and Elsigna 1990; Yoke 2008, see in more detail 3.2.3).

However, two key issues arise here a) can perceptions of heritage be fully attributed to and explained via the above characteristics? Does this mean that people with similar characteristics have similar perceptions of heritage? and b) if heritage relies on the individual does it make sense to talk about local communities' or experts' perceptions as a whole? Regarding the first question, while relevant studies show the influence of the above characteristics and especially of demographic factors in the identification and evaluation of heritage (see for example Tweed and Sutherland 2002; Green 2000) it is still not clear whether these can stand alone in interpreting the differences in perceptions. Concerning the second question it has been indeed argued that ascribing to *"a fully post-modern approach would potentially plunge heritage management into a relativistic morass"* (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009, p.10) in which the possibility of a 'shared' or collective heritage would seem illusory (Goodwin 1999).

However, other perception based studies in the field of urban environment suggest that although a variation of perceptions exists, there may be an extent of consensus among members of community, especially in small towns due to their common background (Green 2000). For example, studies regarding community's perceptions of town character have revealed that community members agree in many of the elements that contribute to this character (see for example, Green et al. 1985b; Green 1999; Green 2000 a,b; Green 2010; Hester 1985; Hull 1992; Palmer 1983; Schuster 1990). This is also supported by Stumpf (1990), who indicated that historic buildings in the centre of St Charles Illinois, convey *"similar images of the past for the inhabitants, based on traditional social and public activities"*. However, similar evidence in perceptions of people of heritage places as a whole is still limited.

In line with the above, Lowenthal (1979, p. 550) suggested that *"the past exists both as an individual and collective construct and although personal images and histories may be highly*

selective and idiosyncratic, there are many shared values and experiences across the members of similar socio-cultural groups". Similarly, Knight (1987, p. 15) suggests that there is a reciprocal relationship between the subjective and objective rather than the exclusivity of the one over the other when talking about perceptions. With regards to the way that heritage is valued in particular, Fronzini (1971) suggests that this is determined by the relationship *between* the subject and the object and their interaction in a given context. He asserts that the object is not passive yet neither is the subject absolute in projecting values on the object. Hence the way that people select and value heritage *"is the product of many subject-object interactions and hence, the outcome of a large number of inter-subjective evaluations..."* (Zancheti et al. 2012, p. 97). In this respect similar interactions with heritage may create similar perceptions of it. This argument, in accordance with the claims about the internal or external nature of heritage (see 2.1), raises questions about the factors that affect its selection and evaluation.

In this regard, it is interesting to examine heritage through a 'more pluralistic' approach which although recognises the variety of understanding and interpretation due to the different individuals' perceptions, it acknowledges at the same time the possibility of different 'sorts' of consensus among them (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009, p.10).

Indeed, scholars underline the need of research on the multiplicity of perceptions of heritage, which may balance between the purely subjective and objective (Clavir 2002, p. 43). Hence, this study pays particular attention to examining the relationship between the subjectivity and objectivity of perceptions of heritage.

2.2 Values of Heritage

Perceptions of heritage contain values which trigger the intention to conserve: *"Urban sites are conserved because they have values..."* (Zancheti 2011, p. 96).

The values of heritage have received attention by various studies, suggesting a number of categorizations (see for example Ashworth 2012; Pendlebury 2009; Holden 2004; Holden 2006;

Avrami et al. 2000). Dualities of values, such as material/tangible and non material/ intangible values, or instrumental and non instrumental values, have been suggested (see for example Smith 2006; Unesco, ICOMOS). From these the distinction between instrumental (or potential) values of heritage and non instrumental (or primary) values of heritage is worth attention (Ashworth 2012; Pendlebury 2009; Holden 2004; Holden 2006). Instrumental values relate to the reasons for appreciating heritage due to the potentials that this may have when certain actions, such as that of conservation, take place. Instrumental values stem from heritage's use, management and conservation and hence from its potentials and/or advantages of its exploitation. For example, instrumental values of heritage may refer to the advantages of conservation as it is further presented below (see 2.3.3).

Non instrumental or primary values of heritage refer to the reasons for appreciating heritage independently from the actions taken towards it, such as that of conservation, due to the meanings and feelings it conveys to people (Ashworth 2012). Non instrumental values of heritage for example relate to the significance of heritage for aspects such as memory, aesthetic satisfaction or pleasure, orientation, identity - symbolism, emotionality and psychology and educational dimensions (Hobson 2004, p. 55; Whitehand and Kai 2010; Hewison and Holden 2006). The above two categories may not be exclusive but may interconnect when people value heritage (Holden 2004; Holden 2006; Pendlebury 2009; Impey 2006; Hewison and Holden 2006).

Despite the recent interest in heritage values, there are still gaps regarding the way that people value heritage within a certain context. In particular, while certain values are identified these often remain quite abstract. It is therefore still questionable how these are perceived by people as well as how these may be triggered (Hobson 2004, p. 7; Sorensen and Carman 2009; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tweed and Sutherland 2007).

This section presents the dominant non-instrumental values of heritage as revealed by relevant studies. This sets a basis for this research in relation to the second research question regarding why heritage is valued, assisting the examination of whether and how these values are relevant

within the context of the particular research. Instrumental values of heritage on the other hand are examined in the following section which refers to conservation (see 2.3.3).

2.2.1 Historicity and Knowledge

“Historical Values are the root of the very notion of heritage. The capacity of a site to convey, embody, or stimulate a relation or recreation to the past is part of the fundamental nature and meaning of heritage objects” (Mason 2002, p. 11).

Historicity refers to the idea that different periods in history are related to certain beliefs and values, which may be represented or symbolised through certain buildings and structures. Hence, these buildings and structures may be considered as an expression of a particular culture and identity (Jokilehto 1999, p. 6).

Historical value may be claimed for various reasons such as the age of heritage’s elements, the association with events, people or an era of the past, the scarcity, technological qualities and/or as a trace of evidence (Mason 2002, p. 11). While listings and categorisations of heritage rely heavily on historicity, it is disputable whether historicity is perceived and understood as an important value by lay people. In addition, historicity is often taken as an undoubted value of heritage disregarding or undermining other values of heritage. However, as Hubbard (1993, p. 369) notes *“Historicity in itself cannot act as an adequate basis for conservation policy as it ignores the role that the urban historic environment plays in the everyday life of city inhabitants, and the way in which individuals and groups endow their environment with meanings and symbols”*.

Historical value may also relate to heritage as a source of knowledge due to its educational role. Heritage places in particular can function as a source of knowledge both in terms of architectural structures and techniques, as well as in terms of information about previous communities in the particular places (Lowenthal 1996; Pendlebury 2009). The knowledge that heritage may provide extends far beyond the architectural styles and building forms of a specific era, encompassing information about societies that have been living in a particular era and place (Whitehand and Kai 2010; Conzen 1960; Graham 2002). Lewis (1975) for example

asserts that the physical elements of the past provide knowledge regarding “*landscapes, people, events and values of the past*” (cited in Esther Hiu Kwan Yung et al. 2011, p.6). Within this frame, heritage may provide knowledge which can help us to deal with present and future (Lowenthal 1985).

2.2.2 Memory, Continuity and Familiarity

Memory is one of the most often mentioned non instrumental values of heritage. Heritage may ‘bear’ or trigger memory, providing reminders of the past, of our roots and history (Rypkema 2005). As Smith (2006, p. 65) argues heritage plays a significant role in remembering either as “*things to have’ or ‘as something that is done’*. Indeed, heritage has been valued for its capacity to trigger memories about things created and practiced in the past and which are represented via tangible and intangible elements (Paillard 2012; Rypkema 2005; Rypkema 2007).

Memory may be collective or individual (Halbwachs 1992). Collective memory refers to memory shared by a number of people, while individual memory relates purely to the individual and his/her personal experiences. According to Lewika (2008) collective memory depends on contradictions, cultural transmissions and the motivation to discover the past. Individual memory instead relies heavily on socio-demographic variables, such as age, nationality, education, length of residence; emotional bonds with place (Lewika 2008).

Heritage as memory is selective in terms of what is to be remembered. Scholars argue that it is often the great, the grand and the pleasant that people want to remember and hence to save and maintain (Ashworth 1994; Lowenthal 1975; Tait and While 2009, p. 722). Smith (2006, p. 58) argues that “*Heritage is almost inevitably about the ‘good’ things, events and cultural expressions that lend credence to a sense of cultural and communal pride in identity*”. Due to this selectivity, the role of memories in the identification and evaluation of heritage has been often overlooked by experts who have tended to favour historicity as a more ‘robust’ and objective value within an authorized narrative. Hence historic value has been legitimized over memories when identifying and valuing heritage (Smith 2006, p. 58).

A number of scholars (such as Smith 2006, p. 58; Hall 2001; Shackel 2001) note that despite the *“increase in memory studies... there has only been a passing concern with memory issues in the traditional heritage literature”* (Smith 2006, p. 58). Although studies address the value of heritage as memory (see for example Lowenthal 1975; Mc Dowel 2008; Hawke 2010; Howard 2003) there are still gaps in understanding how memories may lead to the selection and evaluation of heritage within a particular context. Understanding these issues however, can contribute to selecting and conserving the elements that are important to certain people for reasons different to that of historicity.

The value of heritage as memory may be strongly linked with the concept of **continuity**. According to Hodgkin and Radstone (2006, p. 27) *“Memory....is not tied to the individual who experienced a given event, but dispersed and transmitted to subsequent generations.”* This transmittance from generation to generation *“provide ‘people with a sense of identity and continuity”* (UNESCO 2005). Heritage offers a link between the past, the present and the future via memories and experiences triggering this continuity. Hawke (2010) highlights that heritage offers ‘continuity’ of one’s self providing the connection to his/her roots, origins and traditions which in turn shape self identity (see next section 2.2.3). Lowenthal (1985; 1998) stressed the importance of continuity due to its capacity to provide a sense of progression reflecting an evolutionary social development.

In addition, Lowenthal (1975) underlines that continuity as evident in the durability of elements of the past offers a sense of stability and security. The fact that these elements have survived all this time represent, literally and symbolically, robustness and resilience, enhancing thus the sense of **security**. Lynch (1975, p. 40) in specific argues that *“many historic and symbolic places convey a sense of security and continuity,”* This stability acts against to what Toffler (1970, p. 1) calls *‘future shock’* describing the *‘stress and disorientation’* provoked to an individual due to ‘change’. In other words, heritage by being a *‘reference point’* (Smith 1974, p. 903) can offer orientation and consciousness of an individual’s location in a given place (Lozano 1974; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1989).

Strongly connected with the above, continuity may also trigger the sense of **familiarity** which heritage is also valued for. Lowenthal (1975, p. 8) characteristically states that *“the intimate continuity of past with present is a source of general comfort”*, showing how ‘traces’ of the past stimulate familiarity by providing warmth and comfort (Maxwell 1971, p. 91). Apart from these emotional aspects, familiarity also makes things in the present intelligible (Lowenthal 1975, p. 5; Piaget 1969; Piaget 1977) in a sense that our experiences facilitate us understand the present better.

Familiarity is also linked with attachment (Lowenthal 1975; Mason 2002, p. 12). Gold and Burgess (1982, p. 76) for example refer to place attachment as the *“richness of meaning that develops with great familiarity”*. Attachment may be defined as the *“affective relationship between people and the landscape that goes beyond cognition, preference, or judgement”* (Riley 1992, p. 13) which *“involves an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place”* (Altman and Low 1992, p. 5). This interplay does not only relate to the individual, as attachment emerges by the various interactions of the individual with the place, but also with other people who come together, sharing common definitions and symbols (Cheng and Daniels 1998). Various studies identify place attachment as dominant heritage places (Beckley 2003; Relph 1976).

While numerous studies devote their attention to the above issues, there are still areas of exploration regarding how and by what these values may be triggered in combination with the other values within a certain context, in an attempt to achieve better conservation. In addition, their relevance among different groups of people such as between experts and residents is still questionable.

2.2.3 Identity

Lowenthal (1975, p. 9) vehemently stresses the importance of heritage to our identity: *“How can we live without our lives? How will we know it's us without our past?”*.

It is difficult to find a heritage related study which does not directly or indirectly refer to identity. The sense of identity is often identified as a key motivational force behind the

intention to conserve heritage (Lowenthal and Binney 1981) in order to maintain or even enhance a place's uniqueness (Strange and Whitney 2003). While the matter of identity in relation to heritage has been raised and analysed extensively (see Ashworth 1994; Graham and Howard 2008; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009), this study takes identity as one of the main reasons for appreciating heritage, in an attempt to unravel why and how experts and residents value heritage. As in the case of the other values, the matter of identity will be tested for its relevance in the particular context examining whether and how this is experienced and understood by experts and residents. The study further explores the reasons or factors that may trigger the value of heritage for identity purposes.

Identity is simultaneously about sameness and difference. It is about sameness when people of a certain group share similar characteristics which together shape identity. Identity simultaneously relates to difference, used for example by people of a certain group in order to draw distinctions from other groups demonstrating their uniqueness (Hawke 2010).

In the light of an era of massive globalization, which has led to the homogenization of urban forms, heritage places present a unique identity which differentiates them from the rest. At the same time people in these places share a common/collective identity regarding their place (Castells 2010; Tuan 1974; Green 2010; Green 2012; Hawke 2010).

Coeterier (1996) underlines the significance of heritage for people in three key areas: **place identity, personal or self identity and group or cultural identity**; place identity refers to a character of place (see in more detail 3.1) as accrued by people's perceptions of place and interactions with it. Place identity relates especially to characteristic elements of a place that make it distinctive (Hernandez et al. 2007) in which heritage is often dominant (see Green 2012; Relph 2008; Graham and Howard 2008; Hawke 2010). In many instances identity and distinctiveness are attributed to the aesthetic satisfaction that heritage elements provide in contrast to 'contemporary' places as revealed by various studies (Ashworth 2012; Frewald 1989; Morris 1981; Hubbard 1994).

Place identity may link to self-identity (Proshansky et al. 1983; Hernández et al. 2007, p. 311; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). *Association with the 'unquestionable difference' of place can aid*

an individual's sense of being distinctive from other people in other places (Hawke 2010). Indeed, according to distinctive scholars (Lynch 1975, p. 40; Proshansky et al. 1983) personal identification with place is part of one's personal identity (Proshansky et al. 1983) appearing often in heritage places (see Hawke 2010; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009; The World Bank 2001, p. 6; Stubbs 2004). Malpas (1999, p. 177) states that "*Our identities are intricately and essentially place-bound*" arguing that the way that we are in terms of how we live, think and experience things is inseparable from the places in which we live (Malpas 2001, p. 231). In many cases, for example, residents feel proud about their place due to the fact that historic places are usually considered as high status places (i.e historic districts within cities) through which they acquire social status (Hawke 2010; Smith 2006). In the case of experts, self identification in relation to heritage may relate to their profession and 'expertise' with regards to heritage, which shape part of their personal identity (Smith 2006). Cultural identity is considered as a type of collective identity according to which individuals feel, in a self-ascribed way, connected to other individuals who share some cultural characteristics (Ashmore et al. 2004, p. 81). The relevance of identity and its different forms as presented above is examined in the context of this study as one of the reasons for valuing heritage in the attempt to investigate why heritage is valued, as presented in the second research question.

While all the values presented above relate to the appreciation of heritage in itself, heritage may be also appreciated for its potential when certain actions, such as that of conservation, take place (instrumental values of heritage). This is more fully examined in the following section, which introduces the concept of conservation, supplementing the reasons for appreciating heritage, but also raising questions about its role in the way that heritage is identified and valued.

2.3 Conserving heritage

Heritage has been presented as a social construct the existence of which is a matter of selection. This selection is primarily made for conservation purposes i.e we select something as heritage because we want to maintain it. Hence the emergence and existence of heritage are

based on the idea of conservation. In view of the above, Hobson (2004, p. 5) states that one must attempt to address fundamental questions which may be hidden in the arguments towards or against conservation, such as: why to conserve, what to conserve and for whose benefit.

This part introduces the idea of conservation, it discusses its evolution regarding the way that selection has been made stressing the significance of lay people's perceptions in the development of conservation policies. It also questions the impacts of conservation on the way that heritage is perceived, an issue that has remained for a long time under-explored. Within this context, this part further discusses the advantages and misgivings of conservation (instrumental values of heritage) as these have been addressed by relevant studies. This serves as a basis in examining relevant issues in this research and especially with regards to the impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage.

2.3.1 The need to conserve

According to Pendlebury (2009, p. 203) *'The decision to conserve may arise from different intentions'*. Different scholars provide numerous reasons behind conservation. However they all agree upon the need of maintaining elements of the past for satisfying contemporary needs. In particular, according to Hobson (2004, p. 29) the need to conserve lies heavily on people's perception about the past and their present needs which heritage may help to satisfy.

Merriman (1991) suggests that one of the reasons for which people seek to conserve is that the past provides stability, certainty and continuity in contrast to their everyday lives which are characterized by anxiety and instability. Hence, people seek to protect these missing virtues through heritage (Toffler 1970). Lowenthal (1975, p. 1) argues that our need to conserve is due to the sense of nostalgia that people feel for the past. According to him we seek to conserve and thus to *'relive those days of yesteryear because we are absolutely sure that those thrilling days are out of reach'* (Rosenblatt 1973, p. 23), while according to Wright (1985), people seek to protect something when they feel that in light of changes this is in danger. Finally, another reason behind conservation is the non instrumental values of heritage as those

presented above as well as the instrumental values of heritage (i.e. potential and benefits that arise from heritage's use, exploitation and/or conservation) (Smith 1974) as will be presented below (see 2.3.3).

The need to understand the motivations and justifications for conservation has been highlighted by both literature (Ashworth 1991, p. 8) and international charters (see Burra Charter 1999). For example, if we value an old building for its historical value, we focus on its historic nature, but if we value it for its potential role in regeneration, other issues, such as its functionality in relation to its immediate environment, may be of priority (Pendlebury 2009). In line with the reasons for identifying and appreciating heritage (see also 2.2, 2.3.3) understanding what is selected as heritage, and hence what is to be conserved and for what purposes, can facilitate conservation of the elements and/or aspects important to people in immediate contact with heritage.

2.3.2 From a defensive and sterile approach to a flexible and socially sensitive one

The evolution of the concept

Conservation does not follow a single approach (Worskett 1982; Larkham 1996), as it performs a variety of roles supported by diverse philosophical strands (Hobson 2004, pp. 4, 6). Conservation of heritage in Europe has a long history traced back to the 18th century, but it has evolved in its current form the last 50 years (Rodwell 2007, pp. 1-3). In line with the arguments about heritage as a social construct, conservation has shifted from a defensive and sterile approach to building forms determined by experts to a flexible one. This includes also intangible aspects and involves the general public as it is presented in this section.

Until the mid 20th century, the main approach was that of preservation, which mainly aimed at keeping the built structures in their current state (Rodwell 2007, p. 8; Burke 1976). Preservation was an approach to retention, focused initially on individual buildings, structures and artefacts and later on ensembles, objecting to any changes as imperatively expressed in the word 'save' (Ashworth 1994; Wilde 1981, p. 16). The assumption was that the past can be preserved

through its sites or its material representations, such as the old buildings, supporting the idea of continued existence (Ashworth 2012; Burke 1976). Hence, to *'preserve may be taken to mean as far as possible to retain intact the total integrity of the structure, with its original finishes, decorations, its setting and so on'* (Young 1977, p. 68 as cited in Larkham 1996, pp. 12-13). Key scholars such as Ruskin (1849), supported this approach, emphasising that the present generations have no right to 'touch' the buildings of the past. According to the Ruskinian approach, elements of heritage should be saved "as found" and passed untouched to future generations, refusing restoration or any other form of modification and adjustment of buildings and structures (Ruskin 1849, pp. 353-359). This was reflecting a "rational world paradigm" (Fisher 1987, p. 2; Habermas 1984; Kinsella 2002), in which specialized knowledge was given legitimacy, while lay people's perspectives were not considered as important (Lyotard 1984). Within this frame the word use was almost forbidden, considered as a threat to preservation. Selection of heritage was based on supposedly objective and 'internal' to heritage criteria such as age, historicity and aesthetics, determined by experts denoting thus an elitist approach (Ashworth 1994). This approach however favoured a singular rather than a pluralistic heritage in an attempt to create a collective memorialized past against the massive changes of industrial revolution (Ashworth 2012, p. 5223).

Preservation as retention started to transform in 1960's especially in Western Countries, as official national⁴ and international⁵ policy documents show. The opposition to the sterile protection of forms and the support of *'living conservation'* increased significantly in Europe and America (Rodwell 2007, p. 33). Key scholars and predecessors of the modern idea of conservation (such as Sir Patrick Geddes and Gustavo Giovannoni) argued that cities, as places of social action and interaction, evolve due to the changing needs and values, hence conservation of heritage must have a *'mutually supportive and harmonious coexistence'* in order to keep these cities alive, rather than turning them into open air museums (Rodwell 2007, pp. 30-34). Furthermore, conservation of entire areas could not be based on a preservationist approach due to the various and demanding needs of their communities, which

⁴in the Netherlands (1961), France (1962) and Italy (1970) (Burtenshaw et al. 1991; Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990)

⁵ see for example World heritage Convention in 1972, the Declaration of Amsterdam, 1975; the 1976 Recommendation; the Granada Convention, 1985; the Washington Charter, 1987; and Burra Charter, 1999

could not be met by a 'save as found' approach (Steinberg 1996; Jokilehto 1999). Lowenthal (1985, pp. 275-287) notes that '*conservation is a part of the process of change*'. Hence, the slogan has changed from 'saving' to that of the 'adaptive reuse' and from the concept of preservation to that of conservation (Ashworth 2012, p. 5223).

Conservation instead underlined the need for tailor-made strategies to suit local communities' socioeconomic and environmental needs and to take best advantage of their inherited investment in place and people (Rodwell 2007, p. 58; Pendlebury 2009, p. 30). Conservation in this respect sets a policy approach which supports conservation in favour of public interests (Delafons 1997, p. 4).

The object of conservation has been broadened up so as to incorporate '*integrated environments*' which include both the urban fabric and the social life encompassed in this fabric (Tunbridge 1981, p. 18; Burke 1976; Ashworth 1993, pp. 28-30). Within this frame, the protection of heritage within a certain place is not only the 'preserve' of architects and art historians, based on 'internal' to heritage criteria, but it should also involve planners and managers of place, supporting local peoples' involvement (Ashworth 2012; Pendlebury 2009; Larkham 1996; Bailly 1975; Tunbridge 1981, pp. 115-116; Orbasli 2000). For example, the European Charter of Architectural Heritage, as complemented by the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975) states that the protection of the built historic environment lies heavily upon '*its integration into the context of people's lives and the weight attached to it*' (Rodwell 2007, p. 13).

It is important to note here that despite the evolution of conservation the difference between the preservation and the conservation paradigm has often remained at a theoretical level in some European countries, including Greece (see more in Chapter 5). Conservation has been often used as a synonym to preservation, used mainly in the goals and methods rather than in the actions themselves. Not only has conservation focused on tangible aspects, but it was in many cases driven only by experts (Hayden 1997) focusing on "*great buildings and places*" leaving little space for lay people's considerations and interpretations (Tait and While 2009, p.

722). This has opened up the area for further research in the field, motivating my intention to undertake this study.

The Aims of Conservation

“Perhaps the most widely accepted ideas about the aims of conservation are those established by the Burra Charter and the UNESCO Conventions, which consider that the primary aim of the profession is the conservation of cultural significance and the values that are entailed in cultural heritage. Hence it is now widely accepted that the primary aim of conservation practice is to preserve the values attributed to heritage and those aspects that give significance to objects, buildings, sites, landscapes and traditions” (Alonso et al. 2012, pp. 4-5).

In this respect the values of heritage are at the core of conservation and hence their exploration is crucial in shaping conservation policies. What is crucial and relevant to the context of this research is what these values may be, who defines them and whether those are perceived in the same way by everyone. While values of heritage have been for a long time determined by experts it is questionable whether lay people identify and value heritage for the same reasons (Ashworth 2012; Lowenthal 1985).

A number of scholars go further, suggesting that conservation objectives should focus on adapting the historic urban fabric into current needs, *‘so as to allow the life of the community to go on, with scope for both buildings and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions’* (Young 1977, p. 68) i.e economic, political, and social conditions (Doratli et al. 2004; Howard and Pinder 2003; Pearce 2001). In line with the evolution of the conservation concept (see previous section), *“conservation should devote itself at a very fundamental level to making places and social connections rather than to simply preserving and making a fetish of things”* (Bluestone 2000, p. 66). Arguing about the role of urban places as living sites *“in which the presence of humans is essential for their existence”* (Zancheti et al. 2011) conservation of heritage within them should safeguard the *‘continuity of socio-economic and environmental functionality’* which affects *“people who are affected by the heritage or its meanings”* (Rodwell 2007, p. 59). In this sense, local communities are incorporated in the objectives of conservation.

Jones and Holden (2008) for example, stress that conservation should reach out to people and have social and economic benefits.

Orbasli (2000) identifies 3 distinct objectives of conservation. The first refers to the physical form of the urban fabric in itself and the way that this can be managed effectively in order to accommodate change (Worskett 1969); the second relates to the townscape as a holistic entity in order to ensure both the integrity of the built environment and its use; the third objective concerns the role of local communities, stressing the significance of the continuation of urban life in historic cities and urban areas in which the economy plays a vital role (Orbasli 2000). Similarly, Nuryanti (1996) argues that local communities offer vitality and viability to a historic area, as well as local knowledge. In this respect, *“successful conservation requires working with, rather than dictating to, communities”*, as emphasized in Agenda 21. Hence, local communities’ importance reflected on the goals of conservation (Zetter and Watson 2006, p. 105). The importance of lay-people and in particular residents in conservation is further analysed in the following section.

The question that arises here in relation to the way that heritage is perceived is that the above objectives seem to take certain things for granted. For instance, and in relation to this thesis, they refer to the ‘protection’ of values of heritage. Avrami et al. (2000, p. 8) stress that *“The ultimate aim of conservation is not to conserve material for its own sake but rather to maintain the values embodied by heritage.”* However do these remain ‘unchangeable’ in view of conservation and its impact on the physical aspect and the social and economic continuation of heritage cities and areas? The ‘targets’ and ‘actions’ of conservation may impact upon these values and affect the way in which people perceive heritage. However, this remains as a topic uninvestigated as further presented below (Avrami et al. 2000, p. 8).

The need of involving residents

In the light of more flexible and inclusive conservation approaches as well as in view of the more participatory approaches to planning, the exclusive role of experts in conservation has been disputed. The need of taking into consideration the views of local people has been

highlighted both in academic literature (Schofield 2014; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Hubbard 1993; Green 2012; Vinas 2005, p. 212) as well as at institutional levels (see for example Burra Charter 1999; Faro Convention 2005).

Research carried out by the Getty Conservation Institute (2000, p. 3), has pinpointed that heritage conservation is *“an integral part of civil society, and that conservation can no longer be an isolated profession with its own distinctive aims”* supporting the importance of local people in the identification of the object of conservation, arguing further that it is them who are mainly affected by conservation policies and activities. *“That is to say, there is a clear tendency of heritage conservation of shifting attention from cultural heritage to the social agents that confer values to heritage”* (Jones and Holden 2008 in Alonso et al. 2011, pp. 4-5). The Washington Charter (1987) also positions residents in heritage places as the primary stakeholders underlying the importance of their participation in conservation. Furthermore, a number of scholars, (see Sutherland and Tweed 2007; Pendlebury 2009; Blaug et al. 2006), as well as international organisations (such as ICOMOS especially through the Venice 1964 and Burra Charter 1999) have stressed the need of understanding the public and especially locals’ viewpoints on heritage and its conservation. According to the above arguments residents have the right to have a say on conservation and in what this encompasses, such as identification of heritage and certain actions towards it. It is essentially argued that the places to be conserved are first and foremost their place of living (see aims of conservation). *“It is for them that conservation is performed”* (Vinas 2005, p. 153). These are people with rights and actual practical influence on heritage and thus understanding their views is of seminal importance (Avrami et al. 2002; Cameron et al. 2001).

The significance of examining local residents’ perceptions has been highlighted by a number of studies, in the context of urban environment in general (Green 1999; Green 2010) and in the context of heritage places in particular (Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Hubbard 1993). These stress the need for more research (Green 1999; Green 2010; Lynch 1976) in order to understand the elements that are significant to people who live within a certain place. Apart from the scientific criteria or experts’ justifications for conservation, local people’s input makes

the process both more democratic, informed and coherent (Hubbard 1993, p. 369; Stripe 1987; p. 274). Clark (2006, p. 60) underlines the contribution of *“working with a community group to identify what is important to them and then translating those values into action”*. In line with the above and taking into account the arguments about heritage as a social construct (see 2.1), unravelling local residents’ perceptions is in the heart of understanding what is wanted to be conserved and for what purposes by people who are in daily contact with heritage.

In general, it has been suggested that the significance of local resident’s input in understanding an urban place rests on information obtained from those who know the place best. This can make vital contributions to urban planning and design policies (Gifford 2002, p. 31). Planning and design in a city requires understanding of this city. This understanding may be to a high extent obtained by the meaning that a place has for people, which in turn demands residents-derived *“specific and substantive information”* (Kallus 2001, p. 132). In addition, understanding of locals’ perceptions of their environment may further contribute to the sustainable development of towns and cities (Neil 2004; Tweed and Sutherland 2007, p. 65), enabling policies to respond better to residents’ needs (Wyman and Taylor 2010, p. 544).

Furthermore, residents’ perceptions affect the configuration and development of a place (Nuntaa 2010). Uzzel (1989) underlines the importance of local people’s perceptions of their urban environment in *“creating the sense of place and awareness of the areas’ heritage”* (Khalid Al-hagla 2010, p. 242), which triggers its *“ability to direct both development and conservation”* (Firey 1945; Firey 1947; Breen 1996; Walton 2002 cited in Paulsen 2004, p. 248). However, local residents’ perceptual, affective, and cognitive responses to the environment are often ignored, or undermined in support of more ‘tangible’ considerations justified ‘scientifically’ by experts (Green 1999, p. 314; Southworth 1989).

Experts’ views however have been challenged by numerous studies, especially landscape, architectural and perception based studies questioning their congruence with locals’ perceptions (Hershberger 1988; Uzzell and Leward 1990; Ashworth 2012). Understanding locals’ perceptions of their heritage and their conservation, as well as uncovering what lies behind them, may contribute to conservation policies of higher public support. *“It is now widely*

accepted that the success of any conservation policy requires the support of the public who are directly affected. Without such support, it would not be possible to preserve the historic environment. "The greater the public support is the more likely it is that policies for the area will be implemented voluntarily and without the need of additional statutory controls" (Larkham 2000, p. 74). Hence, in order for conservation policies to be supported they should reflect the needs and perceptions of local residents. *"This does not undermine the role of the conservation professional, but suggests that the ability of the expert also to become a facilitator needs to be developed"* (Townshend and Pendlebury 1999, p. 329). In other words, locals' perceptions may complement and shape accordingly the policies for a particular place.

However, for more than 30 years users' perceptions have been neglected (Jencks 1977; Rapoport 1982), and they often continue to be neglected. Similarly, Paillard (2011) suggests that the role of sociology in the field of heritage has been limited so far, despite its distinct relevance to the urban field. Nasser (2003, p. 477) claims that *'the absence of a social and cultural perspective is evident in the conservation and heritage planning literature'*, as the physical product tends to be the centre of attention. This absence has *'raised philosophical problems of selectivity, interpretation, and re-creation of the cultural heritage that have defined and redefined the meaning and significance of the cultural resource'*. In this respect, the need for approaches that engage local residents is highlighted both in the wider field of the urban environment (Delvin and Nassar 1989; Hershberger 1988; Pennarz and Elsigna 1990; Uzzell and Leward 1990; Green 1999; Green 2010) and in the context of heritage places in particular (Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Larkham 2000).

2.3.3 Protecting or affecting heritage? Valuing conservation

As introduced above the values of heritage are among the main aims of conservation. *"Urban sites are conserved because they have values and these are always defined in relation to other values"* (Zancheti et al. 2011, p. 98). These values may be non instrumental (see 2.2) or instrumental, i.e values related to heritage's potential through its exploitation or conservation. In this regard, conservation may affect the way that heritage is perceived. Ashworth (1995, p.

56) characteristically states that *'the conservation movement creates the resources it conserves, in so far as its stimulation of an awareness of historicity endows value to objects or buildings which previously had no such ascribed value'*.

Recent discussion on conservation has raised questions regarding its contribution and its outcomes and their relation to the way that heritage is appreciated. Key scholars such as Hobson (2004, p. 11), Larkham (1996) and McManus (2000, p. 107) have questioned the scope, justifications and impacts of conservation. However, most studies in urban conservation focus on the 'how' questions of conservation - looking at the ways and 'solutions' of conservation - rather than on the 'what' and 'why' questions (Hobson 2004, p. 5). Despite the evolution of the concept of conservation (see above) it is still often based on the *"concept of 'special architectural and historic interest', (see also 2.1.2) but we rarely discuss what those mean and how we interpret them. The big conservation questions have been about whether or not we should restore something – not whether it mattered or not"* (Clark 2003, p. 59). Until ten years ago, *'few studies have ever attempted to look at the values underpinning urban conservation, to assess their efficacy and to challenge their relevance. There is simply a lack of knowledge'* (Hobson 2004, p. 7). The assets of conservation or instrumental values of heritage have been usually considered as self evident (Hobson 2004, p. 5). The significance of conservation has been often taken for granted, perceived to confer an inherent positive meaning: It is usually better to conserve rather than not to (Lowenthal 1975; Larkham 1996).

The interest in the values of conservation has however considerably increased the following years, mainly due to the need of professionals to assess their actions, to justify costs and attract funding but also due to the need to involve local communities (Alonso 2012). Both heritage institutions (see for example ICOMOS, Getty Conservation Institute) and academics (Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Larkham 1996; Rodwell 2009) carried out research in the effects of conservation policies and practices. This particularly focused on the advantages and misgivings of conservation for three main pillars: economy, society and environment as it is further elaborated below (UNESCO 2005, p. 2; Lithgow and Thackray 2009). Alonso (et al. 2011, pp. 4-5) in particular stresses that in order to assess conservation it is important to examine *"the*

positive and negative social, economic and environmental impacts that such activities may bring about”.

What is important to note here is that these impacts may affect the way that heritage is viewed and valued (Alonso et al. 2012, p. 4). While the impacts of conservation on the aspects mentioned above are often examined by relevant studies, the extent to which and the way that these impacts may affect the values of heritage is often overlooked, *“assuming that interventions do not change cultural significance and that only the assessment of the fabric is worth documenting, assessing and monitoring after conservation interventions”* (Alonso et al. 2012, p. 4). Hence, while the protection of values of heritage constitutes a primary aim of conservation, conservation may influence or change these values. *“Conservation activities modify the way we interpret and value objects, landscapes and sites, and therefore conservation has an important impact on heritage’s cultural significance”* (Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2). A research carried out by ICCROM (2012) suggests that conservation can reduce, boost or in general change the values of heritage, which may in turn impact on its protection. Miura (2005) and Baillie (2006), provide a characteristic example in Angkor, Cambodia. In this case, a traditional approach of conservation, based on historical and aesthetic criteria undermined *“the living values of this site, causing a negative impact on its spiritual and social values”* (Alonso 2012, p. 4). In the attempt to unravel how people perceive and especially how they value heritage, the impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage is another area which the thesis seeks to contribute to.

In view of the above the current section elaborates on the effects of conservation focusing on three key areas as: economy, society and environment. These are the most important areas on which conservation may have an impact as raised by current studies. The examination of the impacts of conservation on these aspects is useful in this study for one main reason; the design and examination of the extent to which these impacts, as raised by relevant studies, may influence the way in which people, and especially residents, value heritage. As raised by relevant studies the impacts of conservation on social, economic and environmental aspects may affect the way that people perceive heritage (Alonso 2012; Rodwell 2007). Hence these are

used in examining whether and how they influence the way that heritage is valued in the particular context.

Conservation Impacts on Economy: Potential Values and Problems

As already introduced the impacts of conservation on economy, society and environment may provide a basis for examining the impacts of conservation in the way that heritage is perceived and in particular in the way that heritage is valued. This section focuses on the economic impacts of conservation.

A number of studies deal with the economic impacts of conservation (see for example Navrud and Ready 2002; Madgin 2010; Throsby 2001; Greffe 2003). However, most of these studies focus on the objective measurement of these impacts rather than on people's perceptions on the issue. While these positivist oriented approaches provide evidence about positive or negative impacts of conservation on the economy, studies which examine the extent to which those are perceived accordingly by residents and experts within a certain context are less developed (Alonso 2012; Clark 2003). For instance, Throsby suggested a system for the economic evaluation of heritage, looking at the direct and indirect values (Throsby 2001). Similarly, Avrami et al. (2000) have undertaken research in the value of heritage on the behalf of Getty Conservation Institute indicating ways of measuring the economic value and providing evidence about the income that can be produced through conservation of heritage (eg. Avrami et al. 2000; Cameron 2006, p. 81).

The benefits in most heritage studies on the value of conservation in the economy relate to a) economic advantages of regeneration/ rehabilitation and heritage-led tourism (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Nuryanti 1996; Hewison 1987) or b) to purely economic gains of rehabilitating and reusing instead of demolishing and re-building (Steinberg 1996; Rypkema 2005).

Regarding the first type of benefits, conservation may contribute to the enhancement of a place's unique identity, which in turn leads to the attraction of tourism and/or investment and thus to economic development (Thurley 2007). Ashworth (1993, p. 31) argues that the line between the process of conservation and that of development is blurred, supporting that

conservation *'is a form of development in itself'*. Conservation is often considered as a lever of enhancing economic development due to its potential to attract tourism, businesses and increase employment, with examples of particular cases and projects provided (Cameron 2006; Steinberg 1996; Pickard 2002; Pendlebury 2002; Pendlebury 2009; Nuryanti 1996).

Conservation often addresses heritage as a commodifiable resource consumed by contemporary society (Urry 1995; Ashworth 1993; Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990). In this respect, the increase of tourism, the reuse of the urban fabric for leisure, cultural or other activities and the enhancement of a historic areas' appeal, often lead to the increase of the investment interest in the area, attracting businesses and capital (Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Strange 1996; Cunningham 2002). Relevant studies have proved that investing in building rehabilitation results in higher incomes and more jobs on average compared to other industrial investment, due to the increase of cultural tourism (INHERIT 2007, p. 16).

Regarding the second category of economic advantages of conservation, rehabilitation of a historic city, urban area or building may be less costly compared to their demolition and replacement with new buildings and structures (Steinberg 1996; Rypkema 2005; Fitch 1982; Nasser 2003).

On the other side of the coin, conservation may also bear negative economic effects. Most of the problems relate to neoliberal and commodification approaches to conservation, which view heritage as a saleable commodity. Most critiques relate to the negative impacts of tourism on heritage places (such as Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Herbert 1995; Orbasli 2000; Newby 1994). Scholars conclude that the increase of heritage-led tourism can jeopardise the vitality of local economies (Van-der-Borg et al. 1996; Pendlebury et al. 2009). In particular, the increase of tourism in a historic city or urban area, often leads to rising inflationary pressures in local economies (Newby 1994). Prices in both products and land/property increase substantially and becoming often unaffordable to residents. In conjunction with the above, the prices of rents are pushed up, as they are primarily oriented to tourists, becoming often beyond the reach of local people (Nasser 2003; Chesire 2010).

In the context of this research, the benefits and problems as identified above are examined for its relevance to perceptions of local people and experts in the attempt to understand how the impacts of conservation are perceived -rather than how they are measured - and affect the way of valuing heritage.

Conservation impacts on the Environment: Potential Values and Problems

Environmental impacts of conservation, as identified in relevant studies, are also examined for its relevance in this research and for their 'role' in affecting the way that experts and residents value heritage. The environmental benefits of heritage's conservation may concern either the natural or the built environment. These advantages may relate to: a) the reuse of the old urban structures and b) the advantages of heritage place's urban fabric and structure (Stubbs 2004).

Concerning the benefits for the natural environment, restoration and reuse of old buildings/ structures avoids the waste of materials and saves the energy required for the construction of new buildings. In this way, conservation contributes to the economization of resources and energy necessary for the construction and reconstruction of a building (Landorf 2011; Steinberg 1996). It is claimed that the refurbishment of historic districts have anyway 'energy advantages' when compared to new constructions: new construction use from four to eight times more resources than refurbishment (Yates 2006). Cameron (2006, p. 75) for example shows that the reuse of existing buildings results in 27% reduction of energy consumption as opposed to new construction. While these are measurable benefits it is still questionable whether residents acknowledge these advantages or whether these really matter to them.

The advantages of conservation for the built environment relate to the enhancement of the aesthetics and distinctiveness of heritage places and the continuation of buildings and structures of particular aesthetic value (Stubbs 2004; Larkham 1996; Paulsen 2004).The extent to which these are perceived likewise by experts and residents and its relation with the other values will enrich our understanding about how people view conservation and whether this affects them in valuing heritage.

Conservation on the other hand, may be also associated with problems related to environmental issues. Although conservation may take advantage of the potential of heritage places, the rules and regulations which are often imposed may hinder the application of new measures towards environmental sustainability. For example, new technologies and solutions regarding energy efficiency often cannot be applied or they have to be applied in sensitive ways to listed buildings and structures, being often more expensive. Therefore, while technology is in place, residents often cannot take advantage of this technology (Effesus 2011; Lewis et al. 2013, p. 14).

Other environmental challenges of conservation have to do with conservation approaches which view heritage as a commodifiable product or simply as an object (see also impacts on the economy). Regulations on and/ or changes in buildings often indicate that more value is placed on the exterior in order to generate revenues rather than valuing the building as an integral whole (Nasser 2003) reaching in some cases even the verge of 'disneyfication' (Depieri 2010). Conservation policies are often restricted to measures of the material aspects of heritage, indicating thus that this is what is more important, overlooking the intangible aspects that heritage may encompass.

Similarly to economic aspects, research on environmental issues related to conservation has been mainly focused on assessment of environmental capacity issues (such as Arup et al. 1995) or of technical solutions concerning environmental sustainability on the built environment. What is thus relevant in the context of this study is to examine the extent to which the above issues are perceived by people and whether they affect them in identifying and valuing heritage.

Conservation Impacts on the Society: Potential Values and Problems

The impacts of conservation on societal aspects and the extent to which these can affect appreciation of heritage is another area of consideration in this research, in an attempt to understand people's perceptions of heritage. *"Social impacts and the improvement in people's quality of life have been a frequently overlooked aspect in the evaluation of conservation*

activities”(Alonso et al. 2012, p. 7), whilst a number of projects across the world reveal that conservation affects the societal aspects of a heritage place (Alonso et al. 2012, p. 7).

Social capital is among the most often mentioned assets of conservation (Alonso et al. 2012, p. 7). Social capital refers to the degree of connectedness between individuals or groups, providing them a variety of benefits and the ability to become more productive (Paxton 1999, p. 90). Advantages of conservation regarding social capital relate to a high extent to the two following issues a) to the urban form and b) to economic benefits as described before.

Most historic cities and urban areas have compact urban form, which allows close proximity of different activities, a central market place, distinct homogeneity regarding the type of structures and buildings and easily identifiable human scale in their urban grain (Giovanonni as quoted in Rodwell, 2007, p. 34). In addition to the above, the community was used to be socially mixed in the European historic city (Rodwell 2009). Hence conservation of this type of urban places can contribute to social cohesion and inclusion (Pendlebury 2009, p. 214), enhancing the contemporary social interaction (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998). This is due to the fact that people have similar living conditions, they may interact more often as the compact urban form enhances pedestrian movement, while the whole community shares the same centre of activity (Stephenson 2002; Bandarin and Van Oers 2012). In general the homogeneity that characterises these areas may ease imbalances and inequalities and mitigate social division (Ashworth 2012). Hence, the focus of conservation on places with the above characteristics can be important in creating more equal communities (Rodwell 2007, pp. 29-35).

However, the extent to which this is the case can be disputable, depending on the specific context as well as on the approach to conservation. In particular, *“conservation schemes and programmes in deprived and deteriorated historic quarters, by improving the physical urban landscape and appeal of these areas, usually create gentrification and a pressure on poor, vulnerable communities to move out of these sites”* (Ercan 2011, p. 297). The upgrading of the physical fabric and the creation of economic activity may create an unaffordable life for local residents –or at least for a number of them. This in turn may lead to their displacement (Steinberg 1996; Hardoy 1983), social exclusion and gentrification (Unesco 2004; Unesco 2005;

Esther Hiu and Kwan Yung et al. 2011). Evidence has also shown that the listing of a place leads to the increase of the property/land values, which in turn may lead to the dislocation of the less affluent residents, who cannot afford to stay in the area (Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2012). All the above may result in the loss of social continuity (Pendlebury et al. 2004; Chan Ma 2004).

The second group of social assets of conservation is associated with economic benefits. As presented in the previous section, conservation including the restoration and rehabilitation of old buildings may enhance job creation thus benefiting the local labour force. Furthermore, the rise of tourism in historic urban areas may also lead to more employment opportunities for locals. Consequently, unemployment rates may be significantly reduced (Pickard 2002; Pendlebury 2002). Conservation may also contribute to the development of skills related to heritage activities, such as the restoration of historic buildings and the provision of guided tours for visitors (Atkins and IFA 2004; Esther Hiu Kwan Yung 2011).

On the other hand, tourist oriented conservation approaches may bear a number of social problems. For example, the focus on tourist related activities can gradually lead to the loss of local professions or crafts in favour of those that cater for tourists (Newby 1994; Nasser 2003) but also to overlooking locals' needs in favour of tourists' needs. Hence, residents may feel strangers in their own place (Healey 1992).

Another social issue relates to the elitist nature of some conservation policies, as introduced in previous sections. Indeed the selection of the object of protection is often being made only by the elites or the ruling class, including politicians and experts, undermining often the local voices (Tunbridge 1984; Larkham 1996; Pendlebury et al. 2009) as it is the case of Greece (see Chapter 5). Hence, conservation often represents the opinions of a well-educated minority which may fail to represent the townscapes of groups and the pluralistic aspects of heritage and its conservation (Slater 1997; Negussie 2012).

Despite the importance of the issues raised above, the social perspective has been given less attention in conservation literature, as the physical environment and the economics are the main focal points when conservation is assessed (Orbasli 2000; Stubbs 2004; Landorf 2011).

'This has raised philosophical problems of selectivity, authenticity, interpretation, and re-creation of heritage that have defined and redefined the meaning and significance of the cultural resource' (Nasser 2003, p. 477). In this respect, unravelling the social advantages and misgivings of conservation as perceived by residents and the impact that these may in turn have on their perceptions of heritage can be crucial in understanding people's values placed on heritage.

As it is already noted, examining the relevance of the economic, environmental and social impacts of conservation in both experts' but also locals' perceptions and the extent to which these can affect the way that heritage is valued may contribute to the understanding of the way that perceptions of heritage are formed.

Conclusions

The Chapter has shown that heritage and its conservation are socially constructed concepts the existence of which depends on people's perceptions. Hence, in order to understand what constitutes heritage and why, it is critical to explore people's perceptions on the issue. The Chapter particularly stressed the gaps of research in the area of perceptions of heritage, which this study attempts to contribute knowledge to.

The first part of the Chapter focused on heritage, showing that while there is a common agreement about heritage as a social construct, which encompasses tangible and intangible aspects, our knowledge about the way that this is constructed is far from complete. Indeed, while it is important to examine how people in direct contact with heritage, such as residents in heritage places, perceive heritage, our knowledge on the issue is still limited. Apart from the fact that experts' perceptions of heritage often dominate over those of residents', even when residents' perceptions are the objects of focus these are not approached holistically and often remain quite abstract. For example, while a number of studies address the reasons for appreciating heritage, these often refer to certain predefined values without explaining how these are understood by experts and residents. Similarly, the reasons that may trigger these values, but also the selection of something as heritage, remain often quite abstract and unclear.

While preservationist approaches to heritage argue about characteristics internal to heritage, as determinant for its selection and evaluation, contemporary conservation approaches argue that heritage (selection and evaluation) depends on the individual and as such it is subject to factors internal to the individual. However, it is still questionable how the above factors may affect the selection and evaluation of heritage as well as the extent to which heritage may be objectively or subjectively determined. Values and factors that affect the identification of heritage as raised by other studies facilitate the purposes and analysis of this research, examining their relevance within a certain context as experienced by people.

The Chapter further questioned the role of conservation in the way that heritage is perceived. The second part of the Chapter introduced the contemporary approach to conservation and its evolution from a defensive and sterile approach to a flexible and socially inclusive one, stressing the need of approaching lay people's perspectives of heritage in order to build more welcoming and democratic conservation policies. However, the Chapter questions whether conservation is just an action of protecting heritage or, more than that, whether it can affect what it attempts to protect in the first place, such as the values related to heritage. Indeed, while similar claims have been made by current literature, research on the impacts of conservation on the way that heritage is selected and valued is limited. Reviewing the rich literature about the advantages and misgivings of conservation, the Chapter sets a basis on which similar issues are investigated in the current study asking whether and how these may affect people's perceptions of heritage.

To sum up, the Chapter indicated that our knowledge on the way that experts and residents perceive heritage is far from complete. This is however necessary in order to understand heritage as a social construct. The Chapter further questioned the role of conservation in the way that heritage is perceived and the limited research on the issue highlighting another area that this thesis seeks to contribute to. Apart from raising the gaps in the current research the Chapter outlined issues which helped in the design and analysis of this study as will be shown in the following Chapters.

CHAPTER 3: APPROACHING PERCEPTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF PLACE

Introduction

The previous Chapter introduced heritage and conservation as socially constructed concepts, showing that their existence and value depend on people's perceptions. This Chapter draws on the concept of perceptions in order to a) understand what perception is about and b) how it can be approached in the context of place and in relation to heritage, so as to provide a basis for a conceptual framework for this research. The first section explains the relation and the links between people and place in order to set the context for the study of people's perceptions within a particular place. The second section moves on to the concept of perception, introducing and defining what perception relates to, what it consists of and how it is used in the context of this thesis. The third section moves further towards approaches to study perceptions in the wider field of urban environment, arguing that research in people's perceptions in heritage places and their conservation is limited. It specifically attempts to bring together the abstract concept of perceptions with more tangible examples from relevant research in order to link the concept with those of heritage and its conservation, as addressed in the previous Chapter.

3.1 The reciprocity of place-people relationship: setting the context

"Heritage is as much about people as it is about place" (Schofield 2014, p. 2).

Heritage is indeed heavily place bound: *"Just as every place is encultured, so every culture is emplaced"* (Casey 1993, p. 31). Heritage may be better examined and understood when focusing on the place in which it is 'embedded' or relates to: *"If conservation is to succeed in maintaining the integrity, cultural identity, and historical continuity of these centres, then the contention is that an understanding of the meaning of these places – (...) – is vital"* (Nasser 2003, p. 77). But how is place defined and what is its relation to people and their perceptions?

*"A place is a **qualitative**, 'total' phenomenon which we cannot reduce to any of its properties such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight"* (Norberg-Schulz

1980, p. 8). Scholars from different disciplines such as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974) from geography, Schultz (1980), Lynch (1984, 1990) and Rapoport (1990) from architecture and Proshansky (1978; 1983) from environmental behavior, Lefebvre (1991) from sociology and Heidegger (1971) and Casey (1997; 2001) from psychology have been investigating the interrelations between place and people in order to understand how people attach meaning to place and how place affects people's perceptions and actions towards it (Tuan 1974; 1977; 1980; Relph 1976; 1997; Seamon 1979; 1982; 1989; Buttner 1980; Norberg-Schulz 1980; Garnham 1985; Seamon and Mugerauer 1985; Altman and Low 1992; Green 1999). Despite the different disciplines and various purposes of this research, they all recognise the reciprocal relationship between people and place, where place affects the individual, while in turn people's perceptions may affect a place (Gifford 2002, p. 5; Proshansky et al. 1976).

Numerous scholars (such as Tuan 1977; Brandenburg and Carroll 1995; Relph 1976; Relph 1997) agree that a place is a centre of meaning which incorporates our thoughts, emotions, memories and experiences (Stedman 2002, p. 562; Creswell 2004, p. 85). Characteristically, Schofield (2008) and Löfgren (2002) use the term 'double-exposure' to argue that a place is not simply made up of its materiality: "*We don't just experience place by seeing it, and processing information about it from a purely visual encounter*" (Schofield 2008, p. 19) but we also give/extract meaning to/from a place, which may be based on history/stories about a place, memories and moods. This is intensified when we talk about heritage places, which present strong links with the past.

Place is not just a container of people and their qualities. People form perceptions of places and attribute meanings to them. This in turn can affect people's attitudes and actions towards places (Knight 1987; Lee 1976, p. 10). Casey (1997) and Malpas (2001) stress the influence of people's perceptions on the configuration of a place showing at the same time that place affects people's psychology, emotions, thoughts and thus their social and cultural identity (Knight 1987; Malpas 1999). From a phenomenological point of view Rapoport (1990, p. 14) notes that "*people react to environments in terms of the meanings the environments have for them*" while these meanings are to a great extent an outcome of people's interactions with

these environments (Rapoport 1990, p. 14). In that way, *'places are totalities (...) where the different components relate to each other in a meaningful 'Gestalt', and where the whole is experienced as more than its constituent parts'* (Strecker 2000, p. 86). In view of the above, place and people together constitute an inseparable entity in which each component relates to and may affect and be affected by the other. Hence, in order to better contribute to a conservation of a place it is crucial to understand people's perspectives on it.

Strongly related to the sense of place and with high relevance to heritage is the concept of the character of a place (see Green 2012; Hawke 2010). In the context of heritage and its conservation, the concepts of "genius loci" (Seamon 1989; Norberg-Schulz 1980), sense of place (Hummon 1992; Steele 1981) and character (Schuster 1990) have been used interchangeably, in numerous contemporary European planning documents which stress the need to protect or enhance the character of places with rich heritage (Cossons 2000; Ouf 2001). For example, UK and Greek central government guidance note that 'character' is central when considering a designation for a conservation area (in the UK context, Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage 1994), historic city, urban area or traditional settlement (in the Greek context). However, character is often vaguely used in conservation frameworks by experts with little knowledge about lay people's perspectives on the issue (Jiven and Larkham 2003).

Terms such as those mentioned above have been used to refer to a place's 'atmosphere' (Tuan 1974; Tuan 1977; Tuan 1980; Seamon 1979; 1982; 1989; Buttimer 1980; Seamon and Mugerauer 1985; Altman and Low 1992). This in particular refers to the totality of a place which encompasses tangible and intangible features and their interactions (Brandenburg and Carroll 1995, p. 384; Hawke 2010; Stedman 2003). Taking thus into account the interrelationship between people and place, understanding this totality and its constituent elements may be achieved by examining people's perceptions of a place (Jiven and Larkham 2003, p. 74).

3.2 Perceptions and their components

“Heritage is a matter of perception” (Schofield 2014, p. 6).

Having underlined the socially constructed nature of heritage and its conservation (see Chapter 2) as well as the interrelationship between people and place, (see 3.1) the understanding of which lies heavily on people’s perceptions, this section addresses the concept of perception. It introduces the concept of perception and its constituent aspects in order to understand what perception in this research stands for and how it is used. Reviewing the concept of perception is useful in explaining what is particularly examined when speaking about perceptions of heritage. This provides the advantage of exploring perceptions holistically rather than fragmented aspects, allowing participants to reveal and elaborate on the more relevant and important aspects of their perceptions.

3.2.1 Defining Perception

Although the word perception is widely used, there is not a commonly agreed definition. There are however two main approaches (Schiff 1970): one focuses on the physical aspects of perception denoting the *‘ability to see, hear, or become aware of something through the senses*; the other focuses on the more abstract and social-oriented concept of perception related to *“the way in which something is regarded, understood, or interpreted”* (Oxford dictionary 2012) and hence the process by which organisms interpret and organize sensation to produce a meaningful experience of the world (Lindsay and Norman 1977, p. 93). It is essentially the latter one that this thesis is interested in as it is explained below.

The first category of approaches focuses on the ‘physical’ perception. This related to the ‘stimulus-response’ relationship between the environment and the individual, according to which the environment provides the incentive (stimulus) that triggers the individual’s sensory system (response) (Berlyne 1971). This approach considers perception as ‘a two-stage process, in which the mind processes information as supplied by the sensory system (i.e the different senses of the individual) (Tweed Sutherland and Teller 2002). It is on the one hand the physical

elements of the stimulus such as hue, saturation, brightness and on the other hand the receptor's organs, such as the eyes, which determine perception (Schiff 1970). The elements of the stimulus are considered as separate from those of the receptor and thus they can be studied independently from each other, in an objective way.

This approach to perception is not appropriate for this study for two main reasons: a) the physical elements of the stimulus (heritage in this study) and the receptor cannot adequately explain perceptions of heritage as the stimulus involves intangible aspects (see 2.1) while the receptor does not only perceive heritage via his/her senses but also via feelings and emotions (see 2.1), b) the stimulus is not separate from the receptor: the stimulus (heritage within a place) as has been already shown is interconnected with the individual in a reciprocal relationship in which the one affects the other (see 3.1 and 2.1).

The second approach to perception relates to 'social perception' and fits better the purposes of this study as it is explained below. "*Social perception is concerned with the impression one has of a social stimulus or set of stimuli*" (Schiff 1970, p. 1). Relevant studies concerning people's perceptions of their place argue that "*When discussing perception of the environment, it is this type of perception that is of interest*" (Schiff 1970, p. 2). While social perception refers essentially to the way one views and forms an impression about other people it can be extended to other 'social stimuli', as heritage in the case of this study. While physical perception can be objective, to an extent, lying on the receptor's organs and on the physical characteristics of the stimulus, social perception is subjective and open to interpretation. As heritage and its conservation constitute socially constructed concepts it becomes clear that it is social perception that is more relevant to this study. Deriving from phenomenological and American pragmatism (e.g. by Gibson 1979; Merleau-Ponty 1962; 1989) perception is considered as a single act in which mind and body as well as sensing are interconnected. The stimulus cannot be studied separately from the perceiver as they both form part of a unit. Perception encompasses the 'whole organism', rather than only the sensory system, thus including experiences, emotions and thoughts (Casey 1996).

Perception is highly linked with the notion of attitude (Schiff 1970; Lindsay and Norman 1977). An attitude can be generally defined as a “*summary evaluation of an object of thought*” (Bohner and Wanke 2002, p. 5), where the latter can be tangible, such as a physical object, or intangible, such as an idea (Zimbardo et al. 1999). Since perception refers to the impression one has of the object of thought, perception and attitude are quite similar. Indeed, studies in the field underline their similarities, drawn from the components of perception and attitude. Perception in particular may involve all the components of attitude (see next section 3.2.2). A main difference however between perception and attitude is a difference of scope; perceptions are more transitory and less stable than attitudes (Schiff 1970).

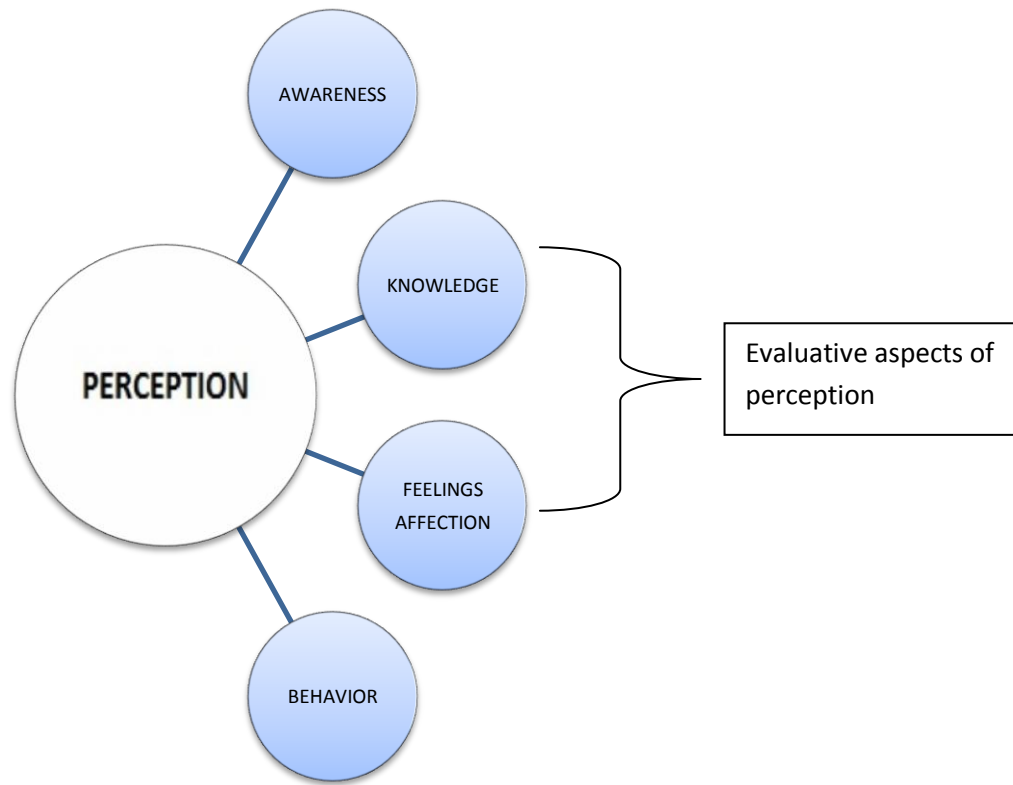
As perception is a tool for examining heritage, rather than an aim in terms of its use in this study, I decided to use the concept of perception as broader than the concept⁶ of attitude. Perception may however involve characteristics of attitude. Given the time constraints and the fact that attitudes are more stable than perceptions, and so their critical examination would necessitate a longitudinal study, to be meaningful, the concept of perception fits better to this research.

3.2.2 What does perception involve? Aspects of perception

In order to systematically explore perceptions, it is crucial to examine what perception may involve. This section addresses the different aspects of perception; awareness, evaluative and behavioural aspects (see Diagram below). These categories facilitate a holistic approach to perceptions of heritage adopted in this research.

⁶ An attitude is mainly restricted to the evaluation of something while perception also involves its understanding and interpretation

Diagram 1: Aspects of perception



Source: Diagram created by the author

Selective aspect of perception: Awareness

Awareness is considered the preliminary and most basic aspect of perception (Allport 1955, p. 14; Schiff 1970, p. 4; Locke 2002, p. 27) despite arguments about the existence of perception without awareness (Ryle 1949; Armstrong 1981 in Locke 2002). *“In order to perceive something, one must first be aware of it”* (Schiff 1970, p. 4). Awareness is essential in understanding perception of something (Locke 2002, p. 28).

Awareness is the state at which we are acquainted with the ‘object’ of perception (Locke 2002, p. 27) or, in other words, the sense of noticing something. At this level perception is at a preliminary stage which does not involve any judgment, such as like or dislike good or bad, or

interpretation of the 'object' (tangible or intangible) of perception (Locke 2002, p. 31). In relation to heritage, awareness may refer to noticing, recognising or identifying something as heritage, and hence selecting something as heritage. For example, identifying a building or custom as heritage indicates awareness of this object as heritage, or in other words, selection of this object among the others as heritage.

Perception is indeed subject to selection (Welsch 1997). *"In current perception we are dealing with the outcome of the simultaneous processing of an abundance of impressions with the possibility of selecting focal points of attention without losing sight of others"* (Luhmann 1998, p. 17). In this sense, a selection is being made among the plethora of the perceptible. Similarly, in the context of this study among the various elements some are selected as heritage by people, residents and experts (Low 2008, p. 41). In this study, examining what people select or identify as heritage is the initial step in exploring perceptions of heritage (see 3.3.2 and 6).

Evaluative and Behavioural aspects of perception

Once someone becomes aware of something other elements of perception may appear. As already mentioned perception may involve the components of attitude (Schiff 1970). Hence perception as attitude may involve cognitive, affective and conative (behavioural) aspects (Bohner and Wanke 2002). Cognitive and affective aspects are essentially the *evaluative aspects* of perceptions as they relate to one's judgments or beliefs about the object of perception depending on his/her knowledge and feelings of it respectively (see the following Diagram), as it is further presented below. Behavioural aspects relate to one's behaviour towards the object of perception. In the context of this study and in an attempt to holistically examine perceptions these various aspects are taken into account.

The cognitive aspect refers to the individual's beliefs, including evaluative beliefs about an object or an idea, based on what the individual knows about it including facts and evaluative opinions about it (Schiff 1970, see Diagram 2). Indeed, perception in the context of place often involves 'appraisal' of something depending on what the individual thinks about it (Gifford 2002, p. 21). The cognitive aspect of perception may relate to how one evaluates something based on what he/she knows and what he/she believes about it. For instance, statements that

represent one's *belief* depending on his/her *knowledge*, in relation to heritage may be for example: 'the old x is more valuable than the new one', 'this is important due to its historic value' 'conservation is important for maintaining the physical integrity of structures'.

The affective aspect involves beliefs based on *emotional aspects*, i.e *feelings*, of an individual towards the 'object' of perception (McGuire 1968, p. 155, see Diagram 2). Representative statements of this aspect in relation to heritage may be for example: 'I love this old house because I have memories here', 'I feel proud I live in a heritage place', 'old buildings make me feel nostalgic'.

Beliefs and evaluations based on knowledge (cognitive aspect) and feelings (affective aspect) may overlap (Bohner and Wanke 2002). However, what is important to this study in the attempt to holistically examine perceptions of heritage is to avoid favouring the one over the other and ensure that the opportunities to both aspects to be expressed are provided (see 4.3.3). Such an examination would allow people to express why heritage is valuable or not for their own reasons providing the opportunity to touch upon the different aspects rather than on a priori hypothesis which may favour the one over the other.

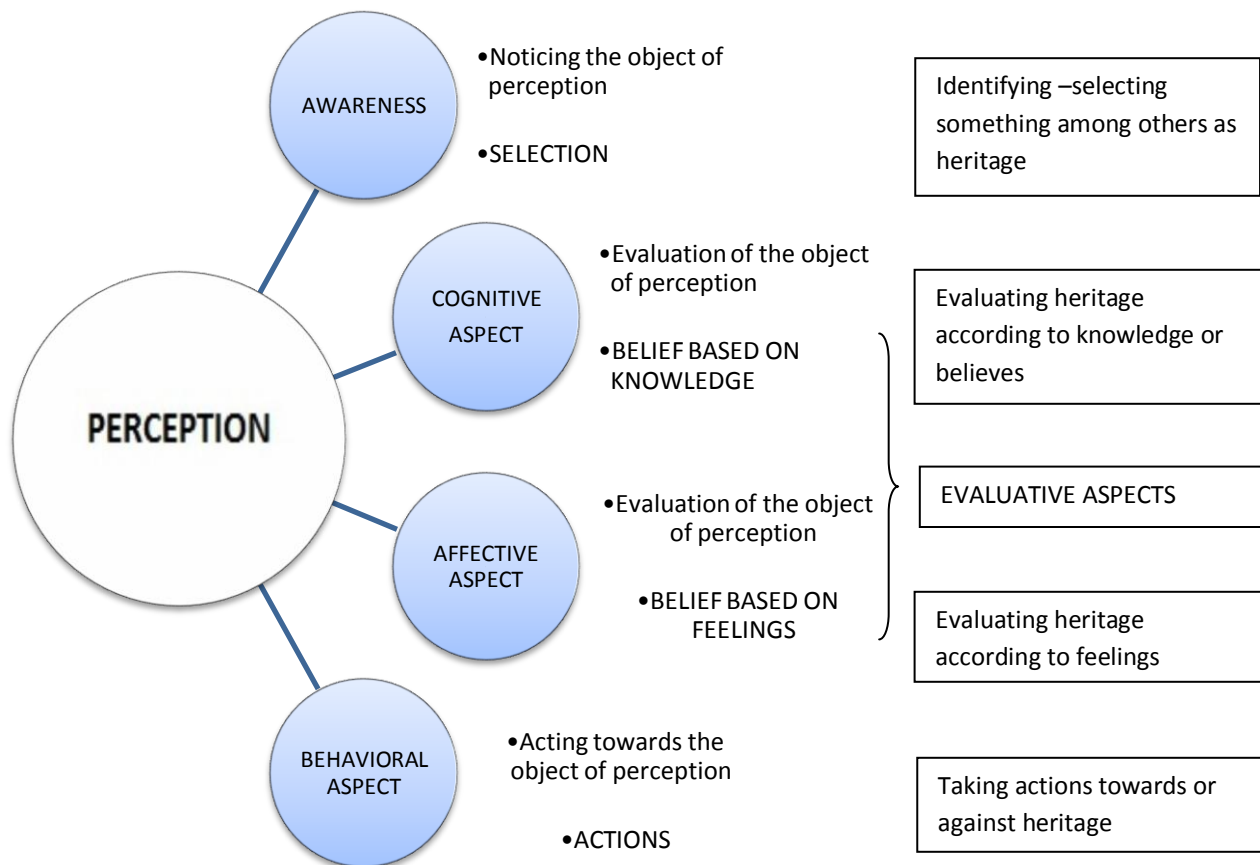
Finally, the conative or behavioural component refers to individual's behavioural intention towards the object of perception (see Diagram 2). For example, one's participation in a 'conservation' community represents the behavioural aspect of perception of heritage and its conservation showing for example his/her intention to protect heritage due to his/her appreciation towards it.

Perception may lack some of the above aspects or involve all of them. A characteristic example is provided by Bohner and Wanke (2002, p. 5): "*An environmentalist may strongly believe that the air pollution destroys the ozone layer, which increases the risk of cancer (knowledge-cognitive); he/she may get angry or sad about the endangered species (feelings-affective); and he/she may use public transportation rather than a car and participate in recycling (behavioural)*". Similarly, in the context of heritage, someone may believe that heritage is really important due to historic reasons (cognitive); he/she may also appreciate it for his memories or

nostalgic feelings, which has towards it (affective); and he/she may apply conservation practices to maintain its elements.

The above aspects may not be necessarily separate and mutually exclusive, representing three independent categories, but they may be intertwined (Bohner and Wanke 2002, p. 5). In the context of this study, all these aspects are taken into consideration in examining people’s perception in order to ensure that questions and responses can reflect any of them without disregarding others (see also 3.3.2). The following Diagram summarises the constituent aspects of perception as presented above:

Diagram 2: The constituent aspects of perception



Source: Diagram created by the author

3.2.3 Important factors which influence perceptions

Apart from the aspects of perceptions, factors that may affect perception are also important in designing and conducting perception based studies. In this section, I briefly present the most important factors which may influence perceptions as identified by relevant studies and may be pertinent to the context of this thesis. These contribute to the design and the interpretation phases of this thesis.

Perceptions are influenced by characteristics of the individual, factors external to the perceiver (MacInnis and Price 1987; Koseoglu et al. 2011, p. 1192) as well as by the relation of the individual with heritage (Pearce 1992; Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Zancheti et al. 2012, p. 97). Characteristics of the individual are often associated with demographic factors, such as nationality, religion, locality, class, gender, age, or education (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Hardy 1988, p. 333). External factors relate to aspects outside of the individual such as the socio-cultural environment as well as the information from various sources (Tunbridge 1984, p. 171; Tunbridge 1994). The relation of the individual to heritage, as well as the situation of the individual in time and space, may also affect the way in which an individual views heritage (Pearce 1992; Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Zancheti et al. 2012, p. 97).

Characteristics of the individual such as sex, age, gender, education/training, socio-economic status, as well as origin and length of stay in the area have been underlined by different perception - based studies as significant factors in influencing perception and especially perception of a place (Tweed 2003; Gifford 2002; see table below). In support of the above and in relation to heritage, Hardy (1988, p. 333) suggests that heritage is a value laden concept as it *“embraces (and often obscures) differences of interpretation that are dependent on...class, gender and locality; and with the concept itself locked into wider frameworks of dominant and subversive ideologies”*. A number of studies within the heritage field, for instance, stress the difference of perceptions that may arise between experts and residents (see Schofield 2014; Smith 2006 see also 2.1.2 and 2.1.3). Experts and policy makers for example, usually due to their education and training can *“draw finer distinctions ... They may manipulate, combine or*

ignore certain elements and have a more definite focus when assessing scenes” (Tweed et al. 2002, p. 2). In support of this, scholars argue that experts tend to value heritage and its conservation on the basis of its historicity and architectural value, whereas lay people tend to perceive value in relation to their experience with heritage and the meaning that they attach to it (Hubbard 1993; Rapoport 1982).

As a result of the individuals’ relation with heritage, different experiences may lead to different perceptions of heritage. Perception is experiential, as experience is essential in developing perception. From the preliminary aspects of perception (i.e that of awareness and identification of something as heritage) to its evaluation, experience plays a fundamental role (Marleau Ponty 1962). Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974; 1977) underline the experiential aspects of place, arguing that the understanding of a place and its importance is subject to human experience. Pennarz and Elsigna’s (1990) research revealed differences in the perceptions of urban environment held among adults, adolescents and architects within a particular place. The same survey also revealed differences in perceptions between the older and younger people, with the former more in support of urban heritage and its conservation reflecting the difference of experiences (Yoke et al. 2008). The role of experience in perceptions of heritage and its conservation has also been stressed by other important scholars in the field (see Larkham 2000; Townshend and Pendlebury 2009). These have shown that -despite the general agreement of local residents on specific aspects of conservation- few residents expressed different opinions, and this was directly related to their different experiences. While most of the residents agreed with the characterisation of their area as a conservation area those who disagreed were people who had had a negative experience with similar policies such as rejection of a planning application (Larkham 2000; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999). Mendes Zancheti et al. (2011) also stress the difference between long and short stay residents in valuing heritage and its conservation due to the different experience that these may have. While the results may vary in different contexts it is important to take the above factors into account when conducting perception based research.

Another important factor that may affect perception is habituation (see table below). *“Habituation occurs when the repeated presentation of the same stimulus leads to the decrease or disappearance of the response originally made”* (Treisman 1964, p. 14). Indeed, when someone is constantly exposed to the same ‘object’ of perception he/she starts getting used to it, while at a next stage he/she might not even notice it any more. Hence, the object does not attract the perceiver’s attention. A common example is provided by studies in psychology showing that when someone enters an office working space where many people are working s/he immediately notices the noise of typing and machines which can be very distracting. However, after a while this noise becomes less distracting and finally not noticeable at all (Schiff 1970). In the context of this thesis, habituation may relate, for example, to residents who have lived in heritage place all of their life, as this may affect their awareness of heritage (this will be discussed in analysis Chapters see 6.2.2).

External factors also influence perceptions. Social and cultural factors are among the most important factors that influence one’s perception (Gifford 2002). Socio-cultural factors involve society’s beliefs, customs, practices and behaviours including norms and traditions (see table below). Low (2008, p. 46), for example, has stressed that *“the perception of spaces is always socially pre-structured”*. Similarly other scholars suggest that the formation of perceptions lies highly in the social group *“into which individuals are born and from which they acquire socially constructed meanings”* (Tweed 1999, p. 233). In relation to perception of places more broadly, various scholars support that landscapes are viewed through a filter of cultural values which form value-systems that people use to construct attitudes (Morford et al. 2003; Aitken et al. 1989; Feldman 1999). Focusing on architecture, Whitehand (1991) similarly underlines that people’s perception of an architectural style lies to a great extent on historical and socio-cultural associations that a particular building or an urban form has for the observers.

Another important external factor which may affect perception is ‘new information’ (Momford et al. 2003). Providing new information about the ‘object’ of perception may change the individual’s perceptions of it, as for example, it can trigger his/her awareness about it, revealing an aspect that was hidden before. This can often challenge the object’s current status (Pickens

2005). With focus on heritage places, Yoke et al. (2008) revealed that perceptions of heritage and its conservation vary between the more and the less educated people. More educated people seem to appreciate more their (built) heritage and support its conservation, in contrast to the less educated people; this may lie on the higher level of information that the former groups may have in relation to the latter. Hence, the provision of information about heritage can impact upon people's perceptions as it is shown in the following Chapters (see 6.2.3).

More relevant to the 'visual' perception of place, other factors external to the individual relate to the complexity of the built environment and the information that this conveys (Krampton 1979; Morris 1978; Morris 1981; Herzog and Shier 2000; Frewald 1989). A number of studies, especially in the field of experimental aesthetics, suggest that perception of a place, and especially its assessment, is highly influenced by the amount of information (visual complexity) that the built structures convey (Wohwill 1976; Berlyne 1971). Despite the disputed views about the role of complexity in perceptions (see Krampton 1979; Hubbard 1993; Frewald 1989), and strongly related to heritage, it has been suggested that older buildings and landscapes are often preferred over the new ones due to the information and complexity they convey (see Morris 1978; Morris 1981; Larkham 1996; Herzog and Shier 2000, p. 572). While visual complexity and information may not stand alone in interpreting perceptions of heritage (Hubbard 1993, p. 365; Kallus 2001), they may constitute factors external to the individual which may affect his/her perceptions of heritage.

To sum up, characteristics of the individual, external factors as well as one's interaction with heritage, may affect perception in general and perception of heritage in particular. These factors facilitate the design of the study in selecting participants but also the analysis and interpretation of the results (see 4.3.3 and 6). The factors discussed above are summarised in the following table.

Table 1: Factors that affect perception			
Factors that affect perception of heritage	Characteristics of the individual	Factors external to the individual	Relation of the individual with heritage
Demographic factors	√		
Age	√		
Sex	√		
Occupation	√		
Education	√		
Socio-economic status	√		
Length of residency	√		
Origin	√		
Socio-cultural context		√	
Social environment (i.e society's beliefs, customs, practices and behaviours)		√	
Cultural background (such as norms, traditions)		√	
Experience			√
Direct or indirect interaction of the individual with heritage			√
Habituation			√
Constant and repeated exposition of the individual to an object/situation			√
New Information		√	
New facts/ knowledge about an objects/idea		√	
Visual complexity		√	
Elements and details of structures		√	

Source: Table created by the author

3.3 Approaches to study perceptions and attitudes in the urban context

The previous sections introduced the concept of perception, its constituent aspects and the influential factors which are used in order to address people's perceptions in this research. This section further draws on the different perception - based approaches in the field in order a) to bring together the concept of perception with heritage and conservation in case study examples, b) to understand how similar studies are conducted; and c) to identify the limits and potentials of various relevant studies, so as to inform this thesis. Based on the definitional distinction of perception (see section 2.1) and carrying out an extensive research on perception based - studies in the context of place and heritage, two general approaches have been identified: a) the sensory driven studies (Tweed et al. 2002) and b) the sense and meaning of place - emotion sensitive studies (Lalli 1992). This section also shows that perception based approaches which focus on heritage are relatively limited, despite the arguments about the role of perceptions in understanding heritage.

3.3.1 Sensory driven approaches

'Sensory - driven approaches' relate to the 'stimulus-response' relation of perception (see previous section 3.2.1), dealing mainly with the sensory system. These approaches focus on the individual and his/her understanding and interpretation of his/her place through the sensory system (Tweed et al. 2002). The perceiver and the object of perception are viewed as two autonomous entities that can be studied independently in an objective way. Psychology and architecture oriented studies follow these kinds of approaches. Psychology studies are based on experiments in artificial, controlled environments in order to examine the functions of the brain and are not relevant in this study. Studies in architecture view people as passive observers, whose perception depends mainly on the visual input obtained from the physical elements of a place and their characteristics (Berlyne 1971). This approach does not involve the affective and behavioural aspects of perceptions (see 3.2.2). It also touches only upon the physical elements

of place, not the intangible aspects, or the interrelationship of tangible and intangible elements of heritage with the individual (see 3.1).

Examples of these approaches relate to aesthetic preference which is attributed to certain tangible objects and building structures. These studies correlate the visual complexity of built structures with levels of preference (Wohwill 1976; Berlyne 1971). They particularly address the evaluative aspect of perception based on knowledge and 'selective' aspect of perception (i.e awareness see section 3.2.2) (Krampton 1979; Morris 1978; Morris 1981; Herzog and Shier 2000; Frewald 1989; Wohlwill 1976) in relation to heritage. For instance, Frewald (1989) suggested Kaplans' informational model of environmental preference (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989; Kaplan and Kaplan 1978; Kaplan and Kaplan 1982) as useful in explaining the preference towards older buildings. She indicated that older buildings are rated higher than modern ones in "*the key predictors of the informational model: complexity, legibility, mystery, and coherence*" (Herzog and Shier 2000, p. 572). These kinds of studies thus try to "*directly relate perceptual judgements on appropriate assessment criteria, such as scenic beauty, to specific and measurable characteristics of the landscape*" (Green 1999, p. 313; see also Daniel and Boster 1976; Daniel and Vining 1983).

While the physical and visual characteristics of an object may affect perceptions these are not deemed sufficient to address perceptions holistically. Key scholars (Kaplan 1987; Herzog et al. 1976; Newby 1992) show that the influence on perception cannot attribute to complexity of form alone. Indeed, relevant studies, examining people's preferences in different places of equal complexity, indicate that people's perceptions of the environment were usually quite different (Hubbard 1993, p. 364). In general, these kind of theories rely heavily upon 'formal aesthetics', overstating the role of sensory inputs (Hubbard 1993, p. 365). Kallus (2001, p. 135) further criticized these approaches stating that "*The fundamental relationship between space and social process is inevitably pushed aside when the position of the users is diminished and space is viewed strictly morphologically. Thus, the social construction of space is obscured...*". Hence, these studies underplay the role of symbolic meanings, memories and experiences in the formation of perceptions (Stedman 2002, p. 562).

Taking into account the theoretical prepositions of this study that a) a place is a complex construct including intangible aspects and meanings entwined in mutual relationship with people and hence cannot be regarded as given static materiality in which the individual is a passive observer and b) people understand a place not only through their sensory system, but also through their affections and experiences of it; these approaches are not of particular relevance to this thesis. However, this kind of studies indicate that people within a certain context may select and appreciate 'objects' with particular physical characteristics. Bearing this in mind may facilitate the identification of common patterns across the different elements selected as heritage in this research (see 6.1). Identifying similar physical characteristics or patterns across the objects selected as heritage does not mean that it is them that 'make' heritage. However, along with the other factors that influence perceptions of heritage, they may provide information regarding what is more likely to be selected and valued as heritage within a certain context (see 6.1). In this respect the role of such approaches in this study was to question whether similar characteristics appear in elements commonly identified as heritage.

3.3.2 Approaches to sense and meaning of place

A number of different studies in people's perception of place belong to approaches to sense and meaning of place. In contrast to sensory - driven approaches perception of place depends on people's interaction with place rather than merely on physical characteristics and their qualities, as filtered through our senses (Hubbard 1993, p. 365; Rapoport 1990). Although these studies acknowledge the role of the sensory system they seek to examine also the emotional-affective and behavioural aspects of perceptions. In relation to heritage places, perceptions are anticipated to lie heavily upon *their interactions with it over time* (Tweed et al. 2002; Shamai 1991, p. 347). Furthermore, these studies do not address only the individual perspectives, but they try to identify similarities and common patterns among individuals' perceptions. These commonalities contribute to the creation of places of higher support (Tweed et al. 2002; Green 2010). In view of the above the current study is more relevant to this type of approaches.

Studies that fall within this approach vary significantly in their scope and methodologies. This will be further explored in the methodology Chapter (see 4.2.1). However they all focus on perceptions of place in general with some of them targeting heritage in particular. A number of studies relate to the significance of heritage (see for example The Getty Conservation Institute 2000; O'Brien 2010; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009) asking why and the extent to which heritage is of value. Few of them attempt to understand how these values are experienced by people within certain places (see for example Smith 2006; Dicks 2000). Some studies focus on assessing people's evaluations of urban historical areas, taking into account the emotional aspects of perceptions (Sutherland et al. SUIT Task 2.1b 2002, p. 3). Addressing the value of heritage these studies focus on the 'why' question of heritage, reflecting evaluative aspects of perception i.e. beliefs depending on what one knows and feels about heritage (cognitive and affective aspect of perception see above). These types of studies inform the investigation of the evaluative aspects of perception in this research by providing different values and reasons for the appreciation of heritage and thus aspects of consideration when examining participants' perspectives (see Chapter 7).

Strongly related to the value of heritage and of place in broader terms, a number of perception - based studies focus on the character of a place and/or the contribution of heritage to this character (see for example Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996; Hawke 2010; Green 2012; Green 2010). For example, Hawke (2010) explores how heritage contributes to sense of place, touching upon certain qualities experienced by people within a certain place. Green (2012; Green 2010) examines what constitutes a place's character, identifying specific elements of place including heritage and relating them with associated meanings and emotions (Green 2012; Green 2010; Green 1999). Other perception - based studies focus especially on the affective component of perceptions investigating the role of heritage and/or of place in people's evaluation of place. A large body of literature for example underlines the importance of conscious and unconscious notions and feelings of a place in forming people's perceptions of it (Proshansky 1978; Proshansky et al. 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). For instance, a number of studies stress the emotional tie and attachment to an urban place as a decisive factor in shaping perceptions of the particular place (see Korpela 1989; Korpela and Hartig

1996; Altman and Low 1992). In relation to heritage and its evaluation specifically the affective aspect of perception, such as familiarity and attachment, are found to be particularly relevant (Gold and Burgess 1982, p. 76; Lowenthal 1975).

Finally, other studies in perceptions of heritage within a certain place focus on people's awareness of heritage and/ or of its conservation (see Larkham and Lodge 1999; Larkham 2000; Nyaupanea and Timothy 2010).

Despite the contribution of the above studies in understanding what may be identified and valued as heritage, these studies often reduce heritage or values to certain predefined aspects, (i.e certain aspects of heritage or certain reasons for its appreciation). In addition, they often focus on one or some aspects of perceptions. In this respect, while there are studies that examine different aspects of perceptions in relation to heritage they do not examine them together. In this regard, and acknowledging the contribution of all the above studies to different aspects of perceptions of heritage, the current study seeks to complement and expand our fragmented knowledge about perception of heritage as a whole; i.e the way it is formed from the stage of its selection to the stage of its evaluation. Following the arguments presented above in relation the totality of heritage (see Chapter 2), the interrelation of place and people (see 3.1) as well as the different aspects of perceptions (see 3.2.2) this study attempts a holistic examination of perceptions of heritage in a systematic way.

3.3.3 Studies linking perceptions of heritage to perceptions of conservation

Research into the linkages between perceptions of heritage and perceptions of conservation is limited. However, conservation policies and practices may have an impact on people's perceptions and values of heritage (Alonso et al. 2012, p. 4). In particular, as introduced in the previous Chapter (see 2.3.3) while it is usually assumed that conservation does not change values and perceptions of heritage, adoption and application of conservation policies may alter people's perception (Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2; Getty Conservation Institute 2000, p. 8).

Few relevant studies, which involve both perceptions of heritage and conservation, have been identified so far. A Mori poll (2000) conducted by English Heritage is one of them. This study examines people's support for heritage, including also questions regarding conservation. However, the links between perceptions of heritage with those of conservation are not directly examined.

Another study is conducted by Yoke (et al. 2008) addressing residents' preferences between modern and historical landscapes, and their attitudes to conservation. However, it does not go in depth in both addressing the issue of perceptions holistically and making the link between perceptions of heritage and perceptions of conservation. Focusing on George Town city, in Malaysia, the study examines people's preferences of urban landscape (between modern and historical) and their support of urban conservation in the inner city (Yoke et al. 2008). Hence, the research focuses more on the evaluative aspects of perception regarding conservation. Furthermore, although the research implies some links between perceptions of heritage and its conservation it does not provide an in depth analysis as the scope of the research is different.

Asking how conservation may impact on the way that heritage is perceived, the current study contributes to research about the linkages of conservations to perceptions of heritage.

Conclusions

This Chapter dealt with the issue of perceptions with regards to place in general and heritage place in particular. Apart from the purpose of defining the concept of perception as used in the context of this research, the Chapter reveals that- while it is accepted that heritage is a matter of perception-our knowledge on the issue is far from complete.

The Chapter described the mutual relationship between people and place, within which heritage is encompassed, as crucial to examine and understand people's perceptions of a place. Moving on to the concept of perception itself, the Chapter clarifies that 'social' perception is more relevant to the purposes of this study than 'sensorial' perception. The Chapter then unpacked the constituent aspects of perceptions, i.e selective, evaluative and behavioural aspects; these facilitate the design and analysis of the research as it will better explained in the

following Chapters (see 4 and 6,7,8). Exploring the different aspects of perception was not only useful for guiding this research (in terms of the aspects to be examined and analysed), it also made clear that relevant studies do not address perception holistically but focus instead on certain aspects of it. In this respect the examination of the different but often interrelated aspects of perceptions may provide a holistic approach to perceptions of heritage. In order to enhance this holistic approach, important factors that affect perceptions were also presented. In particular, characteristics of the individual (such as demographics) as well as factors external to the individual (such as social factors) and factors relevant to the relation of the individual with the object of perception were presented. These factors inform the criteria for participants' selection in this study and for interpreting findings on perceptions at the following stage.

The Chapter finally offered a review of the different approaches to perception - based studies in the context of heritage and in the wider field of urban environment in an attempt to bring together the concept of perception with heritage and conservation in case studies research. This review has particularly revealed that while there are numerous perception- based studies, following different approaches and focusing on different aspects, there are only few related to heritage. Studies that address perceptions on heritage in conjunction with perceptions of conservation are even more limited. From the different strands addressed, the Chapter has shown that this study is closer to the meaning of place perception-based studies whilst informed by other approaches about aspects that may be taken into consideration in the design and analysis.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Introduction

The previous two Chapters introduced the key concepts of this research, i.e heritage, conservation and perceptions, as addressed by the current literature, clarifying their meaning and highlighting the gaps which this thesis seeks to contribute to. The last section of the previous Chapter brought these concepts together discussing how these are addressed in relevant studies constituting the stepping stone for this Chapter.

This Chapter presents the methodological approach adopted in this research. Starting from the a) ontological considerations which the research espouses to, b) moving to the selection of methodology as well as c) to the outline of the research methods used, the intention is to provide a *'logical model of proof'* (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996, pp. 77-78). This means to allow the reader to trace the 'chain of evidence' from research questions, to philosophical considerations, data collection and analysis, to the final findings and interpretations (Yin 2009, p. 123).

4.1 Philosophical position

"Heritage sits somewhere out there, a tangible resource and source of inspiration, meaning and identity as well as commercial profit. It is a physical reality that is more than just the fabrication in our minds that (Lowenthal 1998) suggests. But it is clearly in here" as well, in the minds of the observer; it is a social construction, an empty box, waiting to be filled with our values, beliefs, desires" (Uzzel 2009, p.1).

Every research is influenced by ontological considerations about reality. These considerations shape the way in which we can know about the inquiry, i.e epistemology (see for example, Guba and Lincoln 1994, p.105; Creswell 1998, pp.74-77; Creswell et al. 2007, p.238; Patton 2002, p.266; Savage 2006, p.386). Similarly, this study reflects a critical realist position for certain reasons as explained below.

In general there are two opposite research paradigms, positivism on the one side and constructivism or interpretivism on the other, while critical realism shares elements of both and lies in the middle of these approaches (Bhaskar 1978; Bhaskar 1998). This section shows that a critical realist position is better suited to this research, due to the subject of the research inquiry and the way we may acquire knowledge about it.

As I already introduced, heritage is a social construct, which heavily lies on people's perceptions. Perceptions are imbued with subjectivity. Positivism supports that there is an objective truth that can be studied and proved scientifically. Hence, it is clear that this philosophical strand is irrelevant to this study. On the other hand, interpretivism and constructivism support that there is *"no real world but the world is socially and discursively constructed and hence dependent from a particular time or culture"* stressing the importance of subjectivity and the absolute relativism (Hay 2002, p. 61). While such positions seem relevant to this thesis, due to the inherent subjectivity involved in perceptions of heritage (see 2.1), they may not be adequate in explaining the commonalities that may be observed among different people's perceptions. Adopting a pure relativist position, interpretivism and constructivism would pay less attention on the common patterns that may exist across the different individuals and which can provide a common perspective about heritage. However, commonalities are crucial to understand how heritage may be collectively perceived in order to build analogous conservation policies.

In addition, interpretivism and constructivism would ignore characteristics of elements of heritage, such as age and architectural characteristics, which present a physical reality and which for a long time were determinant for the identification of heritage, in explaining perception of heritage or certain aspects of it. However, as such characteristics have been for a long time taken as objective criteria in identifying and valuing heritage, I did not want to adopt an approach that would completely ignore such considerations. In conjunction with the above, distinct scholars argue that *"the consequences of heritage are real and have real power in many people's lives, but how the heritage process is conceived and understood cannot be assumed to necessarily have universal validity or reality"* (Smith 2006, p. 55). In view of the above an

ontological position that would take into consideration both subjectivism and objectivism without excluding the one from the other, fits better to the purposes of this research.

Critical realism lies between positivism and interpretivism, supporting that while there might be objective reality or “a ‘real’ world ‘out there’ that is independent of our knowledge of it” reality is conceptually and socially constructed, especially when talking about social sciences (Marsh and Furlong 2002, p. 18.) In this respect, critical realism allows the identification of common patterns among participants which may be attributed to certain factors, giving at the same time space for the differentiations in the interpretation of the same ‘object’ of perception. In other words it recognises that subjectivity and social constructs heavily affect and shape reality, especially in social research (Danermark et al. 2005; Sayer 1992). This is particularly relevant to the context of heritage studies in general and this research in particular, as perceptions of heritage are heavily socially constructed. Indeed Smith (2006, p. 55) asserts that: “*Accepting the philosophical position of critical realism (Bhaskar 1978; Bhaskar 1989) it may be understood that while there may be a physical reality or aspect of heritage, any knowledge of it can only ever be understood within the discourses we construct about it.*”

To summarise, while the study stresses the socially constructed nature of heritage and its conservation (see previous Chapter 2.1, 2.3) and thus the implied inherent subjectivity, it also acknowledges shared meanings and patterns (see 2.3). In this respect this research falls into the critical realism stance. The research focuses on the way people perceive heritage and its conservation, examining on the one hand individual’s perceptions while attempting to identify commonalities among participants, so as to acquire a sense of inter-subjectivity across the many subjective realities as well as the structures that shape these perceptions.

4.2 Methodological considerations: Selecting methodology

4.2.1 The alternatives and the selection of the qualitative approach

Despite the interest in heritage and its conservation there are not standardized or commonly agreed methodologies in the field (Carman and Sorensen 2009, p. 23; O'Brien 2010). This section reviews the alternatives of perception-based studies in the context of place in general

and with regards to heritage in particular, showing that qualitative approaches are those that suit the purposes of this study best.

In pursuit of perception of place and especially of heritage within a place, a number of studies have followed different methodological approaches. These approaches may fall under three main categories: quantitative, mixed methods and qualitative approaches. Qualitative approaches are more appropriate for this research as it is explained below. The suitability and adequacy of such approaches were further tested by a pilot study as it is presented below.

Quantitative approaches

Quantitative approaches to perceptions mainly aim at assessing people's perceptions of place and its conservation in an objective way. These studies are 'positivistic' not necessarily due to their enquires, but due to their methodological approaches, as they often use positivistic methodology in pursuing phenomenological concerns, i.e subjective experience (Auburna and Barnesb 2006). Although these approaches recognize the role of emotions, subjective meanings and in general the experiential aspect of a place, they seek to "*obtain more objective structures of what are in fact subjective data*" as they mainly use surveys and structured questionnaires and interviews to collect data (Hubbard 1993, p. 3).

A great number of studies in this category focus on the '*sense of place*', value of place and conservation issues, seeking to find ways to measure them by examining people's perceptions. Perceptions in this respect are viewed as something measurable rather than something we should examine in their own right. A great number of these studies attempt to identify the elements that contribute to 'sense of place' by usually imposing certain hypotheses reflected in the structured questions in the questionnaires and interviews (see Jorgensen and Stedman 2001; Kaltenborn 1998; Moore and Graefe 1994; Shamai 1991; Williams et al. 1992). Other studies focus on the value of (heritage) place, providing different substitutes of heritage to participants so as to examine their preference (such as Thorsby 2003; Daniel and Vining 1983; Taylor et al. 1987).

The main devise of these approaches is a survey. However, the survey as a main methodological tool would not be adequate for pursuing this research for a number of reasons. Firstly, a survey involves a constant attempt to predefine and limit the number of variables to be analysed and thus the questions to be asked to participants. Hence, it does not allow participants to raise issues which are more relevant to them. In addition, it does not allow an in depth investigation of these issues as perceived and experienced by them. Furthermore, surveys often require mutually exclusive categories. However, in the case of this study the reasons for identifying and valuing heritage may not be mutually exclusive but instead may coexist in perceptions (such as historicity and aesthetics).

Research worth mentioning is the SUIIT (Sustainable development of Urban historical areas through an active Integration within Towns) project which has been characterized by ICOMOS "International Committee for Historic Towns and Villages (CIVVIH)" *"as an example of best practice in developing methodologies for involving the public in the development of historic cities* (INHERIT 2007, pp. 14-15).

The outcome was an objective tool capable of measuring the strength of perceptions of people who use historical space (INHERIT 2007, pp. 14-15). The Task 2 of the project, which was the most relevant to this research, developed a tool to assess people's evaluations of urban historical areas, taking also into account the emotional aspects of perceptions (Sutherland et al. SUIIT Task 2.1b 2002, p. 3). By reviewing a number of theoretical and conceptual frameworks and methodologies relevant to human-environment interactions, it builds an index of indicators in five different areas. These areas relate to people's awareness and judgment of the place constituting a pool for the surveys' questions. However, as the main aim of the study was to measure perceptions, a large amount of questions were based on a scaling system with multiple choice predisposed answers, which did not allow the investigation of people's perceptions in depth. While this provides the advantage of recording subjective views and feelings in a straightforward manner (for example questions based on a yes/ no answers such as 'do you like the area'), it does not allow other more latent issues to emerge. For example, it does not reveal what lies behind these opinions (like or dislike) and as such what influences

particular perceptions. Indeed, the study underlines that as the main aim of the research is to establish a tool of measuring people's perceptions of the urban environment, "*the constraints on the task do not allow an exhaustive study of perceptions and attitudes*" (Tweed et al. SUIT 2.1a 2002, p. 15). Similarly, other studies focus on specific components of perceptions such as awareness, which they try to examine in an objective way exclusively through survey (see for example Nyaupanea and Timothy 2010).

However, it is clear that these approaches cannot adequately examine perceptions neither holistically, i.e all their aspects, nor in depth, i.e how these are formed and what may affect them. In this respect quantitative perception based approaches to heritages are not suitable for the purposes of this study.

Qualitative approaches

Addressing such highly qualitative concepts as heritage and its conservation, asking in particular **how** these are perceived, this study necessitates an inclusive qualitative methodology able to deal with these inquiries.

Qualitative approaches to perceptions focus on the relativistic nature of place, which is specific and grounded to the individual or group of people (Stedman 2002, p. 562), stressing the role of subjectivity (Anderson et al. 1986; Crabtree 2000). These approaches encourage detailed and in depth description (Geertz 1973), using qualitative methods to approach the meaning of places and their role in people's life (Auburna and Barnesb 2006, p. 40). Although these approaches emphasize the role of symbolic meanings of the urban environment and the emotions people attach to it (affective aspects of perception), they also acknowledge the role of knowledge in perception. They further suggest that interpretation and evaluation of an urban place depend on "*experiences and perceptions acquired through the more prevalent mode of everyday, unconscious interaction between people and environments*" (Tweed et al. 2002, p. 3). These interactions may refer both to more practical elements (such as uses and functions within the urban area or aesthetic pleasure) and more inherent (such as feelings towards the urban environment) aspects. In line with the purposes of this study, these approaches do not aim to measure perceptions (as in the case of positivist approaches, see above), but to understand the

nature and formulation of these perceptions. In terms of methodology, these approaches turn against the 'scientism' of objectifying the data (Auburna and Barnesb 2006, p. 40).

Perception-based studies which follow these approaches and which are relevant to this thesis can be further subdivided into two categories, depending on the methodologies they employ: the humanistic approaches, in which data derive from historical and literary sources and the field oriented approaches, where data are extracted from real people in real time at a real setting.

Humanistic approaches to perceptions base their research on "*literature, art, intuition and other indirect sources, with a phenomenological orientation*" (Hubbard 1993, p. 362). Lowenthal's study "*Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory*" (1975) constitutes a paradigm. Lowenthal examines people's links to, feelings of and emotions to the past, by looking at different historical events and stories, drawing his examples regarding people's perceptions of the past and their heritage from history and literature. He particularly stresses people's bonds to the past trying also to interpret the reasons behind these links. In this attempt he links people's emotionality (usually expressed as attachment), appreciation and awe for the past to a) feelings such as nostalgia, need for memory, familiarity and stability in times of stress and b) factors external to the individual such as stories heard or read about a place (Lowenthal 1975). Although interesting for examining relevant issues in this study, this research cannot rely on these approaches as it necessitates the contact with real people within the particular context.

It is instead the field oriented approaches that better suit the purposes of this study. The field oriented qualitative approaches to perceptions of heritage are limited, although the interest in them has been recently increased (see for example, Smith 2006; Dicks 2000; Hawke 2010). These studies employ in- depth interviews with individuals who engage with heritage in specific contexts, addressing issues similar to this study such as how heritage is perceived, whether and why it is valued and for what purposes. The advantages of this approach are a) that perceptions are examined by approaching people rather than relying on indirect sources, as humanistic

approaches and b) that allows key themes to emerge from the conversation, rather than from predisposed answers (see positivist approaches above).

However, most of these studies tend to focus mainly on the affective aspects of perceptions ignoring often people's beliefs based on their knowledge about heritage and its conservation. In this respect, as my study attempts to holistically address perceptions (i.e to touch upon its different aspects) it may enrich the knowledge produced by qualitative perceptions based approaches (see also conceptual considerations below). The suitability of qualitative approaches to this study was further confirmed by the pilot study conducted for this research as it is further analysed below.

Mixed methods approaches

Perception based studies that follow mixed methods approaches combine both quantitative and qualitative methods in data collection and analysis. Mixed methods studies are quite limited in the field of perceptions of heritage and its conservation. Green (2012; 2010) conducted mixed method studies in the wider area of environment and landscape, focusing on people's perceptions of their character. Characteristically his research manages to show how a community collectively perceives town character, by firstly identifying features that are considered important by locals and then by "*empirically relating meanings associated with this conceptualization to specific landscape features*" (Green 1999, p. 314).

What is particularly interesting is the flexibility of using both quantitative and qualitative methods in pursuing his inquiry. In particular, he uses questionnaires with open ended questions from which he extracts the key themes and features of the place, by conducting content analysis. These characteristics are then used to form structured and rating scales questionnaires. This is important because the results are not affected by researcher's predispositions, identifying groups of place's features by the similarity or dissimilarity of shared meanings they convey (Green 1999).

Although this approach seemed quite promising, a mixed approach research design would not really help to respond better to the research questions than a qualitative approach. Instead, such an approach would only help to supplement the research with statistical proportions of participants that hold similar perceptions about heritage i.e its identification and evaluation. Indeed, the research questions are highly qualitative and hence, the qualitative approach would be adequate in unravelling perceptions of heritage. A survey to follow-up might be interesting for highlighting certain aspects of these perceptions such as how many people are aware of certain elements of heritage, or which values may be more dominant when people value heritage. However, the time necessitated for such an approach due to certain practical issues, as accrued in the pilot study (see 4.2.4), in combination with the fact that this approach would not really reveal further issues in relation to research questions, counterbalance the advantages of following a mixed approaches research design. In view of the above, the qualitative approaches were the most appropriate choice for the purposes of this research.

4.2.2 The selection of a qualitative case study approach

Having outlined that a qualitative approach fits better this study the next stage was to identify the most appropriate methodology for addressing the research questions. This section analyses the selection of the case study approach as the most suitable methodology for this research.

First of all, the nature of the research is exploratory and explanatory asking ‘how and why research questions’ i.e how heritage and its conservation is perceived, for which a case study approach is appropriate (Yin 2009, pp. 9-10; Creswell 2003). In addition, heritage, as mentioned in previous Chapter (see 2.1.1) is a contemporary phenomenon (Carman and Sorensen 2009, p.12) which is understood, created and interpreted according to present values, meanings and needs (see Ashworth 2012; Wertsch 2002; Urry 1996). The case study is preferred in examining contemporary phenomena in depth, especially when the researcher has no control on them and the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident, as it is the case in this study (see 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 3.1)(Carman and Sorensen 2009; Punch 2008; Robson 2002, p. 150; Yin 2009, p. 18).

The case study also comprises an all-encompassing approach. It allows the inclusion and emergence of variables, relying on multiple sources of evidence and still benefiting from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin 2009, p. 18; Stoecker 1991). In the case of this study for example, and in relation to the second research question about the reasons of valuing heritage, the case study allows the exploration of the different values taking however into account values as identified in other relevant studies, examining whether and how these are perceived by participants.

Furthermore, a case study approach may further facilitate the 'evaluative' perspective of this study i.e why people value heritage due to the fact that it has "a distinctive place in evaluation research" (see Cronbach and Associates 1980; Patton 2002). This is due to its capacity to reveal links, especially in cases for which there is no clear set of outcomes, as it is often the case with subjective issues such as perceptions of heritage and conservation (Yin 2009, p. 20).

The suitability of a case study approach in this thesis is also due the necessity of fieldwork as the research focuses on specific, abstract subjects of study such as those of heritage and conservation. This is because such an approach "*shifts the gaze from the academic to the actual, from heritage and conservation as an intellectual concept to heritage and conservation as an experience*" (Carman and Sorensen 2009, p. 141). Indeed, examining perceptions of heritage in a real life context allows the exploration of abstract concepts and issues related to perceptions of heritage, such as certain values attributed to heritage, unravelling how these are understood and experienced by people. Fieldwork, in addition provides the advantage of detection and interrogation of credible data in the attempt to explore and analyse peoples', residents' and experts', perceptions (Carman and Sorensen 2009, p. 141).

Although criticism exists about the case study approach regarding its potential of and limits to scientific generalization, this is dealt in a way similar to that followed in experiments. "*The answer is not simple ... However the same question could have been asked about an experiment. How can you generalize from a single experiment?*" (Yin 2009, p.15). While this discussion could take long, the short answer is that generalization is seldom based on a single experiment, but it is claimed after a number of experiments on the same phenomenon. The

same rationale applied to the case study in this research. Similarly to an experiment, a case study does not provide a 'sample' and in doing a case study, the goal is to *"expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization) or the goal is to do 'generalizing' and not 'particularizing' analysis"* (Lipset et al. 1956, pp. 419-420 in Yin 2009, p. 15). In order to enhance thus the analytic generalisation of this study, a number of similar settlements (6), within which different participants are examined, are selected. This offers the opportunity to test and compare the results in different cases which share a common background (Herriott and Firestone 1983). The number and selection of settlements within which the study was conducted, the criteria of selection as well as the procedures that have followed are presented in the following sections.

4.2.3 Selecting the area of research

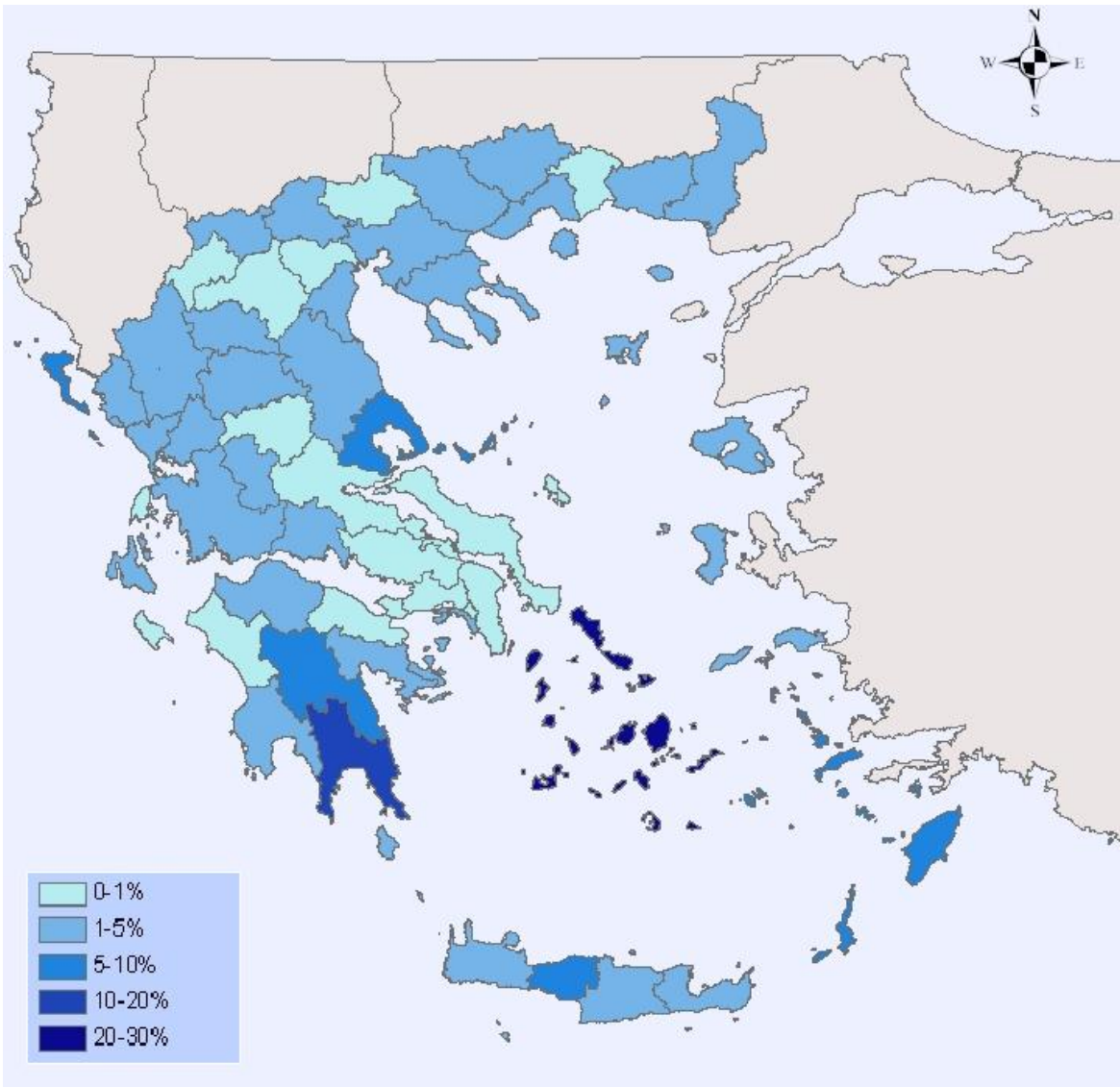
The research was carried out in Greece, which although is widely acknowledged for the richness of its heritage this was hardly subjected to a systematic theoretical account (Loukaki 2008, p.6). The research focuses on traditional settlements in Mount Pelion in central Greece. Traditional settlements are defined by law as *"complexes which maintain their traditional urban grid and their traditional structures and features"* constituting examples of pre-industrial⁷ settlements (Komilis 1975, p. 91; Petronotis 1975). These are small size settlements, i.e the population ranges from 150-800 people, constituting living heritage places, providing a good basis for in depth exploration due to their small size and socio-cultural homogeneity (see next Chapter for more detail).

The reasons for selecting the particular context for carrying out this research are numerous. In particular, Greece is a country of rich heritage places all over its territory providing the advantage of selection among a number of places. Despite this richness there is hardly any work on people's perceptions of heritage. What is even rarer is the attention to contemporary heritage places, such as that of traditional settlements, despite the number of those, almost

⁷the industrial era in Greece does not match the industrial era in Europe and US, as it basically starts in 1920's

800 traditional settlements (see Map below) all over Greece, as the interest in heritage in Greece usually focuses on ancient sites (see for example Loukaki 2008).

Map 1: Proportion of traditional settlements in the different regions in Greece



Source: Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change, Map created by the author

In addition, conservation in Greece is based on a centralized system where the role of local authorities and communities is minimal, in a sense that there is hardly any involvement of them in the identification and evaluation of heritage (see Chapter 5). In particular, and in line with arguments about the elitist nature of conservation as presented in previous Chapter (see 3.3.2),

the determination of the object and the way of conservation is based on experts' and policy maker's values, while little is known about local residents' perceptions.

The selection of the particular area for this research lies on historic, convenience and personal reasons. Concerning the historic reasons, Mount Pelion (see following Map) is known as an area of historic importance since the ancient years, known as the place where Olympic Gods spent their holidays. In addition, most of the settlements in Mount Pelion are listed as traditional. Traditional settlements in Mount Pelion represent exceptional cases of settlements that have survived and flourished during the period of Turkish occupation (Kizis 1994, p.41).

The location of central Greece (see Map below), mainland, which provides the advantage of easy access in combination with the existence of a network of traditional settlements to choose from, fulfilled the convenience reasons. As every culture is emplaced (Casey 1993, p. 31), selecting a culturally specific place with easy access such as that of Mount Pelion minimised the travel distances from and to the area as well as between the selected settlements. Indeed, other networks of traditional settlements located at more peripheral areas or islands, such as settlements in the Aegean islands would be more difficult in terms of access, necessitating more time to be spent, due to the big distances and travel time.

Map 2: Focus area and traditional settlements in Greece



Source: Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change, Map created by the author

Finally, my origin from the specific area further motivated this selection. My familiarity with the context was also beneficial in terms of gaining easy and fast access to participants, accelerating the establishment of contacts, reducing the time of adapting to the particular context for the purposes of this research. Coming from and having grown up in the area provided me also the advantage of exploring and understanding faster people's perceptions of heritage, making easier the links between the elements selected as heritage, the reasons for their appreciation and the role of conservation in the above; but also the links between different participants. Although separating my role as a researcher from my role as a previous resident in the area, in

order to avoid any biased inference, my origin played a significant role in the necessary time to be spent for this research. By remaining neutral and non judgemental to people's responses and avoiding a-priori assumptions yielded an authentic insight into people's experiences' (Silverman 2001, p. 87). In order to better achieve authentic insights inferences the codified data were discussed with some participants (see 4.4).

4.2.4 Pilot Study

"In principle almost anything can and should be piloted. When in doubt - and especially when not in doubt- do a pilot run" (Oppenheim 1992, p. 48).

A pilot study took place prior to the main research in order to facilitate and improve the development of the research design, especially with regards to methodological considerations. The pilot study was conducted between mid of January and end of March in 2013 in four settlements with similar urban and socioeconomic structure which are among the older settlements in the area and where I already had some contacts. The pilot study involved 20 in depth interviews, 5 with experts and 15 with residents within the settlements, one focus group and the distribution of 50 open-ended questionnaires. The main aims of the pilot study were the determination of the number of settlements which I would focus on as well as the examination of the methodological approach and methods for their appropriateness and efficiency.

The pilot study helped to select the number of settlements within which academic saturation could be achieved at the given time frame, enhancing thus the reliability, i.e the product of the research for consistency (Hoepfl 1997; Golafshani 2003). Testing the time devoted to each settlement in order to reach academic saturation (Mason 2010), before conducting the main study, assisted the determination of the number of settlements which could be adequately examined in this research. Based on the pilot study the time required for each settlement was between three and four weeks. Taking into account the time limits for this study (around six months to be spent in the fieldwork) as well as Yin's suggestion that something between 6 to 10

case studies can be conducted effectively providing confidence regarding theoretical inferences, I decided to select 6 settlements in total.

The pilot was also important in finalising the methodological approach. While the qualitative nature of the study was clear, a mixed methodology in perception based studies as those mentioned above (see 4.2.1) seemed quite attractive as it could enhance the qualitative results with numerical figures too. Hence, before the pilot study and influenced by mixed methodological approaches followed in relevant studies (see for example Green 2010; Green 2012) I was considering combining both quantitative and qualitative data, such as in depth interviews followed by a survey. This could allow exploring people's perceptions and their subjectivity (Miller and Glassner 2004) at a first stage, providing material for compiling a survey at the next stage (Creswell 2003). While such an approach would numerically supplement the qualitative part of the study, rather than responding to the research questions, the problems of such an approach, as accrued by the pilot, would counterbalance its advantages.

The pilot indeed tested the application of a mixed methodology, showing that this would be quite inefficient for this thesis. In particular, the pilot study examined whether qualitative interviewing could be followed by a survey, based on the interviews' input, so as that the survey would reflect issues relevant to participants rather than predetermined and predisposed issues. Taking into account the time devoted to each interview, ranging between 30 minutes to 3 hours, completing the process of interviewing in all the six settlements, would have taken around six months. Processing the qualitative data, preparing and conducting the survey would have necessitated another six months. Hence, more than a year should have spent in this procedure, which is a long lasting process within a 3 years research. This could be shorter if instead of in depth interviews I used open ended questionnaires completed by the participants, as Green applied in relevant studies (see Green 2010; Green 2012). However, this would not work out in the particular context as the pilot study proved. Indeed, 50 questionnaires were initially distributed from which I collected back only two and these were incomplete. Hence, the response rate was very low while the results were not satisfying assuming that the same would also happen in the case of a survey. In addition, relevant issues could be missed if participants

had to complete by themselves fixed questions as these would not provide the flexibility to turn the discussion to issues more relevant or interesting at time, as face to face qualitative interviewing offers (Miller and Glassner 2004, p. 127).

If the input was crucial for responding to research questions, all the above constraints could have been overcome by helping the participants to complete the questionnaires and collecting them back by myself. However, given that the survey would only statistically support the issues related to the research questions spending so much time in applying a mixed methodology when a purely qualitative approach could effectively provide answers to this research would be a waste of time.

Within the context of qualitative approaches, the pilot study further facilitated the selection and application of specific data collection methods as it is analysed in more detail below (see 5.3). As in depth interviewing lies in the core of qualitative research a combination of in depth interviews with focus groups⁸ were initially considered as the main tools for eliciting data. While indeed interviews have been proved quite efficient in their application, focus groups proved to be quite problematic, despite their usefulness in 'extracting' communities' perceptions in relevant studies (see for example Simons and Koranteg 2012; Seymour et al. 2010). One focus group was conducted in the pilot study informing the design of the main study:

"Pilot test of focus group is difficult. The true pilot group is the first focus group with participants. As one veteran moderator said, "Do the first focus group. If it works is your first group. If it doesn't it was a pilot test" (Krueger 1998, p. 57).

Focus groups proved to be very difficult to arrange and time consuming. Although people initially agreed to participate, when a date and time arranged, usually after a long time of negotiations⁹, few people appeared and even fewer were on time. In addition, organizing a

⁸ A focus group refers to "small group discussions, addressing a specific topic, which usually involve 6-12 participants, either matched or varied on specific characteristics of interest to the researcher" (Fern, 1982; Morgan and Spanish, 1984)

focus group consisting of both local residents and experts proved to be impossible due to the physical distance. This issue however was addressed by using residents' responses to specific questions so as to trigger experts and policy makers to speak about the same issues and vice versa. In view of the above, it was clear that this research cannot rely heavily upon focus groups, although the richness of data suggested keeping focus groups as a supportive method in the main study.

The pilot study was particularly helpful in establishing contacts contributing also to a better preparation for the main fieldwork, in terms of the time that a discussion takes, questions that were to be asked and the way of approaching people (Oppenheim 1992). For example, approaching directly residents in public spaces such as the central squares or in their houses, proved to be a quite efficient way of conducting more interviews in less time compared to the typical protocol of contacting participants in advance. A number of residents were quite hesitant when I was calling them in advance as they considered it as something more official or distant from them. People were instead more comfortable, open and willing to participate when I visited them spontaneously, following a snowball technique, and especially when I informed them that I also come from the area. Due to the specific context and culture people are used to face to face contact and spontaneity rather than prefixed arrangements. This also affected the setting of the interviews. Indeed, it was often easier to visit someone in his/her house rather than to arrange a meeting in a café, as this is quite common in Greek small settlements such as those in this study. For safety purposes however, two close contacts in the area knew exactly where I was. Similarly with experts, it was sometimes more effective to visit them directly, rather than to arrange an appointment in advance, as rejection or postponing was easier over the phone. In view of the above, being adaptive and responsive in the particular cultural context for the main study was important in making better use of the given time, obtaining data easier.

Furthermore, the pilot study also helped to rephrase questions that were not that clear or obvious to residents. Issues such as the appropriateness of questions, phrasing and their

effectiveness in eliciting data responding to research questions were tested in the pilot (Wengraf 2001, p. 63), improving the approach to the main study.

4.2.5 Selecting settlements

The pilot study facilitated the decision regarding the number of settlements within which the study took place. Having decided to focus on six settlements the next step was to decide which settlements these would be. The selection of the particular settlements was based on the replication logic which is similar to multiple experiments (see Hersen and Balow 1976). According to this, a finding from an experiment in order to be considered as robust is replicated in other experiments. *“Some of the replications might attempt to duplicate the exact conditions of the original experiment. Other replications might alter one or two conditions considered unimportant to see whether the finding could still be duplicated”* (Yin 2009, p. 54).

Similarly, the settlements in this study have been selected so that they either *“a) predict similar results (a literal replication) or b) predict contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons (a theoretical replication)”* (Yin 2009, p. 54). As most traditional settlements in the area present similar socio-cultural backgrounds, the replication rationale was based on the selection of similar size settlements in the same area, under the same degree of protection. Similar patterns of perceptions within these similar settlements would enhance the validity of the findings (literal replication). On the other hand, the main difference of settlements in the area relates to the degree of protection and hence different perceptions could be observed between settlements of different degree of protection i.e between first and second category settlements¹⁰ (theoretical replication).

In view of the above and taking into consideration:

- the fact that a significant majority of first and second category traditional settlements, i.e 35 of the 52 traditional settlements are concentrated central east and west area

¹⁰ see context Chapter 5

- the fact that settlements within the same area do not present big differences (in terms of population, built environment, socioeconomic status)
- the fact that settlements of first and second category are examined and taking into consideration that only 3 settlements belong to the first category
- the established contacts

I decided to select 6 traditional settlements from the central east and west side area in Pelion Mount, 4 second category and 2 first category settlements (see Maps below). In particular, Agios Lavrentios, Afetes, Moursi and Tsagkarada are second category settlements and Makrinitsa and Vizitsa are first category settlements (see Chapter 5 in more detail). Settlements of the same category satisfy the criteria of literal replication, while the decision to select settlements from two different categories facilitates theoretical replication.

Map 3: Area of Study



Source: <http://filotis.itia.ntua.gr>, Map created by the author

Map 4: The selected settlements



Source: <http://filotis.itia.ntua.gr>, Map created by the author

4.3 Collecting Data

4.3.1 Selecting methods of data collection

The research inquiry as well as alternative ways of data collection as tested in a pilot study facilitated the final selection of the data collection methods. Taking also into account the selection of a case study as the main approach of the research, particular attention was given to acquiring different types of data in order to achieve triangulation. Having clarified that the study fits better to the qualitative perception based approaches, data collection relied heavily

on in depth interviewing. However, the review of indirect sources such as policy documents as well as observation further supplemented data collection.

Qualitative interviewing constituted the main way of data collection. The use of interviews and conversation is of high importance when abstract issues, such as that of heritage, are under exploration (Carman and Sorensen 2010, p. 165). Qualitative interviewing is also advantageous in *'exploring the points of view of our research subjects'* (Miller and Glassner 2004, p. 127) – especially regarding the meaning and perceptions that people have concerning the world (Silverman 2005, p. 96). Furthermore, qualitative interviewing is crucial to this study because it does not dictate what the results will be, as these are not based on predetermined answers (as in the case of survey for example), allowing participants' deliberate expression. In line with the principles of critical realism, as well as the main inquiry of this study, qualitative interviewing was selected due to its capacity to obtain participants' insights, addressing their 'ontological subjectivity' while also allowing the emergence of objectivity that relates to common insights from different participants (Silverman 2005, p. 96).

Qualitative interviewing and conversation with participants has been indeed identified among the most effective methods in examining perceptions in the context of heritage (see for example Carman and Sorensen 2009; Smith 2006). In depth interviewing proved to be an effective way of eliciting rich data in the pilot study, reinforcing its application in the main research too. Carman and Sorensen (2009, p. 7) further argue that *"The demanding questions of how value is given and how we can analyse value ascription are illustrated through case studies that discuss and show the usefulness of methods such as interviews and participant observation"*. Hence in depth interviews were selected as the main way of data collection.

Qualitative interviewing in this study however, was not limited to in depth interviews with individuals. Focus groups also supplemented data collection, contributing to the triangulation of data. Focus groups were used due to their ability to collect communal perspectives that accrue as a product of people's interaction and reflection on the issue under discussion. A focus group in this research was a way to examine people's perceptions, not individually, but in a group in which areas of agreement or disagreement become immediately apparent. The

advantage of the focus group is that you get an idea of community's insights in a given topic in a relatively short time (Morgan et al. 1997; Greenbau 1990) as the pilot also proved. However, organising a focus group proved to be quite problematic in the pilot (see 4.2.4). Hence, I decided to use focus groups as a supplementary way of eliciting data rather than as a main method of data collection. This allowed me to be more flexible, arranging focus groups meetings when possible, avoiding wasting time in arrangements.

Observation was also supplemented by data collection, facilitating the understanding of the particular context better. Constituting a main method in ethnographic and anthropological studies and bounded with cultural aspects (Gilham 2008; Stewart 1998; Atkinson 2007 et al.), observation was also a useful complementary method in this research, improving the quality of data collection as well as its interpretation (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002, p. 8). In particular, although observation is more relevant to behavioural rather than perceptual studies it can complement and increase the reliability of this research. Providing the opportunity to attend unscheduled events as well as to compare what is said in the interviews in what is done contributes to the triangulation of data (Atkinson 2007 et al.). In the case of this study for example, observation of the elements identified as heritage by participants or of the condition of the tangible elements of heritage, or participation in certain customs helped to better understand the interaction of people with heritage and the formation of their perceptions. The way in which observation was conducted as well as the data obtained are described in more detail below (see Conducting the Fieldwork in 4.3.3).

Finally, a review of indirect sources, as in the case of humanistic approaches (see 3.3), such as official documents and legislation relevant to conservation which represent aspects of experts' perceptions on heritage and its conservation, was also carried out. In particular, the Acts concerning heritage in Greece as well as the conservation framework of the settlements under consideration have been examined as further described in the following sections (see Conducting the Fieldwork Section in 4.3.3).

4.3.2 Research ethics

The study complies with the principles about research ethics. An ethical approval form was prepared and approved prior to fieldwork. Although the current research does not touch upon sensitive issues and personal data, neither does it involve vulnerable people and social groups certain steps were taken in order to ensure that the study fulfils the ethical criteria suggested for any social research (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 62).

In particular since interviews were the main source of data collection I ensured that 'Informed Consent' (Wilson 1992, p. 185) was obtained. In particular I informed participants about the *"aims and the process of the research project what the research will be used for and who will have access to the information gathered"* (Scheyvens et al. 2009, p. 142) in order for them to have an understanding of the project and decide whether to participate or not (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, pp. 70-71; American Sociological Association cited in Scheyvens et al. 2009, p. 142). Within this rationale I informed them about their freedom not to participate and to feel free to withdrawn from investigation at any time (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, pp. 70-71; American Sociological Association cited in Scheyvens et al. 2009, p. 142). Participants were asked to sign a consent form for this reason. In some cases while participants were willing to participate, they were sometimes hesitant or uncomfortable to sign the form, considering it as something official and 'binding'. In these cases and in order to avoid a situation of awkwardness, which could impact on the interview, I obtained their consent orally.

In addition, anonymity and confidentiality was ensured although most of the participants did not have any problem in providing their names. In this respect, experts were named after their position while residents were 'coded' by their gender, age and village of origin i.e (Gender Age, Village).

4.3.3 Collecting the data: Into the field

Conceptual considerations

One of the main issues in perception based studies which focus on heritage is that they usually address some aspects of perception rather than all of their aspects together as it was mentioned before (see also 3.3). In this study in order to examine perceptions in their totality, the aspects of perceptions (see 3.2.2) were taken into consideration in organizing data collection. In particular, the questions for the interviews and focus groups were formed in such a way so that to ensure that participants are able to reflect on the different aspects of perceptions. While these aspects may not be necessarily distinct as for example what one knows about heritage may not be clearly separated from what he/she feels about heritage, my aim was to provide space in the discussion which would allow participants to touch upon the different aspects. For example, questions such as ‘what is characteristic in your settlement’ or ‘what do you consider as traditional within your settlement’ may touch upon the selective aspect of perception, while questions such as ‘what is that you like more about these elements’ or ‘why you think these are important’ may touch upon the evaluative aspects of perceptions i.e one’s beliefs based on knowledge or feelings of heritage. In addition, observation, for instance the condition of old buildings within a settlement, the use of buildings and places as well as events and activities that take place within a settlement touch upon the behavioural aspect of perception. Hence, attention on what people identify as heritage (selective aspect), what they know and believe about them, how they feel about these issues (evaluative aspects) and how they react to them (behavioural aspect) was paid in the process of data collection.

Conducting fieldwork

In depth interviews were the main method of data collection in this study. Two were the main target groups, residents in traditional settlements on the one hand and experts, on the other. The main fieldwork took place between May and September 2013. In total 80 in depth interviews were carried out, 72 with residents and 8 with experts, lasting from half an hour to

up to 3 hours. In addition, 3 focus groups with local residents, in Mouresi (8 participants), Afetes (8 participants) and Agios Lavrentios (6 participants) were carried out.

The selection of participants was guided by the principle of theoretical sampling according to which one targets at “*representativeness of concepts, not of persons*” (Corbin and Strauss 1990). As the aim was not to generalize findings to a broader population, but to reveal the various issues around people’s perceptions of heritage and its conservation, interviewing within a settlement was completed when theoretical saturation was achieved i.e when new participants had nothing new to say in relation to the topic under study (Guest et al. 2006). In each settlement less than 15 participants required in order to reach saturation.

The criteria of selecting specific residents, were based on the factors that affect perceptions of heritage, as those identified in other relevant studies (see 3.2.3 factors that affect perceptions of heritage) and which may be obvious before discussing with them¹¹. As the socio-cultural status of participants is homogeneous, characteristics of the individual such as age, sex, occupation and length of residency have been taken into consideration. Hence, I targeted to a spread of respondents’ characteristics regarding age, sex, occupation and length of residency. The number and profile of interviewees in each settlement are presented in the APPENDIX I.

Regarding the selection of experts, as these are the same for all the settlements under consideration, I selected experts from both central and regional level of administration; central such as officials in the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate change and especially in the Department of Traditional settlements, as well as experts in the Ministry of Culture and NGO’S, and regional such as officials in Regional Planning Office, Technical Chamber as well as officials in the Ephorate of Contemporary Monuments¹² in the Thessaly Region. In particular, I conducted 4 interviews with experts at the Department of Traditional Settlements in the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate change, 1 with an expert at the Ephorate of Contemporary Monuments, 1 with the President of Architects in the Technical Chamber in

¹¹ for example demographic characteristics are immediately identifiable, while experience with heritage requires discussion with the participant first

¹²Regarding the relevance of the Ephorate of newer monuments in the conservation of traditional settlements, it is noted that its role is the protection of individual monuments, newer to 1830, such as some of the typical traditional houses and mansions in traditional settlements as well as some of the cobblestoned roads in them.

Thessaly region and 2 with experts in the Architecture Board in the Regional Planning Office. Interviews with experts and residents as well as focus groups run in parallel. This provided the opportunity of juxtaposing the input from each side to the other, overcoming thus the difficulty of bringing them together at the same time in a focus group as mentioned above. In addition, conducting interviews with experts and residents in different settlements in parallel allowed me to save time facilitating also participants to talk at a time of their convenience.

Informed by the pilot study about the setting of interviews (see 4.2.4), the interviews took place in either public spaces or in people's houses in the case of residents and experts' offices in the case of experts. Focus groups took place in a local cafe in each settlement.

Regarding the willingness of people to participate, both residents and experts were generally happy to take part in the research. My origin influenced positively residents who felt more comfortable and open to talk knowing that I could better understand them. Few issues however arose with some experts. Some of the experts on the top of hierarchy were usually busy and so they tended to provide quick and short responses. In addition, as most of the interviews took place during office hours, someone often interrupted our discussion. In some instances a way to address the above difficulties was to offer the opportunity to participants to meet during their free time in public space (i.e in a café). This was not always possible, so I had to adapt and make the most out of our discussion in a limited time, keeping field-notes straight after the interview. One more issue relates to people's doubts to be recorded. Some of the participants were willing to talk but they felt uncomfortable or they did not want to be recorded. The way to address this issue was to keep written notes and then to reflect on the discussion immediately after the interview.

Regarding the type of interviewing, I used semi-structured interviewing, preceded and/or complemented by informal and unstructured interviewing which supplemented my understanding and ensured the development of relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions (Bernard, 1988). Semi-structured interviewing provided the advantage of the fluidity against rigidity of the stream of questions (Rubin and Rubin 2005), offering a 'guided conversation' (Yin 2009, p. 106), allowing me to direct the conversation to a high extent. Open-

ended questions were used in order to allow people to express their views and develop their ideas based on their own beliefs and experiences (Oppenheim 1992, p. 74, Robson, 2002). For the purpose of comparability of data as well as the focus of the discussion on the subject, an interview schedule of themes of questions was prepared in advance.

The rationale of developing the themes of questions was based on two main and interrelated criteria: a) the research questions and b) the aspects of perceptions as summarized in the following table. Regarding the first one, questions have been developed so as to acquire data that respond to the research questions. In this respect, three main themes were used:

- The elements that are considered as heritage and valued most by participants
- The reasons for appreciating these elements
- The way in which conservation of settlements is viewed by participants and the extent to which this affects people’s perceptions on heritage

In addition, in an attempt to address perceptions holistically questions were formed in such a way so as to allow responses which touch upon the different aspects of perceptions (see conceptual considerations above). For example, asking why a heritage element is considered as important prompts answers about what one knows about this as well as what he/she feels about this. It is noted that one question may simultaneously touch upon more than one categories of the table as the main aim is to address perceptions in their totality and so it is not important to keep these aspects separated. In view of the above the main themes of questions may reflect many aspects of perceptions as indicated in the table below.

Table 2: Aspects on which questions were based				
Thematic areas relevant to research questions	Aspects of perception			
	Selection	Evaluative aspects		Behavioural
		Beliefs based on Knowledge	Beliefs based on feelings	
The elements that are considered as heritage	√			
The value of heritage		√	√	
The way in which conservation of settlements is viewed by participants	√	√	√	√

Source: Table created by the author

The same rationale followed for the questions used in focus groups, as well as in reviewing the indirect sources of data such as official documents regarding conservation and relevant legislation. This contributed to the triangulation of data and hence to the reliability of the research, since different data sources were used to locate the same information and therefore to confirm the provided knowledge (Coffey and Atkinson 1996, p. 14). Common topics and questions in interviews as well as in the way of looking at indirect sources, fulfilled Yin's principle about the multiple sources of data which can be combined to produce a 'much more convincing and robust account', by addressing the same question through each data source (Yin 2003, p. 100). Interviews and discussions attempted also to move naturally from topic to topic (Oppenheim 1992, pp. 70-71). For instance, I first asked people to identify what they consider traditional or as heritage, moving then to why this may be important.

Finally, observation further supplemented data collection, as it was already mentioned. Observation initially involved a walk in all the villages in order to obtain a clear picture of the settlements, their built environment and community's life. Notes and pictures have been taken in a casual way. Special attention was paid to old buildings and structures in each settlement, but also to customs and other cultural practices, not only in terms of what is done but also where these take place, whether people participate and who participates. In addition, distortions or actions against conservation were also part of the observation. Observation of the above elements was later discussed with participants in order to understand their views, juxtaposing it to what they said in the interview. At a next stage, observation was more targeted. In particular, after conducting an interview or couple of interviews I was visiting the elements identified as heritage, taking pictures and examining their relation with the participants. For example, I was testing if these elements were near to the certain participants or elements that participants often passed by. Observing things within a settlement was a continuous process throughout my visiting which facilitated analysing people's perceptions when putting it side by side with interviews. For example, after conducting some interviews with particular residents followed by observation of the elements that they pointed out, I discovered that a number of residents often point out elements close to them or regularly visited as it will be further presented in the analysis Chapters (see for example 6.2.2).

Observation was also used as a prompt in order to obtain a clearer picture of certain issues rather than to arrive at certain conclusions without testing it first. For example, it was very often that I had an interview with residents who agreed on the roofs made by local stone as characteristic of their heritage. However I often noticed that they had ceramic tiles on their roof, testing this inconsistency with them.

4.4 Analysing data

Hatch characteristically states: *“Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning... Analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorization, hypothesizing, comparison, and pattern finding. It always involves what Wolcott calls “mindwork”* (Hatch 2002, p. 148)

Analysis was not a procedure distinct to and separated from fieldwork and data collection (Coffey and Atkinson 1996, p. 11). Analysis in terms of thinking about themes and issues relevant to research questions was an ongoing process, started during the fieldwork, continued through data collection and processing, completed at the end of the project. As Seidel notes: *“Qualitative data analysis is like a symphony based on three elegant but simple notes—noticing, collecting, and thinking”* (Seidel 1998 as cited in Leech et al. 2007, p. 557) . This is not to say it is a linear process, as interactions arise between the different ‘notes’. In this study for instance, after completing some interviews and having some inferences about themes of analysis, I took them into consideration and tested them in my next interviews. For example, after some interviews I had some indications that frequency of contact with an element may affect its selection as heritage. Hence, I tried to take into consideration this aspect in the following interviews asking, for example, participants whether certain elements were far or close to them or how often they are in contact with them or perform them (if it was for an intangible aspect). Similarly, with other issues that started to repeat after a number of interviews.

While still in the fieldwork I always reflected after the interviews, keeping notes in the form of bullet points about the main impression as well as the key issues as raised by participants. Gradually, a list with key issues was developed. This was regularly updated after completing some interviews. Furthermore, before I conducted new interviews I was going back to the list in order to remind myself for points of clarification or elaboration on similar themes as raised by other participants in the next interviews.

The process analysed below however refers to the analytical process following the completion of data collection, addressing more official analytical procedures. In line with the principles of a case study design, Yin (2009, p. 127) underlines that there are no recipes of analysis for case studies and *'instead, much depends on an investigator's own style of rigorous empirical thinking, along with the sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations'*.

The process of organizing and analyzing data started with the creation of a case study database as suggested by Yin (2009). This included transcribed¹³ interviews and focus groups discussion, as well as notes and pictures deriving from observation and official documents related to conservation, uploaded and stored in NVivo. After developing the database, an initial step was to organize and then to code the data.

The way I dealt with this was to go through and read all the material first, so as to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the entire picture of the data. After completing this phase, I organised the material in sections according to their relevance to research questions. This was in turned followed by pre-coding the material. Coding refers to *"a heuristic (from the Greek, meaning "to discover") – an exploratory problem-solving technique without specific formulas to follow"* (Saldana 2008, p.8). Within the context of qualitative research as in the case of this study a code *"is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute"* (Saldana 2008, p.3). Coding was not used as an analysis in itself but as a step towards analysis and interpretation (Basit 2003, p.145).

¹³ Most interviews were transcribed while I was still in the field so as to immediately reflect on them as well as have the opportunity to go back in case that was needed

The aim at the pre-coding stage was to organise the amount of data according to their relevance to research questions, while also to: 1) identify themes relevant to research, 2) find examples of those themes and 3) identify commonalities, differences, patterns and structures (Seidel and Kelle 1995, pp. 55-56). This can be described as a process of reorganisation of the collected data in new orders (Tesch 1990). Codes derived from literature, theory, research questions as well as data itself (see table in APPENDIX II) (Coffey and Atkinson 1996, pp. 31-32; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, pp. 201-203). The list that had been compiled during the fieldwork further facilitated my decision making regarding the initial codes.

Pre-coding included open coding (see Strauss and Corbin 1990) in order to summarize topics as emerged from data but also themes from the literature relevant to the subject of research (see APPENDIX II). Hence a combination of an inductive bottom up and deductive top down approach to coding was followed. After going through a number of interviews an initial coding list including both emergent codes as well as codes derived from the literature was compiled. This was further developed by going through the rest of the interviews, focus groups and other documents, and every time that a new idea appeared a code was added in the list. It is important however to note that coding was not faced just as labelling. It was also *about linking, leading from “the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea”* (Richards and Morse 2007, p.137). For example, the code ‘tangible elements’ referred to all the tangible elements identified as heritage (relevant to the first research question). Within this code similarities were observed among certain elements, such as elements with great detail or elements of big scale (i.e different elements pertaining to the same idea: i.e tangible elements of heritage). At the end of this procedure the coding list consisted of 53 codes in total.

In order to increase the rigour of the research, a second round of coding was conducted, while codes were also tested by two other qualitative researchers who were given the coding list and three interviews to code (Raymond 1992). No big divergences appeared between my coding and their coding. Cases of divergences were especially due to overlaps between codes which were in turn reconsidered. For example, the code: irreplaceable, related to the second research question, was often confused with the code: ‘something that cannot be done in the same way

now'. In this case, I merged the two codes under the same code: irreplaceability. The codes are available in the APPENDIX II.

Constant comparison of the data within the same codes as well as across them was carried out in order to identify common themes and patterns. While the open coding helped organizing the material in the first place, it was a closer look at the coded data and a constant comparison across codes that revealed commonalities and patterns. For example, a comparison between the codes "tangible and intangible elements of heritage", revealed commonalities, such as the issue of frequency, age and use as important in determining something as heritage either as tangible or intangible. Conducting these comparisons and thinking about all the codes facilitated the identification of patterns such as those referred above and a second round of coding took place. The updated codes were further checked along with 10 participants who I kept contact with, in order to ensure that they reflect their perspectives (Janesick 2000; Merriam 1998; Maxwell 1992; Maxwell 2005).

Finally, concepts were formed so as to organise the analysis 'report'. Concept is about "*how we get up to more general, higher-level, and more abstract constructs*" (Richards and Morse 2007, p.157). As Saldana (2008, p. 15) notes a concept refers to this progressing "*from the real to the abstract*". In the case of this study examples of this process are presenting in the following table. A number of the concepts that were used in the analysis reflect on the aspects of perceptions as introduced above in the attempt to capture their totality. It is noted that only representative examples are presented in the following table as the process was not always as linear as it appears to be due to interconnections and patterns that cannot be presented in a comprehensive and understandable way in Table 3.

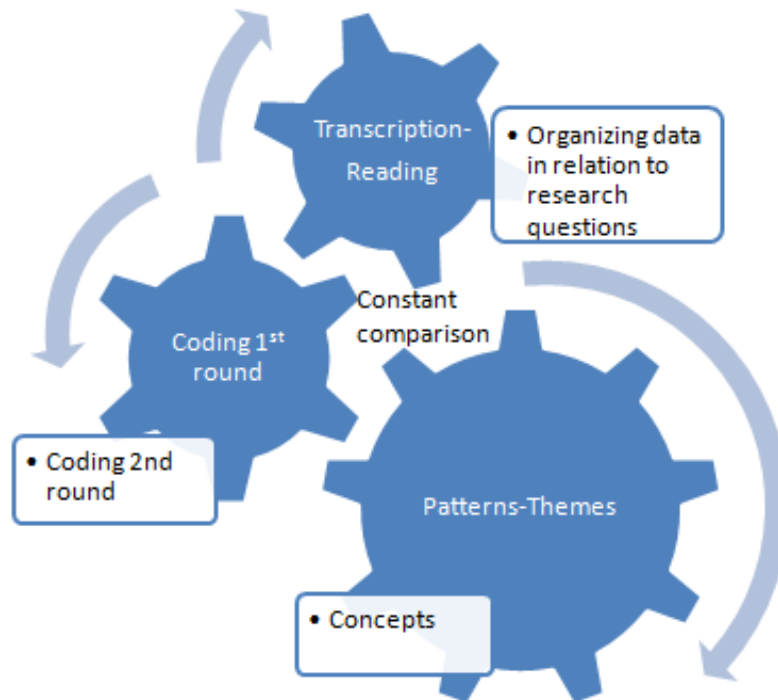
Table 3: Example of codes, themes and concepts

Code 1st round+2nd round	Themes-Patterns	Concept	Relevance to research question
Tangible elements	Things often seen or performed Things often visited Centrally located	Frequency matters	What does constitute heritage? What is selected as heritage?
Intangible elements	Thing that take place regularly		
Memories	Emotional aspects Feelings	Affective aspect of perception	How is heritage valued? Reasons of appreciation
Familiarity and attachment			
Fantasy and inspiration			
Pride			
Conservation's rules-regulations	Reference to conservation Legislation	Awareness of conservation	How is conservation perceived?
Conservation Framework			
Characterization of a settlement as traditional			
Economic issues	Affordances of conservation i.e advantages and misgivings	Cognitive aspects of perception	How is conservation valued? Does it affect the values on heritage?
Functionality issues			
Homogeneity			
Appearance issues			

Source: Table created by the author

The overall analytical approach is summarized on the Diagram below.

Diagram 3: The analytical process



Source: Diagram created by the author

Conclusions

This Chapter addressed the methodological approach followed in this research, in order to allow the reader to trace the 'chain of evidence' (Yin 2009, p. 123) throughout the different stages of the project. Starting from the philosophical considerations and the adoption of critical realism as the philosophical position of this research, this Chapter further showed how the selection of a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis was the most suitable approach for this research. The Chapter extensively reviewed the different alternatives in studying perceptions of heritage before selecting the qualitative approach. This review particularly showed that the purely quantitative studies were inadequate in dealing with the matter of perceptions holistically while the mixed approaches, despite their potential, presented certain shortcomings within the context of this study. The Chapter thus highlighted the appropriateness and effectiveness of the qualitative approach for addressing the research

questions. The Chapter next elaborated on the particular methodology as followed in this research. A case study approach was considered as the most appropriate means of carrying out this study due to a) its relevance to research questions i.e how and why? b) its ability to deal with contemporary phenomena such as heritage and conservation over which the researcher has no control and c) its ability to deal with questions when the phenomenon is not separated from the context (Yin 2009). Finally , the Chapter outlined how the above methods have been applied in the context of the particular research from the stage of data collection to the stage of presenting the analysis.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

This Chapter introduces the context of this research. The Chapter presents the profile of the wider area as well as that of each settlement studied in this thesis. The Chapter also outlines both the Greek conservation policy for traditional settlements and the conservation framework in the area under study. The aim is to familiarise the reader with the context, outline elements of heritage as presented in legislation and in relevant literature as well as to sketch out the way in which conservation policy is shaped and applied. This is necessary in order to better understand how people in the specific context comprehend and correspond to all the above so as to unravel what is selected as heritage in the area and what the role of conservation is, as analysed in the following Chapters (6, 7, 8).

5.1 Introducing the wider area

As discussed in previous Chapters, the research focuses on Greek traditional settlements in Mount Pelion in central Greece. The natural environment in the area is of high quality, with rich vegetation especially on the Eastern side and less dense vegetation in the west and south. Along with its settlements Mount Pelion has been characterized as a site of exceptional aesthetic value *'due to its exceptional character, its unimagined variety of colours and the outstanding combination of dense vegetation and views to the sea'* as described in paragraph 1 of the ministerial decision Φ31/24512/1858/3.5.1976, as released based on the Act 1469/1950 (A' 169). The Mount is also historically significant and most of the settlements in the area fall under conservation framework, constituting a famous network of traditional settlements in Greece. The settlements under protection are classified in three categories depending on their traditional character and the degree of amendments which deviate from the traditional character of the building stock; the first one includes the settlements with the least distortions and the third one the settlements with most distortions.

Pelion Mount is mentioned in Greek Mythology as the summer residence of Olympian Gods, with signs of ancient life having been detected in the area. However, it was no earlier than the 10th century AD that the area started being inhabited in a more organised way, although there are indications that Slavic tribes had occupied the area during the 6th-8th century. There is also evidence that monks were one of the first settlers in the area and built monasteries¹⁴ triggering thus the development of the villages (Kizis 1994, p. 43).

The area had advantages that encouraged the economic development of the area. These advantages were: the safety provided by the relative isolation of the area, the rich natural environment, the forests and pastures combined with the agricultural production, the easiness of shipping activity and trade, the monasteries in the area, the special economic and political benefits provided by Turkish occupiers, and especially the self-government and administration. All the above stimulated the development of settlements described as *“small cities climbing on the mountain, which in the dawn of 19th century gained the admiration of travellers from abroad”* (Kizis 1994, p.41). The economic and cultural situation of the villages in Mount Pelion in the period of early Turkish occupation (15th century) was an exceptional phenomenon, presenting a unique example of Greek settlements that flourished and thrived during that period, a fact made evident by the quality of the built environment.

The advantageous conditions of the area attracted people from other areas of Greece, which were oppressed by the Turkish occupation. The attraction of wealthy people from the cities, often merchants experienced in trade and industry as well as craftsmen, especially from the province of Epirus, boosted the development of the particular settlements. These people did not only transfer knowledge, playing a key role in the economy, but they also transferred a particular building style as depicted in the built environment. Indeed, many of the villages in Mount Pelion resemble settlements in Epirus, where a number of craftsmen and builders came from.

By the end of 18th century Mount Pelion became the most densely populated area in Greece. Some of the settlements constituted small industrial-craft centres, such as Makrinitza and

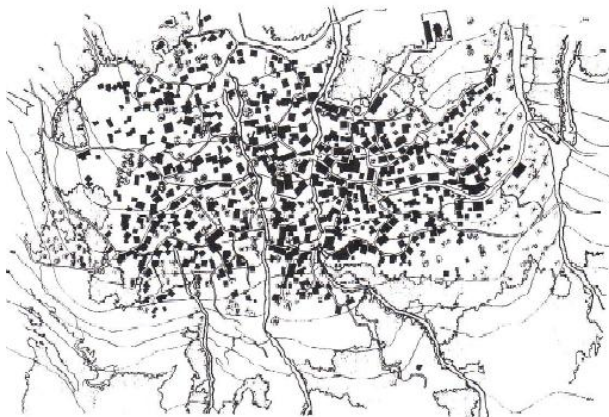
¹⁴ Most of these monasteries have been lost while churches and chapels have built on their position

Tsagkarada while others focused also on agricultural activity such as Mouresi and Agios Lavrentios (Lavvas and Filippides 1995, p. 20).

However, due to this wealth, the settlements suffered from pirates' invasions, especially between the 17th and 19th century. This forced relocation to safer locations in the mountain. The need for protection is reflected in the building stock: for example, there were a number of fortified buildings with towers built in the 18th century. These needs influenced the architecture of the settlements during the following years (Kizis 1994, p. 49).

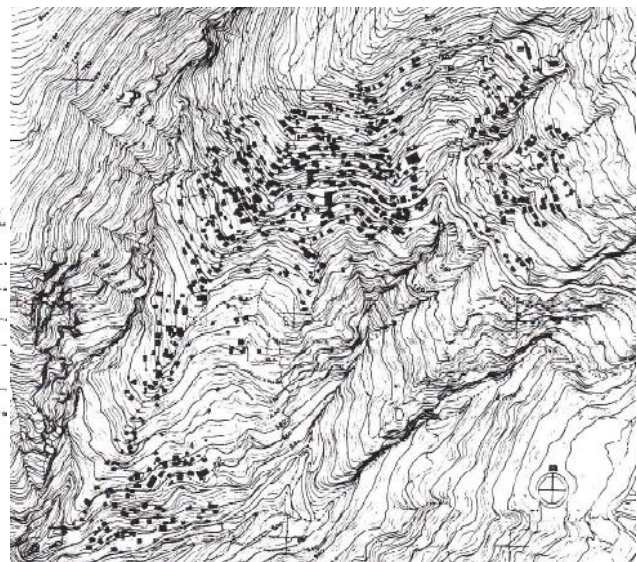
In terms of the settlements' location and layout, most settlements, apart from the coastal villages, are built on the mountainous steep slopes (see for example Maps 5, 6, 7). Buildings constitute small clusters on the flat areas of the mountain (Liapis 2001). The 'climbing' settlements, which remain almost the same today in terms of their layout and pattern, depict a long term and intense attempt of communities to thrive in a difficult terrain.

Map 6: The layout of Agios Lavrentios



Source: Kizis 1994, p.26

Map 5: The layout of Makrinitsa



Source: Kizis 1994, p.27

Map 7: The layout of Vizitsa



Source: Kizis 1994, p.22

The layout of settlements showing that these are built on mountainous steep slopes, which affected the way of building.

The roads, most of which are the renowned cobblestoned roads, were initially made by locals in order to accommodate their movement, following the geomorphology and the area's natural conditions. The roads were later carefully and masterfully paved with local stone by the craftsmen, constituting the main mode of transport within and across the settlements (Lavvas and Philippedis 1995, p. 24).

Narrow water canals for watering the fields are usually attached alongside to the cobblestoned roads. Fountains were built and spread throughout the settlements, some of which are exceptionally decorated. Fountains used to play a central role in the social life of the village, as women used to gather there to source water or to wash the clothes, while travellers also stopped by to drink water or to water their animals. Hence, walking along the cobblestoned roads does not only provide a visual experience due to the different views, the enclosure, the visual perspective, the points of surprise (see Lynch 1960; Rapoport 1977), but a holistic sense of place enriched by the sounds of the water and of other natural elements (Lavvas and Philippedis 1995,p. 24)

One of the most characteristic elements of all the villages in Mount Pelion is the central square as it constitutes the religion, administration, leisure and market centre (Kizis 1994, p. 52; Lavvas and Philippedis 1995). This is where the main church is located along with local shops, taverns

and public buildings. Old, big plane trees, which offer shadow and dew during the summer, are placed in and around the central square. The terrain is generally flat, sometimes interrupted by steps, paved by local stone since the 19th and early 20th century. The square constitutes the most vibrant part of the village in which public and private events as well as informal meetings take place. Squares have sustained their central role in the life of villages till today (Kizis 1994, pp. 52-54).

Buildings tend to be particularly dominating as individual structures. The exact location of buildings was subject to the individual owners' selection rather than to a predetermined plan. The criteria for selecting the area for building a house used to be the quality of soil, accessibility to water, as well as orientation so as to take advantage of the positive, or to tackle the negative, environmental conditions. Nature also played an important role in the way in which houses were built. This is reflected by the local stone and wood building materials used for construction (Kizis 1994, pp. 16-22). Houses are generally two or three storeys with a sloping roof made from local stone. There were no rules regarding the distances between two buildings but only an unwritten law based on functionality principles: The "right of *astreha*" which determined the minimum distance that would allow the flow of rain water, avoiding possible damages. Hence there are no terraced houses, only some ensembles or clusters of buildings forming neighborhoods of higher densities (Lavvas and Phillipedis 1995, p. 21). This is something particularly appreciated by locals who are against the construction of housing complexes as presented in the analysis (see 7.3).

Building typologies can be generally classified by three periods: the early period ending in the early 17th century, the mid period between the 17th and the middle 18th century and the later period of the late 18th, the 19th and early 20th century. Dwellings from the first period were primitive, very small structures resembling short stay shelters. These buildings did not last in time and there are not any remnants of them left (Kizis 1994, p. 43). Buildings from the second period present many differences in terms of scale, as they vary from the fairly high fortified towers to the lower buildings of the rising class, which combine the style of agricultural houses

with those of tower houses made of stone. Only a few buildings of this era have survived, due to the intensive construction activity of the following period (Kizis 1994, p. 46).

Indeed the configuration of the built environment due to the improved economic and administrative conditions changed greatly during the following centuries. In the last quarter of the 18th century and the early 19th century the area reached its pinnacle. Traditional Pelion architecture, which relied on empiricism and experienced craftsmen was at its best: Completed architectural compositions (see Figure 1, Figure 3), combination of elements of defense, housing, secondary spaces, decorative elements (see Figure 2), characterize the built environment.

Figure 1: Traditional house



Example of completed architectural composition as a result of the good economic conditions in the 18th century

Source: Picture taken by the author

Figure 2: Decorative elements



Example of decorative elements in the buildings showing the wealth in the area

Source: <http://photoexplore.gr/portfolio/pelion/>

Figure 3: Built environment in Vizitsa



Example of completed architectural composition as a result of the good economic conditions in the 18th and 19th century in the area

Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/33806745>

The typical Pelion house is a two storey house in which the ground floor is used for storage, the cellar for keeping domestic animals, while the first floor constituted the main residence. Mansions are more elaborate, with three floors, more space and decorations inside and outside (see Figure 4). They are usually also surrounded by other smaller buildings of secondary uses, such as built ovens, or the dwellings of servants (Kizis 1994, p. 53). Buildings are often made of stone but not many of them have survived. Finally, there are also small agricultural houses which were built in the fields and used by villagers during the harvesting period.

A very important element of all types and status of houses is the yard. Every house has a smaller or bigger yard decorated by seasonal local flowers. Quite often an arbour with vine plants covers the yard so as to provide shadow during the summer. All the above elements are nowadays recognised as heritage in the area as will be shown in the following Chapter (6).

Figure 4: Mansion



Source: <http://photoexplore.gr/portfolio/pelion>

The situation changed in the mid-19th century as the small, and often amateur, crafting industries in the villages started to decline due to industrial revolution in Europe and the migration wave of locals abroad, particularly in Egypt. However, those who went abroad sent money back, investing in property in the area and offering donations for the construction of charitable and public use buildings. They also built new houses in the villages establishing a new style of mansions influenced by classicistic urban style; the so called Egyptian-Pelion style of architecture (Kizis 1994, p. 56). The difference, however, from the previous years is that these constitute holiday houses rather than primary residences (Kizis 1994, p. 57).

The period of economic growth was sustained until the end of the 19th century. Some of the older buildings were abandoned while others were refurbished, incorporating classicist interventions. The scale of the buildings was also affected. The relation of public-private space changed as the second period became more open and exposed in order to 'exhibit' the 'wealth'. Fences and surrounding walls became lower, more details such as curved balconies and iron decorated railings in windows were added, old churches were replaced with bigger ones and belfries were constructed indicating a 'second' round of growth (see Figure 5, Figure 6) (Kizis 1994, p. 57).

Figure 5: Details in the balcony



Figure 6: Mansion with neoclassic elements



Examples of architecture that depict the second round of growth in the area in the 19th century.

Source: Picture taken by the author

Source: <http://photoexplore.gr/>

In total, the built environment is the result of a common and tiresome effort of locals to deal with economic conditions as well as nature and the demanding terrain. No professional plans and designs were used but empiricism and local knowledge. In this effort, a 'solidarity' rationale was cultivated. It is noted that in many cases locals, including craftsmen, helped each other to build their houses or contributed with their personal work to other villagers' construction problems. In this respect vernacular architecture characterizes the settlements. The introduction of the conservation framework means that its aims are often juxtaposed with the tradition of building according to locals' efforts and needs. This will be further explained in the following Chapters.

The image of the villages started to change in the 1950s. A series of earthquakes resulted in serious damages, while the need for quick solutions led to the demolition of a number of old buildings and the development of one floor 'earthquake-resistant' houses. These structures were made from cheaper materials and with no particular attention to morphological issues. In addition, a number of buildings were abandoned between the 1970s and the 1990s due to the urbanization process and thus population in the area considerably decreased. Interventions in an attempt to 'modernize' and respond better to current needs as well as urban influences

brought a number of changes in the villages. Cobblestoned roads were often replaced by cement ones to facilitate the vehicular access. In addition more functional structures supplemented old buildings, ceramic tiles replaced the local stone in many roofs, and new buildings were constructed. Conservation policy to control these changes was only established in the 1980s, triggering also the interest in reinvesting in the area. New buildings were built due to increasing demand to accommodate tourism, but this also meant old buildings were refurbished (Kizis 1994).

Although not planned but spontaneously developed, and despite the changes that took place throughout the years, traditional settlements in Mount Pelion have constituted a well defined and homogeneous unity both in terms of their appearance and their function (Kizis 1994, p. 44). The uniformity of the villages does not rely only on the image of their built environment, but also on the customs, traditions and cultural habits which all together compose a well determined entity as a whole. Local festivals for the honour of local saints, which take place in public squares, traditional techniques such as the technique practiced in building construction as well as the local embroideries, the local cuisine and other customs abound in the area. These are generally common to all the settlements, although some of them present more unique features. Hence, it is much more than just a 'picture' that defines these settlements and determines their 'traditionality' as it will be further described in the following Chapters. However, it is important to note that while there are some sources regarding the built environment and the tangible aspects of heritage in the area, references are quite limited in the case of intangible aspects of heritage, as few things have been recorded about them. In this respect the identification and understanding of these elements requires a personal involvement with the issue. The settlements which form part of the study are presented in more detail below.

5.2 Introducing the settlements of the study

As introduced in the previous Chapter (4), the study focuses on six traditional settlements in the area: Makrinitza, Vizitsa, Tsagkarada, Mouresi, Agios Lavrentios and Afetes. The profile of each

settlement is presented below in order to provide the context and background for examining their heritage as perceived by locals and experts in the following Chapters.

Makrinitza is one of the first category western settlements in Mountain Pelion. Makrinitza used to be one of the biggest settlements and crafting centres in Mount Pelion (Lavvas and Philippedis 1995, p. 30). It is one of the oldest villages in Pelion with an impeccable traditional character which has been maintained. Makrinitza constitutes one of the three first category traditional settlements in terms of protection policy. The layout of the settlement has developed on the rocky slopes amphitheatrically (see Figure 7). The housing stock is predominantly old and traditional, including several big mansion houses ('arhontika'). The local stone dominates on buildings and other structures in the settlement (Leonidopoulou-Stylianou 1982, pp. 22-28). As Kizis (1994, p. 17) notes *"At the end of 18th century Makrinitza had around 1000 houses, each one made of stone...big, high and beautiful"*. However, only a few 18th century houses have been maintained, due to the recurrent turmoil that took place in the area before the area's independence in 1881.

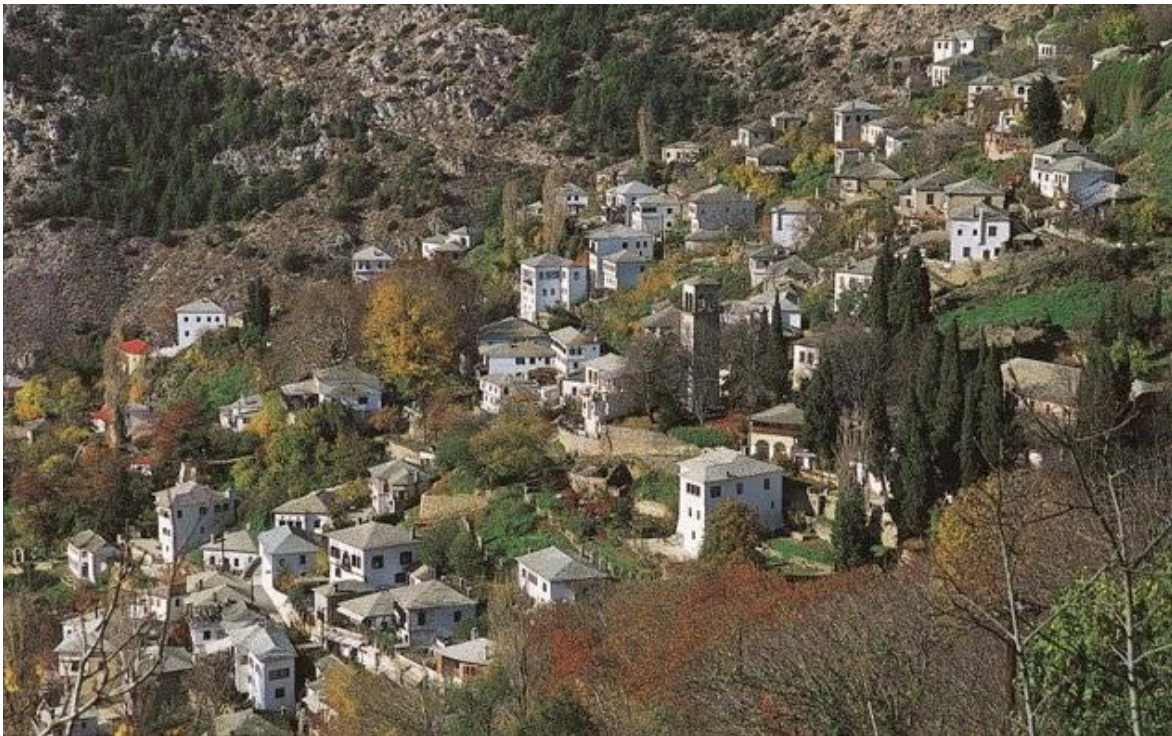
The majority of remaining buildings in the village was built after 1830, and only a few of them maintain their initial appearance and structure, as interventions such as façade painting, replacement of the old wooden frames as well as additions of rooms and other structures have been implemented. However, the craftsmanship and the characteristic way of building are evident in the building stock. In addition, the entire cobblestoned pedestrian network of roads has been listed and protected, constituting the main circulation network within the settlement. Similarly, the traditional elements of the village comprise churches, squares and fountains.

Apart from the 'traditional' building stock, a number of customs and other intangible aspects of heritage, such as traditional festivals and the local sweet delicacies, which are nowadays 'extensively' stocked in the local shops along the main cobblestoned street, are prevalent in the village.

Until the 1970s the local economy was based on agriculture. Between the 1970s and the early 1990s a large proportion of population abandoned the settlement, often selling their properties and moving to the nearby city of Volos. In 1976 the GNTO (Greek National Tourism

Organisation), launched a pilot rehabilitation project for traditional settlements in Greece, involving Makrinitza. This funded the restoration of 3 traditional buildings of exceptional historic significance. This action has proved to be particularly influential as it triggered people's interest in old buildings and shifted the local economy to tourism. The interest of the private sector in the area increased and many traditional buildings were refurbished and turned to guest-houses. In addition, a number of old houses have been bought by upper economic status non-locals who use them as holiday homes. Nowadays tourism plays a vital role in the local economy and the population of the settlement increased to 898 people in 2011.

Figure 7: View of Makrinitza



Source: http://www.tragiko.eu/2013/12/blog-post_8584.html

Vizitsa is a first category traditional settlement, located in central-western Pelion with a population of around 250 people. The history of Vizitsa is similar to that of the rest of the villages. Vizitsa was especially developed by Greek migrants in Egypt who invested in the area. Hence, despite its small size the settlement presents many and big mansions (arhontika) most of which were built in the end of the 18th and the beginning of 19th century (see Figure 8). Kizis

(1994, p.19) notes that *“in 1791 Vizitsa had “nice houses and some big ones” In 1815 around 120 houses (1/4 of all) were big and nice”*.

From those built before the 1815, around 30 mansion houses have been saved, 6 of which are in a very good condition while the others are either derelict or have been seriously altered. Many have become attached to more recent structures. As in the other villages, Vizitsa lost a sizeable part of its population during the 60s and 70s. Its ‘resurrection’ started in 1976. Similarly to Makrinitisa the GTNO (Greek National Tourism Organisation) started a program of refurbishing old mansions and handing them back to their owners, who used them as hotels and guest houses. This attracted tourism, while the characterization on the settlement as traditional and its inclusion in the first category of the best maintained settlements, as well as the Golden Apple award that the settlement received as the best maintained traditional settlement in Greece, has further enhanced its status. Indeed, the village remains almost untouched in terms of its built environment. The cobblestoned roads, the churches, the main square as well as the number of old buildings and the domination of the local stone in constructions characterize the village. These are also complemented by the intangible elements of the local traditions (Kizis 1994, p. 19). Nowadays the economy of the village relies heavily upon tourism. However the economic crisis has led to the inactivity of a number of guest-houses.

Figure 8: View of Vizitsa



Source:<http://www.athinorama.gr/travel/greece/destination.aspx?did=328andaid=710040>

Tsagkarada is a second category traditional settlement, located in the north-eastern part of Pelion with a population of 710 inhabitants. The history of the village is traced back to the 13th century, while it has been claimed that the village was initially inhabited during the Macedonian period (382-323 BC) (Liapis 1969, p. 9). The settlement was initially located on the coast, however the recurrent 16th century invasions of pirates forced its population to move uphill, where the village is currently located. Enjoying the benefits provided by the Turkish administration in the area, the village started to flourish reaching its current layout and form during the 18th and 19th centuries. The village became one of the wealthiest and most prominent villages in eastern Pelion (Kizis 1994, p.21).

Tsagkarada's most characteristic element is that its building stock is scattered all over the area on big plots in the 'forest' (Kizis 1994, p.21). The village's economy has traditionally been based on agriculture and on small craft-units, focusing on the production and processing of silk, an activity that had been thriving in the 18th century. The industrial revolution in Greece led to the gradual loss of this particular activity damaging the economy of the village. However, this change gave rise to a new circle of growth which resulted in significant changes of its built environment too. In particular, the development of the village at that time started being strongly based on investments of wealthy people who originated from Tsagkarada and have moved abroad, especially to Egypt. These people supported the establishment of schools¹⁵, churches and infrastructure that was unsurpassable for the 18-19th century standards in Mount Pelion. In addition, wealthy people invested in the area building mansions, used as holiday homes (Liapis 1969, pp. 9-12).

Tsagkarada is characterised by the domination of nature over the built environment, due to its low density as well as the fact that the village is polycentric. The village is a popular tourist destination because it benefits from a spectacular mountainous terrain, and clear and picturesque beaches.

Kizis (1994, p. 21) notes that all the current buildings in the area are built after the late 19th century, while 400 big and *"nice houses of 1815 have disappeared due to the erosions and the*

¹⁵among the first schools established in the area

problematic soil of the area". Most buildings were built by Greek wealthy bankers and merchants from Egypt around the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and bear neoclassical morphological elements. The last two decades have seen the development of a big number of new constructions, including several fairly large tourist complexes with a style which mimics Mount Pelion traditional architecture.

A number of old churches and chapels¹⁶, as well as built fountains are also located in Tsagkarada. The village has numerous cobblestoned roads running through the village, although many traditional roads have now been replaced by cement. A few small arched stone bridges provide distinctive remnants of the area's past. Most of them have either fallen apart or have been demolished; the two that have survived are in bad condition. Tsagkarada also shares the same traditions with other Mount Pelion villages.

Figure 9: View of Tsagkarada



Source: <http://wikimapia.org/12385492/el>

Mouresi is one of the oldest villages in Mount Pelion, located at a distance of 4km to the west of Tsagkarada, belonging to the second category traditional villages, with a population of 500

¹⁶Liapis, 1969, p. 19 refers to 36 in total

people. The village is characterised by its amphitheatric layout and the rich vegetation of its surrounding terrain. These characteristics, combined with the neighbouring coast, provide a high quality natural environment. As in the case of Tsagkarada, the village was initially located by the sea where today is the settlement of Damouhari. Around the 1600s, locals moved uphill, to a carefully selected location in order to protect themselves from pirates. The main economic activity of its inhabitants became the farming of worms that produced silk as well as the processing of the product in their 'primeval' domestic workshops. By the end of the 18th century Mouresi reached its peak. However, as in the case of Tsagkarada, its economy started to decline by the mid 19th century. Although a number of locals migrated abroad they still invested money in Mouresi and helped to build schools, churches, public buildings as well as mansions (Liapis 1969, pp. 25-29), which are nowadays considered as important elements of heritage, as presented in the following Chapter.

Kizis (1994, p. 21) in particular notes that around 100 worth-mentioned houses are located in Mouresi. This includes some small, early-built buildings that continue to exist, such as one built in 1733, and many buildings scattered across the forest area (Kizis 1994, p. 21). A number of new buildings have been constructed in the existing core of the village. These adopted many interventions, modifying the village's character. For instance, the stone that was used for roofs has been replaced by ceramic tiles and the cobblestones of roads were replaced by cement or asphalt, especially before the adoption of the conservation framework (see Figure 10).

Customs and other intangible aspects of the traditional environment of the village are interlinked with the more tangible elements, as in the cases of other villages. Today the village's economy relies mainly upon agriculture and tourism.

Figure 10: View of Moursi



Source: http://www.pelionweb.gr/el/pelion/anatoliko_pilio_1_2/moursi/

Agios Lavrentios is a second category settlement located in the north-western side of Pelion. It is a mountainous settlement with 250 inhabitants. The history of the village goes back to the 11th century when Catholic monks built a monastery in the area. This was later destroyed, abandoned, and remained deserted until the last half of the 14th century. The monastery initiated the development of the settlement later (Papathanasiou 2006).

The Turkish occupation provided special economic and political benefits, including the ability to own private property, which boosted the village's economic development. This is reflected in its building stock (Papathanasiou 2006, pp. 145-146). Kizis in particular notes that by the end of 18th century the village *"had 400 houses many of which big and beautiful"* (Kizis 1994, p. 19).

Buildings of different periods have been maintained in their initial form, although a number of them have now been abandoned, such as old fortified houses of 1700, mansion houses of 1750, 1830, or 1860, smaller middle class houses of the 19th century and neoclassical buildings of the latest 19th century. The old network of cobblestoned roads, 8 km in total, has been also maintained, running through an urban tissue that is denser than Moursi and Tsagkarada.

The building stock in general is traditional in character although there are a number of striking exceptions, such as the flimsy constructions in the entrance of the village and the newer structures of different character (Sapounakis 2012). Apart from the old monastery and churches which are considered historically and architecturally important, an abandoned tower at the entrance of the village is claimed as one of the oldest structures in the Thessaly region. Despite its assets, the village's economy is based essentially on the primary sector and the settlement hardly manages to keep its population. Attempts to promote cultural activities in the area have been made in recent years, such as a music festival and workshops that take place every summer. As in the case of other villages the traditional character of the settlement is complemented by the intangible aspects of heritage as transferred and experienced by locals (Papathanasiou 2006).

Figure 11: View of Agios Lavrentios



Source: http://www.travelstyle.gr/portal/gr/destination_articles.php?dest_id=885&id=100

Afetes is a second category traditional settlement in the eastern part of Pelion, with a population of 252 inhabitants. There are claims that the village first inhabited around the mid 14th century. The village was officially mentioned for the first time in Turkish documents in 1615 as one that benefited from being self-governed. As in the case of other villages in Pelion, Afetes

started growing in the early 18th century. In 1803 a church was built in the village. In the early 19th century around 80 houses had been built while in 1860 they were nearly doubled (Rimatisidis 1874; Kizis 1994, p. 19). The period between 1912-1922 was particularly difficult due to the war, but the village managed to recover in the following years, especially with the inflow of refugees from Asia Minor and the growth of agriculture and fishery. During that period two olive presses were established. The village developed to a relatively dense settlement with traditional buildings, including some mansions, and cobblestoned roads (see Figure 11). Two schools were also established.

However, the civil war in 1940, earthquakes in 1950's, as well as the urbanization (move to the city centres) that followed, forced many residents to leave. A number of buildings were abandoned while the damages during the earthquakes in combination with the fast and hasty solutions, provided by the state, led to the demolition of a number of old buildings in the settlement. In addition, as in most villages, before the establishment of the conservation framework, a number of interventions changed the image of the village. The most evident interventions were the replacement of the stone on traditional roofs by ceramic tiles and the construction of new buildings with modern materials that were strikingly different to the old ones (see Figure 12). By the 90s the majority of buildings had roofs with ceramic tiles, while a number of cobblestoned roads have been replaced by conventional ones covered with asphalt or cement.

Other old structures in the village include: three arched bridges built in the early 20th century, the smokestack of the old olive press built in the early 20th century with a particular kind of tile and porcelain as well as the olive press located in a central area in a village, an old big mansion house of the 19th century, the built fountains and ovens in neighbourhoods. Although the village is traditional in character, the investment interest in the area is low and quite a few old buildings are derelict and face the danger of collapsing.

Local festivals and traditions such as the barbeque in the old built ovens in the different neighbourhoods the second day of the Easter, or the communal cooking in the memory of

certain saints throughout the year taking place in squares, are still maintained although they do not receive the same support as in the past, as noted by older locals.

Figure 12: View of Afetes



Source: Picture taken by the author

5.3 Conservation policy for traditional settlements in Greece: An overview

Despite the abundance and variety of traditional settlements in Greece, the interest in conservation of entire areas is quite recent. Traditional settlements in Greece are legislatively subjected to a number of different documents as presented below. Article 24 (reformed in 2001) of the Greek Constitution (1975) clearly asserts that the state is responsible for the protection of traditional areas (Christofilopoulos 2002, pp. 18-19) and therefore of traditional settlements. The General Construction Code (4067/12 as replaced that of 1985) refers to the protection of architectural heritage, including traditional settlements and interventions in their

built environment. The Act for Conservation of Cultural Heritage (Act 3028/2002) is also relevant and it is particularly important as it expands the notion of cultural assets. It includes the protection of monuments, sites and historic places among the priorities of planning, bringing together the notion of cultural heritage with that of space and place (Vlantou 2012). Greece has also signed the Granada Convention “For the protection of the architectural heritage in Europe” (1985).

Within this rich legislative framework, which however remains quite general, specific traditional settlements are listed and protected by Presidential Decrees which provide additional conservation rules and regulations. Presidential Decrees aim at the protection of built elements of heritage and the maintenance of the physical state of traditional buildings and structures, setting directions and regulations regarding construction and interventions in the built environment and land uses.

In the context of this research, traditional settlements in Pelion fall under a very specific legislative framework. Three Presidential Decrees {10.3/1.4.1977 (Δ' 94), 19.10/13.11.1978 (Δ' 594) 11.6/4.7.1980 (Δ' 374)} constitute the conservation policy for the particular settlements. Depending on their traditional character and the extent of distortions, settlements fall into three categories with different levels of protection, from the strict provisions of the first category to the more flexible third category. Currently, only three settlements belong to the first category, 2 of which, Makrinitsa and Vizitsa, are included in this study, while the great majority belongs to the second category. Among the top policy priorities are the scale and the pattern of settlements.

The legislation focuses on the built environment, posing regulations about the physical characteristics of structures and buildings. Regulations essentially refer to size and geometrical characteristics of the buildings as well as to construction materials and to the aesthetics of new buildings in order to match the traditional character of the settlements. For example the use of particular kind of stone in roofs is obligatory for all buildings. In addition, a number of statements in the Presidential Decrees state that the new buildings should adapt to the

‘traditional’ standards as these appear in the old buildings and structures, without always making clear what these standards are.

The conservation framework in the area established general rules regarding the built and geometrical characteristics of the buildings and structures. However, some of the rules and restrictions vary depending on the category that a settlement belongs to. In particular, first category settlements are characterized as settlements of ‘absolute’ protection due to their impeccable character and the low degree of distortions in their built environment and so they fall under some stricter measures, compared to those in second and third category settlements. In the same rationale, some rules may be more flexible in third category settlements, as these settlements present the highest degree of distortions according to the framework, while second category settlements fell in between. For example, the local stone is obligatory for the roofs in first and second category settlements, whereas ceramic tiles are allowed in third category settlements. Similarly, supportive walls are required to be made of the local stone in first category settlements, whilst bricks are allowed in the second and third category settlements. The following table summarises some of the differences in legislation between the categories of settlements.

Categories of settlements		
1st	2nd	3rd
Stone as the only allowed material	Stone as the only allowed material	Other materials (i.e ceramic tiles) are allowed
Stone for supportive walls	Other materials i.e bricks are allowed for walls	Other materials i.e bricks are allowed for walls
Wood or iron as the allowed material for railings	Wood or iron as the allowed material for railings	Metallic railings are also allowed
Canope/awnings are not allowed	Canope/ Awnings are allowed in commercial uses buildings	Canope/ Awnings are allowed in buildings with commercial use

What is particularly interesting is that the rules for the first and second category settlements do not present major differences, apart from the differences pointed above. However, the conservation framework has often been seen as much stricter in first category settlements than in second category ones. This is due to the fact that most interventions in the built environment require permission from the architecture control board in the region. This board examines its

application separately and it tends to be much stricter about interventions in first category settlements than in second category ones. In particular, a permission about the 'appropriateness' of the character of a building is required prior to any planning permission within the traditional settlements. According to a number of experts in the field, these permissions are easier to be obtained in second category settlements than in first category ones, as the members of the above board are more flexible and less strict with details regarding the geometrical characteristics and dimensions of the buildings. For instance, they easier allow slightly bigger windows in second category settlements, or they may allow configurations of buildings which might be slightly different from the old traditional buildings, whilst they stick to specific dimensions and typologies of buildings in first category settlements. In general, they tend to examine interventions in first category settlements in much more detail and with more concern about any alteration that might be perceived as conflicting to the traditional character of settlements. Similarly, the demolition of old buildings or the removal of functional or decorative elements of buildings as well as interventions in private or public space immovable elements (such as walls, cobblestone roads, built fountains) is subject to permission issued by the architecture control board, which is often more flexible in second category settlements than in first category ones. In addition, the impression of stricter provisions in first category settlements is due to the fact that there are more regular and strict controls in these settlements. For example, a building in first category settlement is inspected at the various stages of its construction in order to ensure that it complies with the traditional character and the standards posed by the conservation framework. Hence, it is very unlikely that illegal interventions or alterations of what has been originally suggested will take place. On the other hand, controls in second category settlements tend to stop when the frame of the building and the skeleton frame of its roof is completed and the electricity is acquired. Hence, diversions of what has been originally planned are often observed, such as ceramic tiles instead of local stone in roofs or more vivid than the allowed colours on the external walls, or small scale secondary uses buildings next to these buildings, often with the unspoken tolerance of the architecture control boards. In view of the above, the 'stricter' character of the conservation framework in first category settlements is due to the discretionary power of the architecture

control boards, which tend to be quite rigid about the interventions in first category settlements and more flexible in second category ones.

Conservation approach in general seems to be purely technocratic, comprising general rules without taking into consideration the particularities and specificities of each settlement or their local communities. Conservation of traditional settlements is a top down approach from the stage of characterization to the stage of application in which local communities play, in the best case, a minor role. Characterization criteria and specific rules are created by experts and policy makers at central administrative level - mainly in the Ministry of Environment and Climate Change-Department of Traditional Settlements. Despite their knowledge regarding architectural and historical characteristics, local authorities only have a secondary, non-obligatory advisory role. Hence, the centrally determined criteria and regulations are imposed on the specific context. Control boards regarding interventions in the built environment exist at regional level (see the following table). In this respect, conservation of traditional settlements in Greece still follows a 'preservation' approach which lacks the consideration of local communities' perspective (see 2.3.2). Regardless of the shift in conservation approach at international level (as noted in the literature review see 2.3.2), the Greek legislation framework has not been updated, retaining a purely technical approach. The following table provides a clearer picture about the actors involved in the conservation policy of traditional settlements and their responsibilities.

Table 4: Actors and Responsibilities

ACTORS		RESPONSIBILITIES
CENTRAL LEVEL	Ministry of Environment Energy and Climate Change: Department of Traditional Settlements	Characterization of a settlement as traditional Determination of specific rules and restrictions with regards to build environment
	Ministry of Culture: General Directorate of antiquities and cultural heritage	Sharing responsibilities with the Ministry of Environment Energy and Climate Change
	GNT0 (Greek National Tourism Organisation)	Right of providing funding or loans for maintenance and refurbishment of old buildings
REGIONAL-LOCAL LEVEL	Ephorate of Contemporary Monuments	Responsibility of protecting contemporary monuments i.e. individual buildings and structures newer to 1830
	Regional Planning Office: Architecture Board	Control of building applications within a traditional settlement
	Technical Chamber of Greece: Architecture Board	Advisory role
	Local Authorities	Advisory role during the process of a settlement's characterization as traditional
CENTRAL LEVEL	Volunteering Groups/ NGO: EllinikiEtairia, Society for the Environment and Cultural Heritage	Informing the public about heritage Dissemination of knowledge Advisory role

Source: Table created by the author

Conclusions

This Chapter introduced the area and the settlements of the study. It also provides an overview of the existing conservation policy in order to familiarise the reader with the specific context relevant to the thesis. The Chapter illustrated the history and the character of the area and its settlements, while providing information about the conservation policy for traditional settlements at the national and local level. It provided an overview of the six settlements that form the basis of the empirical research in the thesis. Each settlement has particular characteristics which affect the particularly category of conservation that it has been assigned. These characteristics shown to be related to the settlement's history, the way it developed and

how traditional or more historical buildings were affected by the particularities of the settlement's development.

The provision of the characteristics of the settlements in this Chapter also helps to examine what constitutes heritage in the area and what is selected as such by participants in the following Chapters. The Chapter also provided a synopsis of the relevant legislation and rules by which these settlements are categorized. It was described that the process is top-down and undertaken by central government where local authorities and local residents have very little influence. Such a background is necessary for the investigation and understanding of the way in which conservation policy may affect people's perceptions of heritage in the following Chapters (see Chapter 8). In view of the above, the information provided here facilitates the better comprehension of the analysis Chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 6: SELECTING HERITAGE

Introduction

Chapter four sets out the adopted methodology for answering the research questions. This Chapter moves to unfolding the research questions, focusing on the first research question about 'what' is perceived as heritage. Heritage has been defined as a social construct which depends on people's selectivity (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). The current Chapter attempts to address the gap in understanding what lay people identify as heritage and how this differs or links with experts' views (see 2.1.2, 2.3.2). It examines what participants' select as heritage, which constitutes the primary step in examining perception (Allport 1955, p.14; Schiff 1970, p.4; Locke 2002, p. 27 see 3.2.2). Unlike studies that examine awareness of heritage by proposing predetermined elements of heritage asking participants to choose from a given list (see for instance Nyaupanea and Timothy 2010) this research looks at a) whether participants select certain elements as heritage and b) what elements people select when allowing them to identify them 'liberally' and elaborate on them.

The Chapter illustrates similarities and differences among participants, explaining why different participants choose certain elements of heritage and exploring what lies behind the selection. The Chapter reveals a number of factors that affect selection of heritage and which may explain similarities and differences of views among participants. Based on these factors, it indicates why certain factors alone, as those identified by relevant studies (see for example Tweed 2003; Hardy 1988, p. 333; Yoke 2008), are not adequate in explaining how heritage is identified. Hence, the Chapter questions clear cut distinctions such as that between experts and residents (see Schofield 2014) as adequate in explaining the differences in the identification of heritage. In particular, it supports that commonalities as well as differences depend on multiple factors which may be internal or external to the individual and to his/her interaction with heritage.

6.1 Identifying common heritage

The examination of participants' selection of heritage revealed a number of similarities and differences. Unlike relevant studies which stress the disparities between experts' and residents' views (see for example, Schofield 2014; Hubbard 1993) this study revealed that there is generally a great degree of agreement, not only between residents but also between experts and residents, on certain elements defined as heritage within the settlements. This indicates that heritage may not be all internal to the individual (see for example Ashworth 2012) neither necessarily different for experts and residents (Schofield 2014; Smith 2006). The commonalities identified among the different participants indicate that selection of heritage may be often driven by common principles, such as the relevance of the 'object' of heritage to a wider community. Given that the settlements of this study constitute culturally homogeneous places inhabited by a certain community, participants tend to select heritage according to its relevance to this culture or community, or its value to a broader community. Indeed, both experts and residents tend to refer first to elements that may represent and/or be of value for a certain community rather than elements relevant to them as individuals due to their personal interaction with heritage.

This is reflected in the elements that were raised by most participants such as the public spaces i.e. the main public squares, the cobblestoned roads and the churches, the style of the built structures as well as some customs and practices. Other individual elements are also commonly recognised as heritage, due to their abundance and their role in characterising the particular settlements. All participants refer to 'things' that are '*characteristic*', '*representative*' and/or '*typical*' of the villages and their communities when identifying heritage. A number of these elements are the same, or very similar, for the different participants, (i.e. experts and residents). This can be attributed to a high extent to the culturally homogeneous community inhabiting a small place (Green 2010) which present certain distinctive features recognised as characteristics by experts and residents.

The careful examination of the various elements identified as heritage by most participants revealed common characteristics between them. These are: links with the past, the ‘communal’ - ‘public character, rarity or uniqueness, scale and detail, as they are presented in detail below. These factors often provide a more objective and easy way of identifying something as heritage due to their relevance to and/or representativeness of these settlements. This is not to suggest that heritage is internal to the ‘objects’, (as preservationists’ Ruskian approaches support), and to object to the idea that heritage lies on perception rather than on its intrinsic characteristics (Ashworth 2013; Luxen 2004, p. 103; MacMillan 1993; Graham et al. 2000; Graham 2002; Smith 2004; Stubbs 2004). However, it indicates that within a certain context elements that present certain characteristics are likely to be selected as heritage by most participants. Hence, these characteristics should not be overlooked in a social constructionist approach to heritage (see Sorensen and Carman 2009; Graham and Howard 2008; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

6.1.1. Links with the past

The most common characteristic of all the elements identified as heritage is their link with past times. All the elements identified as heritage are to a larger or lesser extent old, (i.e rarely something less than 80 years old). Oldest and newest elements derive from the past. This is considered as a crucial factor in selecting something as heritage (see also Lowenthal 1975; Harvey 2001, p. 32 in Smith 2006, p. 16). Indeed all participants, experts and residents, referred to elements of the past when talking about heritage, as indicatively captured in the following statements:

“Traditional is something that has been maintained, something from old times” (Man 70, Tsagkarada) *“Traditional is something that was here 100 years before something of the old time, such as the cobblestoned roads, the old houses, even the utensils...”* (Man 80, Agios Lavrentios).

Tangible and intangible elements selected as heritage have a link with the past. All of the participants recognise explicitly or implicitly the connection with the past as a basic requirement for qualifying something as heritage. A number of participants refer to ‘old’

objects or practices or they provide the age of particular elements. For example a number of residents refer to the **old** churches pointing often to their age, they speak about the **old** houses and structures using often the word old even though they do not refer to their specific age. Indeed, the word ‘**old**’ was extensively used by a number of participants as it is obvious in the following statements.

“ We have a very **old** church built in 1756” (Man 68, Afetes) “ heritage are also the very **old** plane trees in the church...a book written in 1850 refers to them” (focus group Afetes) “...*the ‘Mega Sotira’ church they say it is built in 1700...*” (Woman 40, Tsagkarada) “...*the **old** mansion houses, the two churches built around 1700, the old monastery*” (Woman 50, Vizitsa).

A number of elements within the settlements are recognized as heritage due to their age. For example, participants in Mouresi referred to the castle of Damouhari as “the oldest structure in the village” linking it to the Byzantine period (see Figure 13); participants in Agios Lavrentios referred to the “old monastery which was the first monastery built in the area” (see Figure 14); participants in Makrinitza and Afetes pointed the old churches; and people in Vizitsa identified the oldest houses in the area (see Figures below). Most participants use the words ‘characteristic’, ‘typical’ ‘representative’ when identifying the particular elements.

Figure 13: Remnants of Damouhari castle



Pointed as one of the oldest structures in the area and as heritage by a number of residents

Figure 14: Monastery in Agios Lavrentios



Identified as heritage by most residents as the oldest building in the village

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Age may sometimes play an even more decisive role in selecting something as heritage. In the case of experts, for instance, it is a more objective factor in identifying heritage (see heritage by

designation 2.1.2). Age constitutes one of the important criteria in the official characterisation of heritage, tangible aspects in more particular, as reflected in legislation as well as in experts' arguments. For instance, an expert at central level indicates clearly the connection with the past as decisive in ascribing something to heritage:

“Traditional is a settlement the borders of which and its relation with natural and built environment has been stopped at a certain period of time and it has been maintained at the state it was at that time, before modifications started to take place...for example a traditional settlement of '20s or '30s etc.” (Officer at the Hellenic Society of Natural and Cultural environment).

The above statement clearly shows that time especially matters to experts, especially when the 'object' of selection has not been distorted or modified in agreement with Ruskian preservationist approaches (see 2.3.2). According to most experts, old elements that have not been physically changed are able to 'represent' the place and its community at a certain period of time as indicated in the previous statement.

According to two experts, in order for individual buildings and structures to be listed they have to be built before the 1955. An expert also notes that *“A cobblestoned road may be listed if it's at least 100 hundred years old”* (Officer at the Ephory of Contemporary Monuments in the Region of Thessaly). Age in general has also been crucial in classifying elements of heritage. Hence, experts have for example classified building typologies in the area according to their age (i.e houses of the early period: buildings till the middle of 18th century, houses of classic period between 1750 and 1850 and houses of late period between 1860 and 1890; Kizis 1996). Although residents also recognise the same elements as heritage they tend to refer less to the exact ages. Hence, more or less important, links with the past constitute a basic factor in the identification of heritage for all participants.

6.1.2 Public character

Another common characteristic of elements recognised as heritage by both experts and residents is their public character. Public elements, (i.e elements used and shared by everyone in the village and derived from the past), are in most cases the first to be mentioned by all participants. More specifically, central squares, churches and monasteries, public built fountains, schools (in old buildings) but also local festivals dedicated to particular saints are among the first elements of heritage recalled by both experts and residents in all villages. The various statements below characteristically show how participants from different villages as well as experts point to the communal elements mentioned above:

“In terms of the characteristics of our heritage, the square comes first” (Woman 53, Mouresi) (see Figures 15, 16).

“Characteristics are the square and the church (Man 40, Makrinitza)(see Figure 17).

“I particularly like the central square, the church which is built around 1700...” (Woman 35, Afetes) (see also Figure 18).

“Maybe is better to focus on the public spaces and places of heritage: the squares, the churches, the cobblestoned roads...those are characteristic” (ex officer at the Ministry).

“The big plane trees, the old built fountains, the old churches built in 1600” (Man 33, Makrinitza).

All the above are few examples of statements provided by most participants about public elements as heritage. Communal elements as derived from the past are unanimously recognised as the ‘mirror’ of these villages by all the interviewees. This means that communal elements are perceived as those that mainly characterise the villages: communal elements are the representation of the life in these villages. Central squares and churches, for example, constitute the main core of the villages. Most settlements have been organized and developed around the main squares which, along with the church, constitute a magnet for public life. Indeed, public life in the particular settlements is inextricably linked to and sometimes

exclusively concentrated in these squares. The most important events as well as the informal contacts used to take place in these squares and still do. Combined with their central and carefully selected location in the most favourable areas within the villages (see also 5.1) central squares as well as churches are recognised by all participants as the ‘heart’ of these settlements and of their heritage.

Other public elements such as the cobblestone roads are recognised as typical elements of the traditional character of the village, and hence they were selected as heritage by both experts and residents (see Figures 21, 22). According to participants, cobblestoned roads have constituted the main ‘arteries’ of the village, especially in the past but in many cases even in the present, picturing an important part of daily life. Characteristically, an expert at regional level supports that the public squares and the cobblestoned roads: *“are the ‘heart’ and the arteries of the village...”* (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region).

The relevance of public elements derived from the past to a particular community, past or present, is unquestioned by the various participants. The question here, however, is whether the specific elements are identified as heritage only due to their public character. The fact that these elements are unanimously identified as the most characteristic elements of heritage highlight the importance of the communal character of these villages. It is not simply their public status that explains their selection as heritage, but also the strong sense of community in the villages encompassed within these elements. In particular, local residents’ life is strongly connected with public elements because of the importance of their public life which is shared among the different individuals. Public elements are the products and the depiction of the local, past and present community, which is strongly characterised by the inclusion of residents. Most residents feel part of a community with strong character, which finds expression in these public elements. It is characteristic how some residents particularly highlight the importance of public squares for the entire community and for them as part of this community. This is eloquently captured in the quote below:

“I remember my grandfather told me once ‘boy whatever happens, under any circumstances and regardless of how you are dressed or look like you will always pass from the road in the square on your way back home... no matter how you are, you never go from the road behind the square” (Man 35, Agios Lavrentios).

This statement clearly indicates the connection of the residents with the public elements as part of a strong local community. Experts also stress the relevance of these elements to the local communities, underlying their centrality, in terms of location as well as in terms of their function in the villages. All of the public elements mentioned above have been stressed by participants as among the most important elements of heritage, recognising the strong community character symbolised by and represented through these elements.

Figure 15: Central square and church in Mouresi



Figure 16: Central square and church in Mouresi



Figure 17: Central square and church in Makrinitza



Most residents stress central squares and churches as one of the most important elements of their heritage.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 18: Central square and church in Afetes



As in the other villages these elements were pinpointed by most participants as central in their heritage

Figure 19: Little chapel in the area of Damouhari in Mouresi.



This chapel was among the elements of heritage mentioned first by a great number of residents

Figure 20: A chapel in Agios Lavrentios



The chapel mentioned among the first elements identified as heritage by a number of residents

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 21: Cobblestone road in Agios Lavrentios



Figure 22: Cobblestone road in Mouresi



Cobblestone roads, which constitute public pedestrian roads in the villages, were identified among the ‘strongest’ elements of heritage and the most important characteristics of the particular settlements by the great majority of residents in the villages as well as experts.

Source: Picture taken by the author

Source: Meftah 2012

6.1.3 Homogeneity

Homogeneity is another common characteristic identified in elements selected as heritage by most participants. Homogeneity relates to the similarities across the patterns and the character of tangible and intangible elements as it will be explained below.

Both experts and residents identified quite homogeneous elements in terms of structure, material or pattern (for the tangible elements) and in terms of character and performance (for the intangible ones), within and across the settlements. They in particular refer to structures made of local stone, such as roofs (see Figure 23), walls, fences and other constructions (see Figures 23-26), as typical characteristics of heritage locally. The local stone in a number of structures is commonly identified as heritage by experts and residents, who stress its role in the recognisability and character of the particular settlements (see also 7.3). Furthermore, they note that homogeneity in architecture and the use of specific materials, exhibit the dominant, available and appropriate building materials in these settlements (see Figures 23-27).

Strongly connected to material aspects but also relevant to intangible aspects of heritage, the building technique was also identified as heritage by participants, especially residents. Two interviewees for example noted:

“For me Makrinitza means what we call traditional architecture and specifically architecture of Pelion” (Woman 58, Makrinitza). *“It is first and foremost the architecture which is traditional...”* (Woman 50a, Vizitsa).

The art of using the local stone in building is pointed out by experts and residents, both in terms of its built objects but also in terms of the technique used (see Figures 23-27). Homogeneity, reflected in the materials used in structures as well as in the way that these have been built, is visually apparent and hence easily noticed.

Figure 23: The homogeneity of the built environment in Makrinitza

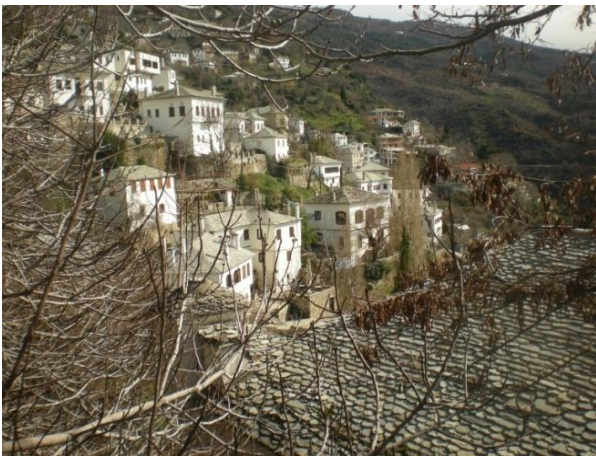


Figure 24: Stone roofs in Tsagkarada



Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 25: Makrinitisa. Homogeneity of materials



Figure 26: The dominance of stones in structures



Figure 27: View of Vizitsa



Homogeneity in structures, patterns and materials in the settlements. The stone roofs and structures in general have been unanimously pointed among the more characteristic elements of the particular settlements by experts and residents.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Other intangible aspects such as certain practices and customs in the area have also been pinpointed as heritage by both experts and residents. Local festivals dedicated to particular saints, which take place in public squares are recognised as heritage by both experts and residents (see Figures 28, 29). A woman in Agios Lavrentios notes:

“Traditional are our local festivals, this is an important part of our tradition... we go to the church in the morning and at night we gather at the central square where we have local music and we dance a lot” (Woman 52, Agios Lavrentios).

These festivals present the same character in most villages, i.e they take place in the public squares in the same season, usually summer time, they involve local music and dance, constituting one of the basic ways of entertainment in the area. Their central role in people’s entertainment in all the settlements, the common patterns they present in the way that are performed combined makes them distinguishable and well known in the area.

Figure 28: Local festival in Makrinitza



Figure 29: Local festival in Vizitsa



Local festivals dedicated to certain Saints within each village have been identified by most participants, experts and residents. These festivals are quite homogeneous presenting common patterns in all the villages, i.e they take place in the public squares, especially during the summer time, the kind of music and the dance are the same in all the villages in the area.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Homogeneity of the elements mentioned above provides in a way a sense of identity (this will be further analysed in the following Chapter and in 7.3) which characterises the particular settlements and their communities, triggering thus their selection as heritage by the majority of participants.

6.1.4 Scale and detail

Scale and detail constitute other characteristics of tangible elements identified as heritage by most participants, due to their 'visual' and symbolic impact. Scale particularly relates to the size of a structure while detail relates to the complexity of characteristics that an element presents, as it will be further explained below.

In particular, from the same kind of built elements, such as houses, identified as heritage, both experts and residents tend to favour, or to refer first to, the bigger and more detailed ones. For instance, most residents as well as experts refer to the typical Pelion mansions (arhontika) as characteristic elements of heritage (see Figures 30-36) while there is hardly any reference to small agricultural houses¹⁷ (see Figures 37,38). For example a resident in Tsagarada notes:

"The big old house are characteristic of the traditional character of the area...you should go and see a big one located at the southest part of the village which also has loopholes, there is also one next to it...and many others such as the Kartalio, Nanopoulio and Achilopoulio as the most famous ones but also others..." (Man 78, Tsagkarada)

¹⁷ These houses are located in the fields and were used during the harvesting period as second houses in order for residents to be close to their crops and avoid travelling

Figure 30: Mansion in Makrinitza



Figure 31: Mansion in Mouresi



Figure 32: Mansion in Tsagkarada



Figure 33: Mansion in Tsagkarada



Figure 34: Mansion in Vizitsa



Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 35: The biggest mansion in Afetes



Figure 36: Mansion in Agios Lavrentios



Mansions are the biggest, more detailed houses in the villages and they have been identified by most participants among the most characteristic elements of heritage in the area.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Larger scale buildings with details, such as mansions are not only easier noticeable due to the fact that are more eye-catching as a result of the architectural complexity, which often relates to higher legibility, coherence and/ or mystery (Herzog and Shier 2000, p. 572) (see 3.3.1). It is not only due to formal aesthetics, (Kallus 2001, p. 135), but also due to connotations conveyed through these aesthetics. Mansions, in fact depict an affluent era during which the particular villages and their communities flourished, providing a 'glamorous' status to the villages today too. A great number of them operate as luxury guest houses or second houses. Hence, mansions are 'embraced' and recognised as important elements of heritage by both residents and experts due to their relevance to the past and present communities representing in a way their wealth, as it will be further explained in the following Chapter (see 7.2.2).

On the other hand, smaller and simpler structures such as agricultural houses (see Figures 37, 38) are not given much attention. While almost everyone referred to mansions as typical heritage elements, only two of the participants referred to agricultural houses in the area, an expert at local level and a resident respectively:

“...especially in the mountaneous villages there are also the small agricultural houses in the fields.” (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region).

“Other elements are also important and characteristic of our heritage here...we mention the mansion houses all the time...we have other houses as well, smaller and more simple, the agricultural houses, why do we forget them? There is this tendency to name every hotel in the area ‘mansion’ house, but agricultural houses are also part of our culture... but probably less posh I guess” (Man 60, Makrinitisa).

The legislative framework does not pay particular attention to small agricultural houses either. Indicatively, although a great number of mansions are listed in the area there is not any single small agricultural building listed. Hence it seems that the ‘grand’ and the great (Smith 2006; Ashworth 1994; Lowenthal 1975; Tait and While 2009, p. 722) has been generally prioritized among the elements of the same type (i.e dwellings in this case). Smaller and simpler buildings have been overlooked in perception and in conservation practice due to the existence of more ‘elaborated’ buildings which ‘represent’ the ‘elegant’ character of these villages.

Figure 37: Agricultural house in Mouresi

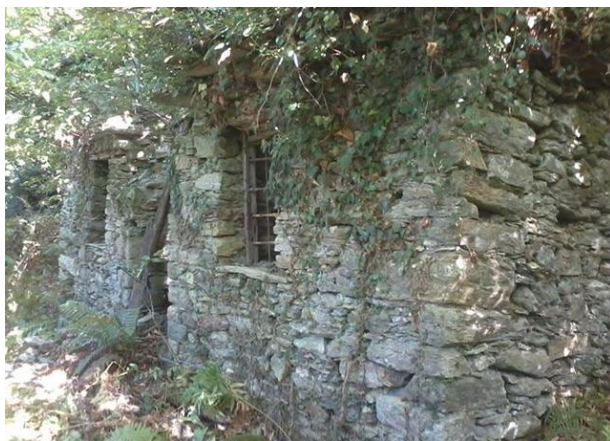


Figure 38: Agricultural house on the way to Mouresi



Agricultural houses are the smallest unit and simplest type of house in the villages under consideration. Only couple of participants referred to them while talking about elements of heritage in the area.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

This prioritisation relates to scale and detail; ‘qualities’ that not only make them more eye-catching and architecturally ‘elaborated’ but they also denote a ‘high’ status in contrast to that of small ordinary buildings. Painted windows (see Figures 39, 42), the extensions of the top floor supported by wood (sahnisia: σαχνησιά) (see Figure 40), metal constructions outside the balconies and windows (see Figure 41), the carved marbled ‘bearers’ of the balconies (see Figure 44), double-sided stairs (see Figure 45), wooden carved ceilings and metallic doors (see Figure 46), are some of the most usual details mentioned. It is interesting to note that many of the participants, experts and residents even identify these details as heritage in themselves as characteristically captured in the statements below.

“Elements that are important in traditional settlements: I would say every detail is significant, the small windows with the metal frames outside, the painted windows, the heavy wooden doors, the curved ceilings...all those characterize a big traditional mansion house in Pelion” (Member for the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region“...the many small windows in mansion houses and the fact that there is space to sit there and watch the view...the wooden floors...the spaces inside...” (Woman 38, Vizitsa).

Figure 39: The many painted windows in a mansion house in Vizitsa



Source: Picture taken by the author

Figure 40: The extension of the top floor supported by woods (sahnisia: σαχνησιά) in mansion house in Agios Lavrentios



Figure 41: Balcony metallic details



Figure 42: Paintings at the corner on a mansion house in Tsagkarada



Details in buildings and structures as pointed by participants. A number of participants pointed to these details as heritage in themselves

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 43: Holes for defensive purposes



Figure 44: Marble detail in the balcony



Details in buildings and structures as pointed by participants. A number of participants identified these details as heritage in themselves

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 45: Double sided stairs in a mansion



Figure 46: Details on the door, mansion



Details in buildings and structures as pointed by participants. A number of participants pointed to these details as heritage in themselves

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Detail of the various structures is particularly rewarded by most participants when identifying built elements of heritage. Reasons for this will be further explained in the next Chapter (see 7.3.1). In view of the above, scale and detail seem to affect both experts' and residents' selection of built elements as heritage. This is due to their 'impressive' physical qualities and to their capacity to 'represent a certain character of the specific place and its community (past and present) as it will be further discussed later (see 7.2.1).

6.1.5 Rarity and Uniqueness

Other commonly agreed upon elements identified as heritage are those characterised by rarity or uniqueness. Rarity relates to two main issues in the case of this study: a) an element that is quite common across the traditional settlements in the area but rare when compared to settlements in other areas, b) a rare element within a settlement or across the traditional

settlements in the area. Regarding the first category, residents as well as experts, those at regional-local level in particular identified for instance the tower houses, the local costumes and dances, the language idioms but also some flowers in the area. All the above elements are common elements across the particular traditional villages but rare compared to other settlements. For instance in the discussion carried out in the focus groups in Afetes the majority of participants agreed on the identification of local flowers as heritage due to the fact that these rarely appear elsewhere:

“Traditional are also some flowers, the old ‘skoularikia’ and roses, you cannot find them elsewhere, only in Pelion and they come from old times that’s why you cannot find it in the market...” (focus group Afetes).

In respect to rare element within the settlement residents from Tsagkarada pinpointed the only school for females in the area built during the mid 18th century (see Figure 47) and the 1000 years old plane tree in the central square. Similarly, residents in Moursi mentioned an old and the only known cave in the settlement (see Figure 48). Residents in Afetes also referred to an old oil press building and its tall chimney (see Figures 49, 50) as well as to a unique custom, called ‘sealed’¹⁸ (vouloto, βουλωτό), which takes place on the second day of Easter. Participants in Makrinitza referred to the only folklore museum in the area, being placed in a typical traditional mansion (see Figure 51), as well as a unique custom called Maides in May¹⁹. The fact that an element is one of a kind attracts attention due to the fear of losing it as well as to its capacity to differentiate the village from the others. Hence, rarity provides or enhances a place’s uniqueness and identity. This will be further described in the following Chapter (see 7.3). This seems to be the reason why the different participants agree on the identification of rare and unique elements derived from the past as heritage.

¹⁸ According to this custom people are gathered in the built ovens in each neighborhood and they cook together the second day of the Easter. It is called ‘sealed’ because they seal the oven while they are baking.

¹⁹ This is an ancient custom that takes place in May. It is a custom dedicated to nature and love, people are dressed with particular customs and they sing and they dance. The central role has the person that plays the month “May”.

Figure 47: Old school in Tsagkarada



Figure 48: Cave in Mouresi



The cave in Mouresi and the school in Tsagkarada are rare elements within and across the settlements that have been identified as heritage by a number of residents

Figure 49: The olive press in Afetes



Figure 50: The olive press in Afetes



The olive press in Afetes is one of the few old olive presses in the area, identified as heritage by most residents

Figure 51: Folklore museum in Makrinitsa



The museum in Makrinitsa is the only folklore museum in the area. The majority of residents identified this museum as heritage.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

The identification of rare elements as heritage by a number of participants is not attributed to people's personal interaction with them. Instead, rarity of an element is a factor external to the individual and independent from his/her contact with this element. This questions relevant studies (Ashworth 1994; Smith 2006) which attribute the identification of heritage essentially to the individual's relation with heritage. Rarity and uniqueness relates to the existence and abundance of an element or to its composition. The selection of elements as those mentioned above as heritage is primarily due to their rarity and its role in characterising and distinguishing a wider group i.e a certain place and its community from others. For example, the old school in Tsagarada is the tangible representation of the educative advantages that the particular community had at a time that education was considered as luxury in other settlements around

it. The olive press in Afetes has been one of the few in the area, capturing an important economic activity in the village. The folklore museum in Makrinitza is a representation of the domestic life in the particular villages including objects of the everyday life which someone can rarely see in such an organised way in other villages. As a result, rarity may be an important factor in selecting something as heritage.

The following table summarises the similarities in the characteristics of elements commonly identified as heritage by most participants as presented in this section.

Table 5: Characteristics of elements commonly selected as heritage	
Similarities in elements commonly identified as heritage	Links with the past
	Public character
	Scale and detail
	Homogeneity
	Rarity

Source: Table created by the author

6.2 Differences in selecting heritage: The role of characteristics of the individual and interaction with heritage

Although a number of similarities appear in the elements selected as heritage as presented above, differences among the various participants are also apparent. Differences appear both in the way in which someone selects heritage as well as in the elements selected as heritage. In respect to the first point, the same elements may be identified as components of a totality or as distinct elements by different participants as it is explained below. As for the second point, differences appear in the ‘objects’ selected as heritage by different participants. As it is explained above, similarities in selection of heritage may be attributed to certain characteristics of the elements identified as heritage due to their relevance to a certain place and community. This section however shows that differences in selection of heritage may be attributed to

characteristics of the individual as well as his/her interaction with heritage. Three main factors have been identified: i) Personal contact and experience, ii) frequency and habituation and iii) knowledge and information.

6.2.1 Personal Contact and Experience

The contact of the individual with heritage and his/her personal experience influence significantly perception in general (Cazzaniga 2000, p. 99; Marleau Ponty 1962) and hence perceptions of heritage in particular (Smith 2006; Ashworth 2012). This section points to the differences in selection of heritage as a result of personal contact and experience with heritage. As introduced above, variances may relate both to the way in which something is identified as heritage as well as to the elements identified as heritage by the different participants.

A characteristic example of the first case is participants who perceive heritage as a totality in contrast to participants who identify distinct elements. In particular, a number of long stay residents perceive heritage as an amalgamation of tangible and intangible elements which are inseparable, making sense only when seen holistically within the particular context. It is this gestalt in which *'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'* (Hothersall 2004, see 3.2.1) that dominates on a number of long stay residents' perceptions. This is characteristically captured in their responses:

"It is all this I see and experience, what we maintain in this settlement, it is the sum of all those things around" (Woman 50, Agios Lavrentios)

"What it comes to my mind in relation to traditional in the village is the cobblestoned roads, the fountains the plane trees in the square, the square and a table there, all these together...To see an old 90 years old man to sit next to a young child in the coffee shop at the square...the same with the festivals and our traditional dances, people hold each other, the same circle is made by people of different ages celebrating together...the stoves in the coffee shops and the old men who sit around them ...the cobblestoned roads where you see the people and horses to pass by...it is not the objects as such, it is the way of life and how we connect with them" (Woman 19, Vizitsa)

The difference in selection between long stay residents and the rest, residents as well as experts, lies on the way in which these are perceived. While a number of commonly agreed upon elements (see 6.1) appear in the above statements (such as architecture, squares, cobblestoned roads and some customs) these are not identified as distinct elements but as inseparable and interdependent elements of a unity; the traditional settlements and their character in this case. Identification of heritage as a whole rather than as distinct elements may be easier understood through more specific examples in which tangible aspects are entangled with the intangible ones. A characteristic example is that of built fountains. While most participants identify the 'object' as heritage, a number of long stay residents perceive them as a whole phenomenon. A number of long stay residents, especially older people, refer to built fountains as a 'whole' encompassing phenomenon, consisting of the object as well as its use and social meaning, reflecting a way of life which they consider traditional. They particularly refer to built fountains (tangible aspect) as places of socialisation for women in the past, where they used to meet each other and talk (intangible aspect) with the 'excuse' of sourcing water or washing their clothes. For them, it is often the way of life that makes 'something' traditional and as such heritage, it is not separated elements. It is the combination that creates the essence of 'traditionality'. As they have themselves experienced and remembered these interactions, their selection of fountains as heritage involves the tangible element and what this embraces, rather than the object alone.

The matter of experience is not only reflected in the way that something is perceived as heritage but also in the elements perceived as heritage. A number of elements have been identified as heritage only by participants who have had contact with them and thus a direct experience. Participants who did not have this experience often forgot or ignored particular elements.

For instance, in relation to the built fountains, the custom of 'treating' the built fountains on New Year's Day, was pinpointed only by some long - stay residents²⁰. This was common in the past when people did not have taps in their houses and thus built fountains were the main

²⁰According to this custom, on the New Year's Day morning someone from the house had to go to the closest built fountain and 'treat' it with sweets as a sign of gratefulness for the water it provides throughout the year.

source of water. An old woman in Mouresi recalled the particular custom associated with these fountains:

"I remember myself waking up on the New Year and the first thing I had to do is to take some sweets to the fountain...I also had to take a jar to bring some water on my way back...we should talk to nobody on our way to and back from the fountain...once we came back to the house we had to say these words: as the water runs from the fountain so do the happiness in the house" (Woman 74, Mouresi).

However, neither short - stay resident nor younger residents or experts referred to this particular custom. It was only after my prompt that a couple of them affirmed that they knew about it, but only as something they randomly heard from locals:

"I know about this custom, I am not sure what is it about and I haven't done it myself as I don't feel the need, but locals do it, it's different when you have yourself those experiences" (Woman 38, Tsagkarada).

Another example of elements mentioned only by certain participants due to their direct contact and experience refers to built ovens in a number of households (see Figures 52-55). The lighting or 'burning' of a built oven, as locals call it, has been identified as heritage especially by old women and the few younger people who had experience with these ovens. Participants with no direct experience of them, such as short stay residents or experts, on the other hand did not refer to them specifically. Participants who had the experience describe the 'whole' phenomenon of ovens, according to which a number of neighbours would gather to bake in one oven (see also 6.1.1, 7.1.3 and 7.4.2). The whole procedure of using (intangible aspect) this oven (tangible aspect) as well as the food (tangible and intangible) prepared in this oven, are considered inextricably linked traditional elements. It is not only the physical object that is perceived as heritage, it is also what surrounds it and what it hosts: 'the lighting' (intangible aspect) of the oven (tangible aspect), the gathering (intangible aspect) around the oven (tangible aspect), cooking together (intangible aspect), the particular kind of food that was made there (tangible and intangible aspects). All participants who identified this phenomenon

as heritage have participated or remember using these ovens before their replacement by the conventional ones. An old lady in Tsagarada notes for example:

“The built ovens are also traditional here...I remember when we were gathering to one’s oven in the neighbourhood, to bake bread, pies, gemista...we made loads” (Woman 75, Tsagarada).

It was only in the case of Afetes where various participants identified ovens as heritage, due to a particular custom that takes place every year in the settlement and provides the opportunity to everyone to get involved²¹.

Figure 52: Built oven in Mouresi



Figure 53: Built oven in Mouresi



Figure 54: Built oven



Figure 55: Built oven



Source: Pictures taken by the author

²¹ According to this, on the second day of Easter, residents still light the ovens and prepare their meal there. Hence everyone in the village has experienced this custom which involves tangible (built oven) and intangible (process of lighting up, cooking, sharing with other people) aspects of heritage.

Another example is that of local embroideries which are used as decorative elements in traditional houses and which were identified as heritage particularly by residents who have a direct experience of them, i.e they have them in their houses; they have seen how these are made or they have seen them in someone's house. Some women in particular referred to the art of embroidery as a main free-time activity, leading to a particular interior decoration which is typical of the traditional houses in the area.

"Traditional are also the embroideries we make and we use it for curtains and table clothes to decorate the house...We had it in my parents' house, my mother learnt how to make them from her mother and the same with me and I now have it also in my house" (Woman 33, Makrinitza).

It is both the object and the process (the one as the reflection of the other), that have been pointed out by participants. These were not mentioned by short stay residents or experts, who do not have a direct experience of them. As in the case of ovens and fountains the issue of tangibility and intangibility is often 'invisible' in long - stay residents' minds, supporting the idea that this is something *"of a false distinction"* (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 4).

Another example of elements identified as heritage only by participants who have experience with them is the case of wells. In a neighbourhood in Tsagkarada, where most of the houses used to have a well, the participants that mentioned wells as elements of their heritage were those that have used them or have seen them used. An old woman noted:

"The wells are also traditional and quite characteristic...I remember when we use our well, when my mother used to put the butter down to the well in order to keep it fresh and cold" (Woman 80, Tsagkarada).

In all the examples above experience influences selection of heritage, both regarding the elements perceived as heritage and the way in which these are perceived by the different participants. Variations in selection of heritage due to personal contact and experience with heritage are also apparent in the prioritisation of certain elements of heritage by certain participants, as well as in the details that participants provide about them. Differences in particular appear among the following participants: i) experts and residents, ii) long - stay and

short - stay residents and iii) experts at central and local/regional level (Katapidi 2015; see table 6).

In particular, experts tend to prioritise the built elements of heritage, in contrast to long stay residents who tend to blend the tangible and the intangible. Experts also speak in more general terms about elements of heritage. For example, experts usually refer to customs in general, while residents provide details for specific customs as a reflection of their experience. Residents are more specific about elements of heritage and more detailed with regards to the intangible elements of heritage due to their direct contact with them. They refer for instance to particular buildings by using the name of their owner. In addition, they often provide details about the building technique; they refer, for example, to the secrets of the 'profession' and the internal mechanisms established by the craftsmen²². Similarly, residents refer to specific customs and festivals noting the name of the Saint are dedicated to, providing details such as how they celebrate, how they dance and the kind of music played in these festivals (see table 6).

Differences in selection of heritage also appear between long-stay and short-stay residents as a result of different experiences (Mendes Zancheti et al. 2011, see table 6). Long-stay residents are often more aware of the intangible elements of heritage compared to short-stay residents. This is due to their direct or indirect, i.e descriptions from older people, experiences. For example, certain customs connected with special events of residents' lives (as identified by long-stay residents) were missed by short-stay residents. Long-stay residents have participated a number of times in these customs, following the tradition. On the other hand, short-stay residents (both due to their shorter time in the village as well as usually due to their different roots) have been less practically and 'emotionally' involved in those.

Finally, prioritisation and specificity in selection of heritage may also vary among experts as a matter of experience. Differences appear especially between experts at central and experts at regional level. In particular, experts at central level are very general regarding the elements that are considered as heritage (see table 6). For example, they generally refer to the built

²² Characteristically, they refer to the fact that builders had developed their own language in order to communicate so as not to be understandable by the others such as the owner of the building.

environment as a matter of fact, as illustrated in the following statements. Prompting was often necessary in order to elaborate on more specific elements.

Participant: *“In general it is the layout, the morphology of the buildings...the particular architecture...”*

Researcher: *“Could you be more specific?”*

“hmmm I tell you in terms of the criteria of traditionality the Act 4067 refers to specific criteria such as the planning and social criteria which determined the traditional settlements” (Officer 2 at the Ministry).

“Homogeneity, coherence...elements of the built environment that are not distorted, those are the characteristics of traditional settlements in general” (Officer 1 at the Ministry).

The above statements capture the general way in which experts at central level identify heritage. Experts at central level are aware only about general characteristics of the built environment (i.e typologies of and groups of buildings and structures and materials being used), overseeing elements of each settlement, even quite unique ones, such as the medieval tower in Agios Lavrentios, which is among the oldest structures and the only building of this type in the region. The legislative framework which reflects to an extent experts' views at central level even misses typologies of buildings. For example, a particular type of buildings 'called Egyptian'²³ (Aigyptiotika) are not specifically mentioned in the conservation framework. Experts at regional and local level, however, are more specific when identifying heritage, pinpointing peculiarities of the settlements, due to their direct contact with the particular settlements possibly due to their physical proximity:

“Pelion traditional settlements present differences, both in terms of their structure and their architectural elements. For example the settlements next to the sea tend to be more low density compared to the more mountainous ones, they have many of Egyptian houses a number of store houses mainly for their agricultural products, olives, apples etc. in contrast to the more

²³due to the fact that are made from people who had been in Egypt in order to make money and they came back and invested in the area

mountaineous ones which are have higher density, there were the agricultural houses in the fields...” (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber).

In respect to selection of intangible elements, experts at regional and local level refer to intangible elements more easily compared to those at central level and are also more specific about them. Experts at central level acknowledge the immaterial aspects of heritage but at a very general level in comparison to those at more local and regional level.

In general participants that do not have a direct experience or have a limited experience with certain elements of heritage tend to miss these elements when identifying heritage. In view of the above and in line with the arguments about the importance of experience in the identification of heritage (see Smith 2006; Ashworth 1994) this study enriches our knowledge about the role of experience as a crucial factor in differentiating selection of heritage. It particularly shows that experience constitutes a crucial factor in explaining the variances in the selection of heritage among the different participants. The following table summarises the differences in selection of heritage among participants as a matter of direct contact and experience.

Table 6: Difference in selection of heritage between groups of participants due to contact and experience	
Residents	Experts
Heritage as a totality (long stay residents in particular)	Heritage as distinct elements
Tangible and intangible blend	Prioritisation of the built elements
More specific and detailed about certain elements within the village	More general
More details about intangible elements	More details about characteristics and typologies of built elements
Long stay residents	Short stay residents
Heritage as a totality	Heritage as distinct elements
More intangible aspects	Less intangible aspects
Experts at central level	Experts at regional-local level
More general	More specific elements within the villages
Rarely reference to intangible aspect	More intangible aspects

Source: Table created by the author

6.2.2 Frequency and habituation

Variances in selection of heritage may be also attributed to the frequency of interaction or sighting of heritage elements. This factor is relevant to the individual and his/her interaction with heritage and is strongly related to experience. The issue of frequency arose when elements of a certain type were identified as heritage, while others of the same typology were not mentioned by some residents. So the question was what made certain residents to identify the particular elements rather than others of the same type?

What was observed is that among same type of elements, residents tend to refer to these that they see or have a contact with on a more regular basis. For example, in many cases centrally located mansions and built fountains or in locations of frequent passage are pinpointed by a number of residents. In contrast, similar elements, located in less central or hardly visited areas are often missed (see examples in Figures 56-59). For example, a number of residents within a certain neighbourhood in Mouresi and Tsagkarada pointed out mansions close to them or those that they often see (see Figures 58, 59). The often missed others that they rarely see, unless prompted, illustrated in the discussion below.

Myself: *“ I’ve been told about Prokopis mansion house, I’ve heard is one of the oldest here...*

Participant: *“Well I don’t know where exactly is...hmmm yes it is probably...”* (Woman 35, Mouresi).

Figure 56: Fountain in Tsagkarada



Fountains centrally located in Tsagkarada mentioned by a number of residents

Figure 57: Fountain in Tsagkarada



Fountain in less central location in Tsagkarada not mentioned by participants

Figure 58: Mansion in Tsagkarada



Mansion centrally located in Tsagkarada, mentioned by a number of participants

Figure 59: Mansion in Tsagkarada



Mansion in less central location mentioned only by participants in the surrounding area

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Similarly other elements located in remote areas within the villages were missed as residents rarely have a contact with them:

Researcher: *“You told me about the churches, the cobblestoned roads, the stone roofs of the houses...Is there anything else?”*

Participant: *“What else? Hmmm...I don’t know...”*

Researcher: *“Some people told me about the old mills...(Participant) Ah yes right! I forgot them...you see they are in the mountain, who sees them? I don’t even know if they are still there...”* (Woman 45, Mouresi).

Even quite unique elements are overseen by many due to the fact that they are hardly ever seen. For example, the few arched bridges (see Figure 54) were rarely mentioned, even though they constitute rare elements within the villages, as most of them are located in areas that people rarely visit or pass by. It was only in Afetes where these are close in the main core and routes of the village that residents referred to them.

Figure 60: Arched bridge in Tsagkarada



Source: http://partetavouna.blogspot.co.uk/2012/10/blog-post_29.html

Another characteristic example is the medieval 15th century tower in Agios Lavrentios, which is among the oldest and rarest buildings in the region of Thessaly and a characteristic example of an extinct built typology. Most residents did not even mention it, as this is located out of the main core of the village and the main routes that residents would pass by on a frequent basis. Interestingly enough, those who referred to it are those who happen to see it in a more frequent basis.

In the same line of thought, other elements were pinpointed as heritage mainly due to the fact that these are regularly placed along the road, they are seen frequently and hence have often recalled by residents. For instance, many residents refer to the small 'church' houses²⁴ along the road (see Figure 61) which do not have an important historic or architectural significance according to the legislative framework and to the experts.

Figure 61: Small church houses along the road



Small church houses are spread along the roads in the area, mentioned by a number of residents as heritage even though these are not 'architecturally' significant structures according to the experts.

Source: Pictures taken by the author

While frequency of interaction or sighting of heritage elements may favour the selection of certain elements of heritage over others of the same type, the constant exposure to the same elements may negatively affect awareness in broader terms. Frequency may in fact lead to

²⁴ those are small constructions made usually for people who had an accident on road

habituation which relates to the decrease in noticing something due to a constant exposure to it, as one gets used to a particular element (Treisman 1964, p. 14; Schiff 1970 see 3.2.3) Habituation may have reverse effects on awareness of heritage, explaining further why some elements are selected as heritage by particular participants while others are missed or ignored by them.

Habituation applies particularly to the case of long-stay residents in second category settlements, although it appears in some residents in first category settlements too. It is quite characteristic that a number of long-stay residents, especially in second category settlements, often forget to refer to built elements within their settlement, as it is clearly shown in the statement below (see also table 7):

“We are also used to this place...and we do not see anything in particular, something that may be different...I don’t know what do we have? (Man 50, Afetes).

Following on from the above statement, a number of those who were born and have been living in these settlements all their life often take things for granted, as they are continuously exposed to these elements. It is what is normal for them, it is what they are used to see all the time, it is part of their daily life and their routine and thus they often do not notice them in first place:

“Maybe we don’t identify certain characteristics in particular because we live here and we are used to it...we do not view it as something special...it is what it is normal here... It is also the same in the area around” (Woman 28, Tsagkarada).

In most cases, people do not ignore the existence of those elements, but they mention them only if prompted as they consider them as obvious or simply needless to talk about as the following discussion reveals:

Researcher: *“We talked about the nature, the way of life but what about the build elements?”*

Participant: *“Yes sure this is something that characterize our village, traditional architecture and buildings, but to be honest I’ve never thought about it...and I like now you mention it because*

we have a general view about our village and we never think about the details, about all those unique elements we got and those are important because apart from their appearance it's a way of life" (Woman 30, Vizitsa).

In conjunction with the above, a number of long-stay residents especially in second category settlements tend to refer to other visual qualities first, which they consider as more unique and representative of their settlement, such as the big open surrounding space in houses in Tsagkarada and the amphitheatrical view in Mouresi and Afetes. This is possibly due to the fact that the surrounding settlements present more or less the same qualities, (i.e same typologies of structures and buildings) and the built elements of heritage are not as dominant as in the first category settlements (see context Chapter 5).

On the other hand, short-stay residents and people who come from a different context tend to immediately identify tangible elements in first place as those are quite different from what they are used to be exposed to (see the following table). A short stay resident characteristically notes:

"When you live in a place for a long time, you often do not appreciate what you have and you don't notice its value. Because you see it all the time you take it for granted. However, when you come from a different area here then you understand the value of all those things. For example, when I first came here, I was impressed by its characteristics: the squares with the churches, the old houses...the cobblestoned roads...the architecture of the houses, the fire places...some wells....even the noise of the craftsmen who hew the stone" (Woman 42, Mouresi).

Similarly, residents that left the particular settlements state that they noticed tangible elements of heritage more when they came back; two residents who moved out clearly stated that they had a different view of their settlement when they returned. They emphasized particularly that, while they lived in the settlement, they used to take things for granted, but their awareness of different elements within the settlement changed after spending some time elsewhere as they started noticing things that were not so aware of before:

“Vizitsa is a picturesque village...the different architectural style, traditional architecture, the old mansion houses....there are many buildings that have various elements , such as an old building which is being used as a hotel now and it has elements from the era of Turkish occupation....the traditional cobblestoned roads...the square...We, the locals, take those things for granted but apparently they are not and it’s only when you live for sometime and then you come back that you start to realize how beautiful and important those things are, as it happened in my case” (Woman 19, Vizitsa).

The statement above shows clearly the role of habituation in reducing attention to specific elements of heritage in the area. However this does not apply in the case of experts. Habituation necessitates the direct and continuous contact or exposure of an individual with/to the object. As the experts do not have the contact that residents have with specific elements, they also rely on more ‘objective’ criteria when identifying heritage, based mainly on their education and knowledge. This will be further explained below. The table below summarises the main differences in selection of heritage between different participants due to frequency and habituation.

Table 7: Differences in selection of heritage between groups of participants due to frequency and habituation	
Long stay residents	Short stay residents
Cases in which prompts needed for identification of elements (especially in second category settlements)	Prioritisation of the built elements
Residents	Experts
Identification of certain elements of the same typology over others	Frequency and Habituation does not apply to experts

Source: Table created by the author

6.2.3 Knowledge and Information

Differences in the identification of heritage may appear due to the knowledge and information that one may have about heritage. In line with the arguments about the role of knowledge and education as influential to perception factors (Tweed 2003; Hardy 1988, p. 333; Pennarz and Elsigna 1990), this study further shows how these may explain variances in selection of heritage.

Differences due to knowledge and information in this study appear between experts and residents as well as between short- and long-stay residents (see table 8). As it was mentioned (see 6.2.1) experts focus on and prioritise tangible aspects of heritage, providing considerably more details about architectural characteristics in comparison to residents, despite speaking about them in general terms. Drawing on the legislative framework, the words ‘traditional’ and heritage refer only to physical objects of the built environment, such as the stone roofs, the stone walls, the scale of the buildings, the distance between them (Presidential Decree 1980).

Experts tend to be quite descriptive about the built elements of heritage and their physical qualities. They often provide a number of details with regards to the architectural characteristics of heritage and they elaborate on architectural typologies as determinant of heritage in those areas, which are often missed by residents. This is characteristically captured in the statements below:

“A traditional settlement is this that acquired some ‘homogeneous’ standards in terms of architecture, those that are worth of protection....which have coherence, homogeneity, which are made by local materials in the past and those have not been distorted”(Officer 1 at the Ministry).

“Generally speaking those are ‘high-density’ settlements, with narrow streets but covering the needs of the residents...for example the two storey houses with the ground floor used for the animals and the first floor for the people....” (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region).

As most of the experts are architects or civil engineers, the built environment is central when identifying heritage, as their selection highly depends on criteria cultivated during their education and their specialisation in the subject (Tweed et al. 2002, p. 2).

Information may also explain differences in selection of heritage among participants. What the study particularly reveals is that short stay residents often identify the tangible elements of heritage easier (mentioning them first), in comparison to long stay residents, especially those in second category settlements (see table 8). This is not only due to the role of habituation (see 6.2.2) but also due to the extra information that a number of short stay residents may have. In particular, short stay (non-local) residents came to live in these settlements out of their conscious choice in contrast to a number of long stay residents, who were born and have been used living in the particular settlements. Since the area is quite expensive to invest in, short stay residents considered carefully its qualities, searching for information before they take a decision. On the other hand, long stay residents continue to live in the place they born. Short stay residents or those who came recently in the area knew that those settlements are of specific character due to their heritage. According to them, heritage in the area and the potentials it provides has been one of the most important qualities for their choice. As a long-stay resident characteristically noted:

“Many people that decided to come and buy houses here...were people who knew about the quality of the place and could appreciate it’s character and they also support it to residents who were not particularly aware of those” (Woman 58, Makrinitza).

Other long-long stay residents also admitted that short stay residents might know more about tangible elements of their heritage:

“Who from the locals knows what we have in terms of heritage? Nobody knows all the things we have in the village...I want to go to Tsouka (an area within the village) to see the old cave and I don’t even know where it is, while foreigners know much more because they come for them” (Woman 48, Mouresi).

A number of long-stay residents also noted that short-stay residents, or in general those who initially came to invest in the area, were educated people who had access to knowledge not only with regards to the elements of heritage but also to financial sources which could help them ‘exploit’ heritage as a resource. On the contrary, the majority of long-stay residents had neither education nor the information about the qualities of old structures and the economic sources available. The differences in selection of heritage among the participants which may be attributed to knowledge and information are briefly presented in the table below.

Table 8: Differences in selection of heritage between groups of participants due to knowledge and information	
Residents	Experts
Tangible and intangible blend	Prioritisation of the built elements
More specific and detailed about certain elements within the village	More general
More details about intangible elements	More details about characteristics and typologies of built elements
Identification of certain elements of the same typology over others	Identification of all the elements of the same typology
Long stay residents	Short stay residents
Heritage as a totality	Heritage as distinct elements

Source: Table created by the author

In view of the above, knowledge and information may explain differences in the identification of heritage not only between experts and residents but also amongst residents (Yoke et al. 2008). However, the differences in perceptions cannot be fully attributed to knowledge and experience, as it is often claimed (Smith 2006; Rapoport 1982), as they may be subject to other factors. In this respect, ‘singular’ factors alone are not adequate in interpreting the differences among perceptions of heritage.

In total, while differences appear in the identification of heritage, these are not substantial compared to the similarities. Indeed differences relate mostly to the way in which different participants identify heritage as well as the prioritisation and detail that some elements are given over others. The differences in selection of heritage among participants due to characteristics of the individual and his/her relation with heritage as identified in this study are summarised in the following table.

Table 9: Differences of awareness between groups of participants				
Differences in awareness		Factors behind the differences		
Residents	Experts	Experience	Frequency habituation	Knowledge information
Heritage as a totality (long stay residents in particular)	Heritage as distinct elements	√		
Tangible and intangible blend	Prioritisation of the built elements	√		√
More specific and detailed about certain elements within the village	More general	√		
More details about intangible elements	More details about Characteristics and typologies of built elements	√		√
Identification of certain elements of the same typology over others	Identification of all the elements of the same typology		√	√
Long stay residents		Short stay residents		
Heritage as a totality	Heritage as distinct elements	√		√
More intangible aspects	Less intangible aspects	√		
Cases in which prompts needed for identification of built elements (especially in second category settlements)	Prioritisation of the built elements		√	
Experts at central level		Experts at regional-local level		
More general	More specific elements within the villages	√		
Rarely reference to intangible aspect	More intangible aspects	√		

Source: Table created by the author

6.3 The role of contextual factors in selection of heritage

As a result of the reciprocal relationship between people and place (see Jiven and Larkham 2003, p. 74; Strecker 2000; Altman and Low 1992; Green 1999 see 3.1), awareness of heritage may be influenced by other external factors relevant to a wider context. Contextual factors that affect awareness of heritage as discovered by this study relate to the natural environment as well as the quality of life in the village and apply to residents only.

6.3.1 The domination of natural environment

As it has been introduced (see Chapter 5), the traditional settlements studied present an exceptional natural environment. The natural environment dominates on long-stay residents' perception of their place; it is the first element mentioned when asked about the characteristic or most favourable elements within their settlement. Residents highlight the beauty and the quality of the natural environment before they start talking about other elements of their place, especially in the settlements with rich natural features and lower density, such as Tsagkarada and Mouresi. Nature, green, the combination of the sea with the mountain, were among the first elements mentioned in the discussion with the focus group in Mouresi. Natural elements are also particularly valued in the case of Tsagkarada, as well as in the rest of settlements:

"If I had to describe Tsagkarada, I would say that its huge in relation to the other villages around, a low-density village, green as the whole mountain. The dew, the sea, the combination of the mountain with the sea which is difficult to find elsewhere" (Woman 28, Tsagkarada).

In line with Green's (1999; 2013) studies, residents in this study stress the natural elements when identifying important elements to a place's character. Residents were often more aware about their natural environment than about other elements of their heritage. However, although natural environment in the area could be considered as heritage²⁵, to the same extent that built environment and the intangible aspects are, it is not received as such neither by legislation and experts nor by residents. Although residents are completely aware of the natural elements, they hardly refer to them as heritage, apart from few exceptions who mentioned very specific natural elements as captured in the following statements:

"The plane tree is the most characteristic 'reference' point in the village, it is something like a natural monument" (Woman 48, Tsagkarada) *"Traditional? I would say the houses, the*

²⁵ It derives from the past and has been evolved to its current stage throughout the years, it attracts appreciation, it is considered as something important worthwhile of protection and necessary to be passed on to future generations

cobblestoned roads...even the plane trees here in the square, aren't they?" (Man 72, Agios Lavrentios).

Hence, natural elements, when particularly rich, diverse and dense, are prioritized over the manmade elements of heritage. Built heritage seems to be less apparent when in proximity with high quality natural environment, as many residents, especially in Mouresi and Tsagkarada, reveal. In many cases I had to come up with a specific question regarding elements of the built environment in order to probe people to talk about them. For example:

Researcher: "Are there any other elements you appreciate? 'What about the buildings and structures?"

Participant: "*Ah yes....the cobblestoned roads also...there are also some old buildings, the stone roofs..."* (Man 50, Mouresi) "*Apart from the natural environment, other characteristics are the square, the cobblestoned roads...we also have three old little bridges..."* (Man 65, Afetes).

This domination of nature over other elements in people's awareness may be attributed to two main issues: i) the visual domination of natural elements, as the dense vegetation in combination with the particular geomorphology almost 'swallow' the built elements, and ii) the quality of life in which nature is dominant and which is principal for them as it is further presented in the next section.

6.3.2 The notion of the life in the village

Awareness of heritage may be also affected by other aspects relevant to the relationship between the individual and his/her place (see 3.1). In the case of this study, for example, the notion of the 'village' often supersedes residents' awareness of heritage. Life in the village often is a dominant and appreciable element for long-stay residents especially. For a number of residents, life in the village compared to the life in the city is what identified as the most crucial and important element. The quality of life in the village linked to the natural environment (see 6.3.1) as well as to pace of life compared to that in a city play a significant role in the appreciation of their place. It is indeed what they initially start talking about, while it takes time

and often prompts, especially for residents in second category settlements, to start talking about 'legitimate' elements of heritage.

"I like the village, of course, I wouldn't change it. I like it for the calmness that it offers and for the fact that we have so much space around in comparison to the city" (Man 44 Mouresi). "I like the village a lot, the nature, its beauty, the oxygen... We live in a very nice environment and I don't want to change it...It is the green, the clean air... the nice landscapes...they way of life which is less stressful compared to the city"(Woman 50, Agios Lavrentios) "It is the quality of life here....How beautiful it is to wake up in the morning and see all those things around you....you cannot compare it with the city" (Woman 45, Afetes).

This 'whole' notion of village and the life within it is highly, although unconsciously, connected with heritage. Many of the qualities that residents consider as most important such as the social relations in the village, or qualities of their way of life, are elements that have been transferred from previous generations and have been maintained till today.

"What I like in the village is the communication between people....the way of life, its events, what we live everyday for example even the fact that we go to the church every Sunday and then we hang out in the square" (Woman 51, Agios Lavrentios).

The table below summarises the factors that affect selection of heritage as identified in this study and which lie behind the similarities and differences among participants as identified in the current study.

Table 10: Factors that affect identification of heritage

	Factor		Elements of heritage
Similarities in the identification of heritage	Characteristics of elements selected as heritage	Links with the past	Old elements-elements of the past
		Homogeneity	Homogeneous elements within and across the settlements
		Communality	Communal-public elements
		Scale and detail	Big and detailed structures of the past
		Rarity	Rare elements within or across the settlements
Differences in the identification of heritage	Characteristics of The individual and his/her interaction with heritage	Knowledge and information	Elements for which certain participants have knowledge and information about their value
		Experience-contact heritage	Elements identified by participants who have a contact and experience with
		Frequency and habituation	Elements of built environment frequently seen or used
			Elements of heritage missed by residents due to the fact that they are used to them
	Contextual factors	Natural environment	Elements from the natural environment
		Life in the village	The notion of life in the village

Source: Table created by the author

Conclusions

The Chapter examined what people identify as heritage responding essentially to the first research question. The Chapter enriches our limited knowledge about the way in which people identify heritage, providing rich empirical evidence deriving from experts and residents within the traditional settlements. The study revealed a number of factors that affect selection of heritage and lead to similarities and differences between participants. Unlike the studies that highlight the differences between certain groups of people (such as that of experts and residents) in perceiving heritage, this study has shown that while differences are apparent, similarities are quite dominant. Hence single factors related only to characteristics of the individual such as demographics (Yoke et al. 2008) or the group that the individual belongs to

(such as experts or residents) are not adequate alone in explaining how heritage is selected. The similarities identified among participants denote collective perceptions about certain elements of heritage. The commonalities in the identification of a number of heritage elements lie primarily on the principle of selecting something as heritage due to its relevance to a wider community and/or a place rather than to personal characteristics and interaction with heritage. Similar characteristics appear in the elements commonly selected as heritage. These characteristics as this research reveals are the links of something with the past, communality, homogeneity, scale and detail and rarity. Indeed, most of the widely agreed upon elements of heritage present the above characteristics which in a way characterise a community and/or a place according to the participants.

On the other hand, the above factors cannot explain differences in selection of heritage. In particular, the study has shown that differences may appear in a) the way in which something is identified as heritage and b) in the elements identified as heritage. In respect to the first point for instance some participants identify heritage as a totality while others as distinct elements. In the second point, particular elements are identified as heritage by certain participants. These differences in selection of heritage may be attributed to characteristics of the individual and his/her interaction with heritage. These, as the study reveals, are contact and experience, frequency and habituation and knowledge and information. Furthermore, the study has illustrated that other external factors related to the specific context (such as the natural environment and the life in the village) may further affect awareness of heritage.

In view of the above, the Chapter has shown that heritage's selection is neither internal to objects, as Ruskian approaches suggested, nor totally individual. The study shows instead that characteristics of heritage elements and of the individual as well as his/her interaction with heritage, but also external factors may commonly affect the way in which we select heritage. In this respect the attribution of heritage's selection to single factors such as demographics or experience (see for example Tweed 2003; Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Hardy 1988, p. 333) should be carefully considered.

Having discussed what is selected as heritage and why, the next Chapter moves on to the examination of the reasons for which people value heritage. Building on this Chapter, the next Chapter unravels why heritage, as identified in this Chapter, is valued by the various participants, dealing with the second research question about the reasons for which heritage may be valued.

CHAPTER 7: VALUING HERITAGE

Introduction

Having identified what is selected as heritage by the various participants in the previous Chapter, this Chapter unravels why heritage is appreciated providing answers to the second research question (Sorensen and Carman 2009; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tweed and Sutherland 2007a and b). Such an investigation responds to the need for understanding the values of heritage when building conservation policies that focus on protecting and enhancing these values (Avrami et al. 2000). This Chapter explores how experts and residents value heritage adding to the limited empirical evidence about the values of heritage as ascribed and understood by people, especially residents in heritage places (English Heritage 2006, p. 19). To do so, I examine the evaluative aspects of perception (see 3.2.2) i.e beliefs based on what people know and feel about heritage. The Chapter builds on this understanding, providing rich empirical evidence in often abstract concepts. It also explores the factors that may trigger these values unpacking their relation with the reasons for which something is selected as heritage (see Chapter 6).

7.1 Appreciating heritage for its enduring qualities

Heritage is valued for various reasons, according to different participants. These may be grouped in different categories of values as presented in this Chapter. This section addresses the values related to the enduring qualities of heritage, as identified by both experts and residents. This group involves three subcategories: a) historicity, continuity and duration, b) heritage as a source of knowledge and c) heritage as a reference point. All of the above represent people's beliefs about heritage based on their knowledge (see 3.2.2). While values related to the enduring qualities of heritage are raised by both experts and residents, differences appear in the way that these are perceived by the different participants. Interestingly, these values seem to be triggered by factors that affect selection of heritage (see 6.1).

7.1.1 Historicity, continuity and duration

The appreciation of heritage for historical purposes has been widely argued in the literature (see 2.2.1). This study however further shows how this is understood and interpreted by participants, both experts and residents, and also explores the factors that may trigger this value. The data expand claims about the extent to which there is common understanding of historicity by experts and laypeople (Hubbard 1993), showing that while the historical value is central in experts' arguments it is less apparent in the discussion with residents, who value heritage more for its continuity and duration. Historical value or historic interest is among the first factors mentioned by experts when asked about the value of traditional settlements and their heritage. An expert at the ministry characteristically notes:

“Regarding the criteria of characterization, historic reasons are among the most important”
(Expert 1, central level).

According to the relevant legislation, settlements are listed as traditional due to their **historical**, architectural, cultural, social and aesthetic value (New Building Construction Code 2012). Experts refer to 'historic purposes' first as an important value of heritage, related to events and conditions of the past that 'elements' of heritage may 'enclose'. At a broader level, experts stress the historic importance of the particular settlements as rare examples of villages that flourished during the period of Turkish occupation (see 5.1). Thus their 'physical' existence is significant not only for the history of the particular area, but for Greece as a whole, as an expert at the ministry notes. Another expert, at a regional level, referred to more specific elements of built heritage such as the cobblestoned roads as historic examples of self-created and self-maintained communities throughout a difficult period, claiming that this may be of a universal value (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region). In addition, most experts underlined the importance of those settlements for the history of Greek architecture. Experts use historical relevance to refer to settlements' representativeness of a historical period within a certain place, usually associated with certain events (such as Turkish occupation) and actions (such as the way that the communities have

created these places). In this respect, historicity is confronted by experts as an 'objective' and rational value (see Ashworth 1994; Hubbard 1993), which reflects an evaluation based on what they know about heritage.

On the other hand, residents not only refer less to the 'historical' value of heritage; they also understand it differently. In particular, residents have a more 'localized' idea compared to that of experts. Historical value according to them relates not only to the history of their village, but also to the history of themselves as descendants of a particular community.

"Everything old in our village is soaked in history, the history of our village, of our parents, grandparents of our people" (Man 29, Agios Lavrentios).

The statement above implies that for most residents, historical value of heritage relates to their connection with the past community or certain people within a particular place. Most residents are quite vague when referring to historic reasons, touching upon what they have heard and essentially know. So, while they often refer to historic values, they do not really explain what these may mean, referring to them as a cliché or as a matter of fact. It is indeed only few residents that provide details concerning the historic significance of certain elements (especially of the built heritage). For example, two interviewees in Agios Lavrentios chronicled the history of the oldest monastery in the area as the starting point of their village and two residents in Afetes referred to the location of the village and its historic importance due to its link to the "argonautical expedition" in around 1225 BC.

What seems to be more relevant to them, compared to experts, is heritage's continuity and duration (see also 2.2.2). This distinction shows how heritage may be valued for different reasons (Ashworth 2012; Lowenthal 1985; Hubbard 1993), even though the elements of appreciation may not be so dissimilar as discovered in the previous Chapter.

A number of residents in all the settlements stressed the importance of heritage elements as a direct link to their ancestors and a 'bond' between the different generations. For them it is like a thread that connects different eras and people. As a result, residents in themselves constitute

part of this line and continuity and as such part of this heritage. A woman in Tsagkarada in particular stressed:

“These elements show our roots, they connect us with our ancestors and they do not just belong to the past, they are part of our lives too, they show how we evolve...Can you imagine that those were not here? It would be like we ‘spring’ up here, like there was nothing here before” (Woman 55, Tsagkarada)

Following on from the above, heritage is not only appreciated as a link to residents’ roots (Hawke 2010) and the place’s past. Residents feel part of this heritage and as such part of its ‘natural’ evolution. It is this direct contact of residents with heritage, as they still use or perform elements of heritage that further boosts the value of continuity. For example, another woman in Tsagkarada stresses:

“What is important from all those things I mentioned? Hmm...I think the fact that are not dead, they are not just elements of the past, they are things that we use, things that we make...for example I have kept many things from my grandparents, I have also passed them to my daughter and she will pass it on to her children, such as the traditional recipes, some customs.....it is a continuation, this is important” (Woman 49, Tsagkarada).

The value of continuity was also expressed through statements about heritage’s duration. A number of residents have linked the value of elements of heritage to their ability to survive and endure throughout all these years. Continuity as ‘witnessed’ in the duration of certain elements represent ‘robustness’ (Lowenthal 1975; Lynch 1975) and resilience of materials, which is particularly appreciated by residents:

“All those old structures are ‘immortal’ they have survived for all those years, you see how strong they are” (Woman 50, Agios Lavrentios)

“Why are they (elements of heritage) are important? First of all due to their materials that have endured throughout the time, this shows their value” (Man 35, Makrinitsa)

So, the appreciation of heritage due to its durability is related to certain characteristics of heritage (such as materials, way of building). This durability provides a sense of security (Lynch 1975, p. 40), not only in terms of the robustness of the physical elements but further a sense of ‘stability’ in a constantly changing world, against what Toffler calls ‘future shock’ (Toffler 1970, p.1).

In view of the above, while historical values seem to be more important to experts than to residents, who instead highlight the continuity and durability of heritage, both sets of values may stem from common factors. In particular, the appreciation of heritage for its historicity and continuity/duration is driven by the links of the ‘object’ of heritage with the past (see 6.1.1) while continuity as perceived by residents is also due to their interaction with heritage. Historicity and continuity/durability as values are provoked by the connection of the ‘object’ of appreciation with the past (see table 11), a factor that affects selection of heritage as it was analysed in the previous Chapter. Indeed, in all the above statements the links with the past were determinant in justifying the value of heritage for its historicity i.e. representativeness of a certain period or events and actions of the **past** and/or for its continuity/ duration i.e the survival and transmittance of these ‘elements’ from **the past**.

Table 11: Connection of the value of historicity and continuity with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception (Evaluative)
Historicity	Links with something being old and/or which links with the past Interaction with heritage	Beliefs based on knowledge
Continuity		Beliefs based both on knowledge and feelings
Duration		Beliefs based on knowledge

Source: Table created by the author

7.1.2 Source of knowledge

Closely related to historicity and continuity, heritage is also appreciated as a source of knowledge, (see table 11). Three main themes, explain the value of heritage as a source of knowledge essentially reflecting participants' beliefs based on their knowledge of the topic: a) knowledge about life in the past b) knowledge about the techniques used in the past and c) knowledge about 'images' of the past.

Regarding the first theme, (i.e knowledge about the life in the past), many participants, both experts and residents, underline the 'capacity' of heritage to provide information about the way of life and of specific conditions in the particular settlements in the past (see also Whitehand and Kai 2010; Conzen 1960; Graham 2002). An expert at the Ministry specifically notes:

"Traditional settlements are important...We learn about the social conditions, the living conditions in the past and the needs back in time...for example these settlements are built in mountainous areas for protection purposes, protection from the pirates, protections during the wars, as it was difficult for the enemies to reach them but also difficult to see them" (Expert 2, Ministry).

Experts stress the educational value of heritage (with respect to life in the past) more than residents. Most experts stressed the ability of visual elements of heritage to inform about the way certain things were made. For instance, they note that the configuration of traditional houses tells a story about the domestic life in the past; that the organization of the space shows the way in which domestic life was organised, (e.g. the typical two storey house with the ground floor for the domestic animals and the first floor for the family), whilst the interior, such as the one common room and the fire place, provides further details about the life of the family within the particular place.

Experts often highlight the knowledge that one may obtain from 'smaller elements' and details of built heritage (see 6.1.4) on life and conditions in the past. They refer, for example, to metallic frames in the windows and the protrusion of the upper floor's wall in the big houses as

illustrating the means of defending against enemies. The Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region, notes:

“Traditional architecture provides information about the needs and conditions in the past. For example the details in the traditional fort houses, the metal frames in the windows which are typical, the heavy doors, the openings in the wall that were used for hot oil for defense purposes but also the extrusion of the upper floor in big traditional mansion houses in order to deter enemies’ climbing, show the need for protection”.

Another example of the appreciation of heritage as a source of knowledge about the life in the past in the area is the orientation and the layout of the settlements, as noted by some participants. For example, the building orientation reveals a careful consideration of nature to deal with difficult weather conditions. The layout respectively provides information regarding important elements of everyday life in the area (for example the fact that the cultivation areas were usually at ‘lower’ altitudinal locations compared to the houses, indicate the need of residents to control their crops):

“Traditional settlements are important, it is like a lesson, we learn from them...even the layout of the houses and the configuration of the settlement is characteristic. This connects with the occupation and life of residents. For example the houses are always built at a ‘higher’ level while cropland was lying at a lower level...cropland was never at higher to houses levels, the communities were organised like this. That’s why the layout of most settlements is circular or longitudinal with view to the cropland so as residents to have a better control of their land” (Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements).

What is interesting to note of the similar themes in all the above cases mentioned, is that certain physical characteristics of heritage, such as form and detail (see 6.1.3, 6.1.4), become the transmitters of this knowledge about the life and conditions in the past, triggering thus the appreciation of heritage for its educational capacities. Indeed, in all the above cases participants referred to certain physical characteristics and details as important in ‘transferring’ knowledge.

However, the appreciation of heritage as a source of knowledge about life in the past was mentioned much less by residents. This is due to the fact that residents are quite familiar with the way of life in the past due to stories told by older people, or their own direct experiences (interaction with heritage see table 11), while some elements of this life still apply to them. Hence, the tangible elements of heritage do not provide more information; as such their value (for providing such kind of knowledge) is not central to them. Residents instead highlight the value of heritage as a source of knowledge about techniques-practices used in the past.

Architecture (Pelion architecture) and building techniques, for instance, are appreciated by a number of residents for the knowledge they provide concerning the way of building in the past and its advantages, with which residents have direct experience (direct contact with heritage). A woman in Vizitsa for example points out:

"...traditional buildings and structures portray a particular way of building in which each stone was hewed carefully and placed in a certain way, without using cement...the stones are 'knitted' with wood providing elasticity..."(Woman 65, Vizitsa).

A number of residents stress that the old construction is a representation of the evident care and time taken to produce craftsmanship, which resulted in such robust and durable buildings and structures, from which we should learn. Experts also recognize the value of these techniques as a source of knowledge, but they refer to them only when prompted.

In all of the above cases, residents appreciated both techniques and practices as a source of knowledge, because these still have relevance to their lives in the present. This appreciation stems from participants' direct contact and experience with heritage (interaction with heritage) and its impacts on their daily lives. Indeed, in the cases mentioned above, the knowledge obtained by the techniques and practices can be applied in residents' current lives; this is why this knowledge may be of more important value compared to knowledge about life in the past for the residents.

However, both experts and residents stressed the importance of learning from the past and of incorporating this knowledge into modern life. Both experts and residents underlined the value

of heritage as a 'tacit' knowledge, which may contribute to the evolution (Lowenthal 1985) and improvement of certain elements at the present and future. Characteristically a Member of the Commission for Architecture controls in the area notes:

"Traditional settlements in my opinion is a school, a school for the next generations showing us how our parents, our grandparents, our ancestors were living...they are important because we learn through them how we are going to live giving us the opportunity to improve the new environment by taking the current knowledge on board, by incorporating the successful examples, avoiding the mistakes"(Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region).

Similarly, residents have also highlighted the value of heritage as a source of knowledge through which we learn about the evolution and development of particular settlements:

"The elements of our heritage are important as we have to look back and see where we come from. They show the evolution, learning from the past helps you to move forward, it is determinant for the future...A traditional settlements 'speaks' out loud telling you that this thing is like this and is made like that because people lived in a certain way...and you learn from what the settlement tells you and you keep it and you make something new bearing in mind what you gained from this 'conversation' with the past" (Woman 37, Mouresi)

Finally, heritage is valued as a source of knowledge about the 'images' of the past i.e landscapes or pictures of the past. This study adds to relevant studies that refer to the value of heritage in representing images of the past (see Esther Hiu Kwan Yung et al. 2011, p. 6; Lewis 1975). Participants highlight elements of built heritage, such as old houses, cobblestoned roads, churches, squares, built fountains all these together, but also other 'visual' elements of heritage such as traditional clothes and even the local festivals that take place in central squares, as 'physical' representations of images of the past. Many of the interviewees stressed the value of those elements due to their physical existence through which we can get a sense of how 'landscapes' of the past looked. For many of them it is like a trip back in time, as captured in the following statement.

“I like all these medieval roads in the settlement, they are all over the place it is still the main way of transport in the village as it was back in time...the old houses also and the small shops and taverns which have been kept the way there were back in time...the environment looks almost the same as it was many years ago, it is like you are travelling back in time...” (Man 30, Agios Lavrentios) “It is like a time machine, It feels like walking in the past as what you see, especially the old structures compose a picture of the past” (Man 35, Makrinitisa).

This appreciation of heritage has been triggered by the physical characteristics of heritage as visual representations of the past (link with the past see 6.1.1). Forms and structures (homogeneity, detail see 6.1.3, 6.1.4) provide the opportunity to past images which a number of participants seem to appreciate.

Summing up: heritage is appreciated as a source of knowledge about a) the way of life in the past, b) the techniques used and c) images of the past. While the first point was stressed by experts and the second by residents, there is no disagreement among the two groups about the particular values. In addition, participants who raised these reasons for appreciation reflect on the evaluative aspect of perception that relates to ones beliefs based on his/her knowledge (see table 12) as their arguments do not seem to involve affective aspects.

The table below summarises the value of heritage as a source of knowledge as revealed in the current study. It also shows the connection that this value may have with factors that trigger selection of heritage, as analysed in the previous Chapter, as well as the aspect of perception to which this value relates.

Table 12: Connection of the value of knowledge with factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Providing Knowledge		
knowledge about life in the past	Knowledge and direct experience (interaction with heritage) Physical characteristics of heritage	Evaluative (knowledge)
knowledge about the techniques used in the past		
knowledge of 'images' of the past		

Source: Table created by the author

7.1.3 Reference point

Heritage was also appreciated as a reference point. Especially residents stressed the value of heritage as a reference point for two main reasons: for its 'ability' to be a landmark/attraction and as an element for orientation, when refer into built structures. Residents in most villages referred to built elements of heritage as landmarks or things that a visitor must see, or even as elements that can help the visitor to navigate in the village. A man in Agios Lavrentios characteristically noted:

"They (traditional elements) are reference points as they are distinctive you can guide a visitor within the settlement by referring to a number of those elements, such as the church, the mansion houses...you can tell them where to go and what to see" (Man 60, Agios Lavrentios).

Similarly to the above statement, other residents referred to churches, monasteries, and specific mansions as worth visiting and/or as 'guiding' points within the villages. The appreciation of such elements as reference points is particularly triggered by their

characteristics, most of which affect their selection as heritage (see table 13). Indeed, the elements that were given as an example of the value of heritage as landmarks/attractions are built elements which are old, 'rare' such as the olive press in Afetes (see 6.1.5) and/or of large scale and detail, such as mansions (see 6.1.4), and/or public buildings such as public squares and churches (see 6.1.2).

Residents in some cases even complain about the state's ignorance of such elements and their potential use as attractions or reference points as in other European countries. A woman in Afetes vehemently stresses:

"In other countries you see that people take care of even a derelict old wall...here we have so many things that could attract people and they do not pay attention at all" (Woman, 70 Afetes).

The value of heritage elements as landmarks and attraction points was also raised by experts. However, experts are more general about the particular value without providing specific examples as residents did. For example, experts talk in general about churches as landmarks in the villages.

Heritage and especially built elements may also function as reference points even for locals. Certain buildings and structures, such as churches, monasteries, little chapels, mansion houses, built fountains, small arched bridges, which are often rare and/or distinctive within the settlements, usually function as 'landmarks', helping people to orient themselves. Characteristically, an old lady also refers to how replacing the old cobblestoned roads, in some parts of the settlements, has had an impact on her orientation:

"Now that roads replaced part of the cobblestoned roads I sometimes cannot orient myself, I don't understand where I am...it was different with the cobblestoned roads, it was easier to walk and observe things around you...now even how the nature looks like has changed" (Woman 75, Tsagkarada).

All the above extend Smith's idea about heritage as a reference point (Smith 1974, p. 903) which can offer orientation and consciousness of an individual's location in a given place (Lozano 1974; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1989 in Hawke 2010). Built elements of heritage were

recognized for their value as landmarks and ‘guiding’ points within the settlement. The appreciation of heritage as a reference point as analysed above, relates essentially to people’s beliefs based on their knowledge about the ‘capacity’ of the particular elements to function as reference point (see table 13).

Table 13: Connection of the value of heritage as a reference point with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perceptions		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Heritage as a reference point	Rarity, scale and detail	Evaluative (knowledge)
a landmark or an attraction		
contributing to orientation		

Source: Table created by the author

7.2 Experiential reasons for valuing heritage

This section analyses the value of heritage for experiential reasons. These, as the study revealed, may be memories, familiarity and attachment, imagination and inspiration and appreciation of the facilities we have today. Experiential reasons for appreciation relate to the appreciation of heritage as stems from the individual’s relation and experience with heritage. Experiential reasons for appreciation are highly driven by characteristics of the individual and his/her interaction with heritage (see 6.2.2) and they mostly reflect affective aspects of perceptions i.e. beliefs based on feelings (see table 13). Residents essentially raised experiential reasons for appreciation, due to their direct relation and interaction with heritage. However, residents are often hesitant to reflect on these reasons, as they believe that they may not be crucial or robust in justifying the value of heritage.

7.2.1 Memories

Memories are one of the reasons for appreciating heritage that are mentioned most often (see 2.2.2), although these have not been given much attention in the selection and evaluation of

heritage in official processes (Smith 2006, p. 58). This section contributes knowledge about the role of memory in the appreciation of heritage, an aspect often overlooked in studies on the value of heritage (Smith 2006, p. 58; Hall 2001; Shackel 2001), providing rich empirical evidence. Memory, as a reason for appreciation may reflect both of the evaluative aspects of perception (i.e. beliefs based on what people know and feel about heritage). This is further explained below (see also table 14).

The appreciation of heritage for purposes relevant to memory relate to either collective or individual memory (Halbwachs 1992). As was explained before (see 2.2.2) collective memory relates to memory shared among the members of a group and may be highly associated with historicity. In the case of this study collective memory may be reified in stories and historic events that represent the community of these settlements as a whole. Individual memory refers to personal memories, subject to personal experience.

The value of heritage to collective memory has been identified by both experts and residents and it is often prioritized over the individual one as it is further explained below. Collective memory is linked to the historical value of heritage (see 2.2.1). Experts and some residents address the value of heritage, with reference to built elements in particular, due to its capacity to remind us of historical events as well as certain eras of the particular settlements. For instance, an expert refers to central squares stressing their importance in reminding us of where important political decisions were taken. An expert at the Ministry notes in particular:

“There are memories relating to them...most of residents in those villages have stories to say regarding important events that took place in those squares” (Expert 1, Ministry).

Similarly, residents in Agios Lavrentios referred to the value of the monastery as the physical ‘reminder’ of their village’s history, where the establishment of the village started. Another example comes from residents in Tsagkarada who referred to the value of ‘urban’ mansions as ‘transmitters’ of memories regarding the migration phenomenon of locals to Egypt and of their investment back home (see 5.2). In all the above cases it is ‘collective’ memories tend to dominate over the personal ones, as participants refer to conditions and stories of the village and its community.

In conjunction with the above, memories often trigger nostalgia, an affective aspect of perception (see 3.2.2.), which may further affect the appreciation of heritage (see Lowenthal 1975; Rosenblatt 1973, p. 23 see also 2.3.1). Residents often refer to elements of heritage in a nostalgic way, as positive things that have been to an extent lost or distorted. Thus heritage elements function as a way to get at least a sense of what has been lost. For instance, a number of residents refer to structures, such as mansions, which remind the wealthier and better social conditions of an era, which is often considered out of reach today (Rosenblatt 1973, p. 23 see also 2.3.1). For instance, a woman in Tsagkarada states:

“The old structures in our village remind us of the wealth of the village back in time...an era that was maybe better than today...” (Woman 56, Tsagkarada).

Two factors may trigger the appreciation of heritage as collective memory: a) the physical characteristics of heritage and b) the knowledge that someone has about the events or situations in the past as collective memories (see table 13). The physical characteristics such as materials as well as scale and detail of particular buildings and structures considered heritage, (such as mansions), represent or symbolize an era of wealth. Their construction (such as porcelain in their skeleton, big spaces etc) and characteristics (such as painted windows, curved ceilings), depict a period of affluence when the villages were in their apogee, ‘transferring’ thus this memory. Indeed, a man in Agios Lavrentios clearly affirms the above claim:

“What all those traditional structures show? That the village was ‘blossoming’ in the past, they show a period of affluence” (Man 80, Agios Lavrentios).

However, it is not only the physical characteristics in themselves that trigger appreciation of heritage as collective memory, but also some sort of knowledge (characteristic of the individual) on the events or conditions in the past, which enables someone to relate them to physical characteristics of heritage. Indeed, all the participants that reflected on ‘collective’ memories as a reason for appreciation of certain elements were aware/had knowledge of these events and conditions and thus they could easily see them as a reflection of the physical characteristics. Hence these collective memories relate to beliefs based on knowledge (see table 14).

On the other hand, heritage is also appreciated for individual memories, as these derive from personal contact and experience with heritage (interaction with heritage). These however are not prioritized. Individual memories were raised by residents rather than experts. A number of residents reflected on their personal stories and individual memories expressing their appreciation of heritage. As in the case of collective memories, elements of heritage function as 'reminders' of their experiences and personal stories, linking them with people, stories and events of the(ir) past:

"It is memories that are important for me...when I was a child I used to play behind this old house...there are many things buried in those buildings, in all those structures in general...even in an old neglected bench on which I used to sit on and watch a shepherd with his sheep..." (Woman 45, Afetes).

"I like the old buildings because I look at them and they remind me of my mother, my father, my grandparents...the mulberry tree in the yard and the arbour... the old makes you to remember things, the new is alien it doesn't say anything, I have memories in the old one" (Woman 84, Mouresi).

Valuing heritage on the basis of individual memories is also evident from the fact that some residents tend to favour the old buildings in use and in good condition rather than the derelict ones (see Figures 56-61), as the latter ones may relate to bad memories. For example, a man in Afetes notes:

"...there are also some old buildings, similar to the ones I told you but they are derelict now, some in a very bad condition...I think those should be knocked down...there are not only dangerous but they also bring bad memories...like something bad happened...the place could be cleaner if they just knocked them down" (Man 48, Afetes).

As people usually link heritage to something positive in an attempt to save the pleasant memories rather than the bad ones (see Smith 2006) something in use does not feel 'dead', in contrast to an abandoned building which may trigger unpleasant thoughts.

Figure 62: Mansion in use in Tsagkarada



It was mentioned by participants who point its connotations with good memories appreciated for this reason

Figure 63: Derelict mansion in Tsagkarada



It was associated with memories and negative feelings by some residents

Figure 64: Derelict mansion house in Agios Lavrentios



It was associated with unpleasant memories

Figure 65: Mansion in use in Agios Lavrentios



It was associated with pleasant memories appreciated for being in use

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Figure 66: Derelict mansion in Mouresi



Located next to the refurbished one) not particularly appreciated by residents

Figure 67: Refurbished mansion in Mouresi



It was mentioned by a number of residents as valuable due to positive feelings associated with it as a result of positive memories

Source: Pictures taken by the author

Touching upon their experience (interaction with heritage), residents show that personal memories often matter to them, triggering thus their appreciation of heritage, reflecting on more affective aspects of perceptions (i.e feelings see table 13). When asked why heritage or particular elements are important they tend to refer first to reasons relevant to a wider context and community (such as collective memories) rather than their personal memories, thinking that such a prioritisation may better align what is 'appropriate' with what is legitimately important. This is due to the fact that people believe that it is more rational and robust to claim and evaluate heritage on the basis of its relevance to a wider community, rather than only to themselves as individuals. Indeed, it was only when prompted through asking why heritage, or elements of it identified by them, is important to them in particular that they started speaking about their individual memories.

Table 14: Connection of the value of memory with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect awareness of heritage	Aspect of perception
Collective memory	Links with knowledge (characteristic of the individual) Links with characteristics of heritage	Evaluative (beliefs based on knowledge)
Individual memories	Links with frequency and experience (interaction with heritage)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
Nostalgia	Links with memories	Evaluative (Beliefs based on feelings)

Source: Table created by the author

7.2.2 Familiarity and attachment

The value of familiarity and attachment, in relation to heritage has been often raised in the literature (Beckley 2003; Relph 1976; Lowenthal 1985). This section further unpacks the values of heritage in relation to the sense of familiarity and/or attachment that it may provide, for residents, while also revealing the factors behind these values.

A number of residents expressed their feeling of familiarity towards elements of heritage, which ‘involves an interplay of affect and emotions’ in reference to the particular places and ‘objects’ (Altman and Low 1992, p. 5), reflecting the evaluative aspect of perception related to feelings (see 3.2.2 and table 15). In particular, they stressed the significance of elements of heritage in making them feel close to or even ‘integrated’ with them. This general sense of ‘comfort’ (Lowenthal 1975, p. 8) is a result of experience, frequency of involvement or related memories (characteristic of the individual/ interaction with heritage). For example, a number of residents stated that traditional buildings offer ‘warmth’ in contrast to the new ones. They attribute this warmth to their personal connections with these buildings; i.e. they were born and lived in such buildings or their parents and grandparents did so and hence they feel close to them. It is in a way the continuity (see 7.1.1) according to which something that endures and passes from generation to generation that becomes a common pattern integrated to peoples’

lives, making them feel familiar with heritage elements. In this respect, familiarity is triggered by the various interactions of the individual with the place, but also with other people in this place who come together, sharing common definitions and symbols (Cheng and Daniels 1998).

This is depicted clearly in the following two statements from two women in Afetes and Mouresi respectively:

“I like the old houses because I grew up in one of those” (Woman 75, Afetes)

“A traditional settlement is chronologically very close to us. We feel attached to this settlement because our great grandparents lived in these buildings....they have been close to us” (Woman 42, Mouresi).

Their personal experience and memories (interaction with heritage) trigger feelings of familiarity, so strong in some cases that they feel this heritage is part of themselves. An interviewee in Agios Lavrentios characteristically notes:

“This architecture that characterizes the village has been passed on to us, we feel it...I feel it as something mine, as something that it is in my heart (Man 35, Agios Lavrentios).

Residents suggest that the feeling of familiarity is particularly enhanced by individual and collective memories that are crystallized in elements of heritage. A characteristic example is given by the mansions that are known by the name of their owner and/ or of their benefactor: for example “Karagianopoulou mansion” in Vizitsa, “Achilopouleio” and “Nanopouleio building” in Tsagkarada, house ‘Skotiniotis tower house in Makrinitisa’, Glavani mansion in Agios Lavrentios. Residents highlight that these buildings remind them of those people:

“These buildings remind the people that lived here, you know that this building belongs to that person, you know what happened in the area, who passed from this village...if we lose these buildings we also lose the people connected to them” (Woman 50, Vizitsa).

As a result, these are not viewed only as buildings of architectural and/ or historic importance but as ‘bearers’ of living stories and people who current residents knew and were involved with, increasing thus their familiarity with them. Similarly, frequency of involvement or contact

with an element of heritage (interaction with heritage see 6.2.2) also impact on familiarity. A number of residents, who value elements of heritage due to their warmth and their capacity to provide a sense of comfort (Lowenthal 1975, p. 8; Maxwell 1971, p. 91), have frequently been in contact with them, (i.e using them, passing by them, practicing them). For instance, a man in Mouresi notes:

“I like the old cobblestone roads (element of heritage) because all of my life has been there...I was going to school on foot(experience and memory), walking for two hours on this roads every day (frequency), I feel them close to me, it is part of my life” (familiarity) (Man 65 Mouresi).

As in the case of individual memories (see 7.2.1), however, it takes more time and prompting for residents to raise familiarity as a reason for appreciating heritage, as they consider that this is their humble interpretation rather than an objective evaluation based on certain facts or aspects. Similarly to individual memories, evaluations based on feelings were never taken into consideration in conservation policies that follow a rational objectively defined approach (Kinsella 2002) based on aesthetic, historical, architectural aspects, leaving aside personal interpretations.

Table 15: Connection of the value of familiarity with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Familiarity	Memories	Evaluative (beliefs based on feelings)
	Experience (interaction with heritage)	
	Frequency (interaction with heritage)	

Source: Table created by the author

7.2.3 Imagination and inspiration

Other reasons for which heritage may be appreciated is its contribution to imagination and inspiration, although these are hardly mentioned in current literature. In particular, some residents highlighted that elements of heritage, built elements in particular, stimulate their imagination about the past: i.e. making them imagining what these elements hosted or

embraced. For instance, some residents mentioned that old houses trigger their imagination about the life in these buildings in the past: such as who was living there, how those places were when they were functioning, how living there was, what happened and why they are now abandoned:

“I remember I passed by one old building, the one which is next to the square and it is about to fall down and I was staring at it thinking who was cooking here, who was sitting there, I was creating pictures for the different parts of the house in the past....even if those places are derelict you see the parts and you can imagine so their existence is important to me” (Woman 42, Mouresi)

The value of heritage in triggering people’s imagination was also raised by other residents. A couple of residents suggested that old structures even aroused their curiosity to explore them, due to the mystery that surrounds these old structures (Kaplan 1987). For example, one young interviewee from Vizitsa stated:

“We have quite many old derelict buildings...what I feel about them is that I want to go inside and explore them, to see what was there before, to see the spaces, the old objects....to imagine the life there” (Man 25, Vizitsa).

Certain residents also flagged imagination as a value of heritage, in contrast to experts. Digging in participants’ characteristics as well as their interaction with heritage, it seems that the residents who referred to the value of imagination are younger people who have a direct experience with heritage. It is those who are in contact with elements of heritage such as those who pass by and see old buildings and structures and which are not old enough to remember life there in the past, although they may be connected to memories passed on by older relatives. Although these young people may have listened to stories from older residents, they do not have an image of these elements while functioning, so these ‘elements’ arouse their imagination. In view of the above, age and contact/ (visual) experience (characteristic of the individual/ interaction with heritage) with elements of heritage may trigger imagination.

Closely related to imagination, heritage may be valued as a source of inspiration. Some of the residents referred to the ability of heritage to trigger inspiration. This aspect has been raised by participants in certain professions, who stressed that elements of heritage impacted on their style and their creativity. For instance, a carpenter pointed that ‘traditional elements’ have influenced his work, motivating him developing his own style in work, a sculptor also noted that the ‘traditional environment’ contributed to the evolution of her work, while an artist admitted that the many elements of heritage, such as old objects can provide material for art (Woman 38, Tsagkarada).

In view of the above, inspiration as a reason for appreciation of heritage may be triggered by the experience/ contact with elements of heritage in conjunction with the professional background of the individual (characteristic of the individual, see table below).

Table 16: Connection of the value of imagination and inspiration with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Imagination and inspiration	Profession (characteristic of the individual)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on feelings)
	Experience (interaction with heritage)	

Source: Table created by the author

7.2.4 A way to appreciate the facilities we have today

The study has revealed that people may also appreciate heritage for its capacity to remind us of the convenience of modern facilities. This is rarely mentioned in the current literature (see Lowenthal 1975). What is interesting to note, however, is that this ‘value’ has been particularly raised by old people who have direct experiences with and memories of (characteristic of the individual/ interaction with heritage see 6.2.1 and table 16) ‘practices’ and ‘actions’ related to elements of heritage performed in the past. For example, a number of old ladies mentioned the

built fountains as a reminder of the facilities that residents have nowadays as described in the following quote:

“Have you seen the fountains? Back in time we had to go to the fountain some times during the day to get some water, or to wash our clothes...Now we have the washing machines and it is much easier and convenient” (Woman 75, Tsagkarada).

Similarly, old ladies pointed to the built ovens describing the long-lasting and demanding process of using them, underlying the facilities that people have nowadays and which may take them for granted. Drawing on particular examples, older residents underline the value of elements of heritage for their capacity to remind us of the difficulties back in time as compared to modern life, and thus the opportunity that heritage provides to ‘witness’ our progression (Lowenthal1985; 1998).This evaluation lies essentially on people’s experience and knowledge about specific elements of heritage.

Table 17: Connection of the value of heritage as a way to appreciate modern facilities with factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect awareness of heritage	Aspect of perception
A way to appreciate the facilities we have nowadays	Experience (Interaction with heritage) Age (characteristic of the individual)	Evaluative (Belief based on knowledge)

Source: Table created by the author

7.3 Aesthetics and identity

While the matter of aesthetics, character and/or identity has been addressed by numerous studies (see 2.2.2, 2.2.3 and 3.1), this study expands our knowledge on the issue by revealing the factors that may lie behind these values as well as the way that these are perceived by both experts and residents.

Most participants, both experts and residents, refer to the character or identity (see 2.2.2) of the particular traditional settlements. While the aesthetic value of heritage and its contribution to the character and identity of a place have been raised by a number of studies (see Green

2010; Graham and Howard 2008, see also 2.2.3), what this study further reveals is why heritage may result in this identity.

According to a number of participants, homogeneity (characteristic of heritage see 6.1.3) plays one of the most crucial roles in these settlements' identity. Homogeneity in the built environment as well as in intangible aspects, within and across the settlements in the area, is to a great extent what gives these places their particular character and identity. As presented in the previous Chapter (see 6.1.3) homogeneity plays a key role the identification of heritage through materials, style and patterns identified as heritage.

Why, however does, homogeneity of heritage play a role in the identity of the villages? Homogeneity in structures as well as in intangible elements such as customs within and across the traditional settlements in the area creates a sense of 'unity'. It is this unity or in other words 'sameness' which creates the sense of identity (Hawke 2010, see also 2.2.3). Indeed, a man in Agios Lavrentios noted:

"I like the homogeneity of the village, that traditional materials dominate in all structures...of course this is how you have an identity as a village" (Man 30, Agios Lavrentios).

While homogeneity entails 'sameness' or a certain extent of 'uniformity' within the particular context, it is at the same time what differentiates these settlements from others, contributing further to their identity (see Hawke 2010 in section 1.2.3). Homogeneity within these settlements was stressed in particular as a factor that distinguishes these settlements from other Greek settlements and especially cities, where structures do not present this coherence, and customs as well as other intangible elements of heritage are 'weak'. The contribution of homogeneity to identity is eloquently captured in the statements below, provided respectively by a resident in Mouresi and an expert in the region:

"The Pelion architecture, the stone in the roofs but also the customs we have in the area...the traditional festivals, all those give a character in our villages...you find those in most villages in Pelion, for us it is common most of our villages are like this...you cannot find this elsewhere" (Woman 27, Mouresi).

“All the elements as a whole create this beauty, this aesthetic result: ... it is this harmony of construction” (Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region).

Even the particular phrases used above indicate the importance of homogeneity in identity as a reason of appreciating heritage: *‘the Pelion architecture’*, for example, captures this sense of identity as derived from homogeneity in structures.

Homogeneity especially in relation to built elements triggers also aesthetic satisfaction. A number of participants, especially residents, stress the role of homogeneity in creating a ‘visually’ attractive and hence an aesthetically pleasant environment. This is especially apparent in first category settlements, which are better maintained, where it is easier for residents to identify those qualities. Aesthetic satisfaction is also triggered by the ‘detail’ of certain structures (characteristic of heritage see 6.1.4 and table below), which according to many participants creates a high quality ‘visual’ environment. For instance, a woman in Makrinitza states:

“I think what I particularly appreciate in traditional buildings it is the beauty and elegance they present...you cannot compare them to new buildings, every detail in them blends together and creates this result...you see, the roofs, the doors, the windows, made with such detail by the craftsmen” (Woman 55, Makrinitza).

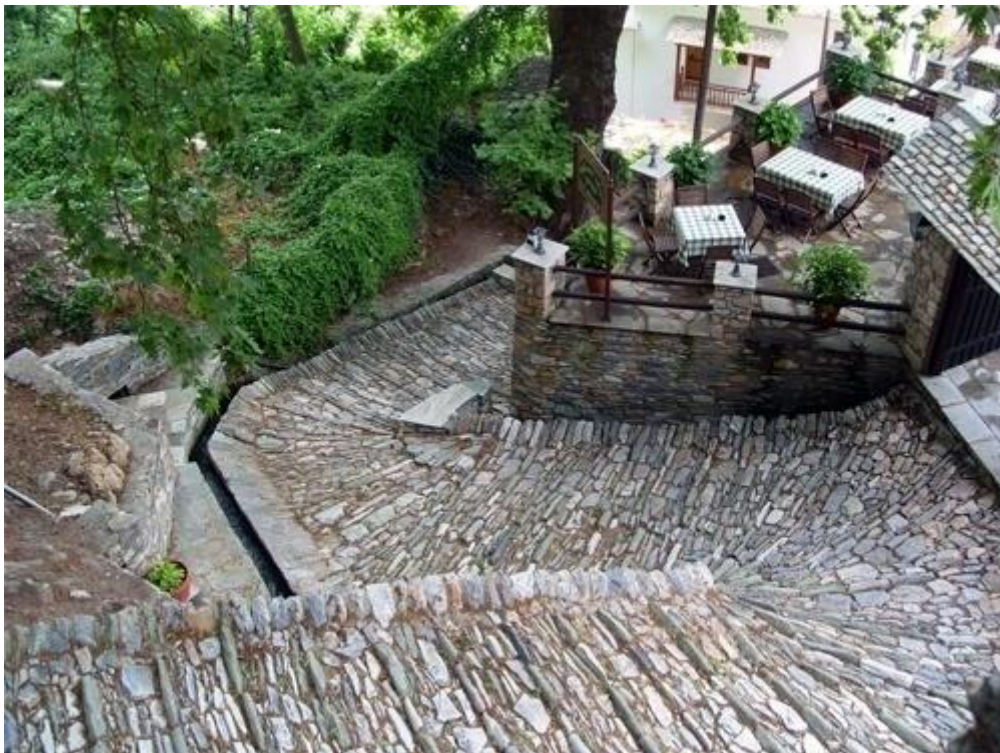
Similarly to the above statement, there are many participants who in general argue about the ‘visual’ quality of the traditional built environment, noting that old structures are more beautiful compared to the new ones. A man in Mouresi for example states:

“I like the stone in the old built structures, the houses made out of stone and of course the ‘traditional’ is in general much more beautiful than the new ones...I don’t like the new house made out of cement such as the housing complex in Tsagkarada which is a solid cement construction...those things make the area ugly” (Man 44, Mouresi).

Participants often attribute the aesthetic quality of built heritage to the fact that everything was handmade and so there was much attention to detail (see 6.1.4) as characteristically indicated in the below statement:

“You see the cobblestone roads and you wonder ‘what hands made them’...they made it in such a way and if you in some areas how they turn...they remind you and embroidery” (Woman 80, Tsagkarada).

Figure 68: Cobblestone road in Makrinitza



Appreciation of the aesthetics due to detail as raised by a number of participants

Source: Picture taken by the author

Detail (characteristic of heritage see 6.1.3) in conjunction with the fact that all of the tangible elements of heritage are ‘handmade’, make them irreplaceable in participants’ mind. Participants stress the irreplaceability of elements of heritage highlighting the ‘impossibility’ of

creating such structures today. For instance, a great number of participants note that every single stone used in construction had to pass through the hands of craftsmen. This was a time-consuming process taking effort and skill, creating a 'product' that cannot be compared to contemporary constructions. Many residents (older ones especially) stress that with the new more time-efficient, effortless and less costly techniques, it is very unlikely that elements like these would be built today. It is the effort and skills used that have a visual result that makes them irreplaceable, contributing to the place's identity, as depicted in the statements below.

"...all those traditional things in our village are not only important because they are beautiful, but if you think they are important because they could not be made nowadays...for example the cobblestoned roads have been made stone by stone, it takes much more time, effort, hands and day works and as such much more time and effort compared to the modern techniques...however this is that gives the beauty in this place, the uniqueness it does have"(Man 60, Agios Lavrentios)

".... the craftsmen can only do few meters in one day, it is not like the cement that you make a road in one day"(Man 80, Agios Lavrentios).

"... if you think what is destroyed cannot be done again, and this is sad... it cannot be replaced...the old buildings have a different value...they cannot be done because even if they try to do similar things again they do it in a different way which does not incorporate this art of making, this effort..."(Woman 49, Tsagkarada).

Irreplaceability as a reason for appreciating heritage is even more enhanced by the fact that structures were not made by professionals, such as architects and civil engineers, but by craftsmen based on empiricism, experience and inside knowledge transmitted from person to person. As many participants highlight, this would not be possible today, when every single construction requires experts' involvement while local craftsmen are facing extinction.

"The way that people were building a house has been unfortunately lost. This was important because it was not a series of rules, but procedures based on experience and knowledge gained and now we are into a different process which differs significantly from that"(Expert, NGO).

“Traditional settlements have been created by laypeople, back in time we didn’t have architects, civil engineers and mechanical engineers and despite that many beautiful things have been made... they are so beautiful that it is not possible to find something of similar beauty in the new constructions” (Man 68, Afetes) .

The elegance and irreplaceability of old structures as reasons for appreciation is also evident in participants’ arguments about the inimitability of these elements of heritage. A number of participants argue that these elements cannot be imitated, stressing that even new constructions resembling the old ones are obvious imitations, holding neither the same elegance nor the same meaning. For instance, the detail, as a product of handcrafts (characteristic of heritage see 6.1.4 and table 18), and memories and experience (interaction with heritage see 6.2.1 and table 18) linked to those constructions cannot be ‘reproduced’ by contemporary constructions, according to many participants. This inimitability further enhances identity, as it provides distinctiveness from other places, differentiating them and ‘ascribing’ uniqueness to them. In view of all the above, characteristics of heritage and interaction with heritage, contribute to the identity and aesthetic satisfaction for which heritage is appreciated (see table below).

Table 18: Connection of aesthetics and identity with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Aesthetics and identity	Frequency, memories and experience (interaction with heritage)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
	scale, detail homogeneity and rarity (characteristic of heritage heritage)	

Source: Table created by the author

7.4 Environmental, social and economic purposes

The study also revealed that heritage may be appreciated for environmental, social and economic purposes. Although the appreciation of heritage for these purposes is usually

involved in the discussion about the instrumental values of heritage (see 2.3.3), (i.e the benefits/potentials of heritage due to its conservation/exploitation), the study shows that these may also relate to non - instrumental values, (i.e the advantages of heritage independent of any actions taken towards it). This section analyses the particular reasons for appreciation as perceived by both experts and residents, and explores the factors behind this appreciation.

7.4.1 Environmental concern

Participants, both residents and experts, highlighted the value of heritage in the area for environmental purposes, reflecting on their knowledge on the issue. According to some participants, elements of built heritage present a number of characteristics advantageous for environmental purposes. These are not due to the restoration and reuse of old building and structures, such as energy economisation (Landorf 2011; Steinberg 1996), for example, but due to the nature of these structures in themselves. Specifically, both experts and residents pointed to the harmonization of built structures with nature in the area as well as with 'human nature'. For instance, participants stressed the use of local materials, such as stone, wood and lime as the main construction materials in old constructions, all taken from and thus blending nicely with nature:

"Buildings are in harmony with nature and this is due to the materials used in old constructions, the local stone...wood" (Woman 30, Vizitsa)

"Traditional settlements are the best examples of settlements in relationship with the natural environment...this harmony between the built structures and the nature that existed from the very beginning...the materials are taken from the environment and are fully integrated to it...it is a lesson of how human coexists with nature, how he/she can 'cooperate' with the environment." (Expert, NGO)

In many cases participants argue that elements of built heritage such as traditional houses, cobblestoned roads and other constructions look almost like 'natural elements' due to the materials used as well as their scale:

“The materials used in traditional constructions are close to the nature and they are in a way unified with the environment...You see the mountain and the rocks on it and sometimes when you look from a distance a traditional settlement you think that you see more rocks, which are however houses, but the colours, the scale, everything is integrated in the natural environment...Even their layout, this gradational configuration is inspired by rocks’ settings in the area” (Woman 42, Mouresi)

Some of the residents also highlighted that the materials of ‘traditional constructions’ taken from nature are also healthier, compared to the materials used in contemporary constructions. Hence, they argue about the benefits of these constructions for residents’ lives. A couple of residents highlighted the value of heritage for environmental purposes, arguing that due to the natural materials even when old structures fall apart, no pollution ensues, as they become one with nature (see Figures 69, 70).

“Traditional structures are integrated with nature...even if they fall down or they are derelict the nature swallow them down, wild plants grow on them and as they are made from local stone and wood they become again one with nature, they do not pollute...” (Man 45, Vizitsa)

Figure 69: The blend of nature with old derelict houses



Source: Picture taken by the author

Figure 70: Old buildings and structures as one with the nature



Source: Picture taken by the author

Clearly, the appreciation of certain elements of heritage for environmental purposes lies heavily on heritage's characteristics, such as materials, in contrast to modern constructions. Similarly, residents also refer to the 'climate' advantages of building materials adding to the arguments about energy savings in relation to heritage (Landorf 2011; Steinberg 1996; Yates 2006). In particular, some residents highlighted the suitability of old houses for the climate conditions due to thick stone walls (80-100 cm). According to them, the thickness of walls in combination with the insulation capacities of the particular material, constitute an effective insulation system, which allows the house to be warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer.

"The old is better than the new, it has better insulation, it maintains heating during the winter time while it is cooler during the summer time" (Man 75, Agios Lavrentios) "You don't need air-conditioning in these houses" (Woman 19, Vizitsa) "I like better the old houses, they are cooler during the summer time as they have walls 80cm thick, nothing penetrates those...Where can you find this? Not in new constructions for sure" (Woman 60, Vizitsa).

As with 'healthy' materials, the climate advantages of 'built' heritage have been raised by residents mainly due to their direct experience (interaction with heritage, see table 19). However, when 'environmental' considerations are more clearly related to built typologies, these are also mentioned by experts, as they relate to their knowledge and expertise (characteristic of the individual, see table 18). For instance, both experts and residents refer to the qualities of big old houses that have a 'winter' and a 'summer' space²⁶, highlighting the consideration of living conditions in relation to the climate.

Environmental values of heritage, as revealed by both experts and residents, relate to the respect paid to nature by people extracting construction materials, avoiding overexploiting and harming the natural environment. The participants who raised the particular reason for appreciation are those who have some knowledge about this issue (characteristic of the individual see table 19).

²⁶The summer space for example is on the top floor it is much higher compared to the lower buildings with a number of windows for ventilation, which is especially important during the summer times. The winter space is on the floor(s) below which have heavy walls made of stone so as to insulate and protect from the cold. The height of the room is also low and with less windows in order to maintain the warmth during the winter time

“What you further appreciate in these settlements is the respect that people in the past had to natural environment. They did not waste natural resources for unnecessary luxuries, they were taking for the environment only as much as they needed and this was taken carefully, they did not for example cut many big trees in a row, they did not have extensive quarries that damage the environment, they were just taking little by little....they respected the nature because they lived from this...” (Expert, NGO)

“I really appreciate the fact that there was a respect of natural environment in traditional buildings. A characteristic example is some houses that kept part of the local rock in the interior of their houses and they did not just get rid off it for obtaining extra space, or for their convenience in general” (Woman 19, Vizitsa)

In view of the above, characteristics of heritage such as material, personal involvement/ experience (interaction with heritage) and knowledge(characteristic of the individual) lie behind the appreciation of heritage for environmental purposes as summarized in the following table.

Table 19: Connection of the environmental values with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Environmental considerations Elements integrated to nature Elements responding to the climate Healthier elements	Materials, built forms (characteristics of heritage)	Evaluative (beliefs based on knowledge)
	Experience (interaction with heritage) Knowledge (characteristic of the individual)	

Source: Table created by the author

7.4.2 Social purposes

Heritage in the area is also appreciated for social purposes, as the study revealed. Similarly to environmental purposes (see 7.4.1), social purposes are usually presented as instrumental values of heritage (i.e. as the social benefits that the exploitation of heritage and/or its conservation may bear, see 2.3.3.). However, this study also reveals their role as “non

instrumental” values of heritage, i.e. values that heritage may have regardless of the actions taken towards it. Social purposes as non instrumental values of heritage within traditional settlements as discovered in this study may be subdivided to three categories: a) built heritage as a depiction of an environment customized to residents’ needs, reflecting beliefs based on knowledge (see table 20) b) heritage as a product and/or reminder of strong social relations, reflecting beliefs based on knowledge and feelings and c) heritage as something that brings people together in current society, reflecting beliefs based on knowledge and feelings.

With respect to built heritage as a depiction of an environment customized to residents’ needs, participants, both experts and older long-stay residents, recognize the importance of traditional settlements as places built to accommodate certain needs. Participants either speak broadly about the development of the particular settlements on the basis of covering certain needs or they provide specific examples, as the following statements indicate:

“Traditional settlements ‘crystallize’ human needs, human needs throughout time. The social criteria and needs are those that formed the traditional settlements’ tissue, buildings’ morphology and settlements’ ‘physiognomy” (Expert 1, Ministry)

Similarly a resident in Tsagkarada notes:

“For me traditional is the daily life of people in each era, and traditional settlements are the result of people’s needs in the past and this is an important reason for appreciating them. Back in time they were building in that way because they had certain needs, the houses are smaller because they used to spend less time in their houses as the rest of the time were in the fields, the openings in the windows were smaller so as to prevent the cold air...” (Woman 55, Tsagkarada).

In conjunction with the above, a few residents also express their admiration for the effectiveness and functionality of the two-storey traditional houses to accommodate the everyday needs and life of residents, i.e. the economization of space in accommodating the family on the first floor while providing enough space for storage, cellar and stable in the ground floor. They further stress that while the main principle in building was to cover certain

needs, people also paid attention to detail, contributing significantly to the aesthetic quality (see 7.4.1). Indicatively a resident in Tsagkarada notes:

“When they were building an old house a number of things was taken into account....even the house room partitions were made in a way to accommodate real needs...and because structures are based on real needs, you do not see exaggerations such as big scale structures and elements for impression as it happens nowadays in the new constructions and you see all those ‘abnormity’ buildings.. Traditional settlements are really beautiful due to this simplicity incorporated in traditional structures as a result of accommodating certain needs ” (Woman 61, Tsagkarada)

As may be inferred from the above, building forms (characteristics of heritage) in combination with the individuals’ knowledge (characteristic of the individual) about the way that these structures were created (i.e on the principle of accommodating certain needs), triggers the appreciation of particular elements (see table 20).

Some residents (especially older ones) also appreciate elements of heritage as a result and depiction of strong social relations within their settlements. Reflecting on their memories, experience and knowledge (interaction with heritage and characteristic of the individual see also 6.2.1) many residents referred to the solidarity of residents in the past, when people helped each other with building their houses. Some of them further stress this solidarity as a lost quality nowadays, which in a way enhances the importance of heritage. Another example of strong social relations appreciated by residents is a customary unwritten law in the area which was based on mutual respect and understanding. Two residents, for example, pointed to the voluntary appropriation of private properties for the creation of the old cobblestone roads. According to them this was based, to an extent, on strong social relations for the common good. These social relations are appreciated when juxtaposed to current situations in which present owners block parts of those cobblestoned roads claiming them as private property.

Elements of heritage are also appreciated due to their ability to still bring people together. For example, public elements of heritage (see 6.1.2,) such as central squares and churches still constitute the main meeting points as most participants and observation reveal. The fact that

these constitute a 'living' heritage that is 'used' by everyone and which 'concentrates' different people in the same place has been stressed in particular by both experts and residents:

"The church and the square are important as they show that people are gathered there, they are assemblage spaces, they provide the chance to meet other people in the village" (Woman 37, Mouresi).

"Apart from the architectural and historic value that churches and squares have, they are also important because they are the meeting places in which people socialize in the village, they are the 'heart' of the village...Locals gather in the central square for anything good or bad that happens...it is a pole of attraction" (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber).

Similarly, other more 'intangible aspects' such as traditional festivals, taking place in squares and other public places, are often appreciated due to their ability to connect a wide range of people, contributing to the social life of the villages. This is especially stressed by residents who have experienced these aspects (interaction with heritage) themselves and as such appreciation is cultivated through their engagement with the 'subject' of heritage. A man in Mouresi for example notes:

"What is particularly nice for me with the traditional festivals is that you see people of different ages and social class to come together to celebrate, they dance all together holding their hands the one next to the other... an old man next to a child...this is important" (Man 53, Mouresi).

The above statement, as well as all the preceding quotes, shows that participants may appreciate heritage for social reasons. These are however not the result of conservation policies, i.e. instrumental values of heritage. Social purposes as a reason for appreciating heritage may be triggered by characteristics of the individual and his relation with heritage as well as characteristics of heritage as summarized in the table below.

Table 20: Connection of the social values with factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Social purposes a) built heritage as a depiction of an environment customized to residents' needs reflecting a cognitive aspect of perception b) heritage as a product and/or reminder of strong social relations reflecting a cognitive and affective aspect of perceptions c) heritage as something that brings people together in the current society	Built forms, detail (characteristics of heritage)	Evaluative aspect of perception (beliefs based on knowledge)
	Experience (interaction with heritage)	
	Knowledge (characteristic of the individual)	Evaluative aspect of perception (beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
	Life in the village (external factor)	

Source: Table created by the author

7.4.3 Economic purposes

Heritage is acknowledged to have an economic value as already discussed (see 2.3.3.). Yet, data in this study show that economic value may also be included in non instrumental values of heritage, as economic advantages may be attributed to the subject of heritage in itself and not only to its exploitation and/or conservation (see 2.2). However, only a few participants noted the economic value of heritage. In particular, a couple of participants, both residents, pointed out that the old traditional buildings within their settlement are of higher economic value compared to new ones of similar scale:

“First of all old traditional buildings are much more expensive than the new ones” (Man 29, Agios Lavrentios)

“Traditional houses have higher economic value than the new ones” (Man 37, Tsagkarada)

Apart from the aesthetic purposes, which may be quite subjective, participants state that the building materials (characteristics of heritage) are objectively more expensive compared to the materials used in construction today and that the construction of an old house is more robust. In addition, they refer to newcomers who were particularly affluent and bought and/or

invested in old houses rather than in new ones as a proof that these buildings are of higher economic value.

Reflecting essentially an evaluative aspect of perception based on knowledge, economic purposes as stimulated by characteristics of the individual and heritage may also be included in the non instrumental values of heritage (see table 21).

Table 21: Connection of the economic values with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception		
Reasons for appreciation	Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Economic purposes	Materials, durability (characteristics of heritage)	Evaluative (beliefs based on knowledge)
	Knowledge (characteristic of the individual)	

Source: Table created by the author

The reasons for appreciation and the factors that trigger them, as well as the aspect of perceptions which these reasons reflect, as identified in this Chapter are summarized in the following table.

Table 22: Connection of the value of heritage with the factors that affect selection of heritage and relevance to aspects of perception

Reasons for appreciation		Links with factors that affect selection of heritage	Aspect of perception
Historicity and continuity	Historicity	Links with something being old and/or which links with the past (characteristics of heritage)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
	Continuity		Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
	Duration		Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
Knowledge	knowledge about life in the past	Knowledge (characteristic of the individual))	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
	knowledge about the techniques used in the past	Experience (interaction with heritage)	
	knowledge of 'images' of the past	Characteristics of heritage	
Heritage as a reference point	a landmark or an attraction	Characteristics of heritage	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
	contributing to orientation	Characteristics of heritage Experience (interaction with heritage)	
Memory	Collective memory	Knowledge (characteristic of the individual) Physical characteristics	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
	Individual memories	Frequency and experience (interaction with heritage)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
	Nostalgia	Links with memories	Evaluative (Beliefs based on feelings)
Familiarity	Familiarity	Memories	Evaluative (Beliefs based on feelings)
		Experience (interaction with heritage)	
		Frequency (interaction with heritage)	
Imagination and inspiration	Imagination and inspiration	Profession (characteristic of the individual)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on feelings)
		Experience (interaction with heritage)	
Aesthetics and identity	Aesthetics and identity	Frequency, memories and experience (interaction with heritage)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
		Characteristics of heritage (scale, detail homogeneity)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and

		and rarity)	feelings)
Environmental considerations	Elements integrated to nature Elements responding to the climate Healthier elements	Characteristics of heritage (Materials, built forms) Experience (interaction with heritage) Knowledge (characteristic of the individual)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)
Social purposes	Built heritage as a depiction of an environment customized to residents' needs Heritage as a product and/or reminder of strong social relations Heritage as something that brings people together in the current society	Characteristics of heritage (Built forms, detail) Experience (interaction with heritage) Knowledge (characteristic of the individual) Life in the village (external factor)	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge and feelings)
Economic purposes	Economic purposes	Characteristics of heritage	Evaluative (Beliefs based on knowledge)

Source: Table created by the author

Conclusions

This Chapter examined the reasons for valuing heritage in traditional settlements, addressing the second research question about why heritage is valued. Examining the evaluative aspect of perception (see 3.2.2), the Chapter has shown that heritage may be valued for many different reasons, providing rich empirical evidence about how these are articulated by experts and residents. The study shows in particular that there are no big divergences between experts and residents with regards to the general values of heritage, in contrast to the findings of other studies (Schofield 2014; Smith 2006). Similarly to the selection of heritage (see previous Chapter), the evaluation of heritage is mainly based on the value to a wider community rather than to the individual in himself/herself. Both experts and residents refer primarily to values that can be considered as widely acceptable rather than to personal values. Most of the participants reflect on beliefs related to what they know about the value of heritage rather than to what they feel, as a more rational way to justify the appreciation of heritage and which may make sense to more people. Indeed, values that reflect feelings come second and have been

raised only by residents who are in direct contact with heritage, rather than experts. Even in these cases however, residents prioritised the values that may be relevant to a wider community rather than to themselves as individuals. For instance, within the values of memory and identity the majority of residents prioritised the value of heritage for collective rather than individual memory, and the value of place identity rather than the significance of heritage to their personal identity respectively.

Despite the similarities in the values of heritage at a general level, differences are also apparent. In particular, certain values are identified only by certain participants. For example, the value of heritage due to its capacity to make us appreciate modern facilities was raised by only some older long stay residents; and the value of heritage for the inspiration it provides has been mentioned only by residents in certain professions. In addition, the same values may be understood differently by the various participants, (i.e experts and residents). For example, the enduring qualities of heritage were raised by both experts and residents. However, experts tend to stress the historic purposes for appreciation, while residents focus on the continuity of certain elements.

Drawing on the similarities and the differences of values among participants the Chapter has further addressed the factors that may lie behind these values. The study revealed that the reasons for appreciating something as heritage may be inextricably linked with the factors that affect selection of heritage (see previous Chapter). Characteristics of heritage as well as characteristics of the individual and interaction with heritage, as analysed in the previous Chapter, have in many instances resulted in its appreciation, raising the question of whether we can easily separate out *what* is appreciated from *why*.

Concerning the values of heritage in themselves, it has been indicated that the same elements may be appreciated for many different reasons. Finally, values 'traditionally' classified as instrumental may also have non instrumental aspects (see 7.4).

CHAPTER 8: PERCEPTIONS OF CONSERVATION: AFFECTING PERCEPTIONS OF HERITAGE?

Introduction

The previous Chapter addressed the reasons for appreciating heritage in traditional settlements, showing that these are deeply intertwined with the factors that affect selection of heritage. The purpose of this Chapter is to investigate how conservation of these settlements is perceived, seeking to examine whether and how the act of conservation affects perceptions of heritage. The aim is to contribute to conservation literature, by questioning the role of conservation in the perception of heritage in general and in values of heritage in particular (see Alonso et al. 2012, p. 4; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2; Getty Conservation Institute 2000, p. 8). This topic remains understudied (see 2.3.3). The Chapter draws initially on participants' awareness of conservation. It then moves on to examine the impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage. The Chapter focuses on two key strands. The first draws on the role of conservation in the selection of heritage; the second investigates the impact of the conservation policy on the way that people value heritage.

8.1 Identifying conservation

In order to start unpacking the role of conservation and its impact on the way that people perceive heritage, I first examined participants' awareness of conservation. In particular, two main issues were examined: a) whether participants are aware of the conservation framework and b) what are participants aware of in relation to the conservation framework.

Participants' awareness of the conservation framework varies. Experts and residents in first category settlements are all aware of the characterization of the particular settlements as traditional and their inclusion under the conservation framework. On the other hand, a number of residents in second category settlements are unaware of the status of their settlements as traditional, and some do not even believe that it is traditional, especially when comparing their

settlement to first category traditional settlements. This is characteristically captured in the following statements from residents in different second category settlements:

“I think that the settlement has not been characterized as traditional....I know that there are rules and restrictions regarding building in the area”(Woman 37, Tsagkarada) *“Is it characterized as traditional? I don’t know...We haven’t become known...as Makrinitza is”* (Woman 55, Afetes) *“I don’t think that the village is protected by any law...”* (Woman 78, Mouresi)

The unawareness reflected in the above statements may be attributed to the fact that built heritage is less dominant in second category settlements and the regulations of the conservation framework less strict in comparison to first category settlements. However, it is interesting to note that even participants who are unaware of the status of their settlement as traditional, are aware of certain rules and regulations, missing that these are part of a specific conservation policy.

Regarding specific rules and regulations of the conservation policy, experts are fully aware of them, as was expected. In contrast, most residents are only aware of certain measures. Specifically, most residents are aware of the measures that they had to comply with or those that they have had a direct or indirect experience with (Pendlebury 2009). Furthermore, residents are usually aware of the restrictive measures rather than the incentives, as the latter are particularly limited and aimed at very specific situations only. Indeed, almost all residents use words and phrases such as ‘restrictions’, ‘banishment’, ‘is not allowed’, “obligation” when referring to conservation measures and regulations, although they use the word ‘protection’ in relation to conservation framework as a whole and specifically with regards to its role for built structures. What is especially interesting is that a number of residents use such restrictive terms to refer to a framework which aims to protect elements that are widely acknowledged and appreciated as heritage, for various reasons discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Conservation has had a direct, often negative, impact on their lives and especially on matters related to functionality, affecting also the values of heritage, as will be further analysed in the following

sections. Experts, on the other hand, tend to refer to 'rules' and 'regulations' for which they are able to provide more details.

While awareness of conservation varies among participants the act of conservation and its consequences have 'informed' and affected the way in which people perceive heritage. The following sections discuss how positive and negative aspects of the conservation framework, as perceived by participants, have played a role in their selection and evaluation of heritage.

8.2 Conservation as new information: Affecting selection of heritage

The conservation framework in the area of study was established in the late 70s with the latest Presidential Decree in 1980. The timeframe selected for the thesis provided the advantage of allowing interviews with people who lived before and after the establishment of the particular framework in the settlement and thus allowing investigation of perceptions before and after the establishment of conservation policy in the area.

One of the most direct impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage is on the selection of heritage. As a number of both experts and residents revealed, the establishment of the conservation framework 'stimulated' residents' consideration of heritage in the area (about selection of heritage see 6.1). Older long term residents in first category traditional settlements recognized that the conservation framework highlighted certain elements which locals did not really consider of value previously. They particularly stressed that before conservation and during the urbanization process a number of residents were abandoning or selling old houses in order to buy a house in the city, ignoring their value as heritage (see 5.1, 5.2). However, the establishment of the conservation framework and the attention given to old urban fabric started to change a number of residents' perceptions, functioning as new information about existing elements (see 2.2.3).

Indeed, conservation 'informed' residents' selection of heritage in various ways. For example, a great number of residents in first category settlements refer to the entitlement of their settlements as traditional by the conservation framework as crucial in highlighting the village's essence as a heritage place, something that residents had not considered before. This was

further enhanced by the role of GNTO (Greek National Tourism Organisation) in conservation and its financial contribution for the refurbishment of a number of old buildings in first category settlements (see 5.1, 5.2). By providing new information about (Momford et al. 2003), and status to (Pickens 2005), existing elements, this conservation action stimulated locals' attention to and appreciation of structures they tended to disregard previously. A woman in Makrinitza characteristically noted:

“When the National Organisation of Tourism came and invested in the village by refurbishing some old buildings and turning them to hotels most of the residents were surprised...when they saw that there was an investment interest and when they saw those buildings in use again they started realizing that they are of value, that this is part of our heritage that we should not lose it” (Woman 58, Makrinitza).

As indicated in the above statement, the new information provided about existing elements in the village was significant in making residents view certain elements as heritage. In other cases it was conservation rules that played such a role. The requirement for residents to comply with certain rules that indicated that certain elements are special.

However, it is important to note that the conservation framework enhanced only the consideration of certain material and especially built aspects as heritage due to its exclusive focus on them. As the conservation framework is restricted to measures about the built structures may lead people to prioritize built elements over others when they identify heritage. This is especially evident in young and short-stay residents who were born after the establishment of the conservation framework. Indeed, these residents tend to refer first to built elements when identifying heritage. For instance, a young woman in Vizitsa notes:

“[The] conservation framework enhanced the uniqueness of the village by paying attention to its particular traditional characteristics, such as the traditional houses, the traditional architecture in general...” (Woman, 30 Vizitsa).

Conservation has also triggered the identification of built elements as heritage by long-stay residents, without leading to the prioritization of these elements over the intangible ones. This

is due to their more holistic experiences with tangible and intangible aspects of heritage (see experience and memories 6.2.1 and 7.1.1). In this case, the conservation framework as new information stimulated their consideration of built elements which they might have missed otherwise.

However, conservation played a less important role in the identification of elements of heritage for residents in second category settlements, especially for those who had their house built before the establishment of conservation framework and so they have not experienced the conservation rules. Indeed, some of them sometimes do not even identify elements of heritage within their settlement, or it takes a long time before they refer to these as they tend to prioritize other elements (such as nature and the notion of the village as it has been already mentioned see 6.3.1, 6.3.2).

As conservation rules are less rigid in second category settlements residents' interventions in the built environment are much less restrictive. In addition, no other additional 'conservation' intervention, such as the NGO applied to Makrinitza and Vizitsa, took place in these settlements. In these instances, the conservation framework did not provide any new information capable of boosting residents' selection of certain elements as heritage, even if only about its material aspect.

In view of the above, conservation has enhanced awareness of built elements of heritage especially amongst residents in first category settlements and residents who had experienced rules of the conservation framework (Pendlebury 2009).

8.3 Conservation: affecting reasons for appreciating heritage

As already mentioned, protecting the values of heritage is among the main aims of conservation (see 1.3.2; Alonso et al. 2011, pp. 4-5; Avrami 2000). However, these values may not be static and unchangeable while conservation impacts upon them (see Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2; Getty Conservation Institute 2000, p. 8). As there is a gap in addressing this impact, the current section reveals the influence of conservation on reasons for appreciating heritage.

Conservation seems to affect the evaluative aspect of perception related to beliefs, based on what one knows about heritage rather than what one feels about it (see 3.2.2 and 7).

8.3.1 Enhancing the enduring capacities of heritage

Safeguarding continuity

The conservation framework in the area has had a positive impact on the value of continuity (see 2.2.2 and 7.2.1) for certain elements of heritage, as revealed by numerous participants. A number of residents and experts argue that most old traditional structures would not have survived without the conservation framework, as residents would replace them with new structures. This is contradictory to the array of values identified by participants in the previous Chapter (see 7). It is therefore debatable how many of these values existed before the conservation framework came into being.

As mentioned in the previous section (conservation as new information 8.2.1), the establishment of the conservation framework functioned as new information for residents indicating that certain things are worthwhile protecting. According to experts and residents in first and second category settlements, the legislative framework contributed to the deceleration of the tendency to abandon old houses, increasing the respect of old traditional structures. Even in cases in which conservation did not trigger awareness of built heritage, it prevented people from destroying or distorting old traditional built structures and replacing them with new ones. This has allowed their passing on to current generations, contributing to their continuity and appreciation (see 7.1.1). Conservation prevented residents' tendencies of destroying or replacing old structures for functionality or affordability purposes. Most inhabitants recognized the role of conservation in maintaining the particular structures, promoting their continuation for their own collective benefit and their appreciation for their endurance in time.

On the other hand, the focus of the conservation framework on particular elements whilst disregarding others, i.e. certain types of houses (such as mansions over agricultural houses), contributed to the dereliction of the latter. Hence, while a great number of mansions have

survived a number of agricultural houses have been lost. In this respect, continuity of the particular elements was not enhanced by conservation. The focus of the conservation framework on particular characteristics (such as scale, built materials, openings in the houses) promoted the 'continuity' only of particular elements neglecting other structures which could be of equal, if not more, importance.

Another example refers to the building technique. According to participants, and especially residents, although built structures owe their survival to the conservation framework, the building techniques are dying out. Many participants, especially residents, claimed that the conservation framework could also promote the continuity of these techniques. As a result the value of continuity is hardly ascribed to them, as these elements when identified as heritage are valued for other purposes. Conservation in this respect has unevenly enhanced the value of continuity.

Enhancing the value of heritage as a reference point

In some cases, the conservation framework has also impacted on the value of heritage as a reference point (reference point see 7.2.2). In particular, a number of residents in first category settlements strongly believe that the characterization of their settlement as traditional positioned their place on the map, contributing to its evolution as a 'reference' point in the wider area. For these residents, the attention of the authorities to their village through the conservation framework signified its existence as a traditional village. They particularly stress that their place is nowadays known as a characteristic example of traditional settlements, even at national level. This seems to underline the role of conservation framework in achieving this.

Most residents in second category settlements however do not share the same view. According to them, conservation did not play any particular role in the emergence of their settlement as a reference point, arguing that if their settlement is known is due to its natural assets (see also 6.3.1). Furthermore and especially in cases in where residents are not aware of the conservation framework, they claim that if their settlement was conserved it would be known to more people.

8.3.2 Promoting or distorting aesthetics and identity?

The impacts of the conservation framework on values such as aesthetics and identity relate to elements of built heritage, due to the focus of the framework on them. Participants from all groups, residents in first and second category settlements as well as experts, identify positive and negative impacts of conservation on aesthetics and identity in traditional settlements (see also 7.3), with no significant differences between the different groups. Differences appear in respect to certain aspects of aesthetics and identity such as homogeneity and irreplaceability (see also 7.3.1). This will be further analysed below. Overall most participants recognize the contribution of the conservation framework to the maintenance or enhancement of aesthetic qualities of built forms and of village's character. A common view among residents in the different settlements is reflected 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 identity of the village” (Man 60, Makrinitisa)

“The rules helped definitely to keep this special form of the village...this ‘austerity’ of the structures” (Woman 59, Tsagkarada).

It is clear from the above that people acknowledge the contribution of the conservation framework to the character of the villages, enhancing the value of aesthetics and identity in the area. The impact of conservation on aesthetics and identity becomes clearer when referring to more specific aspects, such as homogeneity and irreplaceability, which are recognized as crucial in the appreciation of heritage for aesthetic and identity purposes (see 7.3.). Many residents highlight the positive role of conservation in promoting the homogeneity of built structures, which is among the most appreciable aspects of heritage (see 7.3). Residents in both first and second category settlements, as well as experts, refer to the rules of conservation policy regarding the use of specific local materials to maintain the uniformity of the village. A woman in Tsagarada notes:

“In general it is beautiful...the rules are in general good. I like when I am at a higher level in the village and I look below and I see all this uniformity, all the roofs made out of stone...it is so nice...and if there is a roof with ceramic tiles it is distinctive, you point it out immediately and you don't like it...it is very nice to see all these elements that are same, the roofs, the windows”
(Woman 65, Tsagkarada)

As with the interviewee above, most participants claim that if there was no conservation a mix of other materials would have been used both in the refurbishment of old constructions and in new buildings, which happened in many cases before the establishment of the framework. There are residents who even admit that conservation prevented them from conducting random interventions thus ‘saving’ aesthetic qualities of the particular settlements:

“The conservation framework has been positive in many aspects, because otherwise everyone would do whatever he/she wanted to, including myself” (Man 58, Makrinitza).

What is interesting from the above is that although residents value the above components, i.e homogeneity of built structures, they had to be ‘forced’ to retain them. This implies, to an extent, that before the establishment of conservation framework people did not really pay particular attention to, or appreciate, this homogeneity. The conservation framework and the rules it imposed made residents sensitive to homogeneity and its contribution to aesthetics and identity. Both experts and residents suggest that restraints proved to be crucial in preventing distortions on built elements of heritage,, especially when residents were not particularly sensitive about heritage and its ‘qualities’. This is characteristically reflected in the following statements from residents (in both first and second category) settlements and experts.

“In the absence of conservation framework the village would have been a mix of things, It wouldn't have this homogeneity” (Man 29, Agios Lavrentios)

“The positive thing (concerning the conservation framework) is that the villages did not become a puzzle in terms of their built environment...they maintained a style...The framework prevented people to do whatever they wanted to in the settlements, it impeded a development that was

quantitative rather than qualitative” (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region)

On the other hand, there are some participants, both experts and residents, who argue that the attention of the conservation framework to uniformity has been superficial. By focusing on regulations concerning materials and only selected architectural elements, the framework often disregards other details of old structures. This led to bad imitations of old structures, having a reverse effect on the aesthetic quality as well as on other aspects of aesthetics and identity such as that of ‘irreplaceability-inimitability’(see 7.3). Hence, while conservation could maximize these values it ‘allowed’ the emergence of aspects that may challenge them, as it is further analysed below.

It is widely argued that imposing rules on the use of local materials and only selected architectural elements in new constructions, without careful consideration of details, led to the emergence of structures poorly emulating the old ones. Participants refer for example to cases of new buildings which ‘claim’ the title of traditional just because they have fragmented ‘traditional’ elements ‘mimicking’ older constructions. For instance, participants refer to the big tourist complexes which are referred to as traditional because they have selectively incorporated architectural elements of old structures (such wooden frames and stone roofs) as identified in the conservation framework. However, both experts and residents state that their size as well as their layout is incompatible with the traditional character as they are ‘copy - paste’ buildings placed one next to the other in a row, a rationale that applies to cities rather than to these particular settlements. Buildings in the past were always treated individually rather than as complexes in the area (see 5.1), a ‘detail’ missed by the conservation framework. In view of the above, participants claim that conservation framework left space for, or even led to, constructions which distort the ‘traditional’ character of these villages and may challenge the value of identity. A resident in Makrinitza notes in particular:

“I also have a negative example visible from the road Makrinitza-Koukourava: the development of a big complex of residences which are not relevant to the village...they are out of the scale and of the rationale of the village. I don’t care if I have the morphological, architectural and

typological characteristics on the buildings...apart from the fact that this is a horrible imitation the construction does not become immediately traditional because it simply has the same windows and the roofs with the old buildings but on the other hand the neighbour is in such a close proximity...It is not traditional...it is not authentic any more although it is legal” (Woman 58, Makrinitza).

The focus on materials and certain architectural elements, while disregarding other details and the way these materials were used in the past (i.e the traditional technique), led to the ‘accreditation’ of imitative structures as traditional. This challenges rather than enhances the value of irreplaceability- inimitability of heritage (see also 7.3.1). Experts at the local level,²⁷ and some locals, blame the attention of the conservation framework to the material aspects, which disregard the role of intangible elements, such as building techniques, in creating ‘irreplaceable’ structures. Complying with conservation rules often meant using local stone and wood in structures with little concern about the way in which these would be used. This, in conjunction with the fact that new, inexperienced and usually unskilled and cheap labour came to the area²⁸ led to imitative structures. Participants, especially residents, note restorations and new constructions were often executed by new craftsmen who did not have the relevant training and/or experience, resulting in bad and ‘inaccurate’ imitations which distort the identity of the settlement:

“New craftsmen came and those although they knew how to build with stone they didn’t particularly know the specific technique... people built houses with just a surface of stone faking the real stone walls...where did they see that? It is completely irrelevant with what was here before...It is an imitation and usually a bad one” (Man 60 Makrinitza).

In addition, as both residents and experts at the local level point out, the attention of the conservation framework to uniformity disregarded different architectural elements and styles of the built heritage, challenging the value of uniqueness. According to two experts at the regional level, traditional settlements in the area have been placed under the same

²⁷ who are not responsible for the regulations of conservation framework

²⁸ A big influx of Albanian people during the ‘90s

conservation framework which overlooks the peculiarities of each settlement. According to them, the framework was based on some 'characteristic' examples of settlements as a platform for the development of rules that apply to most traditional settlements in the area, with stricter provisions in the first category settlements:

"Another issue is that the policymakers did not examine every traditional village in detail. What they did was to take some characteristics settlements such as Makrinitza, Milies and set up some rules based on their characteristics and then say that these rules will be applied in a group of settlements...they established some categories of settlements without carefully examining the particular characteristics and conditions in each settlement...They just implement the 'recipe' of one village in more villages...This resulted in the omission of many traditional elements that may be present or more in one village compared to another one"(Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region).

For instance, the interviewee above referred to the example of 'Egyptian' style houses, elements of which were not incorporated in the framework. These are not allowed in new constructions despite being identified as traditional and significant for the character of villages. For example, the use of vivid colour which was used in old buildings is not allowed in new constructions. As a result, the colours of old buildings have almost disappeared, as well as the loss of an important 'part' of their particular character and identity. In conjunction with the above an expert in specific stated:

"The conservation framework omits many things...it takes 5 styles of houses and set them as standards for the whole Pelion area...The policymaker didn't see in detail that there are differences and didn't take these differences into account..." (Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements).

Following on from the above, this 'unified' framework cannot take into account the variety of architectural styles of all traditional settlements. Furthermore the conservation framework often does not allow the incorporation of different 'traditional' architectural elements in new constructions. In this respect, the conservation framework may even undermine heritage by preventing the incorporation of 'traditional' heritage elements in new constructions. However,

this issue has been raised only by a couple of participants, who were more informed about the conservation framework.

Despite the negative aspects of conservation on values of aesthetics and identity raised above, these are limited in comparison with the overall positive impact of conservation on aesthetics and identity, as acknowledged by most participants. Indeed, both experts and residents refer to the contribution of conservation to the villages' aesthetics and identity before anything else. Only when prompted did participants speak about the negative impacts of conservation. Participants reflected essentially on what they know about conservation in relation to aesthetics and identity, stressing its positive impact on them. The negative impacts not only come second but they are also raised by substantially fewer participants, indicating that these are not generally considered central problems and may not significantly affect people's perceptions.

8.3.3 Enhancing or impeding environmental, social and economic values of heritage?

In general, conservation has been argued to have an impact on places sustainability (see 2.3.3). While this impact has been objectively approached and measured (see for example Landorf 2011; Throsby 2001), I herein examine people's perceptions on the issue, pointing to how these impacts may affect people's values of heritage. The study has revealed that negative perspectives regarding the impact of conservation on three main pillars; economy, environment, society, dominate on residents' views, in contrast to experts. These negative impacts relate mainly to functionality matters which inhibit the fulfilment of other needs and priorities. This in turn leads to the consideration of heritage as a burden. These impacts of conservation may diminish economic, environmental and social values of heritage in residents' perceptions (see 2.3.3) as it will be explained below. This may in turn affect residents' actions towards heritage and thus their 'behavioural' aspect of perception (see 3.2.2).

Economic purposes

The economic impacts of conservation have been widely discussed in the literature (see Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990, Nuryanti 1996; Hewison 1987; Nasser 2003). However, this section discusses how economic impacts may affect lay people and experts' perception and appreciation of heritage, an area on which still little is known (Alonso 2012; Clark 2003).

As presented in the previous Chapter, economic purposes are not often reasons identified for appreciating heritage (see 7.4.3). Participants hardly discuss the economic benefits of heritage. Residents associate conservation with negative economic impacts that inhibits them to assign economic values to heritage.

Most participants, residents to a larger extent but also experts, highlight that conservation involves high costs which locals often cannot afford, while the state's economic contribution is very limited if available at all. This often creates an unfortunate burden on the residents. The permitted materials for any intervention in the built environment are very expensive²⁹. In addition, the cost becomes higher as they have to transport any material there³⁰. A number of residents said that they could not afford to refurbish their properties, while others reported that it is almost impossible for them to build on their land due to the high costs. This is shown in the statements below:

"Many people want to refurbish the old houses but they do not have the money" (Woman 50, Vizitsa) *"I wish we do 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)

Following on from the above, a great number of them stated that it is impossible for a medium income 'villager' to afford the refurbishment of an old property or the building of a new

²⁹ It must be noted that while these materials, local stone in more particular, were the easiest accessible and affordable for locals due to environmental protection diminishing local quarrying as well as the emergence of other cheap factory produced materials, local stone became particularly expensive

³⁰ animals have to carry them when vehicular access is not possible, on the cobblestoned roads for instance

construction even if he/she owns the land. It is wealthy people rather than medium income residents who can afford 'conservation activities' such as refurbishments of old structures:

"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 they have very low incomes...how can they afford it?" (Woman 35, Afetes).

"People that refurbish the old houses are mainly wealthy people who want to make such an investment and they come in the area...It is very expensive to do something like this. If locals had the money they would do it but the cost is huge. 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).

The specification of particular materials, even in the case of buildings and structures for secondary uses such as stables, hencoops and warehouses, intensifies the situation further. Residents stressed that the obligations of the conservation framework to use materials which are expensive and 'luxurious' for the construction of these kind of buildings is irrational. This was also acknowledged by some experts, particularly those at the regional/local level, who are in closer contact with the specific areas.

"The way of building is economically unviable. Residents for example need stables or places to accommodate their domestic animals and they are obliged to use the local stone even in these structures...Is this possible?"(President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region)

The economic costs raised above, change, to an extent, the essence of heritage in people's minds. What was a bottom-up community driven activity led by the principle of people's needs, functionality and affordability, becomes a top-down, high cost activity which residents find difficult to conduct without any financial support. Residents in all villages stress that what was created by and for medium income people becomes a luxury which many of them cannot afford. Because of this, a number of old buildings have been abandoned or sold to wealthy people. While this has not led to extreme situations of gentrification (Ercan 2011, p. 297; Esther

Hiuand Kwan Yung et al. 2011), (mainly due to the high rate of property ownership), locals have been discouraged to refurbishing old buildings. Many residents report that it is more expensive to refurbish an old construction than to build a new one and hence they often prefer to build a new instead of refurbishing their old properties:

“It is a big mistake of the policy that a house in order to be traditional requires 4-5 times higher costs compared to building a new one...and many times people and especially locals cannot afford it...where will they find such incomes?” (Man 29, Agios Lavrentios).

Experts at the local level also confirm this view. In this regard, economic values of heritage (see 7.4.3) are hardly identified. The negative economic effects caused by the rules imposed by the conservation framework, discussed above, prevent residents from recognising the economic values of heritage. In fact, some residents see heritage as an obstacle impeding them from covering basic needs. Despite acknowledging the aesthetic advantages of these materials (see above), covering certain needs in an affordable way is usually most important to residents, leading them often to break the law (behavioural aspect of perception). Indeed, a number of residents reveal this prioritization when it comes to practical issues:

“If my roof falls apart do you know how much I need in order 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 an economic one...For example in order to construct my veranda I had to use wood but I need 5 times more money and I have no choice but to use cement instead. Everyone agrees that the imposed by law materials are beautiful but If you don’t have the money to do it you’ ll find a way to do it and this wouldn’t be the best in terms of aesthetics” (Man 60, Makrinitza).

Hence, the economic burden that conservation involves discourage residents to identify any economic values of heritage but it also clashes with other values such as that of aesthetics, which can be compromised for the sake of covering more immediate needs.

On the other hand, experts at central level do not consider economic issues of conservation as crucial as locals do. Despite recognising the high costs that conservation involves, they argue

that support for interventions is available, even though these remain quite limited. Experts fundamentally believe that residents' willingness to follow the rules, as well as make use of the available initiatives, is the key issue. An expert at a ministry specifically notes:

"It is not possible that there are no restrictions, I understand there is an increased cost for residents. However, the state has established some regulations to help them. It has established incentives, loans, tax facilitations...there are a number of incentives actually. There are incentives, it is not just restrictions...and especially for the traditional buildings...There are loans and available funding (Expert 1, Ministry).

Furthermore, experts at central levels believe that conservation increases the economic value of heritage. They believe that, as a result of conservation, increases in property value in the area is positive since most residents are property owners. But this only remains positive where phenomena of dislocation (Steinberg 1996; Hardoy 1983; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2012) and the loss of social continuity (Pendlebury et al. 2004; Chan Ma 2004) are prevented. In addition they stress that conservation framework contributed to the villages' appeal and thus to its tourist attractiveness (Thurley 2007; Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990). These economic advantages of conservation however are not particularly mentioned by residents. It is only some residents in first category settlements who attributed the increase of tourism to the characterization of their settlement as traditional by the conservation framework, and hence, its contribution to villages' economy. However, the economic problems associated with conservation dominate in residents' perceptions. Most residents highlight the negative impact of conservation on the economic value of heritage in contrast to some of its more positive effects (property value increase). This in turn makes some residents to consider heritage as an impediment despite the recognition of certain values, (such as that of aesthetics), that tend to come second in view of other priority needs.

Environmental concern

While participants within a number settlements appreciate conservation for environmental purposes (see 7.4.1), which a number of studies support (see 2.3.3), this study highlights

residents perceive conservation 'prevents' the maximisation of the environmental values of heritage. In line with recent arguments about the problem of implementing energy efficiency solutions in built heritage (Effesus 2011; Lewis et al. 2013, p. 14), participants in this study pointed to the rigidity of the conservation framework, which prevents the integration of energy efficient measures not only in old buildings but also in new constructions. Although a number of participants acknowledge the 'environmental' value of built heritage (see 7.4.1), this could be higher if the conservation framework was more inclusive and flexible with measures related to energy efficiency. Participants regard heritage conservation as a burden in respect to the adaptation of energy efficient solutions because of the framework restrictions. For example, many residents complain about the obligation to have wooden frames, in new and old buildings, claiming that metallic frames are better in terms of insulation and maintenance. Similarly, other residents refer to the potential of solar panels and heaters which are not allowed by the conservation framework. Although many residents recognize the aesthetic reasons why such regulations are imposed, they feel excluded from using new technologies which have environmental and economical advantages. As a result, a number of participants view conservation restrictions as an obstacle to adopting new measures and technologies that could maximize the environmental values of heritage (see 7.4.1). Indeed, some of the experts, those at local level in particular, acknowledge these contemporary needs, stressing that alternative solutions could be provided:

"The truth is that we couldn't have a photovoltaic park in Pelion...and I personally cannot imagine a solar panel on a stone roof...of course you should have some rules, they could have been placed on the ground again following regulations...but generally speaking they must find ways in order to solve these issues. Because if you think on the other side, why residents cannot have access to this kind of alternative energy?"(Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements).

"What particularly restrict us are the interventions regarding 'green' energy...They could have done something in order for us to enjoy the advantages as people do in other areas which are

not under a conservation framework...to make use of new technologies and save energy...which is now not possible due to the restrictions” (Man 38, Makrinitza)

The restrictions, combined with the lack of concern for alternative solutions, often contribute to a ‘negative’ mentality about heritage, as revealed by some residents. These people feel that the conservation framework is based on limitations on their daily life; some even view it as a punishment, especially when linked to the economic costs it entails (see previous section). As in the case of economic obstacles, residents, especially second category settlements, often disregard the law. This shows how they prioritise other needs rather than the aesthetic satisfaction of heritage. In addition, it indicates the limitation of conservation to further enhance the environmental values of heritage.

Social purposes

Similarly to the other values of heritage, the impacts of conservation on the appreciation of heritage for social purposes (see 2.3.3 and 7.4.2) have been frequently overlooked (Alonso et al 2012, p. 7). In this section I discuss the role of conservation on the social values of heritage, as identified by participants in this study. Unlike the studies that refer to the advantages of conservation for social purposes (see Paxton 1999, p. 90; Pendlebury 2009, p. 214; Feilden and Jokilehto 1998; Rodwell 2007), this study shows that conservation is perceived to impact negatively on the social values of heritage.

The impacts of conservation on social issues are examined in relation to three domains as identified in section 7.4.2: a) built heritage as a depiction of an environment customized to the residents’ needs b) heritage as a product and/or reminder of strong social relations and c) heritage as something that brings people together in the current society.

Concerning the first and second points, and taking also in consideration the economic and environmental issues as raised above (see previous sections), according to a number of participants conservation has only focused on the maintenance of physical structures, overlooking the principles on which these have been built (i.e the role of strong social relations in building these structures, see 5.1, and the concern of accommodating people’s needs, see

7.4.2). Conservation (according to many residents as well as experts at local level) has paid attention only to the physical structures and not to the social meaning embedded in these structures, changing to an extent the essence of heritage. In this respect, buildings regulations often indicate that 'more value is placed on the exterior rather than valuing the building as an integral whole' (Nasser 2003). Thus, heritage has, in many cases, transformed from being a product of strong social relations which accommodated its users' need, to an obligatory and artificial process irresponsive to the conditions that created it in the first place. This is also reflected in interviewees' arguments regarding the rigidity of the conservation framework responding to meeting new needs in the built environment, revealing the preservationist character of conservation (see 2.3.2) in Greece. The conservation framework does not consider any alternative solutions for residents' demands, despite the fact that all under protection components were created to respond to locals' needs. The President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region notes in specific:

"I think that originally traditional settlement 'listen' to its residents and his/her needs...The rules 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 any more, because back in time this is how these constructions have been made, this is how these settlements have been built and from '80s onwards the prohibitions have established...prohibitions that restrain and they do not listen to residents' needs...Flimsy materials and constructions were always in these settlements...it were not only local stone and specific dimensions...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 for the era, why we cannot do pioneering things in these settlements any more? Traditional settlements were not just mansions and ideal houses...there were some landmark buildings but we cannot base conservation only on these"

As the statement above reveals, although needs guided, to a high extent, the creation of what nowadays is legislatively protected as heritage, conservation does not take into consideration people's current needs. Conservation practices rest heavily on what is identified as heritage by

official processes underlying the role of selectivity (see 2.1.2). Residents, but also an expert at local level, argue that the conservation framework disregards the process which resulted to the elements being appreciated and protected nowadays.

In conjunction with the above, residents and experts at local level highlight the prohibition of certain uses which have been always part of the village, as well as the ignorance of the need for certain spaces and uses. Elements of residents' daily life which contributed to the 'traditional' character are not longer allowed, as it is the 'appearance' that matters most. This is clearly captured in the following statements.

"They do not allow us to have our animals in the village while people always have domestic animals, even the houses were built in that way so as to host animals...This is not good at all, you restrict the resident to have a goat and couple of chickens while he wants to survive and on the other hand you impose certain rules which entail high costs. You impose to maintain a space that was designated to animals but you don't allow animals...The framework restrains you a lot"
(Woman 53, Tsagkarada)

"...in certain areas if for example an apple producer wants to be legal and follow the regulations he cannot do it because he is not allowed to build the big storey houses necessary for storing his/her production" (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly Region)

In an attempt to explain the reasons behind this approach, a number of residents argue that 'experts' developed the conservation framework at a distance from the 'real' subject. According to them, what was once made by lay people according to their needs and means is now 'controlled' by experts who ignore or underestimate residents' needs. The voluntary and practical work of a community (see social purposes 7.4.2) has been transformed into an obligatory process based on architectural standards imposed by experts and policy makers with limited concern for those who live in the area. Many residents claim experts' concern is to maintain images of the past without taking into account the 'living' aspect of the village (i.e that of residents, presenting thus an elitist approach, see 2.1.2 and 1.3.2). For instance, in the discussion I had with the focus group in Agios Lavrentios most participants pointed to the

protection of cobblestone roads without consideration for ‘necessary’ alternative vehicular accesses for carrying heavy loads:

“...The law has no flexibility and there is no infrastructure and facilities...How to carry stuff in your house when there is no vehicle access at all...and especially when you are old....how to carry the woods for the fireplace during the winter time? ‘Experts’ made the law from their offices they thought how it would be beautiful and it is indeed 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)

Residents, as well as experts at local level, stress how the framework has ignored certain needs and provide a number of examples. For instance, a number of residents in Makrinitza refer to the banishment of awnings which are necessary for ‘protecting’ their products, such as local sweets, from the sun; an expert at local level³¹ refers to the restrictions to 1.20 metres width only for balconies, even in the seaside settlements, where the need for wider openings is important both for tourist purposes and for improving the living conditions.

Within the context discussed above, residents often feel that they are obliged to follow rules that they often doubt. In conjunction with the economic and environmental issues raised above, they often decide to selectively apply these rules and often go against the framework, especially when the penalties are not strict. This leads to a number of illegal interventions in the built environment despite their impact on the aesthetics value of heritage. When the economic restrains and the need for certain uses is evident, participants tend to be tolerant about ‘distortions’ of heritage and the impacts on the aesthetics, while a great number of residents admitted that they have themselves made at some point some sort of ‘illegal’ intervention/construction. Even experts at local level approve of small scale interventions which may go against the conservation framework facilitating the locals who cannot afford to follow the rules:

³¹the Member of the commission of architecture controls in traditional settlements in Thessaly region

“To be honest I don’t mind some small interventions even if they are illegal, such as small spaces for storing made by wood, or little spaces designated to accommodate domestic animals...I mean some spaces like these...(He shows me on the computer some pictures taken by himself, see below)” (President of the Committee of Architecture in the Technical Chamber).

On the other hand, experts at central level do not agree with these practices. They vehemently support that the obligatory measures and restrictions are absolutely necessary in preventing the distortions of the built environment caused by residents. Touching upon buildings and structures, and the need to maintain their physical existence and appearance, experts have a more ‘preservationist’ approach to heritage (see 2.3.2). Accordingly, only certain elements selected by these same experts should remain as they were in the past. For instance, an expert at the Ministry states that heritage elements belong to humanity and not just to residents and hence they have to be maintained in their initial form. Experts suggest that social criteria have been taken into account, without however being able to provide details of these criteria. When I provided specific examples of residents who complained about the rigidity of the framework and its ignorance towards specific needs, they acknowledged weaknesses with respect to social aspects. However, they believe that convenience should be compromised for the sake of maintaining certain elements. This shows that experts, those at central levels in particular, do not care too much for who conserves or resides there as long as physical heritage elements are retained.

In view of the above, it becomes clear that conservation framework challenges the social values of heritage. The omission of social issues from the conservation framework, as perceived by many participants, especially residents, has undermined the appreciation of heritage for social purposes. It fails to recognise the need for the customization of the environment to fit residents’ needs as well as to support strong social relations (see 7.4.2). Hence, the favouring of preserving certain elements conservation disregards the framework’s role in *“making places and social connections”*. Instead it fetishises certain elements (Bluestone 2000, p. 66). This highlights the difficulties of the conservation framework to preserve tangible aspects whilst respecting the need of resident’s to make use of the built environment as they require. In fact,

the way the regulations are applied directly impacts on residents' needs. Furthermore, it hinders residents' acknowledgment of the social meanings of heritage. Indeed, the social value is mainly recognised by older people and those who have experience and memory of heritage before the establishment of conservation framework and its specification of particular values. Younger residents rarely refer to the strong social relations behind the creation of many elements of heritage, or to the capacity of these structures to correspond to people's needs (see 7.4.2). In this respect, while the conservation framework does not directly negatively affect the social reasons for which heritage is valued (as residents still refer to them, see 7.4.2) it does not promote them either.

Conclusions

The Chapter expanded our limited knowledge about the role of conservation in the way in which people perceive and act towards heritage in Greece. In particular, the Chapter revealed how and to what extent conservation may influence the different aspects of perceptions about heritage in a positive or negative way. The study has indicated that conservation affects residents' rather than experts' perceptions and certain aspects of them more than others.

In particular, conservation seems to affect selection and values relative to what people know about heritage in the area rather than the values related to their feelings about it. In many instances, conservation triggered awareness of heritage, particularly built elements in first category settlements. In these cases, conservation served as a vehicle of new information, it stimulated residents' attention to old buildings and structures which they did not consider as important before. However, due to the focus of the conservation framework on the built environment and in particular on certain structures, conservation impacted on how and what was identified as heritage. This was evident in the way that conservation increased participants' awareness, and prioritization, of certain built elements over others, often disregarding intangible aspects. This is particularly important in that conservation may guide residents in the elements that identify as heritage and so in what they might consider important (or not).

Concerning the influence of conservation on the values of heritage, the framework appears to have an impact only on values that reflect people's beliefs based on their knowledge. Reflecting on the advantages and disadvantages of conservation residents' identified conservation enhanced or weakened certain values. Participants unanimously agree that conservation enhanced the aesthetic value of heritage but, on the other hand, conservation is seen to have a negative, or conflicting impact on other values. While conservation enhanced the value of continuity, it did so only for certain elements. Because of the strict conservation regulations preventing the adoption of newer, environmental technologies residents often understood the sustainability value of heritage to be a negative burden. Despite the arguments that conservation of heritage should safeguard the 'continuity of socio-economic and environmental functionality (Rodwell 2007, p. 59) the conservation framework in the area is perceived to negatively affect these aspects, having a negative impact on the appreciation of heritage. The economic, social and environmental impacts of conservation relate to functionality issues which affect directly residents' lives within the villages. Hence, the negative impacts of conservation on these matters may counterbalance its positive effect on aesthetics, leading not only to the decrease of economic, social and environmental values but to a clash of values. Hence, despite the recognition of the numerous values of heritage presented in the previous Chapter, residents' may often compromise or reconsider them when issues related to their daily life are affected.

In view of the above, considering not only the potential impacts of conservation policy on people's perceptions of heritage but how people use the built environment being targeted may be crucial in building more balanced and practical conservation policies. This may ensure that regulations are more welcomed by day to day users and ensure the elements being conserved and protected meet the expectation not only of experts but those who live and work in the settlements.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 An overview of the research

In this final Chapter I show how the aim of this research has been met and how the research questions have been answered. The aim of this research was to explore how people perceive heritage in living heritage places focusing on Greek traditional settlements. Specifically, the research examined the way in which people shape perceptions of heritage, looking at how and why heritage is selected and valued and how conservation may affect this selection and evaluation. Such an investigation responded to the need to explore fundamental questions with regards to heritage (Borer 2006; Hobson 2004), such as what is to be conserved and why, before exploring how to conserve it (Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tunbridge 1984). It also responded to the questions about the impact of conservation on the way in which heritage is perceived, bridging the gap between perceptions of heritage and perceptions of conservation (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2).

In this respect the study particularly contributes knowledge about heritage as a social construct, as it examines the way in which this is constructed via people's perceptions, offering rich empirical evidence to a concept often abstractly addressed (see Table 23). To do so, the research explored both residents' and experts' perceptions in six traditional settlements in Greece. While relevant studies have explored different aspects of perceptions of heritage individually, this study employed an approach in which the different aspects of perceptions as well as factors that may affect them are taken into consideration, offering a holistic approach to understanding perceptions of heritage (Table 23). Hence this study is different to other relevant studies in that it examines the way in which heritage is identified, valued and affected by conservation together and not as different independent issues. By examining both experts and residents, the study adds to our incomplete knowledge about the perceptions of heritage from both sides and their interactions. Such an investigation allows us to understand what is important for who and for what reasons. Finally, the study has also provided knowledge about the context of Greek traditional settlements which has not been subjected to any similar

theoretical account before. The exploration of perceptions of heritage within this particular context raises issues that may be relevant in numerous traditional settlements in Greece in which conservation frameworks are outdated or need update. Understanding the way in which locals' and experts' shape perceptions of heritage opens up the discussion about the elements of appreciation, the reasons for this appreciation and the problems that may hinder appreciation of heritage. This understanding provides apart from knowledge of the Greek context a basis potentially useful in the task of updating the relevant conservation policy. The following table briefly summarises the areas of contribution in this research.

The discussion that follows is organised around the aim and research questions, presenting how these were achieved and answered, what the theoretical and policy implications may be, while also discussing the limits of this study and recommendations for future research.

Table 23: Areas of contribution of the thesis

Current Knowledge	My research
Heritage as a social construct (Sutherland and Tweed 2007; Pendlebury 2009; Clark 2006; Ashworth 2012).	Unravelling the idea of heritage as a social construct through perceptions.
Acknowledgment of the importance of perceptions in understanding heritage as a social construct (Schofield, 2014; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Graham 1994, p. 135 2002; Smith 2004). Despite the studies in the way that heritage is perceived, limited knowledge on how perceptions of heritage are holistically shaped.	<p>Understanding how heritage is perceived.</p> <p>Employing a perception-based approach in which the different aspects of perceptions and the factors that affect perception of heritage are holistically examined.</p> <p>Marrying perceptions-based with cultural studies.</p>
Acknowledgment of the importance of local community's perspectives in understanding and conserving heritage. Still our knowledge on locals' insights is limited as experts' insights often dominate (Larkham 2000; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999; Borer 2006; Ashworth 2012; Tweed and Sutherland 2007).	Bringing together residents' and experts' perceptions.
Studies on perceptions of heritage often independent to studies on perceptions of conservation. Claims about the impact of conservation on the values of heritage (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994).	Exploration of the effects of conservation on the way in which heritage is perceived.
<p>Studies on ancient heritage (Loukaki 2008).</p> <p>Studies on the architectural and historic characteristics of settlements in the area of study.</p>	Providing knowledge of people's perceptions on the specific context.

Source: Table created by the author

9.2 Findings

Overview of the empirical findings

Having stressed that heritage is a matter of perception in Chapter 2 and investigating the way in which perception may be examined in Chapter 3 the research employed a case study approach, as presented in detail in Chapter 4 in order to empirically approach the issue. The empirical evidence as analysed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, provided a clearer picture on how perceptions of heritage may be shaped. The study revealed that the way in which we perceive heritage depends on a multiplicity of factors, dynamics and interactions across the way we select, value heritage and view its conservation (Diagram 4), as explained in more detail in the following sections. It particularly shows that selection of heritage depends on collective and individual perspectives. These perspectives depend on characteristics of: heritage, the individual and their interaction (see Chapters 3 and 6). The reasons for which heritage is valued, as addressed in Chapter 2 (see 2.2) and Chapter 7, are also subject to collective and individual perspectives which depend on the above characteristics. In addition, conservation policies may affect the selection and evaluation of heritage and thus people's actions towards heritage both in a negative and positive way (see Chapter 8).

Expanding the idea that heritage exists as a collective and individual construct (Lowenthal 1979, p. 550) the study shows how heritage may be a collective construct influenced by individual perspectives. The study has shown that most people agree on what constitutes heritage and why. While variations exist in what and why is selected and valued as heritage, as explained in the following sections, these are not significant and necessarily contradictory. Rather, these variations highlight the plurality of heritage. These variations add to the elements commonly selected as heritage and the reasons for its appreciation or devaluation and they are the result of individuals' different characteristics and their interaction with heritage. Hence the way in which heritage is perceived in these quite homogeneous socio-cultural places is subjected to:

- collective views on the issue
- individual views on the issue

- official views on the issue as represented by conservation policies

The number of similarities in the elements of heritage and the reasons for their appreciation among the different participants show collective views on the issue. Although imbued with subjectivity (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2), the identification and evaluation of heritage, present a degree of consensus not only among residents (Lowenthal 1979, p. 550), but also between residents and experts. Indeed most participants agree in the elements selected as heritage and their value.

These collective views are driven by the relevance of the subject of selection and evaluation to a particular place and its past or present community (Diagram 4). This means that most participants select and value heritage depending first and foremost on the representativeness of the ‘object³²’ of the particular place and its community rather than on personal reasons and their interaction with heritage (Ashworth 2012). Participants primarily select elements that might be relevant to and/ or representative of the place and its community (see Chapter 6), such as buildings and structures which according to participants reflect the ‘traditional’ character of the particular place. These elements present common features, denoting that elements with these features are very likely to be selected as heritage. Similarly, the values attributed to heritage are primarily those that might make sense and be widely accepted by a wider community.

Individual perspectives only complement rather than guide perceptions of heritage, as discussed in more detail in the following sections, indicating that heritage is also ‘individually’ perceived and confirming heritage’s subjectivity (Wright 1985; Lowenthal 1985; Dormaels 2012). These ‘individual’ perceptions may be attributed to characteristics of the individual, such as demographic factors in combination with his/ her interaction with heritage, which lead to personal judgments (Diagram 4).

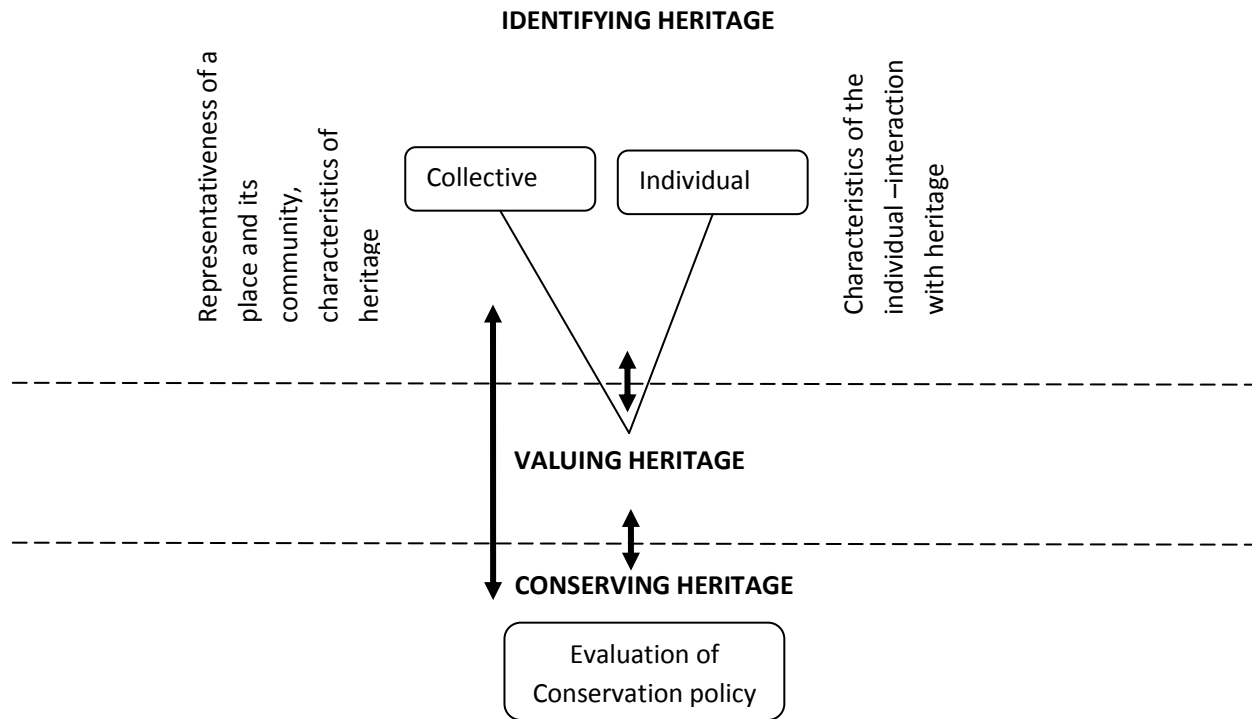
The study further shows that perceptions of heritage, especially those of residents, are also influenced by conservation policies (see Chapter 8, Diagram 4). Expanding the argument that

³²tangible or intangible

conservation may affect the values which attempts to protect in the first place (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2), the study has shown how conservation has impacted on the identification and values of heritage. This is further discussed in the following section (about the impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage). Drawing on the advantages and disadvantages of conservation, as identified in the extant literature (Chapter 2) and as perceived by participants (see Chapter 8), the study shows that conservation as an imposed view influences the selection of heritage and the reasons of its appreciation or devaluation.

In view of the above it is argued that the identification, evaluation and conservation of heritage are three interrelated issues which cannot be easily separated. As it is summarised in Diagram 4 and further discussed below, the reasons for selecting something as heritage are intertwined with the reasons for its appreciation, while conservation of heritage further influences both the selection and certain values of heritage. Within these processes idiosyncratic aspects complement the collective perspectives but they do not play a dominant role. The following sections analyse in more detail the findings in response to each one of the research questions.

Diagram 4: The interaction across identification, evaluation and conservation of heritage



Source: Diagram created by the author

- **What is selected as heritage?**

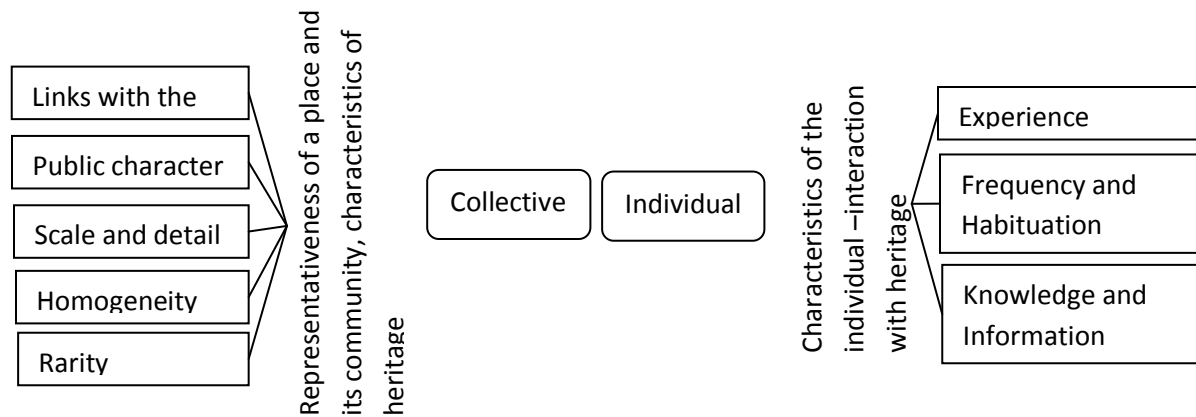
As introduced above, this study has contributed to our understanding of the balance between the objective and the subjective in the identification of heritage (Knight 1987, p.15; Clavir 2002, p. 43) showing that within similar socio-cultural places the selection is primarily driven by collective perspectives, while individualist perspectives play a complementary role in what is selected as heritage. Similarly to other studies in small places which reveal shared perspectives in what constitutes a character of a place across the members of community (see for example, Green et al 1985 b; 1999; 2000 a,b; Green 2010; Hester 1985 b; Hull 1992; Palmer 1983; Schuster 1990) most people agree in the elements selected as heritage with small variances across the participants.

While relevant studies argue about the relation of the individual with heritage and/or his/her characteristics, such as demographic characteristics, as main determinants in selecting heritage (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Hardy 1988, p. 333; Ashworth 2012) the current thesis shows that these are not adequate in understanding what lies behind selection (see Chapter 6). The study further reveals that within the particular socio-cultural context something is selected as heritage depending mainly on its representativeness of the particular place and its community. This representativeness, i.e depicting or reflecting characteristics of a place and its community, is often evident through certain characteristics of heritage as agreed by most participants. In the case of this study these are: the age of the 'object', or in general the links with the past, the public character of an element, homogeneity, the rarity of an element, scale and detail (see Diagram 5, Table 24). Old elements which have a public character, which are larger in scale, extensive and detailed when speaking about built aspects, homogeneous within and across the settlements yet rare, constitute the backbones of heritage according to most participants. Elements that present these characteristics are generally mentioned first when people identify heritage. It should be also noted that most of these factors are particularly favoured by the conservation policy especially with regards to the build environment. This has affected people's judgments about the identification of heritage as an official, legitimate view based on 'scientific' criteria.

On the other hand, the study shows that while characteristics of the individual, such as demographics, and interaction with heritage (see Ashworth 2012, p. 5230; Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Zancheti et al. 2011; Yoke et al. 2008), may play a role in the identification of heritage, this is of less importance compared to the factors mentioned above. Indeed, elements identified as heritage mainly due to the individual's characteristics and his/her personal interaction with heritage tend to come second if mentioned at all.

Hence, characteristics of the individual and his/her interaction with heritage may only explain the small variances in the identification of heritage. This study revealed three main factors that may explain the differences in the identification of heritage (see 6.2): experience, frequency and habituation as well as knowledge and information (Diagram 5 and Table 24).

Diagram 5: Identifying heritage



Source: Diagram created by the author

The differences relate to elements identified as heritage and/or their prioritisation. Differences do not appear only between experts and residents (Schofield 2014; Dicks 2000; Waterton 2005; Smith 2006; Graham et al. 2009) but even across participants of the same group i.e residents of different settlements, between residents within the same settlement and among experts at different levels (see 6.2). This denotes that divergences cannot simply be attributed to the 'group' that someone belongs to such as experts on the one side and residents on the other.

For instance, the built ovens have been pointed out only by residents who have had experience of them (interaction with heritage) (see 6.2.1). In other instances certain elements have been comprehended differently by certain participants and/or prioritised over others. For example, some participants perceive heritage as a totality in which tangible and intangible aspects blend together (Smith 2006, p. 56; Wijesuriya et al. 2006), and others as complementary elements in which some aspects are often prioritized over others. These differences may be attributed to characteristics of the individual and his/her interaction with heritage. Heritage as a totality for example, has been particularly expressed by long stay residents as rooted to their experiences and their personal involvement with heritage (Smith 2006; Ashworth 2012) in which the different aspects, tangible and intangible are part of the same experience. On the other hand, other participants identify distinguishable elements, prioritizing often some over the others. For

instance, experts as well as short stay residents tend to stress more the built elements of heritage, due to their knowledge about them (characteristic of the individual) but also due to the lack of direct experience with the intangible aspects that these elements may encompass (interaction with heritage).

Finally, the study highlighted the influence of dominant contextual factors in the identification of heritage (Table 24). The study shows that when other elements play a central role in the character of a place, residents may undervalue elements of heritage. In the case of this study for example, natural environment and the way of life in the village often dominate in residents' views about the characteristic of their place (see 6.3) and hence they often focus on them rather than on heritage elements. The factors that affect selection of heritage as revealed in this study are summarised in the following table.

Table 24: Factors that influence the identification of heritage		
Factors behind the similarities of perceptions	Characteristics of the individual and his/her relation with heritage behind the differences of perceptions	Contextual factors
Links with the past	Experience	Natural environment
Public character	Frequency and Habituation	Way of life in the settlement
Scale and detail	Knowledge and Information	
Homogeneity		
Rarity		

Source: Table created by the author

The different factors as mentioned above may vary in different contexts and hence a researcher should not rely on prefixed ideas with regards to the factors that influence selection of

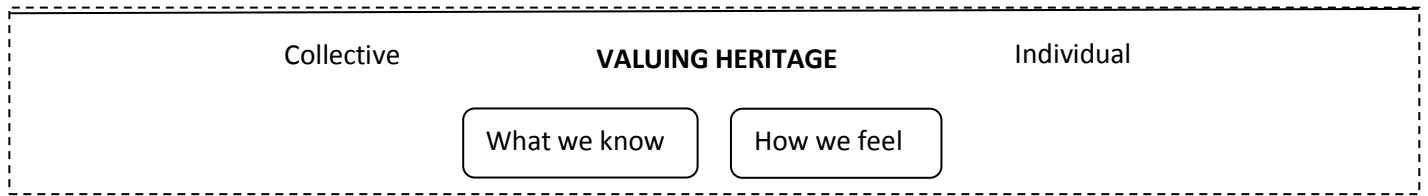
heritage. In addition, this variety of factors and the possible interrelations suggest that one must be very careful in attributing the identification of heritage to certain factors only, ignoring others. Having answered the question about the selection of heritage and the factors behind this selection, the thesis next moved on to answering the second research question about the evaluation of heritage (Sorensen and Carman 2009; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tweed and Sutherland 2007a and b).

- **Why is heritage valued?**

The second step in unravelling perceptions of heritage was the examination of the evaluative aspects of perception (see 3.2.2), providing rich empirical evidence in concepts often abstractly or independently addressed as indicated in Chapter 2 (see 2.2; Hobson 2004, p. 7; Sorensen and Carman 2009; Howard 2003; Smith 2006; Tweed and Sutherland 2007 a,b).

The research expanded our knowledge regarding *“the way in which individuals and groups endow their environment with meanings and symbols”* (Hubbard 1993, p. 369). Utilising the current knowledge on the issue (see 2.2) in conjunction with the empirical evidence (Chapter 7) and according to the literature on the evaluative aspect of perceptions (see 3.2.2 and Diagram 6) people value heritage for various reasons, depending on what they know or/and what they feel about it. While these are not mutually exclusive (Bohner and Wanke 2002) the study shows that most people tend to prioritise the values that reflect what they essentially know about heritage. Similar to the way that people identify heritage (see previous section), and evident from the collective views (see Diagram 6), the way that people confer value to heritage highly depends on what is widely acknowledged. People refer to values that mainly reflect their knowledge on heritage, as a more ‘reasonable’ way (compared to their feelings) to justify the value of heritage for a wider community. This knowledge essentially stems from what is widely or legitimately acknowledged as a value of heritage.

Diagram 6: Valuing Heritage



Source: Diagram created by the author

Indeed, most of the reasons for heritage’s appreciation reflect people’s knowledge on the issue with few involving people’s feelings, such as these of memories, familiarity and identity which represent individual’s perceptions (see Diagram 6). For example, most participants when referring to values such as these of memory or identity tend to prioritise or focus on collective rather than individual memory and respectively to place’s rather than to their individual identity. On the contrary, it takes more time and prompts for residents, to talk about their feelings about elements of heritage, as they believe that their personal affection is not robust or it is less important in justifying their value. Residents are usually hesitant, not confident and not encouraged to touch upon their affective interpretations and judgments. This is due to the fact that their understanding of what is of value and why is to a high extent already framed in a way that is expert-defined. This is mainly a result of a rational paradigm (Kinsella 2002, p.2) that conservation approach follows in which lay-people’s perspectives are not particularly encouraged or simply overlooked. This may also apply in similar contexts with similar conservation policies.

Unlike the arguments about the differences between experts and residents (Hubbard 1993; Smith 2006) the study has revealed a number of similarities in their values. Most of the identified values, apart from those reflecting only feelings, have been raised by both experts and residents in the different settlements. However, in line with relevant arguments about the way in which people understand values of heritage (see for example Hubbard 1993), the study reveals differences in the way that same or similar values are understood by different participants. For example, while both experts and residents raise the enduring qualities of heritage, experts tend to focus on historical values while residents on continuity and

robustness. Another example is that some values were raised only by certain participants. For instance, the value of inspiration was raised by residents of certain professions on which heritage may have impact (see 7.2.3).

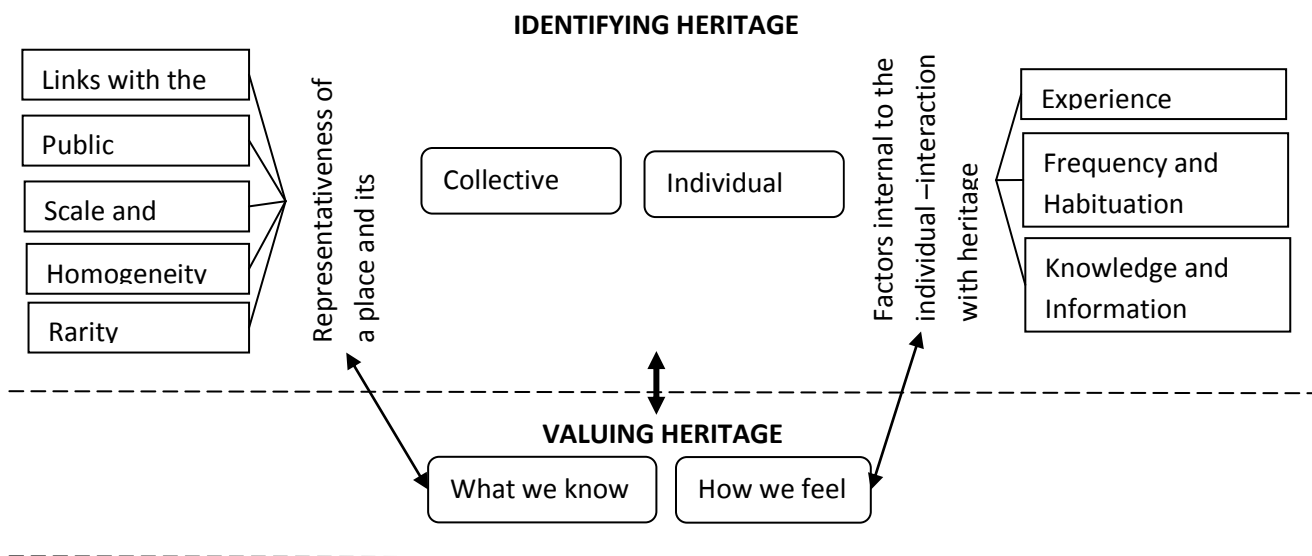
Following on from the above, the study shows that the distinction between experts and residents (see Schofield 2014; Smith 2006) may be inadequate in explaining the differences and it is certainly insufficient in interpreting the similarities in the way that people value heritage. Rather, the similarities and differences may be attributed to the factors that affect the identification of heritage, such as those raised in the previous section. Hence, it indicates that there is an interaction in the way that heritage is selected and valued; not only does heritage's selection depend on the values it has for people (Zancheti 2011, p. 96) but these values may be also triggered by factors that affect its selection either collectively or individually (see Diagram 7).

Specifically, collective views on the appreciation of heritage have been triggered by common characteristics of elements identified as heritage. On the other hand the idiosyncratic appreciation of heritage, which essentially depends on feelings, may be attributed to individuals' characteristics and their interaction with heritage (see Diagram 7). For example, the enduring qualities of heritage i.e. historicity, continuity and duration have been triggered by the links of the heritage object with the past and present (characteristic of heritage as agreed by most people). However, the differentiation between experts and residents as the first focus on historical value and the second on continuity is based on the characteristics of the individuals and their interaction with heritage. Experts for example focus on historicity mainly due to their education and knowledge (characteristics of the individual) while residents on continuity, as a result of their immediate contact and experience with heritage (characteristics of the individual/interaction of the individual with heritage). This also explains the fact that values reflecting feelings are expressed only by residents rather than experts. Similarly, the fact that some values are raised only by certain residents, such as that of inspiration by residents of certain professions, is due to the interaction and personal experience of the individual with heritage as well as his/her profession/ education (characteristics of the individual). In view of

the above, the study expands the argument about the values of heritage as “the *outcome of a large number of inter-subjective evaluations...*” (Zancheti et al. 2011, p. 97) unpacking the relying factors behind these evaluations, which are inherent to the way by which people select heritage.

The interlinks between the reasons for selecting heritage and the values of heritage raise the question whether we can easily separate out what is appreciated from why, questioning the studies that address these questions independently (see for example Smith et al. 2010; Avrami et al. 2000).

Diagram 7: Interactions between identifying and valuing heritage



Source: Diagram created by the author

- **How does conservation affect perceptions of heritage**

The third step in unravelling perceptions of heritage was to examine how these may be affected and shaped by conservation policies, addressing the gap regarding the influence of conservation on perceptions of heritage (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2). This bridges the gap between perceptions of heritage and perceptions of

conservation. It also responds to the third research question about how conservation can affect the selection and evaluation of heritage. The research adds to the idea that while heritage is conserved because it has values for people (Zancheti et al. 2011, p. 98) conservation also impacts on these values (Alonso 2012, Diagram 8).

The study shows that while conservation affects selection of heritage and values that reflect what people know about heritage, it does not seem to have an impact upon the affective values of heritage. The advantages and shortcomings of conservation may enhance or diminish respectively the identification and evaluation of built aspects of heritage, affecting essentially residents' knowledge on heritage. Taking however into account that the values reflecting knowledge are of priority (see previous section) conservation may significantly shape the reasons for which heritage is appreciated.

The study showed that residents' selection of certain built aspects of heritage may be driven by conservation policies. In many cases, a conservation framework may function as 'new information' (Momford et al. 2003; Pickens 2005) indicating that certain elements, which were not of attention before, are of worth. In this respect a conservation framework may function as a mean of illustrating or even 'dictating' that specific elements are important. This 'official' view on certain elements provides 'soundness' deriving from 'specialised' views on the 'object' and value of heritage.

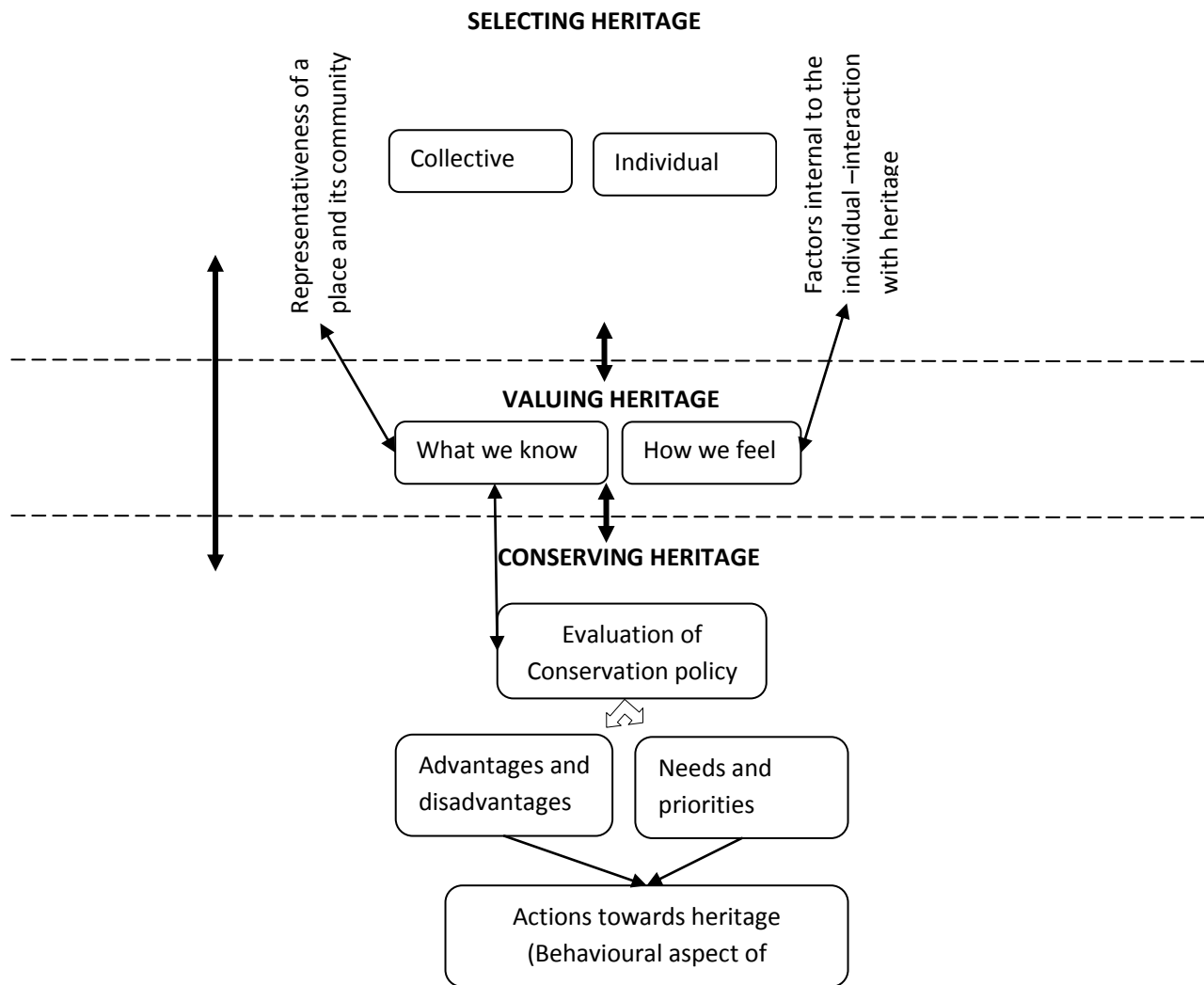
As a result, built elements and especially some structures identified as heritage may be prioritised over others in residents' perceptions. A characteristic example is that of mansions over the small agricultural houses, picturing the attention to the grand and the great rather than to the small and humble (Ashworth 1994; Lowenthal 1975; Tait and While 2009, p. 722). Influenced by the ignorance of the conservation framework of these houses, rather than countering this expert-framed understanding, residents have not paid particular attention to them either, unlike cases in other countries such as UK (see for example Hareven and Langenbach 1981; Delafons 1997), where residents may take the initiative to 'protect' and maintain buildings and structures, which are disregarded by conservation or planning policies. The reason is that experts' opinion, as reflected in conservation policies, may often function as

an 'accredited' view of undoubted worth which residents often feel 'unqualified' to 'judge' or to supplement with their views. This is mainly due to the fact that until quite recently (before the characterisation of the settlements as traditional), people were not aware of the potential heritage within their settlements. Hence it was experts highlighting this potential when most residents did not pay attention to elements recognised commonly as heritage today. In addition, conservation policy has not evolved in such a way to trigger or encourage residents' considerations on potential elements of heritage and thus people do not feel that their perceptions really matter. Similar results are expected in similar contexts under analogous conservation policy.

The way in which conservation impacts upon the values of heritage depends highly on the evaluation of conservation policy by people (Diagram 8). The advantages and disadvantages of conservation as perceived by people depend on the individual's interaction with heritage and his/her other priorities/needs in conjunction with the way that conservation policy is applied. In this respect the impacts of conservation on the values of heritage can be controversial. In the case of this study for example, conservation seems to enhance the values related mainly to the aesthetics of the built environment but to challenge values related to functionality matters. What is important to note however is that while residents may acknowledge the positive impacts of conservation they may compromise them when the negative impacts affect more immediate needs. For example, functional issues are often more important than the aesthetic value of heritage for residents due to their interaction with heritage not only as a state of art but as an incorporated element to their daily life. Reflecting on the impacts of the conservation framework on the lives of local people (Larkham 2000; Townshend and Pendlebury 1999) values related to the advantages of heritage for residents' everyday life have been challenged. This often makes residents to view heritage as an obstacle or even a punishment, going against conservation rules (behavioural aspect of perception) despite their agreement on their positive impacts on certain values such as aesthetics. In view of the above, although conservation may positively affect some values of heritage if it impedes more immediate needs or priorities can diminish the overall importance of heritage for residents. Residents thus would compromise

these values in favour of more immediate needs/priorities as this can be reflected in their behavioural aspect of perception.

Diagram 8: Interactions across identifying, valuing and conserving heritage



Source: Diagram created by the author

9.3 Synopsis of the Theoretical Implications

“Theorising the heritage is always a site of discursive struggle” (Hall 1999, p.3 cited in Uzzell 2009, p. 326).

This study has contributed knowledge about the way in which heritage may be examined and understood as a social construct. It highlighted the complexity of the phenomenon which cannot be interpreted through single independent factors but rather it needs a dynamic, holistic and flexible conceptual framework. The conceptual framework employed in this thesis was useful in conducting the research and interpreting the findings. It provided a holistic approach to perception of heritage which may be applied in other relevant studies elsewhere.

Incorporating the different aspects of perception, as identified in Chapter 3, allowed to break down the complex concept of perception and hence to identify what we particularly look at when we talk about perception in general and perception in the context of heritage in particular. Hence, identifying and clarifying the constituent elements of perception, awareness (selective aspect), evaluative and behavioural aspects of perception (see 3.2.2.), framed the way that research was conducted. In particular it helped to design and carry out the research by ensuring that the questions that were asked to participants would have reflected the different, yet often overlapping, aspects of perceptions (Chapter 4). In this sense data encompassed perception of heritage holistically; from what and how one selects heritage to how s/he values it and why. In addition, the conceptual framework assisted the management and codification of the empirical data (Chapter 4) and their interpretation at a later stage (Chapter 6,7,8). For example, Chapter 6 reflects data that relate to the selection (selective aspect of perception of heritage), Chapter 7 represent evaluative aspects of perception and Chapter 8 evaluative and behavioural aspects of perceptions, constituting thus an overall picture of perception of heritage as a whole.

The factors that affect perceptions of heritage, as identified in the conceptual framework (see 3.2.3), were also particularly useful in organising the data collection and analysis. Specifically, some of these factors, such as the demographic characteristics, were useful in the process of selecting participants while others, which were not obvious in the first place, such as experience (see 3.2.3), were crucial in analysing the data (see for example 6.2.1).

Furthermore the review of other perception-based approaches in the context of place (see 3.3) contributed significantly to the optimization of the approach followed in the current research,

as alternatives, their benefits and drawbacks were taken into account in early stage of the research. In view of the above, the conceptual framework offered a holistic approach to study perceptions of heritage, taking into consideration the constituent elements of perception and exploring the various factors that may affect them.

The examination of the different aspects of perceptions *holistically*, rather than independently allowed the exploration of factors that affect these aspects such as selection and evaluation, showing also that there are interactions between these aspects. Hence, the study argues that any research in perceptions of heritage requires a dynamic and flexible research agenda which allows the consideration of the multiple factors and their interactions. While recognising the role of various factors in shaping perceptions of heritage, such as the role of experience as raised by relevant studies (Smith 2006), the characteristics of the individual such as the division of experts and lay people (Schofield 2014; Dicks 2000; Waterton 2005; Smith 2006; Graham et al. 2009) and the interaction of the individual with heritage (Ashworth 2012), the study argues that these alone cannot fully explain the way in which perceptions of heritage are formed in various contexts. Instead, it is their consideration holistically which can allow us to understand how people identify and value heritage and what lies behind the similarities and differences in their perceptions. Such an approach allows the investigation and understanding of the extent to which heritage may be collectively or individually perceived (Lowenthal 1979).

The thesis expands the conceptual framework through which we can study perceptions of heritage. It indicates that this needs to be flexible in order to adjust to different contexts and to allow the different factors and their dynamics across the various aspects of perception to emerge, rather than to be prefixed based on predetermined ideas. For example, while the study espouses the idea that heritage is external (see 2.1), in a sense that heritage is not internal to objects but subject to people's selection, it also indicated that elements commonly selected as heritage may present similar characteristics (such as public character, scale and detail in the case of this study see 6.1). Identifying the similarities among the elements selected as heritage by various people indicate that specific characteristics are appreciated and are likely to be selected as heritage by the majority of people, both experts and residents. These

characteristics may vary in different contexts, but their identification and classification can facilitate a better understanding of what is selected as heritage collectively and its better conservation. Identifying these characteristics may help to explore whether other elements which present the same or similar characteristics may be recognised as heritage likewise. On the other hand, other factors lead to more individualistic perspectives of heritage. This however does not mean that heritage may be in essence all personal (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, p. 70; Hobson 2004). Rather, it suggests that individual perspectives complement the shared views about heritage. Examining the common characteristics of elements identified as heritage by most people as well as the characteristics of people who provide different perspectives reveal factors that lead to shared or individual views about heritage. Taking both into account and allowing them to emerge rather than trying to attribute differences of heritage between people to certain divisions such as experts and residents (Rautenberg 1998; Smith 2006; Schofield 2014) or people with different demographic characteristics (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2; Hardy 1988, p. 333) can provide a more comprehensive approach in understanding how heritage is selected and valued. Adopting such a perspective allows the researcher to be less biased towards the factors that influence the selection and appreciation of heritage.

The study has further shown that the high degree of consensus on the elements selected as heritage and their value is not necessarily the result of an agreement based on an informed exchange of opinions. Rather, the study shows that such an agreement is to a high extent the result of the acceptance of elements and values determined by experts and represented through conservation policies. The 'unawareness' of residents about elements of worth in combination with the lack of encouragement of their views about the elements and values of heritage by the conservation policy may result in their hesitation to reflect on personal views about heritage. Hence, while they may have different or additional perspectives with regards to the 'object' or value of 'heritage' they may not feel confident in expressing them or may not feel confident in expressing them to particular, professional audiences. In this respect, while there might not be conflicting views about the elements and values of heritage or contradictions between different groups of people (Smith 2006; Samuel 1994; Rautenberg 1998) hidden views may exist. While the 'dominance' of experts' perceptions over residents'

ones (Carman and Sorensen 2009; Borer 2006; Hubbard 1993) may not be evident through vociferous contradictions it may be subtle and difficult to uncover. In contrast to other relevant studies (see Schofield 2014; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1994) experts' perceptions as expressed through conservation framework may shape rather than challenge residents' perceptions of heritage. This raises questions about the elements of 'worth'. If conservation is a means of affecting residents opinions' about the value of certain elements, diminishing or disregarding others, residents may in turn prioritise or favour these elements over others. When conservation policies do not include mechanisms that encourage the public perceptions to be brought on to surface a number of elements and thus potential heritage resources and values may be missed or gradually lost. Even if participation opportunities and processes are in place, if residents feel unconfident, 'unqualified' or just uninterested in exposing their perspectives, heritage may be confined to what is legitimately acknowledged due to certain criteria such as historicity or architecture (Clark 2003, p. 59), missing the opportunity of alternative perspectives and to the expansion of the idea of heritage.

The study has indicated that the way by which conservation as a policy affects perceptions on heritage depends on its advantages and disadvantages in accordance with people's priorities and needs in relation to heritage. Hence, the examination of the assets and misgivings of conservation as perceived by participants in relation with people's evaluation of heritage may offer a basis for exploring the impacts of conservation on perceptions of heritage, which is as a topic underexplored (Alonso 2012; Bluestone 2000, p. 66; Lemaire and Stovel 1994, p. 2; Avrami 2000).

Overall, the study has shown that the way **of perceiving heritage holistically is an integrated dynamic process across selecting, valuing and conserving heritage**. The interactions and the dynamics between these processes may change depending on the context, however this is subject to further examination. The thesis points to the importance of examining these issues together rather than separately, as it is often the case (see for example Smith et al. 2010; Nyaupanea and Timothy 2010), in order to better understand how perceptions of heritage are formed.

9.4 Policy implications and recommendations

The examination of the way in which heritage is perceived involves a number of factors and interactions among them which may vary in different contexts. However, the general process by which perceptions of heritage are formed, as presented by this study, may provide general aspects for consideration in the practical task of designing and implementing conservation policies.

Firstly, the study has shown that perceptions may be common and/or individual. While the extent to which heritage is collectively or individually perceived may vary in different contexts, a point of consideration for conservation policies is how collective and individual perceptions may inform each other. How may a collective understanding be informed by the individualistic perspectives and the reverse? Increasing the potentials of learning from each other may increase or challenge not only heritage resources but also the reasons for which they are appreciated. The domination of collective perceptions over the individual ones in the Greek context, due to the powerful official view of experts and the hesitance of residents to reflect on their 'individual' perspectives, leads to the loss of elements and values of heritage. Hence a conservation policy that fosters an exchange of individual and collective views would at least increase the information regarding the elements of heritage and their values. Collective views can be enriched by 'individualist' perspectives, enhancing thus the plurality of heritage (Hobson 2004, p. 51) and its potentials.

With regards to the way that we value heritage, the study has shown that this depends on what we know and what we feel about heritage. In the context of this study the domination of collective views over the individual ones comes as a result of the fact that most people tend to give priority to what they know, feeling hesitant to reflect on their affective aspects about heritage. In this respect, two issues arise: a) to understand how this knowledge is acquired and promote additional sources of knowledge and b) there would seem to be scope for conservation policies to tap into these affective aspects more fully and to empower residents in their affective understanding of heritage. This may be achieved by approaching locals' in a more

casual way initially, triggering a relaxed discussion with familiar language, ensuring them that their perspective is important and their reflections useful. Involving experts that can understand the context and adapt to the way in which people express themselves comfortably, interacting with them in a relevant way is important as revealed by this study.

While this argument is relevant to similar conservation policies, at a more general level it could be argued that enhancing the exchange of people's beliefs based on their knowledge and/or feelings about heritage could foster more comprehensive conservation policies. In order to allow this exchange it is crucial for the people involved, especially locals, to understand that their perspectives are heard, respected and they can potentially make a difference. On the other hand experts should consider alternative ways, rather than imposed and enforced policies, for informing lay people about their perspectives being at the same time open to incorporate additional to purely technical criteria in the process of selection, evaluation and conservation of heritage. In this line of thought it is suggested that conservation policies should derive from the principle of 'learning from each other'. Conservation policies should encourage and provide the basis for this exchange of views; experts could learn from residents and vice versa given that the different views are heard and respected.

In conjunction with the above, given that conservation policy affects the way that people identify and value heritage, as this study revealed, it is worthwhile examining how these may positively affect selection of heritage and enhance its values when shaping conservation policies. While in the case of this study conservation seemed to enhance selection of certain elements as heritage and values related mainly to aesthetics it had a negative impact on values related to functional purposes of heritage. However, the values relevant to functional purposes related to certain people's needs and priorities, which for them are more important than aesthetics. In this respect it is crucial that conservation policies explore these priorities and needs upfront and try to enhance values relevant to them. It is only then that conservation policies can be more welcome, applied even voluntarily (Larkham 2000, p.74) rather than in an imposed way.

The way in which the above may be taken into consideration when shaping conservation policies depends on the specific context and it is beyond the scope of this study. However, incorporating the above general principles in the preparation of conservation policies can maximise the potentials of heritage for different purposes.

9.5 Recommendations for future research

“We might like to think we understand the phenomenon under investigation but our understanding is always situated whether because of where we stand, how we observe, or how we interpret” (Uzzell 2009, p. 333).

Findings from this research are extensive and multifaceted. The broad scope of the thesis in relation with the conceptual framework introduced here can function as a basis for future research. While the study provided a framework by which we may understand how people perceive heritage the use of it should be trialled in different contexts in order to a) examine the relevance and usefulness of the framework, its cultural embeddedness and thus b) help refine the framework. Further research may utilise the process by which people perceive heritage as suggested by this study (see Diagram 8) within similar or different contexts enriching our understanding about the factors and dynamics involved in this process. Further research may for example expand the range of factors, their influence and the dynamics across the different aspects of perception.

For instance, factors that affect selection of heritage could be examined so as to test to what extent these are relevant to a different context such as in socially and culturally heterogeneous communities. Further research could expand the factors that lead to the individual and/or collective selection of heritage and to further explore the balance between objectivity and subjectivity of heritage (Knight 1987, p.15). In addition, while this study unravelled such factors further research may examine the weight of each of them in relation to others in similar contexts. Future studies may examine the relationship between these factors in order to understand which ones may influence more the way that people select heritage. Similarly, deeper analysis in the influence of these factors on the way in which people value heritage

could further sharpen our understanding about the relationship between the way we select and value heritage.

In addition, future research into people's evaluation of heritage could identify further values, while a more detailed analysis of each of them would enhance our understanding of values often addressed at an abstract level. Furthermore, a more in depth exploration of the way in which conservation affects the values of heritage in a similar or different context could expand the results of this study.

Further research may expand our understanding about localised perspectives of heritage, exploring how heritage policies and practices may accommodate such perspectives (Schofield 2014). For instance, it would be worthwhile exploring how to introduce and implement conservation policies that encourage both individual and collective perspectives to come to the surface. In relation to the specific (and similar) context(s), for example, future research could explore ways of shaping conservation policies which are more sensitive to affective dimensions of perceptions. More research in perceptions of heritage at local level may contribute to tailoring more 'responsive' conservation policies.

Exploring the similarities and not only the differences between perceptions and the underlying factors behind these in different localities can further contribute to achieve a balance between the idiosyncratic and shared perspectives across members of these groups (Lowenthal 1979, p. 550). This will further widen our perspectives about the internality or externality of heritage (Smith 2006; Ashworth 2012; Sorensen and Carman 2009) and its role as a social construct.

More case studies in national and international contexts may enhance the knowledge gained here and broaden the results of the current thesis, contributing to a better understanding of perceptions of heritage and thus to a better way of its conservation. The dynamic links between the different aspects of perceptions as well as their influential factors and their weight may change in different contexts. However, recognising the potential of the different aspects of perceptions and their interrelations is crucial in examining how perceptions of heritage may be formed in different contexts instead of relying on single and a-priori reasons as explaining factors.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Settlement	Sex	Age	Long stay/ Short stay	Occupation
Tsagkarada	Man	70	L	Pensioner
	Woman	40	L	Farmer
	Man	78	L	Pensioner
	Woman	38	S	Owner of a local cafe
	Woman	75	L	Pensioner
	Woman	80	L	Pensioner
	Woman	28	L	Homemaker
	Woman	75	L	Pensioner
	Woman	56	L	Owner of a local shop
	Woman	49	L	Owner of a local shop
	Woman	55	L	Staff in a restaurant
	Woman	61	L	Sculptor
	Man	37	L	Hotel owner
	Woman	37	L	Homemaker
	Woman	59	L	Homemaker
	Woman	65	L	Owner of a restaurant
	Woman	53	L	Shop owner
	Mouresi	Man	35	S
Woman		29	L	Receptionist
Woman		53	L	Hotel owner
Woman		74	L	Pensioner
Woman		35	L	Homemaker
Woman		45	L	Civil servant
Woman		42	S	Employee in a restaurant
Woman		48	L	Hotel owner
Woman		55	L	Shop owner
Woman		49	L	Homemaker
Woman		84	L	Pensioner
Man		65	L	Craftsman
Man		44	L	Artificer
Woman		37	L	Dressmaker
Man		53	L	Civil servant
Vizitisa	Woman	78	L	Pensioner
	Woman	50 a	L	Member of a Co-operative business
	Woman	50 b	S	Member of a Co-operative business
	Woman	19	S	Student
	Woman	30	L	Employee at a local cafe
	Woman	65	L	Homemaker

	Woman	45	L	Homemaker
	Woman	60	L	Employee in a restaurant
	Man	25	L	Café owner
	Man	65	L	Restaurant owner
	Man	45	L	Teacher
	Woman	51	L	Employee in a restaurant
	Woman	61	L	
Afetes	Man	68	L	Architect
	Woman	35	L	Employee IN a local shop
	Woman	70	L	Restaurant owner
	Woman	45	L	Restaurant owner
	Woman	75	L	Pensioner
	Man	45	S	
	Woman	55	L	Homemaker
	Woman	46	L	Employee in a Coffee shop
	Man	50	L	Restaurant owner
Agios Lavrentios	Man	80	L	Pensioner
	Man	29	L	Café-owner
	Man	35	L	Horse-trainer
	Woman	52	L	Shop owner
	Woman	50	L	Bakery shop
	Man	30	S	Engineer
	Man	30	L	Farmer
	Man	60	S	Public servant
	Man	75	L	Pensioner
Makrinitza	Man	40	S	Private business/local shop
	Man	33	L	Private business/local shop
	Woman	58	S	Public servant
	Man	60	L	Restaurant owner
	Woman	33	L	Public servant
	Man	35	L	Local business
	Woman	55	L	Homemaker
	Man	60	L	
Man	58	L	Former army staff	

Experts	
Department	Number
Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate, Department of Traditional settlements	4
Ephorate of Contemporary Monuments	1
Architecture Board in the Regional Planning Office	2
President of Architects in the Technical Chamber in Thessaly region	1

Focus groups	
Settlement	Number of participants
Mouresi	8
Afetes	8
Agios Lavrentios	6

APPENDIX II: CODES

QUESTIONS	CODES 1 st round	Codes 2 nd round	Origin
What is considered as heritage? What is it important?	Tangible Elements	Tangible Elements	Literature review
	Intangible Elements	Intangible Elements	Literature review
	Ensemble-totality	Ensemble	Literature review/ Emergent
Why is it important?	Historicity	Historicity	Literature review
	Source of knowledge	Source of knowledge	Literature review
	Aesthetic purposes (visual-complexity)	Aesthetic purposes (visual-complexity)	Literature review/ Emergent
	Irreplaceable	Irreplace-ability	Emergent
	Something that cannot be done in the same way now		
	Respect to what is done with limited means and 'expertise'		
	Continuity and duration	Continuity and duration	Literature review
	Reference point	Reference point	Literature review/ Emergent
	Environmental friendly	Environmental friendly	Literature review
	Social significance	Social significance	Literature review/ Emergent
	Heritage as a way to appreciate the facilities you have now	Heritage as a way to appreciate the facilities you have now	Emergent
	Character-identity	Character-identity	Literature review
	Respect to predecessors	Respect to predecessors	Emergent

	Familiarity and attachment	Familiarity and attachment	Literature review
	Symbolic meanings	Symbolic meanings	Literature review
	Nostalgia	Nostalgia	Literature review
	Personal experience- memories	Living heritage	Literature review
	Living heritage		Emergent
	Pride	Pride	Literature review
	Source of inspiration	Source of inspiration	Emergent
	Sense of safety	Sense of safety	Emergent
	Matter of habit	Matter of habit	Emergent
	Heritage as a trend	External Influences	Emergent
	Influence from other people		Emergent
Why is not that important?	Other more important elements in the settlement-priorities	The domination of nature	Emergent/ Literature review
		Life in a villages versus life in the city	Emergent
	Financial restrictions	Financial restrictions	Literature review/ Emergent
	Need for 'evolution'- modernization: the 'urban' idols	Need for 'evolution'- modernization: the 'urban' idols	Emergent
	Lack of knowledge and education (division between experts and laymen)	Lack of knowledge and education (division between experts and laymen)	Literature review
	Habituation	Habituation	Emergent
QUESTIONS	CODES 1st round	Codes 2nd round	Origin
	Rules regulations	Rules regulations	Emergent

How is conservation perceived?	Characterization as traditional	Characterization as traditional	Emergent
	Old vs new	Old vs new	Emergent
	Distortions perceived	Distortions perceived	Emergent
	Maintenance of structures	Maintenance of structures	Emergent
	Uniformity	Uniformity	Emergent
	As a lever for tourism	As a lever for tourism	Emergent
	Impacts on property value	Impacts on property value	Literature review/ Emergent
	Make it known	Make it known	Emergent
	Pass it on to future generations	Pass it on to future generations	Literature review/ Emergent
	Recycling/non waste	Recycling/non waste	Literature review
	High costs (restrictions only, some people want to hide buildings or to knock down)	High costs (restrictions only, some people want to hide buildings or to knock down)	Emergent
	Inconvenience-functionality	Obligatory process	Emergent
	Social (un)awareness? (i.e many experts say that social criteria has been taken into account as the urban forms depict in a way social structures, on the other hand many residents claim that the framework doesn't care about people's needs, as a punishment)		Emergent
	Long-lasting process		Emergent
No specification-does not			

	give importance/ priority to things of high value	Unification of framework	Emergent
	Imitation-kitsch		
	Actions towards conservation: Public and Private sector (what is done by each actor, how it is viewed by each)	Actions towards conservation: Public and Private sector (what is done by each actor, how it is viewed by each)	Emergent
	Distortions -divergence from the conservation framework (what is done how it is viewed)-public sector as a bad example	Distortions -divergence from the conservation framework (what is done how it is viewed)	Emergent
	Other actions towards conservation?	Other actions towards conservation?	Emergent
	Social unwritten rules some times more important	Social unwritten rules some more important	Emergent