# Cultural heritage discourses and Europeanisation
Discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europe of the Regions

**Roel During**

**Thesis committee**

**Thesis supervisors:**   Prof.dr. A.N. van der Zande
Professor of Spatial Planning and Cultural Heritage
Wageningen University

Prof. dr. K.A.M. van Assche
Professor Land Use Planning, Planning & Culture
St. Cloud State University, Minnesota USA

Prof. dr. A.J.J. van der Valk
Professor of Land Use Planning
Wageningen University

**Other members**

Prof. dr. B.J.M. Arts, Wageningen University
Prof. dr. Itamar Even-Zohar, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Prof. dr. Tannelie Blom, University of Maastricht
Prof. dr. Jan C.A. Kolen, VU University, Amsterdam

# Cultural heritage discourses and Europeanisation

Discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europe of the Regions

## Roel During

# Contents

# Preface

Researching cultural heritage on a European scale is even more intriguing and inspiring than it sounds. It led me to roam remote areas of European regions where interregional European cultural heritage projects can be found. Collecting stories from people and interpreting the significance of cultural heritage for them was an eye-opening experience, and changed the way I saw how cultural heritage is addressed in the Netherlands, which I always took for granted. Now I know it's not: what is normal to us is not normal in many other European regions and countries. It seems on reflection that, in the Netherlands, there is an almost complete separation between monumental and living cultural heritage. This view is grounded on observations on cultural heritage practices in Greece, Lithuania, England, Belgium and other countries, where traditions and monuments are connected as parts of people's daily lives. In this sense I think the Dutch have lost something important. For us living heritage too readily invokes feelings of shame and nostalgia. It seems that the shame is caused by an imperfect view and knowledge of our own culture and cultural roots. I would like my dissertation to increase interest in comparative international perspectives of cultural heritage. Moreover I would like it to contribute to a shift away from restoring monuments for the sake of the monuments and towards preserving cultural heritage for the sake of society, a shift described in the Faro Convention. The best practices of this shift I encountered in Tatarstan, a Russian region in Europe. There, students are encouraged to learn about their traditional culture and use this knowledge to develop their own contemporary approaches to stories, poetry, songs, clothing, cooking etcetera. The results are astonishing, combining both tradition and intergenerational change.

It would be impossible to express my gratitude to everyone who contributed to my research. Somebody even translated a Lithuanian article into English at my request although suffering from an overload of work (thank you Birute!). The hospitality and friendliness I met during my fieldwork was unbelievable. Sometimes people in the street gave me a detailed history lesson, because of my naïve type of questions. It shows that if you are interested in another culture this culture will open up for you. I pay tribute to the cultural diversity of Europe and thank everyone who taught me to see its relevance and beauty.

Often, in the preface of a dissertation, one reads remorse and regret because of neglected family relations. Not in this one. The opposite is true. I took advantage of discussions with my children during the evening hours and weekends. And they enjoyed hearing my comments on their assignments and lectures from an international viewpoint. From the perspective of social relationships, anthropology and art history: Sanne, Sjoerd and Tosca were excellent supervisors of my work. During my research there has been no need to

withdraw to the attic, driven by onerous deadlines. I am very grateful to them and to Lucia, my dear wife, for providing such an excellent atmosphere for discussion and contemplation.

The Belvedere Educational Network allowed me to do this research in the spare time of my work at the Belvedere Chair in Wageningen. This Network focuses on the scientific and normative aspects of dealing with cultural heritage in spatial planning. It has been a very inspiring environment for me. For this I am truly grateful.

I respectfully wish to thank my promoters. First, Prof. André van der Zande, a constant source of very constructive and collaborative comments. I very much admire his ability to see through the fuzzy texts I sometimes produced, containing difficult phrases designed to conceal my lack of real understanding. His coaching was very effective and he gave me lots of confidence in finding my own way to use theory in the analysis. I also thank Prof. Kristof van Assche, whose contribution to this thesis lies in giving scientific inspiration. I benefited enormously from his deep knowledge of Niclas Luhmanns' social system theory and I am grateful for the many excellent academic discussions we had. I thank Prof. Arnold van der Valk for focusing on the scientific quality of this thesis and guiding me through the academic procedures and for insisting that my epistemological account was clear as possible.

My gratitude goes to Prof. Rudy Rabbinge, member of the Scientific Board of Wageningen University, for giving excellent advice on structuring my thesis design in the early phase of the research. My gratitude also goes to Prof. Arie van Kuyvenhoven, former director of the Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences, who both gave me good advice on my PhD work and decided to host my research in his research school.

I am also very grateful to Rosalie van Dam and Martijn Duineveld. Rosalie and I discussed everything that required strategy or intuition and I am grateful for all the time she shared when she could have been working on her own PhD project. Martijn Duineveld introduced me in the world of discourse analysis, Foucault and social construction. He was able to explain these difficult concepts in simple expressions and his advice was always short and to the point.

I dedicate this book to my father, who passed away in 2006 just after my decision to start this PhD work. I also dedicate it to my great grandfather Jan Balkestein who, as a police officer, investigated the international trade in women at the start of the 20th century. He had a very difficult task on the dark side of culture, my research was more fun and on the bright side of culture.

# Cultural Heritage Discourses and Europeanisation

# Summary

## 1. Introduction

The concept of Europe has been delineated by the history of the Celtic and Greek civilizations, the spread of the Roman Empire and of Christianity. It became more solid during the Renaissance era, as a result of seafaring explorations. Today there are different concepts of Europe, defined along territorial, cultural, symbolic, political and ethnic lines. Unifying concepts of Europe are grounded in a common view of a continent of great cultural diversity. This inherent dualism has been chosen as a motto for the European Union by the European Commission: "unity in diversity". The concept of Europe of the Regions is explicitly addresses this dualism. The discourse of Europe of the Regions provides an interesting environment in which to study claims on cultural heritage that address the need for unification or alternatively emphasise diversity.

## 2. Problem description

Policy imperatives on cultural heritage stressing either unity or diversity may conflict. Claims on cultural heritage can serve a goal of uniting European society, or even the whole world (like UNESCO World Heritage). Other claims on cultural heritage may serve the goal of separating a certain community from other groups. The example of European investments in restoring Byzantine monasteries in the Greek peninsula of Athos shows the incompatibility that can exist between these views. This example shows a tension between democracy (universal human rights) and culturally defined autonomy. Byzantine culture prescribes the exclusion of all traces of female life from the territory of the monks. This collides with the democratic view on cultural heritage as an object of tourism, held by the European Parliament. This small example raises the fundamental question "does cultural heritage belong to the culture of origin or does it belong to all people?" This is related to the political question of whether Europe needs a common universal culture or whether it should unite its mosaic of regional cultures?" Consideration of these questions makes it clear that cultural heritage disputes are embedded in ideological viewpoints about how to create unity while respecting diversity (section 1.3). A short overview of the evolution of European policy

(section 1.4) shows an increasing interest in cultural policies that are both grounded in assimilationist and multi-cultural models of society. Europe's regional policy takes an intermediate position in promoting regional identity as an asset for regional economic development (1.5) and encouraging regions to profile their uniqueness as a selling point for tourism and their economy. This approach assumes that cultural heritage can simultaneously be a basis of a intercultural tourist economy and contribute to a plurality of regional identities. This complex of cultural and regionally-based ambivalence affects the way that European interregional projects are carried out. Do these projects on cultural heritage promote the concept of European significance, do they succeed in profiling regional identity, or are they able to do both at the same time?

## 3. Research question

The main research question addressing the problem above, has been formulated as:
• What claims do Europeanisation discourses put on cultural heritage and how do these claims relate to views of cultural pluralism and universalism?

## 4. Methodology and focus

The focus of this research is on INTERREG, because this Community Initiative addresses both the cultural diversity of regions and the need to unify them. This research focused on INTERREG III, that ran during the third programming period from 1999 to 2008. Many INTERREG projects[1] contribute to the institutionalisation of cultural heritage and to Europeanisation. INTERREG's heritage projects are a place where discourses about Europeanisation and their claims on heritage meet. This research has been done with case study analysis. The case studies were selected using an information oriented selection procedure which seeks to maximise diversity - as described by Flyvbjerg (2001). The selected projects were:

• Crossing the Lines, a project dealing with restoring forts in Belgium, England and the Netherlands
• Baltic Fort Route, a project that connects forts in different Baltic regions in a touristic route (Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russia),
• Restauronet, a project dealing with managing polycentric historic cities in the Mediterranean (Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Morocco and Tunisia).

In each project, the research focus was narrowed down to one partner in one country as follows: a) Baltic Fort Route project: Kaunas city in Lithuania, b) Restauronet: Xanthi (Thrace)

---

[1] A substantial amount of INTERREG projects deal with cultural heritage

and Rhetymnon (Crete) in Greece and c) Crossing the Lines: Utrecht city in the Netherlands. This focusing was done for feasibility reasons.

This research involved the following steps:

Step 1 literature review and developing a theoretical and conceptual framework
Step 2 analysis of the INTERREG Community Initiative and its discursive environment
Step 3 selection and analysis of INTERREG cases
Step 4 overall analysis of Europeanisation and of regional heritage valorisation
Step 5 answering the research question


## 5. Research paradigm

This study sees cultural heritage as the meaning attached to physical objects, and not as the objects themselves. How does one decide what constitutes a cultural heritage object as of European significance? Should one include the Berlin Wall or the remains of the Roman Limes? Some objects are clearly relevant, not only because they are often mentioned as European heritage, but also because many people consider them to represent important epochs or aspects of Europe. Other objects can be disputed or signified as national or regional heritage.

It is this process of attaching meaning to phenomena, usually designated as cultural heritage, which is the focus of this thesis. Researching these constructions of meaning requires a social analysis of discourses on cultural heritage, as this process takes place in the minds of people, expressed in communication. Analysing these signification processes requires interpretation. The research in this study has followed the interpretative research paradigm, described by (Grix 2004) and interpretive policy analysis (Yanow 2000). In order to reveal issues of universalism and pluralism in the ideological grounding of the regulative framework of INTERREG, a critical discourse analysis has been chosen (Culler 1983; Hajer 1995; Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). This method enables one to deconstruct the underlying assumptions in discursive texts, thereby uncovering the ideological and cultural components that are produced in social interactions.


## 6. Theoretical account

Meaning of cultural heritage is constructed in social interaction within interest groups, professional disciplines, political communities, ethnic communities and many more. Within and between such entities certain conversations and discussions on cultural heritage are constructed in which signification is exchanged and established. Analysing this signification has been grounded in *discourse* and *system theory*. Discourse theory presupposes that communication processes actually shape reality. A *discourse* consists of a coherent complex of ideas, concepts, categorisations and distinctions. This social construction of

reality has been analysed by means of *discourse analysis* (Hajer, 1995; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Basten, 2001). Analysis of discourses can reveal the hegemony of certain concepts or perspectives. Analysis of discursive interaction can reveal why some are marginalised and others are gaining power. This analysis of discursive interaction has been grounded in *system theory*. Discursive practices on cultural heritage are theorised to be structured within *social systems*. Niklas Luhmann (1995) developed a *social system theory* in which the elements of the system are communications. This theory departs from a basic distinction between a system of communications and its *environment*. It is theorised that during a process of communication actors start with exchanging rather simples clichés embedded in their culture (e.g. the weather is fine today) and gradually establish a complex conversation in which concepts are exchanged and agreed upon. Every communication (operation in terms of Luhmann) builds on the previous one in a self referential process called *autopoiesis* and this is how complexity emerges. Information from outside the system of communication, its environment, is reformulated by means of the vocabulary and thesaurus that has been established in previous conversations. This process is called *operational closure* and is related to the theoretical concept of "framing". Luhmann sees interior complexity as a necessary operational condition to observe and understand complexity in the environment of the system. Based on Luhmann's social system theory, this operational closure has been theorised to occur in cultural heritage discursive dynamics. In this way cultural heritage signification can be understood as a product of autopoiesis. Thoughts on cultural heritage (e.g. this is important for me and my generation because of….) are vocalised and exchanged in discourse (e.g. we should save it for future generations because it shows ….) and then institutionalised (this is agreed upon as this special category of cultural heritage of this group/entity) as a result of autopoiesis. This recursive process is called *institutionalisation*, see the illustration below.
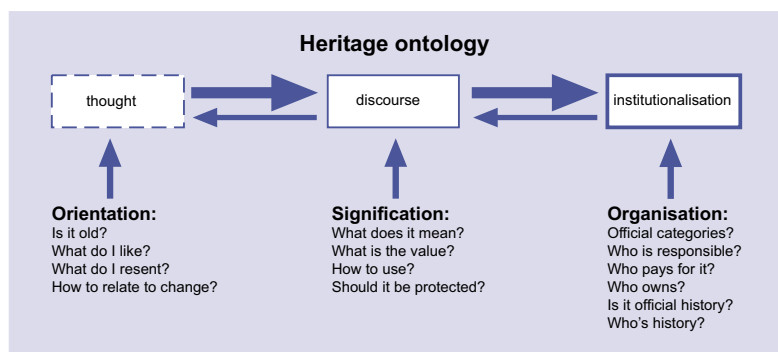


**Heritage ontology**

thought → discourse → institutionalisation

**Orientation:**
Is it old?
What do I like?
What do I resent?
How to relate to change?

**Signification:**
What does it mean?
What is the value?
How to use?
Should it be protected?

**Organisation:**
Official categories?
Who is responsible?
Who pays for it?
Who owns?
Is it official history?
Who's history?

*A graphic representation of heritage ontology through the processes of thinking, discussing and institutionalisation (Andersen 2003)*

This ontological perspective on cultural heritage grounds a distinction on *discursive* and *legal ownership*. Ownership can be fully institutionalised by law, convention or governmental

regulation. But ownership can also be in between the idea and the institution, as a product of discourse. Discursive ownership may result from ascription to a certain societal entity (e.g. the EU) of claiming by a group (e.g. an ethnic group or a political community). Ownership reflects power relations (in case of exclusiveness) and an attitude to share it's cultural heritage with others (in case of inclusiveness).

Power relations define the rise and fall of cultural heritage discourses. The whole of discourses on cultural heritage can be designated as a *repertoire*. Most successful discourses are observed and information from them is imported and reframed into other discourses.  This relation of power and repertoire has been theorised by Even-Zohar in his *poly-system theory*. This theory accounts for the emergence of new innovative repertoire, replacing the old and established. Poly-system theory clarifies the key concepts in this process: *canonisation* and *codification*. Canonisation takes place in the power centre of a poly-system and involves the selection of most appropriate and successful practices as enlightening examples. They form the so called canon. Codification takes place in the periphery of the system and involves the description of practices as a system of good working rules. Codification aims at acquiring a higher status. If a certain part of the repertoire becomes marginalised, this can be seen as the way back from institutionalisation to discourse (e.g. disputes about communist statues). If a certain heritage discourse is gaining importance, it can be institutionalised (e.g. Soviet heritage). Combining social system theory and poly-system theory shows that there are two pathways of innovation, see the illustration below.  One is called *pluralisation,* and it involves a conceptual innovation because new concepts are invented and discussed in a newly established discourse. The second is called *diversification* because already existing institutionalised concepts are split into more specific categories.
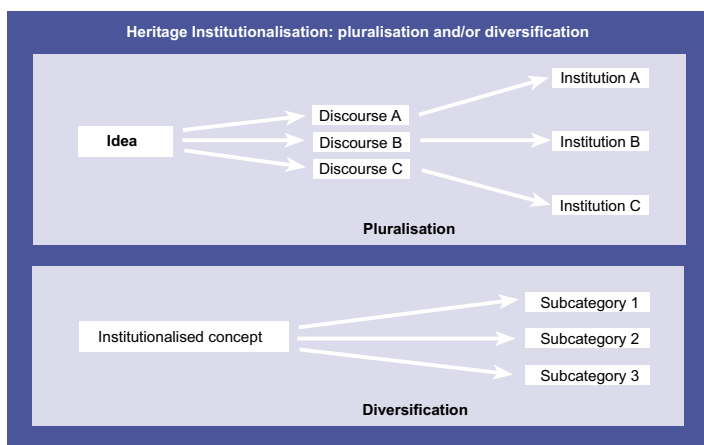


*Operational closure in systems of communications invoking pluralisation and diversification of cultural heritage concepts and discourses*

Both pathways of innovation can lead to European or regional signification of cultural heritage. These pathways are embedded in a complex discursive environment on governance, identity, economy, culture, citizenship and human rights (among others). The most relevant discourses have been put together in a conceptual framework.

## 7. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of this thesis, shown below, seeks to reduce complexity by distinguishing between discourses on *regionalisation* and *Europeanisation*. This framework allows a focus on signification towards European heritage and towards the identity of a region. The scale of the two discourses makes them fundamentally different: discourses on Europeanisation can be considered to be composed by a multitude of individuals and experts, working inside and outside the institutions of the European Community, meeting in press activities, symposia and writing articles etc. The discourse is fuzzy, full of hidden transcripts concerning autonomy-dependency relations and lacks a clear nucleus. The regionalisation discourse can be seen as having a focus on inside-outside relationships, on strategy and identity, and on political issues that the electorate can easily observe. The distinction between Europeanisation and regionalisation discourses is made under the assumption that, in practice, they are connected by other discourses that produce the realities of identity, citizenship, tourism, economy, planning and other activities.
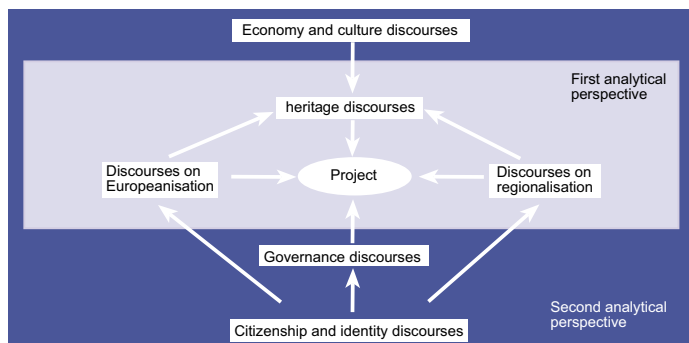


*Conceptual framework: a simplified projection of an INTERREG project and its discursive environment of culture, economy, heritage, regionalisation, Europeanisation and governance*

## 8. INTERREG analysis

INTERREG is an EU-funded programme framework that helps Europe's regions to form partnerships to work together on common projects. In European regional policy is assumed that regions have a regional identity and that this identity can be strengthened as a result of INTERREG participation. INTERREG as a Community Initiative operates within the framework of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which has been installed in 1974. Three programming periods have been defined for INTERREG during which the initiative grew

in budget and significance. INTERREG III ran during the third programming period from 1999 to 2008. INTERREG was designed to strengthen economic and social cohesion throughout the EU, by fostering the balanced development of the continent through cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. The INTERREG Community Initiative also intends to prepare border areas for a Community without internal frontiers.

INTERREG III is divided into three strands: A, B and C. Strand A aims at the local development of social facilities, the economy and the environment through cross-border cooperation, strand B is focused on spatial development strategies, linking cities and resource management through transnational cooperation and strand C aims at the development of networks and joint structures in interregional cooperation.  Each of the strands has a programme structure and regional actors are invited to submit projects.  Acceptance criteria include willingness to cooperate with other regions and to co-fund the project. The process of choosing partners and the contents of the project is a bottom up process.

| case | INTERREG Programme | macro region |
|---|---|---|
| Baltic Fort Route | IIIB Baltic Sea Programme | The Baltic |
| Restauronet | IIIB MEDOCC programme | Archimed (covering Greece Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Basilicata) |
| Crossing the Lines | IIIB North Sea Programme | North Western Metropolitan Area |

*The three cases, their hosting INTERREG IIIB programme and related macro region*

## 9. Ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage

INTERREG policy and practice is embedded in discourses on Europeanisation, as indicated above in the conceptual framework. Discourses on the feasibility of an integrated European Union are designated by Delanty (Delanty 2005) as:
• Euro-sceptics, who defend the nation state against the promises (or threats) of a European polity and society
• Euro-pessimists, who believe European integration could play a role in combating social exclusion and the democratic deficit by enhancing socio-cultural integration, taking this role over from the nation state. Their idea of integration focuses on intergovernmental co-operation
• Euro-optimists or pan-Europeanists, who believe that there is a uniquely European culture which can serve as a basis for social integration and that this is not solely derived from the nation state.

Above a relatively simple picture is given of distinct Europeanisation discourses. The discursive practice in Europeanisation however is more complex, due to the influence of related discourses of governance, of regions, of culture and of cultural heritage itself. The governance discourse is wrapped around two competing models of democracy. One that

gives primacy to local decision making and an other departing from concepts of collaborative planning between policy layers, research institutes, NGO's and private stakeholders. The first is indicated as the principle of subsidiarity and the last is called the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) or multi-level governance. Heritage subsidiarity would imply a fundamental right of communities to decide on their own cultural heritage. In the OMC decisions are taken as a result of negotiation between governmental and non-governmental actors (like UNESCO, ICOMOS and Europa Nostra) that are held responsible for justified cultural heritage management. The discourse on regions takes a ambiguous position towards this issue of subsidiarity or OMC. Subsidiarity is preferred because it implies autonomy on regional level. OMC however gives more opportunities to lobby with regional interests. Regions themselves claim to be far from uniform. They share pluralist views on Europeanisation, because this implies subsidiarity and regional autonomy. The European discourse on regions focuses on identities (being different) and on reducing disparities (being uniform). The EU sees its regions as uniform building blocks that vary in their identities. For regions disputing uniformity, cultural heritage can make the difference.

A similar frame dispute emerged in cultural discourses on Europeanisation. Different viewpoints are embedded in a so called institutional asymmetry of the EU, caused by the institutionalised distinction of culture and economy. Economists plead for an open and unified culture as this gives minimal constraints for the Single European Market idea. Within and between cultural organisations a discourse is produced on cultural variety. Both economic and cultural dispositions claim cultural heritage reciprocally. Within the cultural diversity discourse, cultural heritage is perceived as a unifying concept for European society. The economic discourse on culture frames culture as this unifying concept and cultural heritage as an asset for planning, showing the diversity of European regions.

This cultural discourse displays models of society that are contested. One culture model of Europe presupposed a society with only one core. This single core image refers to the understanding of society based on social cohesion by the French sociologist Durkheim (1893). Pluralist models depart from a multi core image of society. A view that considers regional diversity and autonomy as key characteristic of Europe, could be interpreted as multi core. This difference between single and multi core models of society has implications for signification of cultural heritage. A single core model presupposes cultural heritage to represent its value consensus that binds all people. A pluralist model presupposes value pluralism and cultural heritage functions to mark differences. The Europe of the Regions discourse takes an intermediate position, as society is perceived as a layer cake and different layers refer to the policy layers of European society.

European heritage discourses are influenced by this discursive mixture of arguments, visions and ideologies on culture, on governance and on regional diversity. They differ in their appeals towards cultural heritage and interact in European heritage networks.  Moreover

they interact with the European policy development on cultural heritage, primarily organised by the Council of Europe. In developing cultural heritage policy the emphasis has been redirected from a monumental approach to one based on societal values. This latter has been described in the Faro Convention (2005). Ratification of this convention by member states is retarded, showing national reluctances towards sharing cultural heritage with Europe and moving away from the traditional approach that prescribes the obligatory care of the monuments that are highly valued by experts. Analysis of the ideological viewpoints in the starting period of INTERREG showed a great diversity of argument and ideology. Sometimes cultural heritage is perceived as a human right, others stress its role in realising intercultural stability. A clearly defined regional identity is perceived as a condition for stability, but it should not become too rigid in an ethnic particularism. Cultural tourism has often been mentioned as a controlling mechanism for ethnocentrism.

INTERREG III reframed this cultural tourism perspective and primarily addresses cultural heritage from an economic, rather than a cultural, perspective. The very idea of cultural heritage as asset is embedded in economic ideas of 'Unique Selling Points'.

Based on the discourses on Europeanisation and its consequences for governance, culture, regional diversity and cultural heritage, in this study distinct ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage were derived, illustrated below.
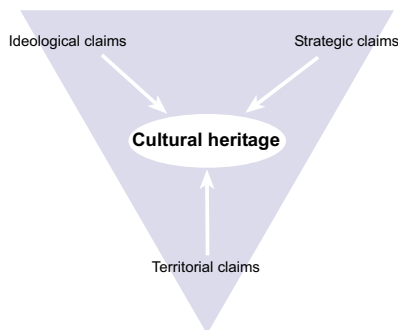


*Discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europeanisation with ideological, strategic and territorial claims.*

These claims and their discursive embeddings have been taken up in a further analysis of three INTERREG projects dealing with cultural heritage.


## 10. Case study analysis

The selected cultural heritage projects have be seen as social systems, as outlined before on theoretical considerations. Their cultural heritage discourses have been related to the networks and organisations in their environment. This environment supplies the information for the partnership to exchange ideas about opportunities, good practices, guidelines and about improving their competitiveness. Within partnerships, regions, networks and

disciplinary discourses there is autopoiesis, giving rise to organisational cultures defining the strategy to acquire European funding. Below a short impression will be given on the ways how cultural heritage in these projects was valorised in a regional approach and signified towards a European relevance.

The general objective of the Baltic Fort Route project was to construct a network to develop and economically valorise a line of fortifications that lie in Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russia. The idea for the Baltic Fort Route (BFR) project was a response to widespread concern that this extensive line of military fortresses in northern and eastern Europe might disappear forever into ruins. The project aimed at developing thematic routes which offered cultural and recreational opportunities and built up tourist infrastructure.

Restauronet aimed at running a long term network working on management and restoration of historical monuments of the Mediterranean area. The main objective of the project was to reinforce the economic, social and cultural role and centrality of historical sites. The focus was mainly on urban and metropolitan areas, promoting sustainable development, securing the overall inheritance of cities as living organisms while offering quality housing and services for residents. The partnership, comprising a great number of Mediterranean cities and regions, expressed their wish to improve the competitiveness of cities and strengthening local assets by limiting weaknesses.

The "Crossing the Lines" project involved the communities of Utrecht (the Netherlands), Mortsel (Belgium) and the County of Essex (Great Britain) who jointly set out to protect and redevelop the defence lines of the "Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie" (Utrecht), the east coast of the UK (Essex) and "Vesting Antwerpen" (Fort 4). The partnership was led by the Municipality of Utrecht. The overall objectives were to develop and implement knowledge on restoration techniques, to make investments for opening the fortified sites to the public and jointly develop new presentation techniques that would provide new visiting opportunities and reveal the history and current use of these post-Napoleonic fortifications.

### Regional identity

In none of the case studies a specific interest was put on expressing or strengthening regional identity, which is one of the major rationales of INTERREG. Only the Restauronet partner in Crete made some reference to regional identity, because European projects tend to enlarge already present problems of overexploitation in the tourist industry. In Xanthi regional identity discussions in the environment of the project were exclusionary towards Muslim identities or Slav (Balkan). The project itself was not considered relevant for these identity discussions, especially because of its focus on monuments that were commonly ascribed to the central Greek government. In Kaunas and Utrecht regional identity remained totally untouched in the project discourse. Crete shows regional identity to be a natural focus for a region that already has a strong identity, due to autopoiesis in identity discourse.

In Kaunas identity discussions in fact were important, but they were wrapped around the idea of being the former capital city of Lithuanian and claims of being the present capital of Lithuanian people. In Utrecht the idea of a city identity was less pronounced. The Utrecht partner localised the identity discussion to the concept of genius loci.

The basic idea of INTERREG, that regions should profile their identity, is problematic in view of the diversity of well and poorly established regions. Europe frames its regions as uniform building blocks, but disregards the fact that some regions have a strong regional culture and others have not. The analysis of the case studies showed regions can be defined in different ways, creating ambiguities in the different societal and political ideas that they represent, see below.

| Type of region | Rationale |
| --- | --- |
| administrative | assignment/control |
| political | autonomy/dependency |
| historical | anchored in history and social memory |
| macro | defined by culture or history beyond nations |
| cultural | defined by cultural markers, like language |
| geographical | based on landscape |

*Different types of regions and their rationale*

The case studies in Lithuania and Greece show how national governments changed and weakened regions before entering the EU, although for different reasons. In Lithuania the government did not want its regions to coincide with the historic ethnographical regions, because these identities were too strong. So a hybrid construct was made to facilitate control and administrative procedures. In Greece, the historic regions that were strongly anchored in social memory were changed for political reasons (to avoid the future possibility of a majority of Muslim people in Thrace) and for administrative reasons (merging the four regions of Crete). The standardising effects of EU policy about the minimum number of inhabitants within regions, invoked these changes. It was not recognised that the historic regions were institutionalised as cultural heritage. Moreover, with its policy frame of regions as building blocks, the EU overlooked the competition over identity claims which exists between regions and cities. Whenever a large city, such as Kaunas or Utrecht, participates in INTERREG, its interests are in promoting the city, its identity and its heritage tourism.

### Regional and European heritage significance
All three projects initially stated a significant European relevance of their cultural heritage. Institutionalisation however has been devoted to local or regional valorisation, based on the idea of commodification of cultural heritage. Between ending one project and starting the next one, partners use information gathered from their environment to develop new ideas of

European relevance, to improve their status and situation within the INTERREG network. This practice does not contribute to the institutionalisation of European heritage. It only reproduces this idea for the sake of acquiring new projects.

Understanding this fallacy requires more insight in qualifications of success. As theorized in polysystem theory, qualifications of success are produced bottom up (codifying) and top down (canonising). Projects are codified and canonised in a governance environment. If a partnership codifies a project as good practice and this is adopted at a higher level as part of the canon of success stories, then the partnership reaches a position closer to the centre of power and influence, making it easier to access European money. The most important bottom up success indicator is "the next project". To achieve this, partners stay attached to European networks and discuss practices of commodification both within this network and their local environment. The top down most important argument is "a project without trouble". For this INTERREG programmes support strategic partners and proven partnerships. Both views endorse one another in a discourse coalition, see below. This discourse coalition produces strong ideas on success that became detached from the overarching INTERREG ideology and rationale.



*A graphic presentation of the discourse coalition, based on polysystem theory.*

### Territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage

Kaunas city claimed the military heritage of Russian origin to be part of its history and identity. The Kaunas partner denied any relevance of its heritage for the region Kaunas is located in. On the contrary they stated to have evidence that Kaunas culturally and historically belongs to another region that formally acknowledged. This dispute reflects their self image: to be more important and more central than any of the regions of Lithuania. It can be interpreted as a territorial claim. Strategically the focus was put on scientific cooperation and harmonisation of fort management, being activities that ensure their attachment to European networks. A firm ideological claim put Kaunas in the position of capital of Lithuanian people. This claim was based on arguments of history (the city was capital in the Interbellum) and of purity (less minorities when compared to Vilnius).

In Crete a similar discourse on autonomy and identity was constructed. European projects as such were considered as a threat to Cretan identity and autonomy. This reflects a territorial claim on cultural heritage that opposes overexploitation by foreigners not respecting Cretan

culture. Strategically, cultural heritage is claimed to ascertain the heroic nature of Cretan people. Rethymnon participated in the Restauronet project with an ideological claim of Cretan people being the best Greek and Greek to be the core of Mediterranean identity.

Ideological claims in Restauronet were very important in Xanthi, Thrace. Their cultural heritage claims to give proof of Macedonian decent and lack of significance of Muslim influences. Like in Crete the city and its regions are supposed to belong to the core of Greek society, but on different, primarily historic, arguments. A strategic claims were produced tying Thracian culture to the Mediterranean, and away from the Balkans and the Muslim culture in Turkey.

Utrecht's participation in the Crossing the Lines project produced mainly strategic claims on its "Fort aan de Klop". This partner strived for planning autonomy to establish a economically sustainable maintenance of the fort with limited public investments. Initially the fort was claimed as a "park" belong to the surrounding residential areas. At the end of the project it became a good practice of the national project on development and restoration of sites of the New Dutch Water Defence Line. This can be interpreted as a strategic move to acquire more recognition and a better negotiate position for their other forts.

This overview of territorial, strategic and ideological claims refer to society as being like a layered cake. In practice this was observed in case of Restauronet and, to a less notable extent, in the Baltic Fort Route and Crossing the Lines. In Crossing the Lines however the regional level was ignored. The regional identities of Crete and Thrace were particularised with regional flavours that also drew on Greek and Mediterranean identities which formed higher aggregation levels of the layer cake.

Cretan identity is based on archaeological heritage and is framed as the core of Greek identity, which in turn is put in the middle of Mediterranean identity. The Thracian partners use historic evidence to tie their identity in with Macedonian history and consequently to the idea of greater Greece. This is a variant of the same reasoning: the region in the middle of Greece and Greece in the middle of the Mediterranean area. The partner in Kaunas also applied this societal model; they see the city as the capital of Lithuanian people, and Lithuania as occupying a central place in the middle of the Baltic area, with the Great Duchy of Lithuania encompassing the countries that lie on the borders between Europe and Russia. Utrecht limited its claims primarily to strategic ones and did not make any claims on city or regional identity with its project. They employed cultural heritage as an asset for small scale tourism development. These examples show identity reasoning to be self-centred. They show a problematic side of the discourse of Europe of the Regions: basically it is a pluralist discourse, but it lacks a multi core model of society. Cultural heritage is claimed to give proof of the single core position of the region.

**Institutionalisation of cultural heritage**

The mechanism of valorisation that's being produced in the discourse coalition has consequences for institutionalisation of cultural heritage. Partnerships use already existing cultural heritage categories and refine, reframe or rename them. The amount of cultural heritage categories is increasing. More than 80 categories are acknowledged by Europa Nostra, but in practice they are numerous. Russian heritage as a category for example has been split into technical and imperialist heritage. Military heritage has been split by referring to the war period of its origin, to its geopolitical origin (Soviet or Western European) or to the sort of military activities. Monumental heritage has been split in refined categories depending on the need for management (private or state owned), their location (polycentric heritage), or their origin (religious heritage).

Institutionalisation is based on diversification of already existing heritage categories and conceptions. Conceptual innovation takes place in the environment of INTERREG projects, but is not taken up by them. They are the result of cultural policies and do not fit into the economic reasoning of INTERREG partnerships. As a result INTERREG practice does not produce new images of regional identity or European heritage.

## 11. Conclusions

The interpretive account on cultural heritage signification and the conclusions provide the substance for answering the main research question. In the discourse of Europe of the Regions, territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage are often in competition. The analysis of INTERREG projects' environments showed how pluralist and universalist discourses can affect signification.

In the case of a pluralist heritage culture, identification occurs primarily at the community level, based on participative and semiotic practices that signify particular heritage categories that display uniqueness, with an emphasis on segregation, exclusion and cultural content. The management of cultural heritage aims at protecting or even concealing heritage from outside influences. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture is based on self definition in we-they oppositions, or even more influential, on path dependency reasoning, making use of ethnic markers such as language, religion or specific images of the past.

A universalist heritage culture is primarily based on considerations of affiliation with a wider community. The emphasis here is put on exposure of cultural heritage, inclusion of others in society and incorporating procedures that can accomplish this. Identity construction is based on shared values. Ownership of cultural heritage is neither legalised or privatised, but merely reflects discursive ascription to broader community levels. The management of cultural heritage is based on democratic values and aims at cultural exchange. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture is based on inclusive unifying reasoning, stressing the similarities between people rather than differences.

These different signification routines have been observed in INTERREG practices, although mixed up due to the cultural economic ambiguity described above. Territorial claims on cultural heritage sometimes resulted in practices of privatisation, which sometimes even excluded tourists. Such claims are constructed outside of the INTERREG projects. They mainly emphasise living heritage and place less emphasis on monuments. Strategic claims focus on the potential added value of monumental heritage in terms of social economic development. They are mostly constructed by institutions participating in federalist discourses and are exchanged in European cultural heritage networks. They are based more on arguments of affiliations rather than of uniqueness, but both arguments are used within an understanding of ownership that combines legal claim and discursive ascription. The idea of monumental heritage as an asset and an object of commodification is widespread and, as a consequence, the institutionalisation, professionalisation and harmonisation of management are considered to be of vital importance. Strategic claims are the most widespread and apparent type of claim made in INTERREG projects. Ideological claims are hardly visible in INTERREG practice, although very influential in the INTERREG environment. They are related to identity claims and to identity competition and are based on static identity models (such as the layer cake and single core Durkheimian image of society). They can be recognised in attempts to reframe images of history and identity and in disputes over cultural or administrative regions. The analysis of the cases showed neither of these two types of claims on cultural heritage contributed to the institutionalisation of European heritage or to regional identity, both of which are explicit aims of INTERREG policy.

Below the most important universalist and pluralist tendencies are summarised in a table.

| | Universalist tendency | Pluralist tendency |
|---|---|---|
| conceptualisation | semiotic<br>territory-based<br>branding approach | participative/semiotic<br>community-based<br>path dependency |
| ownership | inclusion: discursive ascription as the mechanism of sharing signification | exclusion: (legal) claiming as the mechanism of privatised signification |
| governance | Open Method of Coordination, favouring signification through multilevel governance | subsidiarity, supporting ways of local identity construction |
| planning culture | harmonisation of semantics and planning approach | strategic discourse for exploiting a unique position; competition |
| repertoire | focus on procedures | focus on content |
| institutionalisation | institutional diversification | conceptual innovation |

*A graphic presentation of the discourse coalition, based on polysystem theory.*

Claims on cultural heritage are generated in universalist and pluralist discourses and may seek to appeal to the motto 'unity in diversity'. Yet there are two competing ideas about this motto, which influence the discourse of Europe of the Regions: one is of a universal culture aligned with a diverse cultural heritage that serves as a developmental asset, the other is of a diverse culture and a universal heritage that can attract mass tourism and intercultural understanding. Both views were present in INTERREG practice, within networks, projects and sometimes even as dialogism in a single interview.

Analysis of the environment of INTERREG projects shows how heritage cultures are pluralised through local autopoietic practices of identification which are supported by local and regional cultural policies. INTERREG projects fail to address and reinforce pluralism because of the universalist focus on management and commodification. Both these perspectives find the commodification of cultural heritage to be acceptable, an outcome which can be interpreted as a discourse coalition. This focus on commodification inhibits conceptual innovations which in the end could lead to new ways of institutionalising European cultural heritage. Commodification enhances the diversification of already existing and accepted cultural heritage concepts.

The two competing ideological concepts of culture and heritage are reproduced in the European heritage discourse, contributing to a diversification of arguments (dialogism). This fuzzy discourse is used as a rhetorical resource by partnerships seeking new INTERREG projects focused on cultural heritage. As a consequence, strategic claims often reflect a mixture of different ideologies that are negotiated through multi level governance. The ability to pursue a strategy of negotiation is a key competence in INTERREG discourse. However such a strategy only relates to the Open Method of Coordination in multilevel governance and not to European society as a whole. As a result of this self-referential concept of strategy, taken up in canonisation and codification of so-called good practices, projects are confined to regional valorisation and do not serve the public goals of European society, such as the European signification of cultural heritage. European heritage, therefore, is supported as an idea, but little progress is made in institutionalising this idea. The allopoietic perpetuum mobile of European projects only notionally produces European heritage. The issues of unity and diversity are the key concepts of Europe of the Regions. If cultural identities are perceived as being intrinsically exclusionary, pluralisation would inevitably lead to social fragmentation. Discussing the ethos of pluralisation, Connolly advocates that cultural pluralisation should go hand in hand with increasing interconnectivity (Connolly 1996) (p. 197). This analysis has confirmed that pluralist and universalist heritage cultures do combine with each other in valid ways to establish unity in diversity. The analysis has shown that they are not real opposites that cannot be merged.

In some cases other, more appropriate, oppositions were employed to describe the complex of signification processes of cultural heritage. Ownership can be shared by combining legal claims and discursive ascription: some categories of cultural heritage may

be privatised and others may be shared. Achieving unity in diversity might even require more heritage subsidiarity accompanied by selective European claims. Military heritage for example, reflects a Europe at war in historic times and may now be used to reflect a Europe of peace. Firm claims on it by Europe can be based on this concept of Europe of peace. In INTERREG's programmes and projects the ideological dialogism, the self-referentiality of codification and canonisation, together with the Open Method of Coordination, limit the focus of projects on regional valorisation and the commodification of cultural heritage. As a consequence, the cases in this research neither contributed to the institutionalisation of European heritage nor to regional identity.

## 12. Discussion

Further theoretical exploration is needed on the issue of system theory and universalism. System theory defines operational closure as a necessary condition for opening (framing as a condition for retrieving information from the environment). The idea of universalism is based on unconditional openness. This analysis shows that identities represent the necessary condition of closure that allows openness towards other identities and that cultural heritage supplies the markers or indicates the boundaries. This would imply a further theoretical step in system theory going beyond the concept of operational closure, suggesting that pluralism is a prerequisite for universalism. System theory might need to incorporate identity construction (uniqueness and affiliation) in its views on pluralism and universalism. This issue deserves more consideration than it has been given in this analysis, and such attention could contribute to a better understanding and conceptualisation of a society based on identity pluralism.

## 13. References

Andersen, N. A. (2003). Discursive analytical strategies. Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann. Bristol, UK, The Policy Press.

Connolly, W. E. (1996). The Ethos of Pluralization. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Delanty, G. (2005). "The idea of a cosmopolitan Europe: On the cultural significance of Europeanization." International Review of Sociology 15(3): 405-421.

Durkheim, E. (1893). The division of labour in society. New York, Free Press.

Grix, J. (2004). The foundations of research. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Luhmann, N. (1995). Social Systems. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.

Yanow, D. (2000). Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis. Newbury Park, Sage.

# 1. General introduction: competing ideological frames of Europeanisation and their implications for heritage

## 1.1. The European Union: history and heritage

It is not known where and when the idea of Europe as a specifically defined territory first emerged. In the fifth century BC Herodotus divided the world into Asia, Libya and Europe, but he emphasised that he did not have any idea of the origin of the names (Unwin 1998) Three centuries later, the geographer Strabo wrote a more comprehensive account of Europe, assuming that the north of Europe was uninhabited and probably uninhabitable because of the cold climate. One can say that Europe has a precarious ontological status and did not exist as a culturally defined whole, prior to the eighth century AD. Historically, the concept of Europe has been delineated by the history of the Celtic and Greek civilizations, the spread of the Roman Empire and of Christianity. The construct of Europe became more solid during the Renaissance era, as a result of seafaring explorations of the world (Graves-Brown, Jones et al. 1996). Today there are different concepts of Europe, defined along territorial, cultural, symbolic, political and ethnic lines.

The concept of Europe requires more than a grounding history: it also needs heritage. Commissioner Ján Figel expressed this in his speech at the Europa Nostra Awards Ceremony (Madrid, 27 June 2006) claiming that *"cultural heritage is widely recognised across Europe as a vehicle of cultural identity" and "the preservation, appreciation and promotion of our cultural heritage is one of the best ways we have to promote a sense of belonging to Europe"*. Recently, the quest for European heritage has been embodied in the European Heritage Label. At its meeting in Brussels on 20 November 2008, the Council of the European Union concluded that the label reflects the *"increasing knowledge among citizens of their history and their shared yet diverse cultural heritage. It should contribute to the sharing of best practices and to the promotion of democratic values and human rights that form the foundation of European integration and European citizenship. Eligible are sites that "bear witness, in particular by their cross-border or pan-European nature, to Europe's history, common values or cultural heritage, particularly to the building of Europe"* (citation from Official Journal of the European Union 2008/C 319/04).

The importance of heritage is recognized by special programmes of the EU, such as the Raphael Programme[1] which ran from 1997 till 2000. The aim of this programme was *"to encourage cooperation for the protection, conservation and enhancement of Europe's cultural heritage, raising citizens' awareness of cultural heritage and facilitating their access to it".*

One of the projects supported by the Raphael Programme was the restoration of the monasteries on Mount Athos. The project revealed a problematic apect of European heritage policy. Mount Athos, located on a peninsula in the northern part of Greece is a holy mountain for Orthodox Christians. It is occupied solely by monks. A grant of up to ECU 5.9 million was given for rehabilitation and conservation works in four Sacred Monasteries on Mount Athos: Aghiou Andrea, Dochiariou, Pantokratoros and Vatopediou. The site is also recognised by UNESCO as an important part of the world's cultural patrimony. Most of the buildings of the 20 Sacred Monasteries on the Athos Peninsula date from the 10th century, when monasticism began there in an organised way. The monks living there today are the curators of an impressive wealth of drawings and arts, unique manuscripts, historic relics, artefacts and ethnological objects.

One peculiarity of Mount Athos is that no women are allowed on the grounds. Even female animal husbandry is forbidden. Access to the area is a privilege for men and requires a visa, which is hard to obtain. The orthodox monks recognize the authority and rule of the Patriarch in Istanbul and do not accept interference from the Greek government. Since its formation the European Union has had policies to prevent discrimination between the sexes. But it granted an exemption to Mount Athos because of its special status as a holy place. However, due to the investments of the EU, the European Parliament is discussing reconsidering that exemption. The French European deputy Fode Sylla has prepared a report recommending an end to the exemption because Mt. Athos is "an infringement of womens' human rights." The only opposition to this proposal came from the Socialist government of Greece (Weyrich 2003). While the European Parliament is opposed to the discriminative policy at Mt Athos, stopping it would also put an end to the peculiarity and essence of the religious culture of Mt. Athos.

In a nutshell the example of Mt. Athos highlights a dilemma that is attached to heritage[2] protection. Does European heritage belong to all Europeans or is heritage in essence owned and managed by the culture that produced it?

---

[1] The main sectors covered by the Raphael Programme were movable and immovable heritage (museums, ollections,libraries and archives, including photographic, film and audio archives), archaeological and undersea heritage, architectural heritage and cultural landscapes. This programme contributed to the promoting the idea that Europe owns arichcultural heritage and that all Europeans should have access to it.

[2] The concept of heritage used here is a broad one, including all that people define as heritage. It will be further defined in chapter 2.

*Monks of Mount Athos*

## 1.2.    Heritage: expressing the contradictions of "unity in diversity"

The concept of "united in diversity" involves balancing the universal democratic values upon which Europe is based while, at the same time, respecting or even promoting cultural variety. Nobel price winner Jan Tinbergen initially suggested that the "unity in diversity" found within the Benelux countries was an appropriate model for Europe as a whole (Tinbergen 1982) and "unity in diversity" was officially adopted as the European Union's motto on May 4th 2000. This motto is used all over the world for management, political and religious purposes[3]. "Unity" refers to oneness, a whole made up of a sum of parts that make a whole, essentially around a consensus of shared values that link a state or system. "Diversity" refers to the variety and difference among the individuals living within communities or working within a company. Thus, "unity in diversity" suggests a harmonious

---

[3] Unity in Diversity is an ancient spiritual wisdom, ascribed to Indian philosophers. E.g. it has been used to describe the strentgth of India as a country with a huge cultural and religious diversity. Besides it has a long history of use in religious debates concerning bible scriptures: the tension between claims on the bible to be a noncontradictory and consistent message concerning God that is challenged by individual presentations.

equilibrium between these seeming dichotomies, spanning individuals, communities, national and supranational levels. This motto is often used within political discourses that promote a multi-cultural society. Yet it is open to very different interpretations.

Discourses about Europeanisation commonly argue that there is a need to protect the wide cultural variety found within Europe. However, there are different views about how this is achieved and these reveal different perspectives and concepts about culture and cultural heritage. Culture can be perceived as static: some want to make an inventory of Europe's rare and endangered cultures (Bugge 2003; Faletar 2005; Gablenz, Plesu et al. 2005) as the basis for framing Europe's cultural heritage. Others see culture as dynamic and stress the ongoing plurality that is still emerging from society (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1992). These different perspectives on culture and cultural heritage show the importance of analysing the different cultural and ideological backgrounds that inform discussions about heritage. Such an analysis may go some way to revealing the complexities within 'European ideology', which simultaneously strives to promote a unified culture with shared values and meanings, while also respecting cultural diversity and the resultant heritage.

The following section provides a brief account on competing claims regarding heritage. This is followed by an overview of Europe's culture policy. These accounts are intended to help the reader to understand the complex dichotomies that emerge when simultaneously seeking to promote unification and diversity. The picture is further complicated by regional policy and practices which make claims on heritage less unequivocal and more complex.

## 1.3.    Conflicting claims on cultural heritage

Discourses about Europeanisation draw upon history and identity (Unwin 1998). This focus gives rise to the need for a European heritage that sets the boundaries of Europeanness as an idea and ideal. Different theoretical and political dispositions towards Europeanisation conceptualise European heritage in different ways and regard it as having different functions (Ashworth and Howard 1999). Discourses about Europeanisation draw on different ideas about European heritage and these in turn are inspired by both world heritage (UNESCO) and national heritage practices. To a certain extent, these differences reflect competing political and cultural perspectives, framing heritage as a territorially bound social construction and/or as an economic resource.

A specific example that can illustrate this divergence of interests is the Roman Limes (marking the frontiers of the Roman Europe). Nobody doubts that this relic is of European significance. Nevertheless, the few attempts to treat it as a total framework of European heritage has encountered problems, as the practices employed for representing and

preserving it vary from region to region (Breeze 2005; Thiel 2005)[4]. As a result, the Limes is treated as a collection of regional heritage objects that regions want to valorise but not synthesise as a European entity. Because of this, lay-people do not generally recognise the Limes as part of European heritage. Dutch practice, to be discussed later in this book, clearly shows a lack of interest in the international context of the Limes and focuses on regional valorisation.

A second example is an initiative of the Council of Europe concerning heritage. In order to delineate a European identity, the Council has made an interesting attempt to reinterpret history. The Council of Europe declared the Bronze Age to have been 'the First Golden Age of Europe'. This move was based on the scientific publications of Childe, between 1925 and 1954, who suggested archaeological investigations provide evidence that a specific European identity emerged during the Bronze Age (Pearce 2008). As a symbol of the initiative, a special logo has been created involving an interpretation of one of the horses from the famous cave drawings at Altamira in Spain, surmounted by the stars of the European flag. The horse strongly resembles a przewalski horse, a strong symbol of Polish culture (Trotzig 1994). Despite this attempt to create a  pan European interpretation of the Bronze Age, the collective history of Celts, Aryans, Neolithic farmers etc is in practice told in nationally delineated discourses, focused on e.g. the Gauls in France, the Iberians in Spain and the Celts in Wales and Brittany (Jones 1996). Thus this pan-European Bronze Age initiative was diluted by both provincialism and nationalism (Pearce 2008). This national and regional framing of archaeology has undermined any deeper understanding of the history of this period, when nation states as such did not exist (Pearce 2008). Yet despite, or maybe because of the idea that Celtic culture of the Iron and Bronze Age lies at the roots of Europe, it has received considerable attention in recent years (see Thurnston (2009) for an extensive review), though in the context of regional claims.

Besides ideological and historical justifications, there were also practical arguments for launching the Bronze Age initiative, which illustrated the need for European institutions to adopt a cautious approach towards heritage. These have been described by Prof Willems, commenting on discussions about heritage that occurred during the process of implementing the Malta Convention (Willems 2007). He describes the reason as *"to promote archaeology and also to communicate concepts of common heritage (and its management) at a European scale. …Neither the Vikings nor the Romans seemed very suitable to promote the concept of a common Europe heritage. The Bronze Age was sufficiently vague and pan-European in character, at the same time having sufficient numbers of attractive artefacts which would be appealing to a large audience"* (Willems 2007).

---

[4] This became apparent during the Visiting the Past symposium organised by WUR/SRA, Projectbureau The Limes and Leuven University , Utrecht, 11 and 12 October 2007.

*Map of European Bronze Age archaeological remains (European Heritage 2, 1994)*

Thus, competing territorial and political claims about heritage are expressed at different policy levels and these represent different economic, cultural and social interests. These competing claims have to be merged, solved, fused or somehow made mutually compatible. But symbolically, the issues do not have to be resolved, because heritage is about the meaning attached to material objects in the public space. It is no problem if one person sees a statue as representing a hero and another sees it as a symbol of a traitor. However, in the framework of Europeanisation, interpretations of heritage can highlight conflicts between regional and European identity, exposing competing claims, especially when different groups seek to use heritage for different purposes. Ideologies have implications for heritage practices, as the example of the Roman Limes and Mount Athos show. Competition and struggles are related to ideologies and commodities, and they take place in a very complex arena of European networks and institutions. Institutions such as UNESCO may promote pluralist views of heritage, but many European, national, regional and local networks focus their lobbying on promoting heritage protection and restoration by the EU. The danger is that the competition to promote local heritage: by constructing active networks, submitting heritage projects for funding, and trying to influence European policy

making in favour of parochial interests, risks losing the diversity of meanings contained within Europe's heritage.

Competition between heritage frames is not so problematic, even if it does give rise to a kaleidoscope of heritage disputes. These can be seen as semantic tensions, without any implications for the real world. Yet the consequences of those disputes for the diversity of heritage traditions and the related cultures could be far more problematic. Is Europe losing its diversity of cultural heritage or is its repertoire of heritage cultures growing? Answering this question involves reflecting on European governance, with its democratic principles, and how these relate to particular heritage and planning traditions. Such an analysis highlights the interrelationship between European democratic principles and culturally defined ways of dealing with heritage.

European regions work within the motto of "united in diversity" and it is interesting to analyse their ideas about how they contribute to Europeanisation and how they perceive the relevance of their regional identity and regional heritage. This dual focus of heritage: that reflects both European and regional history and values, and the tensions that it can give rise to have not been sufficiently recognised and researched. When discussing heritage issues, there is a tendency to focus on the alleged role that heritage plays in uniting people. The possibility that heritage can also divide society is almost totally neglected.

This paradox is highlighted in a number of official documents. For example, the Maastricht Treaty expresses the wish *'to bring the common cultural heritage to the fore'* and this was substantiated or supported by a UNESCO report Our Creative Diversity (Cuéllar, Arizpe et al. 1997). The Council of Europe's report *'In from the Margins: a contribution to the debate on culture and development in Europe'* influenced the position of heritage in the Treaty. Both reports supported the idea of establishing a common European culture. Such reports assume a cultural heritage in which democracy, enlightenment values, reason, individualism and a Greco-Roman historical tradition all contribute to producing a unique and shared European cultural heritage. This heritage not only embodies a common European culture, but concurrently supports the ideological position of protecting and advancing this shared culture. The reports also display a subtle paradigm shift involving the abandonment of Culture with a capital C and endorsement of the more anthropological approach. For example, the report *In from the Margins* argues that *'culture is a powerful promoter of identity'* and aims to define a common European identity through a cultural heritage of 'civilisation' and a common mass culture to be disseminated through an integrated European media. The claims made here upon heritage are quite obvious: it is being used as a tool to contribute to social cohesion. As the report of the high-level task force on social cohesion of the Council of Europe says: " *…a future Europe in a European identity and unity that rests on shared fundamental values, respect for and valorisation of our common heritage*

*and cultural diversity. Spearhead (in education) is a programme of activities, together with local, national and transnational agencies, oriented to public awareness to affirm the value for social cohesion of historic, cultural and environmental heritage and collective assets in general."* This quotation shows quite clearly the European vision of heritage. It is supposed to be common and universal and to be used as a foundation for social cohesion. There is no mention of the possibility that heritage can also divide society. These reports also speak of the 'manageability of identities', seeing cultural heritage as a way of describing (maybe even prescribing) a European culture, based on shared values and history. The focus on heritage as a means of uniting the European community, is rather problematic, since it runs counter to the other aspect of heritage which allows group identification, contributes to diversity and as such can emphasise the divisions between the peoples of Europe.

So, heritage issues are firmly rooted in a number of deeper ideological disputes. The way that people address heritage is closely related to their implicit views on Europe's future and their own role within it. To achieve a better understanding of cultural heritage and its cultural rootedness, we need to further examine and analyse the process of Europeanisation and reconsider the relevance of heritage for Europe and its regions.

## 1.4.   Europeanisation and cultural policy

The relevance of cultural heritage for the EU can be better understood through a further analysis and discussion of Europe's cultural policy. The increased weight given to a cultural agenda as a means of forging unity in Europe brings cultural heritage more into focus. The cultural policies of the EU are set out in several documents, including the Maastricht Treaty, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, the EU's response to the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity and the recent European Strategy on Culture. While one can analyse these documents in isolation, the relation between general and economic policy and culture is much more complicated and less straightforward, as will be shown below.

When the European Community was originally founded in the 1950s culture did not formally lie within its range of competence. The first attempts to put culture on the Community's agenda occurred in the 1970s. In the absence of any formal competence to act in this field, cultural action had to be justified in relation to economic objectives. The bulk of funding for cultural heritage has therefore come through the Structural Funds, regional policy instruments designed to alleviate uneven economic development within the Community. The real impetus towards explicit policy consideration of culture came in the mid 1980s, with the rise of an agenda for a 'People's Europe', stimulated by concerns over the Community's so-called 'democratic deficit' (accountability, legitimacy and sovereignty). The low turn-out to elections for the European Parliament in the 1980s was widely been interpreted as evidence of this democratic deficit, caused by a lack of coordination and agreement, the dominance

**History of the EU: some historic landmarks in cultural heritage**

1954    European Cultural Convention: Article 5 on heritage preservation

1957    Treaty of Rome addresses "regional differences".

1958    Setting up of the European Social Fund (ESF).

1975    Creation of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

1986    The Single European Act lays the legal basis for cohesion policy.

1989-93  First period with common rules for the Structural Funds, allocating ECU 68 billion (1997 prices); Cohesion Fund created in 1993 Initial launch of INTERREG

1994-99  Second common programming period, with ECU 177 billion (1997 prices) set aside for the Structural Funds. Period of INTERREGII

1999    Agenda 2000 common agricultural policy (CAP) reform: beginning of EU's Rural Policy, LEADER+ Community Initiative

2001    Gothenburg Agenda

2000-06  Third programming period allocating €213 billion (1999 prices). Structural Instruments for pre-accession created for countries in central and Eastern Europe. Period of INTERREG III

2007-13  This period will see about €308 billion (2004 prices) allocated through cohesion instruments. It is also characterised by synergies between EU regional policy support and other EU instruments and institutions, especially in the areas of research, innovation, environment and transport.

The Structural Funds in the 1994-1999 period were classified in five areas of objectives. These are (Inforegio News 1, February 1994):

- Objective 1: structural measures for retarded regions
- Objective 2: conversion of declining industrial areas
- Objectives 3 and 4: combating long-term unemployment, facilitating the integration into working life of young people and of persons exposed to exclusion from the labour market and facilitating adaptation to industrial changes through measures to prevent unemployment
- Objective 5(a): adjustment of agricultural structures and fisheries
- Objective 5(b): development of rural areas

For the period 1994-1999 INTERREG II was a community initiative with a budget of  2.9 billion ECU –out of a total of 13.45 billion (22%) (Inforegio News 2, March 1994). For INTERREG III this was 4.9 out of 213 billion (ECU) 2.3%).

of national over supranational politics, and the marginal position of the European Parliament within European decision making (Coultrap 1999; Decker 2002; Meadowcroft 2002).

The rise of a cultural agenda in the 1980s coincided with the reinvigoration of the project of European integration, overseen by a newly assertive European Commission (Ross, 1995). The stated aim was to instil a stronger sense of Europeanness in the citizens of member states through staging various symbolic and cultural events. In 1987, the Commission's framework for cultural action for the 1988-1992 period clearly presented culture as a medium through which to shape a popular consensus in support of moves towards market and monetary integration: *"the sense of being part of European culture is one of the prerequisites for that solidarity which is vital in the advent of the large market, and the considerable changes it will bring about in living conditions within the Community, is to secure the popular support it needs"* (CEC, 1987). At this stage cultural policy was centred around the primarily symbolic use of different cultural practices to shape the identities of citizens.

Throughout the 1980s it was widely recognised that Europe should not seek to impose a single model of cultural policy or try to establish a single model of European identity. Culture increasingly came to be perceived as a dynamic aspect of daily life. The idea of European society as a melting pot was slowly abandoned and replaced by a concept of a diverse, multi-ethnic plurality of cultures, the sum of which enriches each individual culture (EP, 1990). The period of history between 1990 and 1999 is known as the EU without frontiers, during which time it was envisaged that a single market economy, agreed upon in the Single European Act (SEA) in 1987, would emerge. The goal of the SEA was to remove remaining barriers between countries and to increase harmonisation, thus increasing the competitiveness of European countries. The collapse of communism across central and Eastern Europe, which began in Poland and Hungary, and was symbolised by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, drew European nations closer to one another. A large number of new countries came to the join the Union from the mid-1990s onwards and this enlargement hindered attempts to address or reduce the democratic deficit. Member states sought to supplement the progress achieved by the SEA with other social, justice (Schengen) and legal reforms. As a result, the Treaty on European Union was signed in February 1992 and entered into force in November 1993. This Treaty, also known as the Maastricht Treaty, changed the name of the "European Economic Community" into "the European Community", indicating a scope wider than economic growth (European Union 1992).

The Maastricht Treaty introduced the concept of European Citizenship, reflecting the shared rights and values on which European Unification is based. Presenting European Citizenship as a supplement to national citizenship, the 'European cultural model' accepts both cultural diversity and the defining of a shared cultural entity. In applying the concept of European

citizenship, the aim of the EU's cultural policy is to define and underline the common aspects of Europe's heritage, while, simultaneously, respecting and enhancing cultural, national and regional diversity (European Commission 2002a).

The Maastricht Treaty gives the EU the authority to undertake actions aimed at preserving, spreading and developing cultural values in Europe. The culture chapter of the Treaty says: *'The community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures'* (European Union 1992; Treaty of Maastricht; art. 151:4). The EU's role is limited to enhancing coordination between cultural actors from different countries, or supplementing their activities, in order to contribute to the growth of the cultures of member states. New cultural programmes (Kaleidoscope, Ariane and Raphael) were installed directly after 1992, but were eventually evaluated as being too oriented towards 'high-culture' mostly only relevant to the higher echelons of society and ignoring the cultural aspects of the daily lives of ordinary citizens. This ran contrary to text within the Treaty which stipulates that culture should be taken into account in all EU activities. This implies that the cultural policy of the EU should be an integrated part of other policy areas.

The Commission tried to develop a clear definition of the concept of culture, but didn't succeed (Barnett 2001). As a result, this period saw different conceptions of culture being used. In contrast to the already-existing semiotic concept of culture which promoted a European flag, anthem (Shore 1996) and other identifiers (such as the European motto, currency and Europe Day), the Commission advocated a communal view of culture that acknowledged the daily aspects of society as a whole. In this view, culture should be recognised and addressed in the context of the social and economic development of regions, and thus become relevant for all citizens. If "the European project" leads to prosperity it is assumed that citizens will adopt a European identity, thereby creating a synergy between social-economic and cultural development. Another aspect of the cultural debate was the centrality of participation. Citizens were assumed to become Europeans through participation in activities resulting from their own culture and organised through EU-funded projects.

In the late 1990s the Commission visited the question about culture and its possible disruptive effects on European integration. This followed a tendency to counterpose culture and integration, by presenting cultural diversity as an obstacle to the apparently homogenising impulses of integration. The Commission expressed its interest in finding examples of best practices for reconciling the different imperatives of culture and economy (see CEC, 1996b). The Commission wanted to substantiate its goal of integrating culture with other policies through highlighting good practices.

This focus on integration and best practices aimed to resolve the dichotomy between cultural and economic modes of Europeanisation. Cultural policy became seen as a key aspect for promoting both economic development and social integration. The imperative of defining, or redefining cultural action in ways that are consistent with and supportive of the community's primary economic objectives has led to an increased emphasis upon the existing and potential employment impact of the cultural sector. Culture is seen as making three different sorts of contribution to economic development: a direct role in growth and employment in the cultural industries, an indirect role in improving the image of regions, capitalising on cultural assets as part of place-marketing strategies to attract investment and, an even more indirect role in, promoting social integration and social cohesion. The third dimension is used to legitimise EU support for cultural programmes that promote social participation as this is assumed to also enhance the employability of citizens. In addition citizens' access to culture in an operational or user capacity is considered an essential condition for full participation in society.

Barnett (2001) sees this involvement as the signalling of the governmentalisation of culture, which in turn raises questions about the policy aims: most specifically whether it is seeking to promote one European culture or a plurality of cultures. Many of the Commission's documents, such as the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU (ratified by the Commission, the Parliament and the Council in the year 2000) stress the importance of pluralism.   In essence the Charter states that the European Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. This Charter reflects a growing emphasis given to a pluralist cultural perspective in the ideology of Europeanisation in recent years. The issues of universalism and a pluralist approach to cultural policy became even more important in the debate over the Constitutional Treaty. In the process leading to this Treaty, a Declaration supporting a European Charter of Culture was drawn up by representatives of the governments of all member states. The declaration[5] states: *"acceptance of the Constitutional Treaty for Europe involves the adoption of cultural diversity as a spearhead of the EU"*. This declaration corresponds to the ratification of the UNESCO convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, (October 20, 2005).

---

[5] The Declaration in favour of a European Charter of Culture contains the following quotes:
*We, the representatives of the European Union Member States, convinced that culture is at the origin of the Europe in which we are living and represents a fundamental aspect of the European identity and citizenship, undertake to make culture an essential priority of the European construction process. We reaffirm that culture also contributes to economic development, employment and social and territorial cohesion and to Europe's influence in the world. We reaffirm that the protection of cultural and linguistic diversity is a fundamental objective of our joint action.*
We are convinced that compliance with and active implementation of these principles can make culture a definite political project for Europe. Based upon the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, this project will strengthen the feeling of a European identity, awareness among all European citizens that they belong to a community of values and their will to build a common future together. Paris, 3 may 2005.

Thus the issue of 'unity in diversity', raises many ideological differences which contrast strongly in terms of their preference for universal or pluralist approaches to culture (Procee 1991) which has implications for cultural assimilation and multi-cultural social projects (Ashworth, Graham et al. 2007). The motto of unity in diversity provokes intense discussions and there is no consensus on what it should mean in practice. The process of Europeanisation can be seen as a very complex system of discursive practices, with this motto invoking some very interesting dynamic and structural instabilities within these discourses.

## 1.5.   European regional policy and regional identity

Euro-commissioner Danuta Hübner, at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the EU, looked back at the history of regional policy (Hübner 2007). She gave considerable weight to the economic rationale, without mentioning cultural motives. Yet, if one solely considers the economic rationale, it is difficult to understand the prominent position that heritage has acquired in regional policy. Many actors stress that heritage is an important field of interest in both the cultural and regional policies of the EU (Ashworth and Howard 1999). During the preparations for INTERREG IVC, officers sought to abandon cultural heritage as a category of projects, but this decision was reversed because of opposition from the regions[6]. The following section seeks to explain the enthusiasm of the regions for explicitly supporting heritage projects.

### Regional identity and heritage
How did cultural heritage become an important element within the INTERREG programme? An important vehicle for cultural heritage in INTERREG has been the European Spatial Development Programme (ESDP), aimed at the preservation of national resources and cultural heritage (Commisson 1999). This concept, intended by planners to be a bottom up initiative, has become very influential in INTERREG, and received the approval of an informal meeting of EU ministers in Potsdam in 1999. It was assumed that this agreement would lead to a firm spatial policy for the EU, but this never occurred. Instead, the approach has been more polycentric, as it is seen as fitting better with the goal of balancing prosperity levels between regions. In the ESDP the focus on cultural heritage was one of preservation and conservation. There has also been a focus on cultural landscapes which originated from

---

[6] Mr. Erwin Siweris, vice programme manager of INTERREG IVC in Lille, wrote in a private correspondence (18-9-2009): "Yes indeed there was some discussion on this issue. As the programme budget is quite small for whole EU, there was a need to focus more. Under cultural heritage the former IIIC programme and all other INTERREG strands funded already thousands of projects. As in the strands A and B of INTERREG IV cultural heritage projects are still be founded, there was the thought to exclude these projects now from IVC. However, the regions were still very keen on these projects and therefore they are included again, but with a clear focus on either economic or environmental development. Genuine tourist or cultural projects could not anymore be supported."

the Council of Europe's European Landscape Convention and UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme (Dynamo 2006). A Study Programme on European Spatial Planning followed the ESDP to clarify relevant spatial planning issues. The final report was delivered in 2000. It was based on the deliberations of three working groups[7] of which one (T2 which developed criteria for spatial differentiation) submitted a report discussing the cultural assets of European Landscapes (Anzuini and Strubelt 2000). The report singles out monuments and elements of archaeological heritage, based on the Granada Convention of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985) and the Malta Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage of Europe (1992). This focus on cultural landscapes was deepened by the Gothenburg Agenda (2001), which considerably strengthened the principles of sustainable development. One of the issues to emerge from this was the recognition of the importance of linkages between economic development and regional identity. A short citation from the website of the Directorate General (DG) Region[8] gives a sharp picture of this relationship, describing how to implement an innovative action at the regional level:

*Sustainable development means integrating the economic, social and environmental dimensions of regional planning. Regions are encouraged to build on their assets to develop a sustainable and competitive economy. A regional strategy should be based on its **heritage** (emphasis in original) and cultural diversity, or on its specific skills, its strategic location, its exceptionally high-quality environment or its educational and cultural infrastructure, etc.*

The approach assumes that heritage can be both a basis of a tourist economy and contribute to regional identity. Heritage is seen as a unique selling point[9] for cities and small historic towns, which may promote tourism as a strategy for local economic development using local assets (Dynamo 2006). In addition, the growth of pan-European tourism is considered as an important mechanism to achieve cross-cultural understanding and to help establish a European identity. This view is disputed by actors with a nationalist frame who claim that national identities should take primacy over European or regional ones. They see national identities as being under threat by the promotion of regional or European identities, seeing these later identities as either fracturing or diluting shared national identities and the norms and values that form the very basis of society.

## 1.6.    Problem description and research questions

Many attempts have been made to characterise the process of Europeanisation using

---

[7] The other working groups were T1. Regions and Urban-Rural partnerships and T3. Infography.
[8] http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/innovation/intro_en.htm.
[9] This is a marketing concept, based on economic theory.

the vocabulary of existing political structures, but without a satisfying result (Harmsen and Wilson 2002; Bukowski, Piattoni et al. 2003; Faludi 2004; Delanty 2005; Gaimster 2005; Giannakourou 2005; Bollens 2008; Faludi 2008; Sassatelli 2008). This is arguably because Europeanisation is quite unique, involving a wide range of discursive practices that give different weights to economic development and social cohesion. Culture and cultural heritage is framed and claimed by discourses including those of economy, culture, regions, democracy and identity.

In the discourse of the so called Europe of the Regions, regions are supposed to cooperate with each other, exchange their best practices on good governance, strengthen their identity and become successful in the global economy. It is expected that their role as regions will be increasingly perceived in a European, rather than a national, context. Heritage is considered as useful tool for stimulating economic growth and strengthening regional identity. The unification and emancipation of regions is thus presented as complementing (and contributing to) the decline of national identities. However, this view on heritage, as a manifestation of shared norms and values, which gives rise to identity, can be problematic. It seems to be based on as Durkheimian view on social cohesion[10] (Durkheim 1893) that does not recognise pluralist societal models or complex identity structures that are not limited by geographical boundaries.

Europeanisation can thus be seen as a very ambitious endeavour that simultaneously seeks to unify and diversify cultural forces in society. This thesis examines the whole complex of claims (economic, cultural and political) on heritage that have become manifest in the practice of inter-regional cooperation.  In doing so it identifies the following question as being central to analysing and understanding the common lack of understanding of the role and relevance of cultural heritage within Europeanisation.

Main research question:
• What claims do Europeanisation discourses put on cultural heritage and how do these claims relate to views of cultural pluralism and universalism?

This main overarching research question can be divided in more specific research questions, which are addressed in subsequent chapters:

• Do cultural heritage INTERREG projects contribute to regional identity?
• Do cultural heritage INTERREG projects contribute to European cultural heritage?
• What assumptions towards cultural heritage are inherent in European regional policy?
• How do different actors conceive the process of Europeanisation and what claims on

---

[10] According to Durkheimian analysis heritage functions as the secular form of religion.

cultural heritage arise from these different positions?
- How can we understand pluralist and universalist tendencies in heritage practice in the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the Western European parts of Europe?
- How does INTERREG practice correspond to European ideology of unity in diversity?

The main research question can be schematised in a conceptual framework of the analysis, given below in figure 1.

## 1.7.    Methodology
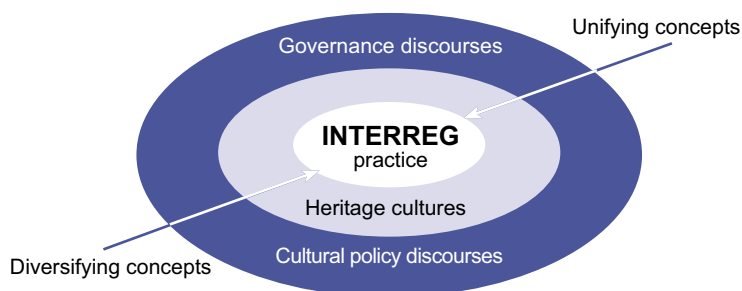


*Figure 1.1 A conceptual framework of the main research question: within the INTERREG framework projects are started in a context of regional planning and heritage discourses and a European framework of rules and regulations reflecting an ambiguous attitude towards unifying cultures and/or respecting cultural diversity.*

This section provides an account of the methodologies employed, describing the research paradigm and focus, research steps and reliability.

### Research paradigm
The main research question and sub-questions will be addressed by revealing the basic assumptions and the ideological frameworks underlying discourses about Europeanisation and comparing these with the discursive practice of interregional cooperation within INTERREG. The focus on the diversity of heritage cultures implies adopting a broad perspective that encompasses the range of ways in which people interact, interpret and understand situations concerning heritage. This view of diversity, at a European level, requires interpretive research in order to avoid lengthy and tedious descriptions of everything that could be considered relevant for describing cultural heritage practices in all EU countries. A

positivist research paradigm involving cultural heritage variety was considered inappropriate, because many cultures (national, regional, disciplinary, institutional) are involved in heritage signification and these cultures cannot be separated from each other. These problems occurred in the extensive study on cultural heritage on a European scale carried out by the Dynamo Trans-National Group, which focused on the role and spatial effects of heritage[11]. They used two notions of heritage that reflected both a positivist and constructivist approach:

- heritage as an asset, to be preserved and promoted
- heritage and identity as a resource for development.

The first approach involved listing heritage sites, heritage and guidelines for heritage management. The second involved identifying regional typologies and developing guidelines for spatial planning (Dynamo 2006). While it remains unclear when heritage is European heritage and when it is not, the Dynamo Group saw European heritage as a hegemonic representation (page 11 of the first interim report). They stated *that it could be difficult to propose universal definitions of cultural value, as problems may arise from different national classifications and incompatible value systems* (page 11). The empirical approach of the DYNAMO analysis clearly gave rise to a scientific dilemma. They tried to put all heritage objects in ArcInfo maps as a tool for resource accounting. This not only resulted in information and technical problems, but also showed the incongruences between conceptions and definitions of heritage used in different countries. They found or constructed no common definition of heritage that would allow consistent representative mapping.

In this thesis, heritage is about the meaning attached to physical objects, and not the objects themselves. Thus to answer the research questions it is important to focus on meaning rather than artefacts. How does one decide what constitutes an object of European heritage? Should one include the Berlin Wall or the remains of the Roman Limes? Some objects are clearly relevant, not only because they are officially designated as European heritage, but because many people consider them to represent important epochs or aspects of Europe. It is this process of attaching meaning to phenomena, usually designated as cultural heritage, which is the focus of this thesis. Researching these constructions of meaning requires a social analysis, as this process takes place in the minds of people, not in physical reality. The meaning of heritage is constructed in social interaction within groups, within certain cultural constraints or routines. The research in this study has followed the interpretative research paradigm, described by (Grix 2004) and interpretive policy analysis (Yanow 2000). This thesis follows these approaches as it is clear that the worlds of

---

[11] This Dynamo Transnational Group undertook a very comprehensive Arc-Info based empirical research on cultural heritage by assignment of ESPON. Within ESPON it is referred to as project 1.3.3 "cultural heritage". The subtitle is: Mapping the Dynamics of European Culture: Pressure and Opportunities from the European Enlargement. Lead Partner: Ca' Foscari University, Venice, Italy. The partnership consisted of a group of universities from all European countries.

Europeanisation, interregional cooperation and heritage are all socially constructed. In order to reveal issues of universalism and pluralism in the ideological grounding of the regulative framework of INTERREG, a critical discourse analysis has been chosen (Culler 1983; Hajer 1995; Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). This method enables one to deconstruct the underlying assumptions in discursive texts, thereby uncovering the ideological and cultural components that are produced in social interactions. Moreover an analytical strategy has been developed which allows one to distinguish between ideal, discourse and institution (products of the mind, of discussion and of organisation respectively) (Andersen 2003). Europe as an ideal invokes discourses of Europeanisation. INTERREG is one way of institutionalising these. The same holds for European heritage, reflecting ideals of European society leading to discourses and to institutionalisation through programmes such as Europa Nostra.

### Focus

The focus of this research is on INTERREG, because this Community Initiative is both pluralist (reflecting the diversity of regions within Europe) and universalist (reflecting Europe as a unity). INTERREG projects contribute to the institutionalisation of cultural heritage and to Europeanisation. INTERREG's heritage projects are a place where discourses about Europeanisation and their claims on heritage meet. The interplay of regional heritage cultures and the overarching INTERREG framework reflect these Europeanisation discourses as shown in the case study analysis. In order to keep the research within limits of feasibility these case studies focus on the situation of just one of the partners (most INTERREG projects had more than 10 partners). Selection was made on basis of contrasting contents and of data availability (both discussed below).

### Research steps

This research involved the following steps:

Step 1 literature review and developing a theoretical framework
Step 2 analysis of the INTERREG Community Initiative and its discursive environment
Step 3 selection and analysis of INTERREG cases
Step 4 overall analysis and discussion of Europeanisation and  regional heritage cultures
Step 5 answering research question and discussion

*Step 1.  Literature review and theoretical framework*
The research started by reviewing literature on European heritage and on heritage in European projects. The relevant literature was identified using Scopus, the Web of Science and SocINDEX. The results were broadened with further Boolean searches combining the phrase 'Europeanisation' with culture, cultural diversity, identity, regional identity, governance, subsidiarity and ethnicity. This literature result was further extended with an internet search. This literature review and internet search provided information about the relevant discourses about Europeanisation, containing a variety of cultural and ideological frames and an overview of the scientific understanding of heritage in a European context.

As discussed above, a cultural perspective is adopted to account for the relevance of heritage in Europeanisation. This involved exploring how different cultural theories account for cultural heritage and its dynamics. The results were used to theorise on how culture and cultural heritage relate to the Europeanisation discourse, addressing issues of power, diversity, repertoire, closure and openness, uniting and dividing social groups and, pluralist or universalist approaches in heritage cultures. This involved further exploration to theoretically ground these issues. This was done using systems and governance theories. Using these theories, a conceptual framework was designed that enabled a sharp focus on the interaction between Europeanisation and regionalisation.

*Step 2. Analysis of the INTERREG Community Initiative  and its discursive environment*
The governance aspects of INTERREG were addressed by reviewing the scientific literature on INTERREG. A literature search in Scopus revealed that there is hardly any scientific literature available on INTERREG governance[12]. Therefore, the literature search was redirected to a Boolean search on governance and Europeanisation. A description has been made of the complex internal structure of INTERREG, its strands, programmes and administration.  This information was retrieved from INTERACT, a European programme supporting and promoting good governance of European territorial cooperation programmes.

The further analysis of the environment in which INTERREG operates involved a review of scientific and policy documents concerning Europeanisation, regionalisation, governance, cultural diversity and identity. The INTERREG newsletters were screened for articles on

---

[12] For example a search for articles with INTERREG in the title yielded some 30 hits in Scopus, all of them with a very limited thematic or geographical scope

cultural heritage topics. Additionally, interviews executed for a previous project (CULTPLAN)[13] were also used where appropriate. Treaties, public periodicals, the White Paper on European Governance (Commission of the European Communities 2001)and the regulations of the European Commission were also consulted. Discourses on Europeanisation were found through a two step strategy, first literature on Europeanisation was scanned for sceptical and supportive perspectives. Information about the issues or about participants was used to further search the internet.

Speeches of the Commissioner for Regional Policy were screened for content relating to heritage and EU programmes dealing with heritage were retrieved from the EU portals and analysed. Special attention was given to the role of the Council of Europe in promoting heritage and their publications were incorporated in the analysis of the environment in which INTERREG operates.

### Step 3. Selection and analysis of INTERREG cases
Case studies were used to analyse the practices of INTERREG. The case studies were selected from the twenty studies analysed in the CULTPLAN project. This selection was done using an information oriented selection procedure which seeks to maximise diversity - as described by Flyvbjerg (2001). The selected projects were:
• Crossing the Lines, a project dealing with restoring forts in Belgium, England and the Netherlands
• Baltic Fort Route, a project also dealing with restoring forts in different Baltic regions (Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russia)
• RESTAURO.net, a project dealing with managing polycentric historic cities in the Mediterranean (Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Morocco and Tunisia)

In each project, the focus was narrowed down to one working project in one country as follows:
Baltic Fort Route project: Lithuania
RESTAURO.net: Greece
Crossing the Lines: the Netherlands.

The choice of Greece in the Mediterranean project was guided by my assumption that the spirit of place was more important than the actual monuments and that in the instance

---

[13] The CULTPLAN project analysed cultural influences in INTERREGIII projects and showed a wide range of manifestations, e.g. administrative issues, practices of cooperative interaction and the production of new ideas. A report was published which provided practical recommendations and suggestions (CULTPLAN, 2007). The analysis shows that poorly recognised cultural differences can create obstacles. The recommendations aim at a better awareness, recognition and management of cultural differences. This report was based on a review of cooperation practices in 20 INTERREG projects, a questionnaire and on study visits of projects. The results were discussed and confirmed in scientific and policy oriented symposia (one in Hamburg on Planning Cultures; another in Amsterdam on Policy Consequences). The consortium that prepared the report included partners from Greece, Italy, Poland, Germany and the Netherlands.

intangible heritage would be more important than in Dutch heritage practice. Lithuania was selected as I assumed that heritage discussions would be subject to political orientations in the post communist period, and these would differ significantly from Western Europe and Greece. A Dutch case was selected because I assumed a strong influence of strategic and spatial planning, giving a sharp contrast with Greece and Lithuania. As a whole, I considered these cases to illustrate a wide scope of European diversity in heritage practices.

These selected INTERREG projects were contacted and access was obtained to all the written documents concerning heritage discussions in the project. Often, project discussions focussed on "good and best practices". For these parts of the research it was possible to revisit the results from CULTPLAN. In order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the regional heritage cultures, the locations of the selected case studies were visited, interviews were carried out with the people involved in implementing the project and the results of project were observed. During the visits, supplementary interviews were carried out with heritage specialists involved in the definition, selection, canonisation and maintenance of heritage at national level.  These interviews provided an overview of the main national and regional issues and the common practice in heritage management. Interviewees specialised in cultural heritage in Lithuania and Greece were found through European networks which the author had access to: 'CULTURED'[14] and the network of the European Landscape Convention. The discursive environment of Crossing the Lines overlapped with the Belvedere network which the author was also part of[15].

The combination of two perspectives, the project and its environment, gave further insights about the projects, and the way they corresponded to the local/regional heritage culture and to the wider context of national heritage discourses and disputes about Europeanisation. It enabled a short analysis of the European motto unity in diversity from an empirical project-based context.

### Step 4. Overall analysis and discussion of Europeanisation and regional heritage cultures

The overall analysis build on the specific research questions and combines theory, policy deconstruction and analysis of practice in the case studies to address and evaluate the prevalence of pluralist and universalist ideologies and mechanisms. This analysis involved a systematic discussion of the environmental discursive relations between tendencies towards Europeanisation and regionalisation and the claims that these discourses make on cultural heritage. The following steps were taken to allow deeper analysis of these discursive relationships:

---

[14] The CULTURED project aimed at identifying the best practices and methods for investing in heritage in a way that would lead to regional economic growth. It was lead by the University of Ghent in Belgium and created a network that included a large number of partners from all over Europe.

[15] Between 2006 and 2010 the author was part of the Belvedere Educational Network.

- discussing Europeanisation ideologies and their claims on heritage
- discussing regional heritage projects with respect to regional identity
- discussing the contribution of regional heritage projects to European cultural heritage
- interpreting universalist and pluralist mechanisms

A special focus has been put on the canonisation of what are known as "best practices", since these clearly display the priority that actors give to the regional and/or European signification of cultural heritage. The "best practice" discourse both bisects and connects discourses about heritage and Europeanisation. It is a highly relevant aspect of the environment in which INTERREG projects are implemented.

### Step 5. Answering research question and discussion
Finally, in order to answer the main research question, the mechanisms that contribute to pluralist and universalist heritage discourse have been placed within the framework of the policy assumptions of Europe of the Regions. Using social system and governance theory, these mechanisms were critically reviewed in respect of the European ideology of being "unity in diversity".

### Reliability
This section discusses the reliability of this research by focusing on credibility, dependability and confirmability. Credibility concerns the truth value of research. Dependability describes whether the research could be replicated by another researcher and still lead to similar conclusions. Confirmability tests the potential bias of the researcher. At the end of this thesis, this discussion will be addressed again in reviewing the reliability of the conclusions.

### Credibility
It is difficult to establish the credibility of interpretive research, as facts and interpretation cannot be separated (Yanow 2000). Yanow advocates a view that acknowledges different views of a situation. An analyst should help the parties involved to understand the differences underlying each other's positions. Yanow gives an example (page 9) of *"school board hearings, in which parties argue based on their remembered experiences as students, whereas teachers and principals argue based on more recent developments in learning theory. In land use planning issues, city planners have visions of things as they should be based on good design principles, whereas residents foresee a host of problems ensuing from living with the plan's implementation. In both cases, an analyst would be far more productive in helping the parties understand the differences underlying one another's positions –that they are situated knowers arguing from different standpoints (rather than attributing stupidity or "blindness" to reality to the opposing side) – than by providing econometric data."*

The logical consequence choosing a social constructivist research paradigm is that the meaning attached to objects is constructed without reference to any underlying, objectifiable, reality. In this research all "facts" are socially constructed, and meaning can be institutionalised in a previous constituting discourse beyond dispute, for the time being. Credibility in this research involves showing the mechanisms through which meaning is institutionalised in different discourses. If a meaning is specific to a certain discourse then it should not be transferred to other discourses. If a meaning is very broadly institutionalised and used in many discourses it should not be privatised in a specific discourse. Therefore, in this research, credibility is achieved not by pursuit of a non-existent truth, but by clarifying the institutionalisation of meaning in specified discourses.

This notion of credibility can be enhanced by combining first and second order observations when interpreting meaning (Bourdieu 1990; Luhmann 1995; Andersen 2003). Any observation is an indication within a frame of difference (Andersen 2003). These frames of difference are meaningful in communication. First order observations are directly related to "what happened in a certain moment or situation". Second order observations are reflective and involve concepts used to typify a situation on an abstract level. Anderson (2003 p.308) describes a second order observation as 'an observation of an observation as an observation'. That is, not reducing an observation to something else, for example, to an ideology, individual intentions, subjectivity and so on. First order observations may be made within a framework of how historical features are categorised and institutionalised. Secondary (reflective) observations may be done within a framework of identity construction or governance process. Both are related, and contribute, to the institutionalisation of meaning. There will be no institutionalisation without reflection and there will be no meaning to be institutionalised without observation. The credibility of the research is enhanced by combining these two types of observations in relation to similar heritage issues. If both express a similar meaning, this meaning can be institutionalised beyond discussion.

Second order observations play a significant role in this research because the author used his contacts in European networks (INTERACT, CULTURED and European Landscape Convention) to acquire reflections on the information received from project members. For example if a certain view about the history of a region played a prominent role in an interview, this view would be questioned in subsequent interviews with network representatives. This approach ensured that the author was aware of the most important heritage discussions within the countries concerned and their relevance and relations with regional discourses. It allowed an analytical view on how discursive mechanisms contribute to the institutionalisation of meaning. However, due to the choice of research paradigm and the interactive way of interviewing, this research primarily yielded interpretations of the researcher with possible adverse consequences for dependability.

*Dependability*

Dependability is achieved by a detailed description of the research methodology used and the theories and activities that ground this thesis. Despite this description, this research cannot be replicated under exactly the same conditions. One important reason for this is the transition from INTERREG III to INTERREG IV, which has brought about a shift of vocabulary, of procedures and of operational aims. For example, innovation has become more important than cooperation and this affects the construction of meaning. Despite this process of change, dependability can be enhanced by being explicit about one's sources of information and giving illustrations that substantiate the findings. This is done by being precise in giving quotes and referring to information sources. In some occasions, due to the temporary character of the internet, sources of information have disappeared[16].

*Confirmability*

The confirmability of this research is a very complex issue, since interpretation of the meaning of cultural heritage is very much affected by one's cultural viewpoint. Flyvbjerg, in his account on "Making social sciences matter" (2001), strongly objects to the idea of research as needing to follow predefined rules. He combined the Aristotelian concept of phronesis with an incremental model of learning, to propose an appropriate way for developing the social sciences. In his view the art of being contextual plays a major role. Pierre Bourdieu advocates a solution - in which a researcher expresses his past experience that influences his perspective and moral disposition (Bourdieu 1990). He calls this participant objectivation. Ethnographers even interpret interpretations of themselves by interviewees, when discussing how characteristics of the ethnographer may affect the process of the research. In a methodological account of her research in Northern Africa, Shehata, an anthropologist, described her plural identities (gender, religion, regional background, administrative position) and how these invoked different reactions from her interviewees (Shehata 2006)(p. 257).

Following this notion, it seems appropriate to express the relevance of the CULTPLAN project that preceded this research. The cases within CULTPLAN have been analysed by different partners from Poland, Germany, Italy and Greece, with every case being analysed twice. As project leader I had to cross analyse another case study and in turn my case study was cross analysed. In addition I was responsible for integrating all the cross cultural analyses for the final report. This aroused my curiosity about the meanings of heritage from other cultural perspectives. And, it gave me an opportunity to reflect on cultural biases in my own analyses. Armed with this experience, I am confident that the cultural bias in this research is relatively low. When discussing results, the issue of my plural identities will be re-addressed.

---

[16] E.g. a forum site connected to the official Vilnius website. Luckily I made a lot of prints from the website and put them in my archive.

An Italian colleague in CULTPLAN, Francesca Gelli, compared the process of doing research with that of making music. If one is asked to play a specific piece written by Mozart, everyone knows how it should sound and how to evaluate the music. If asked to play jazz, there are no advance expectations. The music will reflect the mood of the musician, the interaction with the audience etcetera. Doing case study research is like playing jazz. Interaction matters. In this research I have often acted as a jazz musician.

# 2.    Theoretical framework

## 2.1.    Heritage: ontological and epistemological perspectives

Any account of heritage and Europeanisation needs firstly to present a clear definition of what heritage is. In this research, heritage is understood as all aspects of the past, selected by groups/communities, as being significant and representative of their (images of) history or contributing to their identity. The process of elicitation of heritage –what is heritage- reflects what we value or reject in our present surroundings and its role in  politics of the present and the future (Davidson, 1991, cited in Dynamo). Cultural heritage is heritage that is discursively ascribed to or constructed within a certain culture.

The usual understanding of cultural heritage encompasses the following distinctions:

- *tangible* cultural heritage, such as monuments and sites, religious buildings, architectural ensembles, archaeological sites, historic townscapes, industrial heritage and places of memory as signifiers of a past
- *intangible* cultural heritage, such as languages, religions, traditions, celebrations, festivals as signifiers of a culture and as manifestations of social memory

This description of cultural heritage should be seen as preliminary and will form the basis for further theoretical discussions on the relationship between identity and cultural heritage. The conception of culture used in this research is a broad and simple one. It comprises the particular logics that connects observation, collective thinking and action within a group. It is an original definition, because the author could not find any definition in the literature that satisfactorily addressed all dimensions of heritage culture (see below). Many definitions are value oriented (Geertz 1973) or communication oriented (Hall 1997). In order to provide a better understanding of heritage at European level and at local/regional level, any perspective on culture should encompass notions of strategy as a product of culture, of culture in networks and in the project teams working on heritage issues, of culture producing heritage and at the same time being produced by heritage. So notions of culture as generating strategy as defined by Swidler (2004) and shaping or being shaped by social practices as clarified by Bourdieu (1990) provide a point of departure, because they focus on action and on recursive systems of practice and meaning. Culture also includes invisible or subliminal mental programming in Europeanisation discourses that posit ideal societies (Gullestrup 2007)[17].

---

[17] This invisible aspect of culture will be further explored below, when discussing social system theory.

Heritage and heritage cultures should be studied by researching social interaction which, through discursive practices, establishes meanings. These discursive practices are, in turn, structured within social systems. These can vary: for example, discourses on legal aspects of cultural heritage and on tourism are produced in different social systems. This does not mean that these social systems are worlds apart, but that the interaction between them is usually limited and not totally open. Such interactions can be understood through system theory[18] which can be used to explore the way that actors in a social system speak about heritage: about European heritage, identity, interregional cooperation and so on. The way that actors perform in these social systems actually shapes heritage (reality). Their discourses consist of a coherent complex of ideas, concepts, categorisations and distinctions. Analysis of these discourses can reveal the hegemony of certain concepts or perspectives. This social construction of reality producing ideas, concepts and categories of heritage, are analysed by means of discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; Basten, 2001). According to Hajer discourse analysis involves understanding epistemic motives that are embedded in language itself, concepts representing programmes of policy or action and stories or storylines determining order and a sense of acting in a chaotic environment.

Following the evolutionary distinctions in the social construction of reality made by Andersen (2003), heritage is first produced in individual thoughts, followed by an open process of establishing its meaning in social interaction, ending by definition through institutionalisation. This process is recursive and is represented in Figure 2.1 below.



**Heritage ontology**

| thought | discourse | institutionalisation |

**Orientation:**
Is it old?
What do I like?
What do I resent?
How to relate to change?

**Signification:**
What does it mean?
What is the value?
How to use?
Should it be protected?

**Organisation:**
Official categories?
Who is responsible?
Who pays for it?
Who owns?
Is it official history?
Who's history?
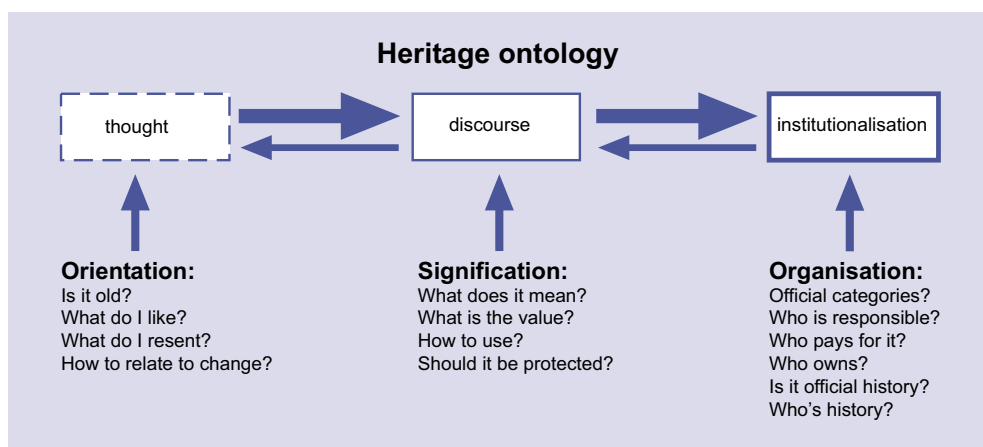
*Figure 2.1. A graphic representation of heritage ontology through the processes of thinking, discussing and institutionalising*

---

[18]  This, to the author's knowledge is the first attempt that has been made at combining system and discourse theory to analyse cultural heritage claims in Europeanisation and is theorised in more detail later in this chapter.

People observe their environments, consider their affiliations and relate to certain objects, structures or concepts to compose the story of their life and their identity. This, of course, is done through social interaction, leading to shared observations based on shared distinctions that enable people to discriminate between old and modern, tradition and innovation, ours and theirs, etc: all these factors contribute to meaning and signification. For identity construction, old stories and objects of a daily environment can be used as a resource. In this view reality is shaped in discourse, which can produce various ideas on the value and management of heritage. When an enduring consensus is achieved around a concept, categorisation or a story line then institutionalisation takes place. However strongly this degree of institutionalisation may be, a discourse will continue to change over time. Institutionalisation is a key concept here, particular since the idea of "European heritage" is a prime example of an institutionalised concept.

This ontological perspective on heritage is applicable to all the categories of heritage mentioned above. Combined with an epistemological choice for social system theory and discourse analysis it provides the scientific point of departure for this research.

## 2.2.   Conceptual Framework

In order to address the ways in which heritage is produced through social interaction a concept of heritage culture will be used that seeks to explain these processes of institutionalisation. A description of a heritage culture encompasses three dimensions, is shown in figure 2.2, below.
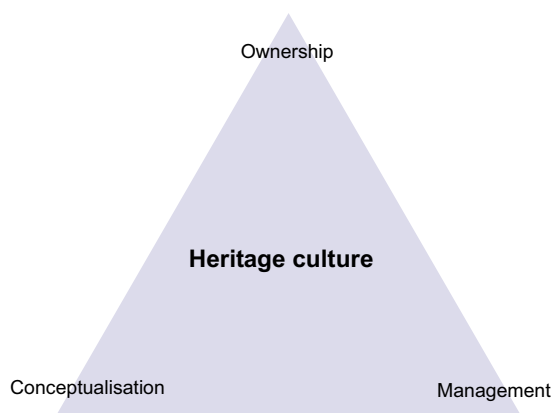


*Figure 2.2. Concept of heritage culture, showing three dimensions of institutionalising:  conceptualisation, ownership and management.*

These three dimensions of heritage culture represent different aspects:
- the conceptualisation of heritage: what actually is heritage
- the ownership of heritage: to whom heritage belongs
- the management of heritage: how to deal with heritage

This thesis uses this concept of *heritage culture* to address culture-specific mechanisms and reciprocity[19] in the ontological process of heritage signification as a discourse and institution. Different heritage cultures produce different understandings and categories of heritage. In some heritage cultures, it is logical to distinguish between living and monumental heritage. In other cultures the distinctions between statues and old buildings may be more important. Sometimes heritage can be considered to represent the past while in other heritage cultures it marks ethnicity or landmark of societal change. Heritage may be used as remembrance of periods of severe suffering in one society, whereas the same period may be commemorated with the statues of heroes in another society. It is important to remember that whenever heritage specialists discuss heritage in another society, they use the categories and distinctions derived from their own heritage culture. This thesis attempts to account for this by using social system theory, explained later in this chapter.

### Ownership

Ownership of heritage can simultaneously have different dimensions and is never crystal clear, as heritage passes from one generation to another. Ownership can be manifest at individual level, when individuals think of and provide concepts or names for heritage. Frijhoff (2003) sees ownership as a cultural phenomenon, produced in reciprocal processes of signification and reception of images coming from outside. Often, the (collective) mind produces different concepts or descriptions that refer to the same object. These differences are used in discursive practices to establish diverging or converging meanings and sense: this process is known as dialogism and is discussed below. Ownership can be claimed in discourses of signification, in which groups frame heritage as illustrative of their history. In heritage discourses, the semantics around cultural heritage often give clues about ideas of ownership (Frijhoff 2003)[20]. Usually there is also a legal component of ownership that is reflected in public administration. Therefore it is necessary to discriminate between legal ownership, discursive ownership and individual ownership which may all occur alongside each other, see figure 2.3 .

---

[19] Despite the fact that heritage may become institutionalised, its meaning can change or its institution broken down due to shifting discourses.

[20] E.g. Frijhoff (2003) highlights the material connotation in the word "heritage" and expresses his doubts about the attempts of policy makers to include non-material heritage in this concept Frijhoff, W. (2003). "Toe-eigening als vorm van culturele dynamiek." Volkskunde. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche folklore 104(1): 14..
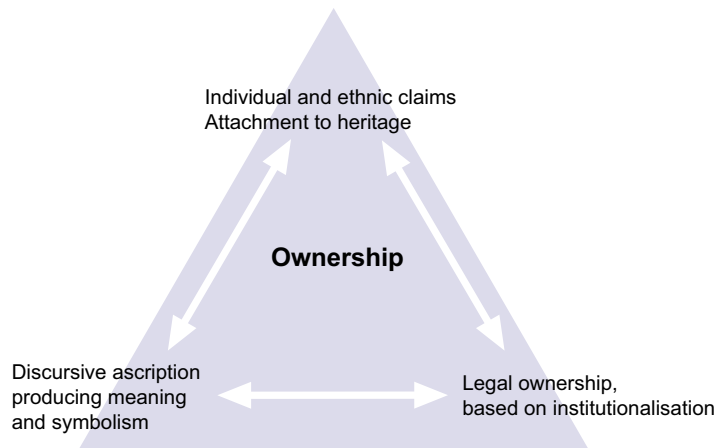
*Figure 2.3, Ownership of heritage is a complex relation between individual, collective and institutional claims and ascriptions.*

### Heritage management
Heritage management is subject to cultural differences. Discussions on authenticity may preoccupy one society and scrupulous imitations of the past may be adopted by another, without any critical remark. Some societies restore ruins, while others leave them as they are. Re-enactment is a popular strategy to bring history to life for the general public, while other heritage cultures use museums to achieve the same end.

### The conceptualisation of heritage
Dimensions of heritage link to the concept of culture (logics, connecting observation, collective thinking and action) given above. This is because, as shown in chapter 1, heritage cultures cannot be separated from discussions about culture and identity. Relations between spatial identity, spatial planning and heritage culture determine the logics of maintaining or losing the spatial remnants of the past. Relations between social identity and heritage discourses determine the social heritage or traditions that are incorporated within the concept of heritage. The relations between heritage cultures and identity discourses are powerful ways of analysing discursive dispositions that are relevant for identifying the relative strength of universalist or pluralist discourses.

### Identity as focus of conceptualisation
Heritage culture is closely linked to identity, a concept that is omnipresent in all Europeanisation discourses. Yet the concept of identity is far from unambiguous. It has been extensively discussed by different scientific disciplines, which have provided different interpretations (see figure 2.4). Discourses based on phenomenology see identity as the

collective interpretation of perception of environmental and societal features (Merleau-Ponty 1962 (1996)). In social constructivist discourses, identity is primarily understood as discursive self determination through interrelations with the outside world. Both schools see identity as being created through social interaction. Modernist planners assume identity to be the construct of shared norms and values, subject to the branding activities of commercial companies and politics. Modernists often represent identity as a radar plot: reflecting the common choices made by individuals in relating to their physical and social environments. This radar-like identification can be influenced by branding activities undertaken by marketing and government agencies. Shotter and Billig (Shotter and Billig 1998) refer to this representation as a Cartesian model. They juxtapose this model to an open narrative model, a more post-modern approach, which sees individuals as choosing haphazardly from among those events and elements in their past experiences and their environment that they consider to be important in their lives, often with no apparent logical connection.
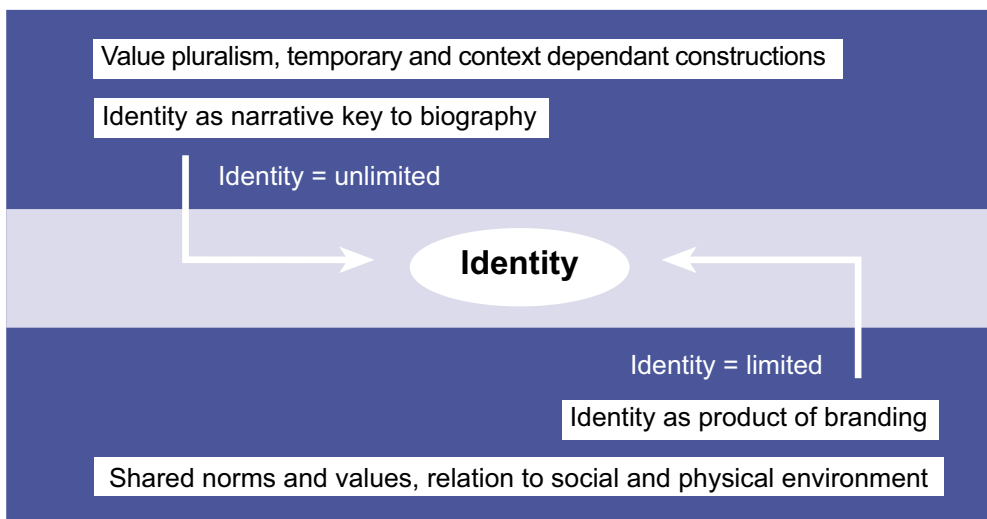


*Figure 2.4 Different ideas and models about identity are related to questions of branding, individuality, contextuality and pluralism*

In this analysis different identity discourses are understood as special forms of individual choices, social construction and institutionalisation, that follow similar ontological processes. Identity is not a fixed construction, but changes in the context of time and space through the contingent processes of individual choices and group discussions. Despite this contingency, there is an important element of path dependency, because decisions

about identity are always fundamentally linked to practical individual life style choices[21].
One does not decide to change identity from a punk to a yuppie because the weather
changes. Identity and identity constructions are long term and relatively stable due to the
constraints and limited opportunities of following (or adapting to) new paths. Howard (2000)
challenges this notion of path dependency and static identities. Drawing on the increasing
amount of evidence about people having multiple identities, he argues that dynamic models
are more appropriate[22]. He argues that identities are increasingly points of temporary
attachments to societal positions constructed by discursive practices. Howard argues that
identities should not be conceived as static and essential, but as strategic, relational and
positional. This theoretical debate has consequences for identity conflicts rising from the
basic (mostly political) idea of identification constraints. This so called 'zero sum' identity
thinking lies at the basis of nationalism and affects attitudes towards Europe (Risse 2003).
Nationalists argue that the adoption of a European identity involves a simultaneous loss
of national identity. This research adopts a post-modern and flexible concept of identity,
which recognises both the path dependency and the contingency produced by strategic
considerations in discursive practices.

The dimensions of a heritage culture, compounded by discourses around conceptualisation,
ownership and management (including governance) and identity theory form the overall
conceptual framework used to structure this research. This conceptual framework is shown
in figure 2.5 below. It seeks to reduce complexity by distinguishing between discourses
on regionalisation and Europeanisation. The scale of the two discourses makes them
fundamentally different: discourses on Europeanisation can be considered to be composed
by a multitude of individuals and experts, working inside and outside the institutions of the
European Community, meeting in press activities, symposia and writing articles etc. The
discourse is fuzzy, full of hidden transcripts concerning autonomy-dependency relations and
lacks a clear nucleus. The regionalisation discourse can be seen as having a focus on inside-
outside relationships, on strategy and identity, and on political issues that the electorate can
easily observe. The distinction between Europeanisation and regionalisation discourses is
made under the assumption that, in practice, they are connected by other discourses that
produce the realities of identity, citizenship, tourism, politics, planning and other activities.

---

[21] Path dependency will be elaborated in the next section that describes social system theory
[22] Risse refers to Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg, eds. Social Identity Theory (New York, 1990) and to Samuel N. Eisen-
stadt and Bernhard Giesen, The Construction of Collective Identity. European Journal of Sociology 36 (1995): 72-102
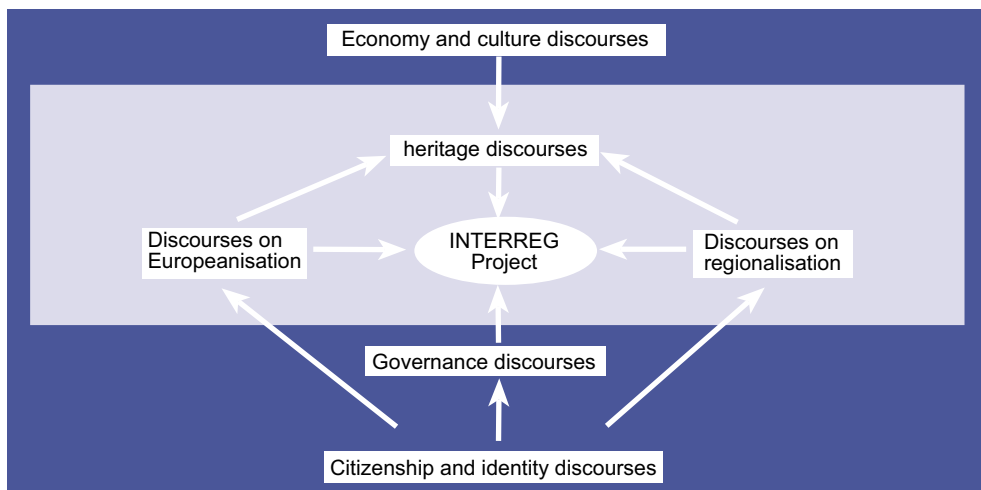
*Figure 2.5 Conceptual framework: a simplified projection of an INTERREG project and its discursive environment of heritage, regionalisation, Europeanisation, governance and planning.*

## 2.3.    Theoretical account

The research questions in this thesis aim to discover how pluralist and universalist orientations in Europeanisation discourses influence heritage claims, and the effect that this has on the diversity of heritage cultures. These questions are addressed through fieldwork and the development of analytical concepts. The fieldwork was undertaken in three case studies of EU funded interregional projects that explicitly deal with heritage. These are analysed through the prism of system theory, which seemed appropriate given the complexity of discursive relationships constructing the meaning of cultural heritage in European projects.

The choice of system theory derives from the epistemological choice to use discourse analysis. It would be difficult to analyse the institutionalisation of heritage without an adequate theoretical underpinning of the boundaries and interactions of discourses. It would be problematic to use institutions[23] as the empirical units in which heritage discourses are lodged, as this would raise fundamental problems about when organisations become institutions, when meanings become institutionalised and how these processes correspond. The process of institutionalisation could be viewed as occurring on two fronts and it would be difficult to separate them out. To avoid confusion this thesis has focused on the process

---

[23] Including UNESCO and Europa Nostra and many others

of institutionalising meaning, concentrating on heritage discussions and the environments that produce, shape and reshape these discussions. This distinction between project's discourse and its environment in which heritage discourses occur, and the influence of Europeanisation on regional identity and so forth, seems vital for a solid theoretical framework. Social system analysis makes a useful distinction between these aspects, allowing for further theorising on the time and context dependent social structures in which heritage discourses are lodged. The use of social system theory is in turn supplemented by theoretical concepts from governance theory.

Theories that seek to address the significance of heritage in Europeanisation have not fully succeeded in integrating political, economic and social constructive perspectives, due to the complex influence that these discourses all have on one another (see problem description in chapter 1). To get beyond this, this thesis adopts the concept of "the system and its environment" to understand a project and its complex relations with the outside world.

More specifically this thesis uses social system theory to account for heritage discourses between planners in a project and the way they interact with the system environment. In addition, it employs the concept of repertoire from polysystem theory to account for the interactions between the multitude of projects focused on heritage which provide the environment of for other projects. Social system and polysystem theory can be used as strategic analytical instruments in discourse analysis because they allow for the systematic treatment of second order observations (Van Assche 2004{Andersen, 2003 #308; Even-Zohar 2007).

### 2.3.1.  On social system theory

System theory in general elaborates the idea of life as system which is influenced by its environment.  A key concept in system theory is autopoiesis. Poiesis is a Greek term that means production and autopoiesis means auto-production. This concept was introduced by Varela, Maturana and Uribe (Varela, Maturana et al. 1974) who saw living beings as systems that reproduce themselves in a ceaseless way. Thus, an autopoietic system is simultaneously the producer and the product. Living systems need to obtain resources from the environment in which they live. In other words, they are simultaneously autonomous and dependent systems.

Varela et al used the metaphor of self-producing machines. These differ from other machines which produce something other than themselves. Since autopoietic systems are simultaneously producers and products, it can also be said that they are circular systems, that is, they work in terms of productive circularity. An important characteristic of modern

system theories is that it interprets systems as self referential, or operationally closed[24]. A system needs to be operationally closed in order to account for its retrieval of resources from the outside world in the process of self-production while remaining unchanged.

Social system theory has adopted these concepts to account for societal dynamics. In this research social system theory is used as a theoretical framework to analyse cultural heritage practices in an environment of Europeanisation, in a threefold way:

• social system theory is used to account for projects and their environment
• social system theory is used to account for functional differentiation, the distinctions that arise in institutionalisation in response to complexity and contingency in project environments
• polysystem theory is used to account for competitive interaction between projects dealing with heritage

Niklas Luhmann (1995) adopted the notion of autopoiesis within his social system theory. In his view it is communications, rather than people, that are the main elements of a system and autopoiesis is a system of communications that invokes and produces new communications. The recursive way in which new communications are produced is self referential. Information from outside is observed and interpreted on the basis of previous communications within the system. This process is contingent, as the exact response to early communication is neither necessary or impossible. Selection of what is considered as an adequate response in a conversation is made on the basis of meaning. The phenomenon of meaning puts something in the focal point of a conversation, at the centre of intention, and all else is indicated marginally (Luhmann 1995).

The elements of social systems, communications, change because social systems are autopoietic, which means that they continuously reproduce themselves, exclusively using predefined elements and structures. This implies that any environmental influence, any adaptation to environments, can only take place in an autopoietic way, using the elements and structures of the system. This is what Luhmann calls operational closure: interaction with environments is only possible when the environment has only indirect influence on the system. Every environment is interpreted within the system, using the structures and elements (including semantics) available to the system at that point in time. In this sense, social systems are self-referential. This process of self-referential interpretation of outside information often is referred to as framing {Aarts, 2005 #517}(Greve 2006), the complete reliance on a priori knowledge when interpreting information that comes from outside a

---

[24] Note the difference with older Parsonian system theory that presupposes operational openness, based on a nucleus of shared values. Value consensus is a widespread understanding and is very different from the value pluralism of modern system analysis

system (Goffman 1983). Frames describe how people organise and experience a priori knowledge and how they come to understand and interpret new information (Tannen 1979).

The concept of autopoiesis is useful for analysing heritage projects as it helps to account for the complexity in the environment of these projects. It is useful to represent projects as systems of communications, through which the complex governance situation is interpreted on the basis of shared views on meaning, produced in previous communications. Such a representation enables one to discriminate between discourses of Europeanisation, of regionalisation and the ones that connect them. Projects can also be perceived as systems producing second order observations, because as systems they observe the heritage cultures of each partner and reflect on these from the perspective of both Europe and the locality. These second order observations can be very useful for deconstructing the distinctions between heritage categories that have been institutionalised (e.g. tangible and intangible aspects).

According to Bakhtin, these processes of communication can be dialogical. Dialogics arises from the two sided consequences of contrary tensions in the human psyche which create a dialectic tension in speech (Shotter and Billig 1998).This tension can be understood as alternating tendencies towards merging and unity and towards separation and multiplicity. The consequence of this dialectic tension is a constant process of seeking agreement and disagreement in communication, often by using slightly different words. For example a conversation about Europeanisation may contain words such as "integration", "cooperation", "unification" or "construction", which all represent different ideas about creating Europe (Middelaar 2009). Middelaar argues that these differences can be seen as the hidden discipline of language (p 20). If used in the same conversation they represent an exchange of divergence and convergence of meaning that is produced throughout the conversation. Conversations can be seen as dialogical events, producing new and unrepeatable (because they are building on earlier conversations) considerations. According to Bakhtin, social practice is intertwined with language (Shotter and Billig 1998). Dialogism structures conversations between inner and outer speech, between two individuals and between an individual and a group. It generates symbolism and hetero-glot and composite cultural forms that are commonly referred to as globalisation (Gardiner and Mayerfeld Bell 1998). Thus the concept of dialogism can be used to account for and expose semantic diversity in heritage signification.

Combining the concept of dialogism with Luhmann's work helps explain how new meanings of heritage are constructed. Both Luhmann and Bakhtin see communications as unique events that contribute to signification and symbolic representation. The concept of operational closure implies that signification can become institutionalised without consensus. This ultimately leads to value pluralism. This plural notion of signification, value

and symbolism conflicts with the Parsonian interpretation of symbolism that assumes value consensus. Symbolism is a contingent product of autopoiesis and dialogism in social systems and, through communications can simultaneously emerge in different semantic forms, based on different concepts. Systems recognise the symbolism contained within other systems and adjust their symbolic repertoire to the context[25]. Dialogism can be used to interpret the way in which information within one system is imported into another. When this happens, it can result in a temporary divergence in a social system because the communication does not necessarily fit with preceding framing experience. The introduction of new words and concepts can result in a new, autopoietic, communication process and increase the internal complexity of a system. Luhmann referred to this as interpenetration[26].

System theory as outlined above can account for the ways in which new conceptions of heritage are produced, signified and institutionalised in social practice. This is represented in figure 2.1. Institutionalisation can take place in any function system within society, such as art, law, education, science, politics etcetera, as described below.

*The concept of identity in social systems/ organisations*
Organisations are system categories that require a ticket or a licence, or necessitate special personal requirements. Luhmann's main categories of social systems are: (1) interactions (conversations), (2) organisations and (3) function systems. According to Luhmann organisations can be designated as social systems, as they have a certain cohesion, targets, resources and an internal discourse that uses internal logics to produce decisions. Organisational identity has two dimensions or layers: conscious and unconscious. On a conscious level it is based on self images that are juxtaposed with images of other social systems. These images are communicated within and outside the organisation. This may be done to stabilise or coordinate actions. On the unconscious level, identity in an organisation or social system is an autopoietic product of images of its past, of former decisions and normal ways of dealing with issues that come from the outside. This autopoietic identity, based on path routine, can hold sway when an organisation has an imperfect view of itself. This concept of identity allies with the narrative identity concept discussed before, designated as narrative key to biography in illustration 2.4.

*Structure and process  in social system theory*
Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory emerged in the course of the 1980s and 1990s, combining functionalist sociology, evolutionary biology, logics of form, post- structuralism and a reinterpreted phenomenology. In social system analysis, Luhmann dedicated an

---

[25]  Note that this does not refer to theories of Symbolic Interactionism, in which symbolism is created by individual exchanges of meaning, but to Luhmann's view of meaning and symbolism which is created in a higher level such as social systems
[26] Pages 213-218

entire chapter to the distinction between process and structure. Processes are governed by sequences of communications; structures are governed by expectations, which limit the range of possible communications that make sense.

Andersen (2003) argues that the discourses about ideas and ideologies that occur in social systems eventually lead them to become institutionalised (figure 2.1). In this perspective the notion of process may create new meaning, that ultimately become institutionalised. This is understood as pluralisation of meaning.

Following the notion of structure, institutionalising may follow a process of fragmentation of institutions due to autopoiesis in discursive environment, as illustrated in figure 2.6 below. In this figure, systems become fragmented, due to specialisation, in turn caused by an operational closure in social systems of communications. This process can be witnessed in practice when a heritage concept is broken down into more refined categories adding up to the original concept. In this thesis this is understood as diversification.
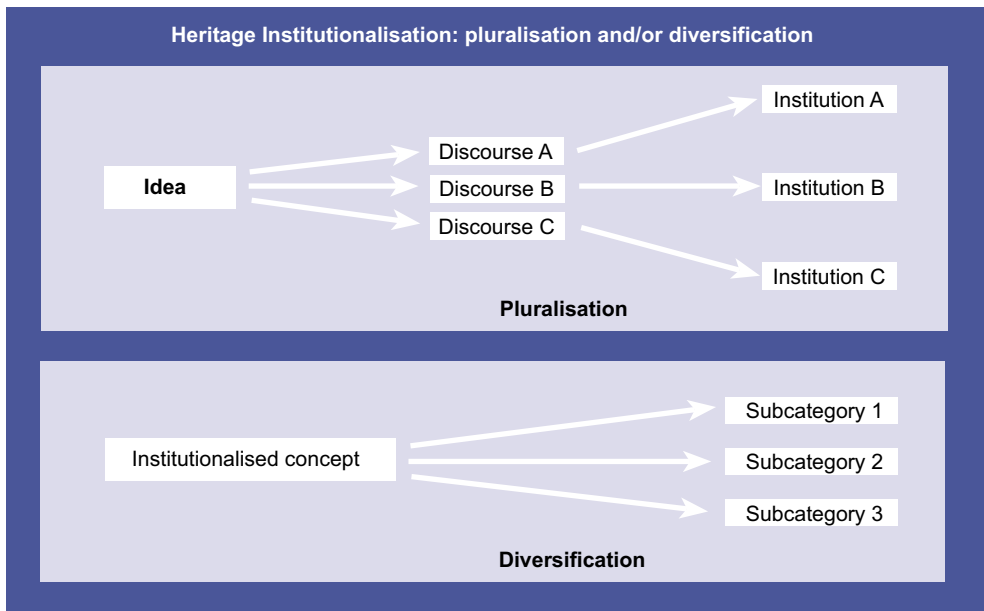


*Figure 2.6. Operational closure in systems of communications invoking pluralisation and diversification of systems into subsystems (free interpretation of Luhmann*

In figure 2.6, society is the encompassing social system. People engage in various interactions, discursive practices and function systems. Organisations may lodge many conversations. Systems have each other as their environments, and the evolution of each system results from internal dynamics and from adaptation to changing environments, interpreted through the codes of the system. Every observation of, and adaptation to, an

environment is made using the distinctions, logic and procedures of the observing system. European projects have to deal with politics, economics (e.g. accounting procedures), legal constraints and so forth.  Decisions, actions or strategy are specific communications, and these decisions drive the self-reproduction of the system. This recursive relation between ideological discursive dynamics (the process as a source of pluralisation) and institutionalising (the structure being diversified) provides a useful way to typify any environment of any project to be studied.

### 2.3.2.   Polysystem theory/repertoire

Projects observe other projects in their environment. This may lead to a reframing of a project's strategies or approaches, competition, cooperation, standardisation. This process can be understood through the concept of "repertoire", derived from system theory and a central concept of polysystem analysis (Even-Zohar 1990; Even-Zohar 2007). Polysystem theory sees 'systems' as being dynamic and heterogeneous. Systems are not uniform, but are stratified in a polysystem in which a constant synchronic and diachronic interaction or struggle takes place between (semiotic) practices. Even-Zohar distinguishes between the canonised and non-canonised strata of a polysystem. Canonised strata can be understood as those (semiotic) practices of dealing with heritage that are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture. This in turn determines what will be preserved by the community and become part of its heritage. Canonisation may concern specific action models in a governance context.

According to this theory, the influence of 'culture' is something that is found at all levels and cannot be exclusively attributed to any one level of the polysystem. The theory can also be used to explain, to some extent, how practices become canonised. The vitality of canonised practices depends on the constant dynamic tension with the non-canonised practices that are trying to replace them. This tension leads to adjustments and evolution of the canonised practices, which can be seen as a maintenance mechanism of the polysystem. As a rule, the centre of the whole polysystem can be defined as the most prestigious canonised repertoire. The concept of repertoire describes the aggregation of rules, principles, structures and actions (models) that govern practice. The group of actors (the elite) who govern the polysystem ultimately decide on the canonicity of a (cultural) model that evolves out of a certain repertoire. When applying this theory to social systems theory (and particularly in the context of institutionalising), two new theoretical perspective open up. First it is clear that canonising is a specific form of institutionalising, occurring between two different social systems. One system establishes a canon and another wants to have its practice taken up in this canon. Second, there are two different ways of canonising: on the basis of procedure or of contents. Something can be viewed as a project to be canonised because it has been excellently done, or because its content is highly relevant to the agenda at a given moment.

Once canonicity has been established, the governing group either adheres to the properties that it has canonised or, if necessary, alters the repertoire of canonised properties in order to maintain control. The transfer between canonised and non-canonised repertoires governs stability and change.  Referring to practices in literature, Even-Zohar explains that the ability to adopt the principles and models in the centre of the polysystem is vital for maintaining a position in the canon. If a writer sticks to his model then he will lose his position, in spite of the quality of his previous writings.

Understanding the transfer between canonised and non-canonised presupposes an understanding of the juxtaposition of innovative and conservative elements in repertoire. When a repertoire is established and all derivative models pertaining to it are constructed in full compliance with it, the repertoire can be designated as conservative. On the other hand, a repertoire that includes new, less predictable elements can be seen as innovative. After new models have moved to the centre of the polysystem, through canonisation, they will, in the course of time, become conservative. The process of repertoire change from innovation to conservativeness is caused by simplification. As time goes by, a process of reduction takes place. Various ambiguities are reduced and complex relationships replaced by less complex ones. According to Even-Zohar, this process is inevitable.

Procedures can be the precondition for a shift from the periphery to a more central position and/or they can be transformed as a result of the transfer. If the procedure is a precondition and the canonised repertoire has the character of an action model, described as a set of detailed instructions, then this will give rise to conservatism in the system. Other action models in the repertoire may be constructed in full compliance with the canonised one and this will further increase conservatism. In polysystem theory, the diversity of repertoires is as important as dynamism in the polysystem's centre in determining and governing intermediate positions or layers. Diversity is both a precondition for innovation and a result of an open culture where groups in power may be replaced or adopt new repertoires by using non-fixed procedures.

Repertoires of heritage practices are semiotic mechanisms that create the non-hereditary memory of a community and provide the symbols and rituals that close and open a culture (Lotman and Uspensky 1971). Lotman and Uspensky see symbols and rituals as opposite sign systems, belonging to cultures based on content and on expression respectively. Rituals can be seen as an expression of content and are capable of forming and influencing content. Merging into ritual based culture requires a precise knowledge of the language (relation) between the elements of expression and the content. Here, culture functions as a system of rules[27] which are defined as the sum of precedents[28]. On the other hand there is

---

[27] A system of rules can be designated as (auto)logics, as described in 2.2
[28] With this, I mean path-dependency in communication events

culture as an aggregate of creations that are related to normative contents. This opposition between expression and content can be designated as the difference between handbook (system of rules) and book (content) and is a relevant device for studying heritage frames, because of the great variety of expressions and contents in practice. Heritage also may be constructed from criteria (the handbook, the procedure) and from the contents (the specific meaning it has).

Polysystem theory can be applied to the analysis of INTERREG, which can be seen as a polysystem, with the strands and programmes as subsystems and the projects as subsystems within subsystems. A schematic representation is given in figure 2.7. There is competition between local practices with projects trying to become examples of good or best practice. Polysystem theory can be used to analyse how respondents evaluate whether projects were a failure or success.

Metaculture of Europeanisation: governance ideology, selection criteria, values, standards, regulations and success stories

Canonising of regional practices

Codifying of regional practices

**INTERREG Governance**

INTERRREG project

Diversity of heritage cultures

*Fig. 2.7  A schematic representation of canonisation and codification in INTERREG governance*

A diversity of repertoires can be found at the project level because all partners employ their own local governance practices. Innovations can sprout from both interregional cooperation and from conflicts between partners who are unfamiliar with each other's governance practices and understanding of economic development. Even-Zohar (2007) sees complexity as a functional prerequisite for innovation at the project level. Complexity leads to heterogeneity in repertoires and this is the substratum for innovations. According to polysystem theory, innovation can be enhanced by competition between projects especially when the procedures for transfer between the canonised and non-canonised repertoires are not fixed. The culture at the centre of the polysystem decides the acceptable scope of diversity and, thereby, the opportunities for innovation. In practice, the case studies show that it is a real challenge to realistically delineate the centre of a system, to distinguish between canonical and non-canonical elements or to determine the differences between

fixed and non-fixed procedures. These issues are further complicated since most 'fixed' procedures are not entirely fixed, most 'canonical' practices are not completely canonical and the centre is rarely one place or organisation.

### 2.3.3.   Convergence and compatibility of repertoire and function system

Even-Zohar and Luhmann both stress the positive aspects of complexity: environmental complexity functions as a resource for the observing system, while dealing with - and adjusting to - environments that seem relevant will increase the internal complexity of a system. A higher level of internal complexity provides a more refined model of external environments and a more subtle understanding of possible adaptations.  Part of this production of internal 'models' of the environment includes, is the development of adequate semantics, including words and ideas, to cover a certain aspect of an external reality. This level of semantics which was recognised by semiotics, such as the Russian structuralists (including Bakhtin) inspired Even-Zohar. Luhmann sees culture primarily as a matter of semantics, in which different social systems might largely share similar semantics. For Luhmann culture determines the start of a conversation, because it yields a number of opening cliché's a person can make use of. The identity of a social system can exist in a specific semantic, in the form and function of images of self and in the specific autopoiesis of that system – the product of its history of adaptations to certain environments. All these things form the identity of a social system. Culture also plays a part in this. In the domain of culture, defined as the particular logics connecting observation, collective thinking and acting, semantic practices can be discursively constructed and it is here that the games of hierarchy and marginality (as outlined by Even-Zohar) can be found.

Luhmann pays less attention to the concept of hierarchy than Even-Zohar, but leaves sufficient room to allow for a combination of both systems theories. In Luhmann's eyes, modern society is basically centre-less, meaning that there is no centre of society from which the rest is observed and steered. This can be attributed to the move from government to governance (explained below), the move from control by centralised government to steering networks of diverse actors. Society as a whole does not have a centre, since the function systems are all operationally closed, but the principle of hierarchy (a remnant of an older organisational principle) is still present in various social systems. Some organisations have a clear centre and are extremely hierarchical, but this needs to be observed empirically and can never be assumed. Some legal systems or political systems are very hierarchical, while others are not. This links with Even-Zohar's notion of centre: if there is a centre, it is not necessarily an undivided one and it needs to be traced empirically.

According to Luhmann, innovation can mean several things; change takes place all the time otherwise a system would disintegrate very quickly. Some changes lead to structural changes, others do not. Some changes in the system are observed from within the

system, others are not. Change can be seen as an observer's construction. It can only be characterised within a certain framework of specific differences. Normally a change is considered to have a beginning and an end. Some changes are labelled as innovations, others are not. In organisation theory and policy studies, innovations are seen as positive and significant changes that generate success and other ways of coping with changing environments. However, in autopoietic systems, analyses of innovation, success and the associated changing environments are all products of the system itself; the only 'objective' measure of success is the survival of the system, e.g. an organisation.

Social systems theory can assist in achieving a better understanding of the INTERREG governance situation. One can see the INTERREG community as a system, an organisation. There are many external environments around it: the EU administration, the administrations of participating countries and regions, regional and national political systems and other EU-networks. The projects have their own internal environments and are part of the external environment of other projects, together with the legal, political, scientific and economic function systems. Projects are organisations, which can (following Luhmann) otherwise be seen as structured communications. Within the projects, interactions (conversations) take place. And, as for any other organisation, the basic elements for reproducing the organisation of a project are decisions, a special type of communication that allows an organisation to 'move on' while maintaining a self-image of unity and continuity.

The projects are not produced by the INTERREG system as elements of autopoiesis. The INTERREG system functions as an environment in which projects (other systems) can be initiated but, once started, the projects become operationally closed. Organisations and projects, as social systems, need to continuously observe and adapt to environments as an essential part of their self-reproduction. The point is that everything will be interpreted from the perspective of the elements and structures of the system, including self-images.

In this research social system theory is the principal approach used to account for heritage projects, their operations and relations with their environment. Polysystem theory, with its concept of canonisation is primarily used to analyse the mechanisms sprouting from projects that have other projects as their environment.

## 2.4.    Auxiliary theoretical concepts

### 2.4.1.  Governance
Projects are often initiated and evaluated by politicians, or have to fit in with a specific policy context. As a result European and regional policies provide an important environment for cultural heritage projects. Policy and analysis is generally moving towards decentralised

models, from government to governance (Bevir, 2003). While different concepts of governance abound, the overall understanding is that centralised steering mechanisms rarely work, and that governmental and non-governmental actors at several levels need to be included and taken into account in analysis (Flyvbjerg, 2001).  Recent angles on policy studies facilitate a better and more detailed understanding of interactions, steering mechanisms and policy-formation in civil society. Increasingly it is recognised that practices don't necessarily have to be seen as the result of deliberate governing. Sometimes practices occur spontaneously and governance has to deal with them (Neuvel 2009) (Dam, Eshuis et al. 2005; Aarts and During 2006; Aarts, During et al. 2006; Duineveld, Beunen et al. 2007; Dam, During et al. 2008). One can observe a shift in policy analysis from concepts like 'legal framework' and 'institution' to new and more discursive and cultural concepts, where regulatory mechanisms are considered to be the contingent products of diverse actions and political struggles informed by the beliefs of agents as they arise in the context of traditions (Sabatier & Henkins-Smith, 1988; Williams, 2000; Bang, 2004). These authors go beyond the traditional horizon of politics and administration, by focusing on the rapidly growing interest in empowering lay people such as consumers, customers and the general public. Following on from Newman (2001), Bang  states that "a new great narrative for connecting governance and direct democracy is taking shape outside the arena's of political parties and organised interests in representative democracy" (Bang, 2004 page158). New 'governmentalities'(Foucault) emerge, facilitating processes of self and co-governance.

In regional policy analysis there have been several arguments as to how adopt the recent ideas of governance because, as shown in the first chapter, ambiguity in the European policy framework gives way to bottom up regulatory mechanisms. This more pragmatic view on governance can be very useful, because the implementation of European policies involves culturally influenced negotiations (Beunen 2010).  To address this idea of bottom up regulation thriving on the conceptual ambiguity of Europeanisation, this thesis adopts three concepts that account for culturally oriented regulatory mechanisms: multilevel governance, planning cultures and political pluralism.

### 2.4.2.  Multilevel governance

In view of the shift to more open and decentralised models of policy implementation there is growing volume of scientific literature that explicitly focuses on multilevel governance (see for example Gualini, 2004; Hooghe, 1996; Scharpf, 2002; Bache & Flinders, 2004) and recognises the importance of various sorts of networks  (Klijn & Teisman, 1992)(Rhodes 1997).

Multi-level governance describes the trend of decision making to be suspended between different scales: municipal, provincial, national and European. At the same time private actors, representing civil society, are gaining influence by infusing the policy oriented

networks with their interests and ideas. The joint effect of these processes is that actual decision making increasingly takes place outside formal political institutions (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003; Zouwen 2006; Boonstra and Kuindersma 2008).

These theories and concepts of multilevel governance and intermediary networks are clearly relevant for this analysis, because of the many policy layers in which European interregional projects are involved and because of the many networks between these layers. In fact, every project can be framed as being suspended in a network or a combination of networks. The Commission supports the establishment of networks. Given that there have been some fifteen thousand INTERREG III projects the significance of networks on governance mechanisms is evident. These networks give rise to particular heritage discourses which may, in turn, influence the heritage culture in a participating region.

### 2.4.3. Spatial planning cultures

Spatial planning has been defined as *"a coordinated and integrative practice aimed at recognising problems of public concern, defining objectives and solutions to manage them in terms of scenarios and strategies, designing an adequate process of implementation and monitoring and evaluating the results"* (Knieling and Othengrafen 2009). As such the cultures of spatial planning contribute to autopoietic reasoning in partnerships. Traditionaly the concept of spatial planning is based on rational process theories, not influenced by culture, as delineated by Almendinger (2002). Almendinger discusses diametrical differing attitudes and practices of spatial planning, focussing on communication (referring to Patsy Healey and others) or designated as postmodern planning. However, differences in planning attitudes and practices can be ascribed to cultural influences (Faludi 2005). Spatial planning is influenced by culture through a broad variety of mechanisms (During and van Dam 2007) and 'planning cultures' are rooted in regional/local policy making styles. A 'planning culture' refers to the (typical) way of working (organising, deciding, managing, communicating etc.) during the process of planning, that emerges as a result of the accumulated attitudes, values, rules, standards and beliefs shared by the group of people involved  (Knieling and Othengrafen 2009). This includes informal aspects (tradition, habits and customs) and formal aspects (institutional aspects) which are a result of the accumulated attitudes, habits and customs shared by the group of people involved.

Scientific literature on planning cultures at the European level substantiate the notion of ambiguity of the concepts of European governance and planning (Bishop, Tewdwr-Jones et al. 2000; Jensen and Richardson 2001; Van Houtum and Legendijk 2001; Faludi 2003; Faludi 2004; Priemus and Zonneveld 2004; Cichowlaz 2005; Giannakourou 2005; Governa and Salone 2005; Sanyal 2005). They allow a large role for culturally defined interpretational differences. The definition of the appropriate way to deal with heritage may be subject to interpretational differences, caused by different planning cultures.
In summary, spatial planning discourse constructs a self image of a method of making

rational decisions, where the focus is on the 'right' procedure to justify the plausibility and legitimacy of public planning activities. The fundamental belief is that rational procedure is tightly related to effectiveness. This rational view on planning is receding in favour of more contingent and culturally influenced governance interpretations. Planning is increasingly understood as an inter-subjective endeavour in a pluralist context, where the focus is on the processes and problems of joint action (consensus, collective sense making, social integration etc). Here, the underlying belief is that consensus achieved through interaction processes is the key to effectiveness. More traditional fundamental notions about accountability and the need to control change are losing favour among theorists.

The term planning culture describes autopoietic and path dependant decision making in organisations, described above (and following Luhmann) as unconscious cultural influences in organisational culture. The concept of planning culture and its theoretical backgrounds is also useful for the analysis of INTERREG projects, because it may help to account for different views on, and practices for, dealing with heritage and how they are appropriated by those holding different views on democracy and efficient planning.

### 2.4.4. Political pluralism and subsidiarity

The bottom up regulation of European heritage and localised heritage cultures may result from ambiguity and divergent planning cultures, as described above, but they might also be explained as a deliberate political choice to give way to private initiatives from different (ethnic) groups. The concept of subsidiarity cannot account for this difference, because it presupposes the primacy of local government. However, an account of the diversity of heritage cultures may extend beyond the domain of government and governance. This might occur when a region contains a complex social and governmental stratification, claiming different fields of cultural heritage. What happens, for example, if a group of gypsies decide to deploy their heritage to strengthen their identity in a certain region and ask for European support?

The concept of political pluralism is useful in helping to discriminate between subsidiarity at the local public policy level and mere private initiatives that address politics. Originally the idea of pluralism was ontological, as Greek philosophers rejected the idea of a world derived from just one substance. Pluralism became socially important when ideas of developing the criteria of justice and truth, were criticised by relativists in the 19th and 20th centuries. This research adopts the concept of *political pluralism*, first described by Laski (1917). The original concept of political pluralism rejected two powerful ideologies: the idea of a central state as a monolithic element in society and the idea of extreme liberal and atomised citizenship (Procee 1991; Dryzek and Simon 2006). Politicians who believe in an atomised society disregard or deny the existence of communities and collective interests. This implies a planning culture based on a legal framework and not designed to achieve consensus. As

such, attitudes towards political pluralism are important for both planning cultures and for heritage cultures. In an atomised society, there is no need for heritage at community level. The concept of political pluralism helps discriminate between ideas of Europeanisation that aim at a monolithic Europe and a plural framework of culturally autonomous regions in which ethnic communities using their heritage to construct and affirm their identity. It helps to answer the question of whether a diversity of heritage cultures is the result of a pluralist oriented policy or merely coincidentally emerges from a context of ambiguity.

### 2.4.5. Discourse coalition

A discourse-coalition refers to different social systems that share a particular set of story lines over a particular period of time,[29] in which actors from different social systems use similar concepts, categories and or stories/storylines. A discourse coalition is grounded in discourse analysis and assumes that language transcends communication and actually contributes to creating realities. Language and the production of meaning are strongly interwoven in discourse analysis. A discourse coalition may result from an interactive process in which two or more related systems of communication observe and import rhetoric. This normally requires translation, as the basic distinctions and the predefined autopoietic concepts will not be similar.

## 2.5. Analytical interpretive strategy and research tool

Combining system analysis and the concept of governance theory will contribute to the understanding of complexity of the interface between heritage projects and the regional, administrative, disciplinary and European environments. System theories can help to explain the lack of reflexivity of observations made by actors in projects and networks[30]. Governance concepts can help explain the complexity of networks and policy layers that lay between programmes and projects. These concepts and theories allow a deconstruction of oppositions, such as the one between European and local/regional heritage. This is of central importance in achieving an overall understanding of the significance of heritage in the process of Europeanisation.

Undertaking a discourse analysis of Europeanisation requires a research strategy, because there are innumerable discourses producing particular realities on heritage and Europeanisation. A strategy was developed to adequately select those relevant discourses without the need for investigating them all. This involved analysing the discursive relations

---

[29] Definition taken from www.maartenhajer.nl and slightly adjusted towards social system theory
[30] According to Luhmann a system has an imperfect view on its own discursive practices, and the more closed the system, the more imperfect this view is. He theorised that the basic distinctions that systems use are responsible for causing these blind spots.

between project and environment as far as they were mentioned in project interviews, analysing major points of discussion in the national debates on history and heritage and determining their direct and indirect relevance for the project discourse. In addition the Europeanisation discourses within the INTERREG programmes hosting the case studies were analysed. Indications of substantial discursive interaction, found within the interviews, were investigated. The focus is placed on discursive interactions between European ideology, public policy making and INTERREG practice, in order to uncover discursive mechanisms.

To accomplish this, the overall analysis will be done with two analytical perspectives:
1.  how heritage projects create logics and meaning about Europeanisation and regional identity through reference to the heritage cultures in their environments
2.  how heritage is institutionalised and claimed in a wider policy and governance context and the mechanisms that projects use to relate to this.
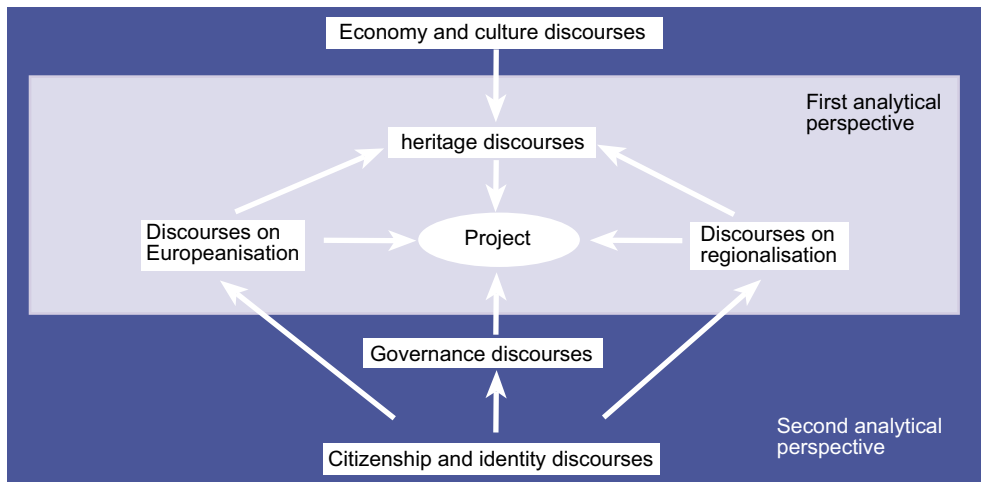


*Figure 2.8  Correspondence of analytical perspectives and conceptual framework*

The first perspective in this analysis will enquire how logical reasoning grounds heritage cultures and produces heritage meaning within INTERREG. This analytical perspective directly corresponds to the conceptual framework, as it discusses the processes of regionalisation and Europeanisation. The second perspective will address the issue of ownership, as a result of discursive ascription or claims that result from of institutionalisation. Discussing discursive cultural heritage practices in this way allows the issue of heritage ontology to be discussed, showing how meaning can become institutionalised, and how institutions can be broken down, by discourse.

# 3. INTERREG and its environment of Europeanisation discourses

In this chapter the significance and role of cultural heritage in Europeanisation will be analysed and discussed in the context of regional policy development. The structures of INTERREG will be briefly described as both a product and operational framework of ongoing debates about Europeanisation. After describing INTERREG, these discussions will be studied, to understand the discursive environment in which INTERREG operates. For this, a critical account[31] will be given of the cultural and governance arguments and the implications for regions and regional identity, in order to reveal ideological dispositions.

## 3.1. INTERREG: history and programmes

Cultural heritage is frequently claimed by regions but is also ascribed to the EU as a whole. The discourse of Europe of the Regions faces the challenge of enacting the motto "unity in diversity", which has significant consequences for cultural heritage. One way of examing this dichotomy is to look at INTERREG, one of the instruments of EU's regional policy, in order to analyse how heritage claims are played out in operational policy. INTERREG is an EU-funded programme framework that helps Europe's regions to form partnerships to work together on common projects.

### History
The discourse of Europe of the Regions can be traced back to the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957. Since this Treaty, one of the main tasks of the Community has been to promote a 'harmonious development of economic activities', a goal that was initially expressed in article 158 of the Treaty on European Union (1957):

*In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion. In particular, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions…*

In 1968 a Directorate-General for Regional Policy was established. The first enlargement (IRL, DK, UK) and the objective of an Economic and Monetary Union, led the Heads of State to decide in the Paris Conference of October 1972 to create a European Regional

---

[31] See the remarks on critical discourse analysis in the methodological account in chapter 1.

Development Fund (ERDF). The Council agreed unanimously on the first ERDF regulation in December 1974.

On 18 March 1975, the first regulation concerning an ERDF entered into force. In a test period of three years (1975-77) a budget of 1.4 billion ECU, representing some 4% of the EU's budget, was split between the nine Member States. Three actions were defined: 1) investments in small enterprises creating at least 10 new jobs; 2) investments in infrastructure related to point 1, and 3) infrastructure investment in mountainous areas, which had to be eligible for the Agriculture Guidance Fund. Member States had to apply for support from ERDF for specific projects. Decisions on applications were taken by a committee of Member States using the Commission's guidelines. In 1984, the expenditure started to be more concentrated in specific regions. With the membership of Greece in 1981, and of Spain and Portugal in 1986, the width of regional disparities increased and it became one of the Commissions' goals to reduce these so as to improve cohesion within the EU as a whole (Dall'Erba 2003). This led to major changes being made to the ERDF,with 60 billion ECU being placed in three Structural Funds.

According to Article 160 of the Treaty establishing the European Community the purpose of the ERDF is to support declining industrial regions. Many regions specialised in the defence industry were in economic decline and the KONVER framework, with 23 operational programmes was set up to promote economic diversification within these areas (Inforegio News nr. 1, February 1994).[32]

In the early years ERDF operations remained purely national, with little or no European influence (Hübner 2007). The Single European Act (1986) gave impetus to a more genuine European cohesion policy (Hübner 2007). Shortly afterwards, INTERREG was launched in the programming period 1989-93 and continued as INTERREG II for the subsequent period (1994-99). The KONVER programme was absorbed within INTERREG II and the networks remained active and expanded in INTERREG II and III At the same time pre-accession negotiations with Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden led to an agreement concerning their participation in regional policy (Inforegio News 3, April 1994).32

In this second programming period INTERREG's[33] budget was doubled and more focus was placed on subsidiarity, leading to a decentralisation of programme management. In 1999 the Community started to place more emphasis on efficiency and a number of initiatives were abandoned. Only four initiatives remained, with 5.35% of the ERDF budget: INTERREGIII, LEADER+, EQUAL and URBAN.
On 11 May 1999, Michel Barnier, Commissioner for Regional Policy, proclaimed the initiative

---

[32] Two of the case studies in this thesis originated from KONVER.
[33] Also TELEMATIQUE, PRISMA, ENVIREG, STRIDE, RECHAR, REGIS AND BIC's.

INTERREG III for a public of representatives of all European regions. It intended to prepare border areas for a Community without internal frontiers. INTERREG III aims at economic and social cohesion, territorial integration with candidate and other neighbouring countries, a balanced and sustainable development of the European territory and to increase innovative regional competitiveness. Special emphasis has been placed on integrating remote regions and those which share external borders with the candidate countries.

Commissioner Hübner describes regional policy in 2007 as "a system of multi-level governance in which supranational, national, regional and local governments engage in overarching networks across policies and territories" (Hübner 2007). Networks play a significant role in INTERREG III and some of them have lasted through many programmes, including KONVER and INTERREGII (During and van Dam 2007).

To implement its regional policy, the EU has introduced administrative regions, known as NUTS [34], (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics). The delineation of NUTS units is based on member states' proposals, although they have to be approved by the European Commission which tries to ensure that the units comply with regulations concerning, for example, the number of inhabitants (ESPON 2006). These regulations have led some regions to fuse or to split as will be discussed later. In European regional policy is assumed that the NUTS regions have a regional identity and that this identity can be strengthened. But often there are different understandings of the concept of region. This will be discussed later, as it is of great significance in understanding the situation in Greece and Lithuania.

INTERREG has an imperfect view of its own history. Until recently nobody knew the number of INTERREG projects (in interviews INTERREG officers considered that there had been some four or five thousand). Recent analysis showed them to number almost 15,000, a substantial portion of which address heritage[35].

## Description of INTERREG III

INTERREG was designed in 1989 to strengthen economic and social cohesion throughout the EU, by fostering the balanced development of the continent through cross-border,

---

[34] The NUTS classification system aims to provide a single uniform hierarchical breakdown of regional units for the production and provision of regional statistics. There are three levels of NUTS regions. The highest scale of aggregation is NUTS 1, which is then broken down to NUTS 2 regions, which in turn are made up of the smallest regional units, NUTS 3.

[35] During INTERREG III an online database on projects was available, revealing some thirty to forty percent of the projects to be related to cultural heritage or culture (based on counting while this database was still online). A new database, 'KEEP', is planned for INTERREG IV. This was supposed to be available at the beginning of INTERACT II, but is still (at the beginning of 2010) only available as a preview. The old database was removed from the public sphere before the figures could be checked with more accuracy.

transnational and interregional cooperation. The INTERREG Community Initiative also intends to prepare border areas for a Community without internal frontiers. Special attention is given to the external borders of the community, promoting cooperation with remote areas and stabilising the Balkans. INTERREG was intended to facilitate the process of enlargement of the EU, and special programmes such as Phare, Tacis and Meda were established for this purpose during the second programming period (INTERREG II) (Panorama, 1 October 2000).

INTERREG III is divided into three strands: A, B and C. The strands aim at improving the cooperation structures, leading to more and higher quality joint projects, and creating synergy between the exchange of best practices and the work in the mainstream structural funds programmes. Strand A aims at the local development of social facilities, the economy and the environment through cross-border cooperation, strand B is focused on spatial development strategies, linking cities and resource management through transnational cooperation and strand C aims at the development of networks and joint structures in interregional cooperation. Each of the strands has a programme structure and eligible actors are invited to submit projects. Acceptance criteria include willingness to cooperate with other regions and to co-fund the project. The process of choosing partners and the contents of the project is a bottom up process[37].

Strand B of INTERREG III, which involves transnational cooperation, is of specific interest from a regional point of view. In some ways it is an extension of INTERREG IIC and the Terra[38] initiative, which sought to establish broad regional groupings that adopted a common approach to their development. These programmes try to establish regions that transcend national boundaries and occupy a space somewhere between the level of Europe and the nation state. This was done by defining an eligible territory for each programme covering many NUTS-regions in what are known as macro European regions. Most of the European macro-regions are anchored in history. While this seems relatively simple it means that strand B of INTERREG contains two concepts of region: one that exists below the level of the nation state and another that is above it.

The following 'macro-regions' are eligible for access to INTERREG IIIB funds:
• The Western Mediterranean
• The Alps
• South-western Europe
• North-western Europe

---

[37] Source: Communication from the Commission to the member states (2 September 2004, C 226/2).
[38] Terra gave local and regional actors the opportunity to design and test new approaches to sustainable spatial planning. It involved developing policies taking account of the environment, economic development, local competitiveness and future generations. This laboratory also made it possible to assess the appropriateness of the ideas put forward in the ESDP. Terra had an ERDF budget of EUR 40 million, and funded 15 projects in 11 countries of the Union. They were mostly focused on coastal areas, river basins, areas at risk from erosion and rural areas located in the Objective 1 regions.

- The North Sea
- The Baltic
- The Atlantic area
- The Northern periphery
- Central Europe, the Adriatic, the Danube and south-eastern Europe
- "Archimed": covering all of Greece, Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Basilicata
- The outermost regions: Canary Islands, French overseas departments, the Azores and Madeira

The case studies in this research have been supported under strand IIIB.  Table 3.1 clarifies the fit between case studies, INTERREG programmes and macro-regions.

*Table 3.1 The three cases, their hosting INTERREG IIIB programme and related macro region*

| case | INTERREG Programme | macro region |
|------|--------------------|--------------|
| Baltic Fort Route | IIIB Baltic Sea Programme | The Baltic |
| Restauronet | IIIB MEDOCC programme | Archimed (covering Greece Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Basilicata) |
| Crossing the Lines | IIIB North Sea Programme | North Western Metropolitan Area |

## 3.2.    Europeanisation discourses

INTERREG policy and practice is embedded in discourses on Europeanisation. The following section analyses the way in which these discourses address regional and cultural variety in an attempt to draw out the ideological perspectives that underlie how heritage issues are treated within INTERREG. The motto of "unity in diversity" has a clear influence on the governance of cultural diversity which can be accomplished in contrasting discursive settings. Different positions in terms of these discussions of cultural governance can imply different claims on heritage. Understanding this discussion, which lies at the very heart of Europeanisation, needs an evaluation of the discourses outlined in the conceptual framework. A short account of this is given below, to shed a light on the relations between Europeanisation as a process, its outcomes and the appeals it makes upon the identity of the European community.  The importance of heritage is summed up by the EU as follows:

 *"How much people know about cultural heritage depends on what is done to promote it and also on the capacity of Europeans to become familiar with and appreciate their own culture and those of the other member states"*[39].

---

[39] Source: culture portal of the Europe Union website.

This phrase contains an indication of the tension between cultural pluralism and universalism towards cultural heritage. The quote speaks of cultural heritage in general and of culture as being community or nation specific. This approach reflects the motto of unity in diversity. It suggests that heritage unites and culture diversifies. This opposition has implications for the regulation of cultural pluralism, characterised by the contradictions that have underlain the EU's institutional development (Kraus 2003). According to Kraus, principles of intergovernmentalism have given nation-states a leading role and have tended to affirm the primacy of national cultures. This Europeanisation discourse is often presented as promoting federalism (rather than constitutionalism) (de Búrca 2003; Börzel 2006; Stame 2008). Federalism refers to a spatial or territorial division of power between two or more levels of government in a given political system. Constitutionalism refers to the complex of ideas, attitudes and patterns of behaviour that support the idea that the authority of government derives from, and is limited by, a body of fundamental law. This opposition has been the source of a long-lasting political debate (de Búrca 2003; Börzel 2006) Although the distinction between the two positions is becoming clearer, in practice the European Union can be seen as a hybrid of the two positions. The European Union shows some features of a federal system: the member states remain masters of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which is referred to as a Constitutional Treaty rather than a Constitution. Nevertheless the EU is a also a polity that sets a wide range of collectively binding rules for a territorially defined community and its supranational character obliges the member states to enforce European law (Börzel 2006). One of the reasons for this hybrid structure may be the political de-coupling of economic integration and social protection issues in EU policies (Scharpf 2002). The integration process prior to the Maastricht Treaty allowed economic policy discourses to frame the European agenda exclusively in terms of market integration and liberalisation. A comparable integration towards a common social model was not scheduled, because right from the beginning, the six original partners of the EU faced great differences in national policy frameworks. This has led to a constitutional asymmetry (Scharpf 2002). This constitutional asymmetry also grounds cultural ambiguity because the social structure of nation states reflect national cultures that seek to defend themselves against Europeanisation while at the same time being obliged to adopt an open international culture to allow economic development through the single market. This asymmetry is reflected in the differences in the institutional focuses of the European Commission and the Council of Europe: with the first focused on the economy and trade and the second on democracy, culture and human rights. This split between culture and economy is deeply embedded in the institutional structures[40] of Europe, and both are involved in the discourse of Europe of the Regions.

---

[40] There are other equalling challenging dichotomies such as those between the environment and the economy, or social cohesion and the free market.

Despite the strength of national interests, European trans-nationalism does offer possibilities for articulating cultural identities below and above the level of the nation-state (Kraus 2003). "Post nationalists" elevate the idea of Europe as a cosmopolis and see the establishment of the general principles of democracy as the necessary first step in this process. They see the possibility of grounding political rule in a purely civic society. Under this view, the lack of a common European cultural identity provides an opportunity to constitute a society that transcends culture, and reflects collective consent emanating from shared moral values (Kraus 2003). Kraus (2003) argues that European trans-nationalism, in striving  to articulate new cultural identities below and beyond the nation-state, is to some extent, contributing to the 'denationalisation' of political culture.

There are various discourses on the feasibility of an integrated European Union. Delanty distinguishes several positions (Delanty 2005)
- Euro-sceptics, who defend the nation state against the promises (or threats) of a European polity and society
- Euro-pessimists, who believe European integration could play a role in combating social exclusion and the democratic deficit by enhancing socio-cultural integration, taking this role over from the nation state. Their idea of integration focuses on intergovernmental co-operation
- Euro-optimists or pan-Europeanists, who believe that there is a uniquely European culture which can serve as a basis for social integration and that this is not solely derived from the nation state.

Analysing the history of the EU, van de Middelaar (2009) describes three discourses, based on confederalism, federalism and functionalism, which in turn represent a Europe of nations, a Europe of citizens and a Europe of offices. In the Europe of nations discourse the sovereignty of nations remains unquestioned. This discourse has deep historical roots, has an anti-universalist attitude towards Europe, combined with pro-universalist attitudes towards the nation state. The Europe of citizens discourse favours delegating democratic responsibilities to the EU at the expense of national sovereignties. Adherents believe in a European democracy with elected politicians. Finally, the Europe of offices discourse sees a European bureaucracy with restricted mandates as the appropriate model for European society. Over time mixed discourses have emerged including supranationalism (a hybrid of the Europe of citizens and offices), intergovernmentalism ( a hybrid of the Europe of nations and offices) and constitutionalism ( a hybrid of the Europe of nations and citizens)[41]. Van de Middelaar stresses the semantic differences used in these arguments: some speak of European construction as if there was nothing before, whereas others speak of European

---

[41]   These hybridised discourses will not be taken into account in this research.

integration, unification or cooperation. After the French "non" to the European Constitutional Treaty, the French government stuck to the word construction, while the Dutch government substituted the word "integration" with "cooperation" (Middelaar 2009). These three categories, established by Delanty and supported by Middelaar's analysis will be used throughout this research.

## The Euro-sceptic discourse

The explicit focus of the European Union on culture as a policy concern over the past two decades has been the source of much criticism of the ideology of Europeanisation. For example, the European Anti-Maastricht Alliance is an Euro-sceptic organisation that highlights issues of excessive European 'interference' that affects the daily lives of Europeans which, it claims, signify a loss of national and individual autonomy[42]. Euro-sceptics such as Barnett (2001) have looked at the way in which the EU has changed its position on culture, moving from a position of conceptualising it in symbolic terms to doing so in governmental terms. Barnett perceives this as *"an attempt to reshape the affective identification of citizens around a set of coherent symbols of European Unity. There is the normative limitation of defining European identity in relation to a shared tradition of values taken to encompass Hellenistic democracy, Roman law, Judeo-Christian religion, and Enlightenment humanism. Affirmations of the core values of European identity are premised upon bounded, static conceptions of identity that may have exclusionary undertones".*

Euro-sceptics question the legitimacy of seeking to influence culture through policy. Barnett favours a Foucauldian conceptualisation of culture, which implies examining the programmatic, institutional and governmental structures through which cultural practices are worked up and deployed. Using this Foucauldian definition, Barnett suggests treating the culture/economy split in EU policy discourses as a symptom of contested imperatives of governance.

According to Euro-sceptics, the concept of Europe as a union is based on many oppositions: towards barbarism, paganism, Islam, third world countries, together with a number of positive identifiers, including Greaco-Roman civilisation, Christianity, the ideas of the Enlightenment, science, reason, progress and democracy (Graves-Brown, Jones et al. 1996; Kristiansen 1996). The Bronze Age initiative of the Council of Europe[43] was heavily criticised by Euro-sceptics. They criticised its portrayal of a network of trade routes connecting even the remotest areas with major cultural centres and with one another and of using this to legitimise actual European trade routes. Euro-sceptics saw this as an 'idealised view of the Celts' that not only provides a justification for the European Free Market, but gives the

---

[42] http://www.teameurope.info
[43] See chapter one.

Celts to status of being the source of European culture. The neolithic revolution and the representation of early farming societies has been used to construct an opposition between European civilisation and the "savage other" represented by hunter-gatherers.

Euro-sceptics ask the question that if European identity is rooted in history, then what do we actually know about the history of Europe? In their view, the construction of a meaningful European identity is hampered by our fragmented and highly selective understanding of the past. Interpreting and representing the past is a discursive practice that is undertaken in different ways in different communities and countries. Archaeologists adopted the idea of the institutionalisation of the idea of Europe, and consequently of a common and homogeneous European heritage by contributing to the simplification and ossification of history (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996). This is particularly true for the European Association of Archaeologists, aiming at European collective memory in their work. This causes a tension between pluralism and anti-pluralism, multiculturalism and monoculturalism, heterogeneity and homogeneity in discourses of identity, which cross cuts ethnic, national and European forms of identification (Janik and Zawadzka 1996). By endowing nations, societies or cultures, with the qualities of internally homogeneous and externally distinctive bounded objects, a model of the world that is too simple and static is created (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996). Jones and Graves Brown (1996), maintain that archaeologists have, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to assumption of ethnic homogeneity in nations, because of an assumed congruence between language, culture and ethnicity[44].

### The Euro-pessimist discourse

Euro-pessimists focus on cooperation between regional, national and European policy layers, governmental and non-governmental institutes in networks and projects. Decision making is organised in what is often referred to as multilevel governance. They operate in what Van Middelaar calls the Europe of Offices; an independent bureaucracy operating on the basis of clear political mandates. In this view European unity will slowly emerge as a result of aggregation of private initiatives and interests (Middelaar 2009). In line of their view on private interests, Euro-pessimists act strategically in seeking to procure European funding for regional and local initiatives. They recognise that involvement in European Networks is an important first step towards setting up INTERREG projects. Involvement in INTERREG IIIC projects, aiming at knowledge exchange in Networks can play an important further

---

[44] Recently archaeologists have started to pay more attention to the historical contingency of group identity. In Western Europe and the former Soviet Union much greater emphasis was put on the internal integrity and historical continuity of the ethnic unit or 'ethnos' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996)(page 8). Although self-identification is recognised as an important element, the essence of the ethnos can be constituted by very real cultural and linguistic components which make up a group's identity. As a result, ethnicity should not exclusively be considered as a primarily relational construct in the sense of a 'we/they-opposition' between groups in a plural society. Furthermore ethnic identity should be considered to be distinct from socio-structural and economic circumstances; it pertains to the social life of people, regardless of these conditions and has greater continuity than such phenomena.

step towards INTERREG IIIB projects involving real investments in regional development. However the most important source of funding is at the level of Structural Funds, which offer the highest budgets. Within the euro-pessimists' discourses, efficiency and best practices are central normative concepts. Competition takes precedence over cooperation and this is reflected by the abundance of guidelines and learning modules on how to initiate and execute projects relevant for the Lisbon Agenda that improve regional economic performance[45]. This discourse is dominant in European governance (see the next section) and in INTERREG.

### The Euro-optimist discourse  the movement A Soul for Europe

Recently Euro-criticism by Euro-sceptics was countered by an influential movement "A Soul for Europe" which promotes the cultural dimension of Europeanisation, and sees Europe as a 'melting pot'. This movement provides an interesting example of the Euro-optimist discourse which has attracted the support of many renowned Europeanists, including Jacques Delors and many ex-ministers. This movement seeks to put culture firmly on the political agenda, seeing it as a strategic issue that is relevant to both the internal cohesion and the external strategy of the EU. The movement's fundamental principles are set out in its manifesto. The first principle is derived from the preamble of the Charter of European Rights "The peoples of Europe, in creating an ever closer union among them, are resolved to share a peaceful future based on common values. […] Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity […].".  The fifth principle states "The internal structure of Europe, which is organised in accordance with the principles of democracy, the rule of law and Europeans' peaceful coexistence. The structural and promotional policies through which Europe supports the development of its regions."  A close reading of the description of the movement and its principles reveal an increased politicisation of culture. It is a tract that clearly gives more emphasis to the unifying moral, legal and democratic values of the EU than its pluralist values. There is a strong focus on equal rights, opportunities and prosperity and an undertone of assimilationism. It is not clear at present whether this is a typical or an extreme version of the Euro-optimist discourse or influential this discourse is in terms of INTERREG practices and the question will be addressed in the case studies. The Soul for Europe movement, despite its charming rhetoric of protecting cultural diversity, seems to be more attached to the idea of Europe as a melting pot than maintaining and promoting the plurality and diversity of Europe's culture and societies.

---

[45] E.g. the SPARC initiative by the University of Edinburgh, good practice projects like INHERIT and CULTURED, the guidelines on good partnership, good financial management and the information systems on potential partners and their expertises. The INHERIT project was implemented by the European Assembly of Historic Towns and Regions.

## 3.3.    Governance discourses

The example of Mount Athos (given in chapter 1) highlights the complex and moral relationship between cultural diversity and governance. European governance is based on principles of democracy that are shared across Europe and a level playing field based on the *Acquis Communautaire*. This does not imply that governance is always interpreted or practiced in the same way. There are inevitably tensions between the goals of equity, cohesion and regulating markets. Governance involves recognising that citizens should have equal rights, seeks to promote regional prosperity and reduce regional imbalances and to close the democratic deficit. Heritage can play an important role in diminishing the democratic deficit as, by giving direct support to heritage projects, the EU comes into closer contact with its citizenry. To understand this issue this section provides a short account of governance discourses, showing the different discursive dispositions with respect to political involvement, to understand the tensions in heritage cultures that will later be found in the case studies and the ways that practice of heritage is subject to the peculiarities of different governance regimes.

To address the democratic deficit the European Commission submitted a white paper on good governance (Commission of the European Communities 2001). One of the key issues presented in this paper is the subsidiarity principle, which is intended close the gap between the polity and the citizenry. This aspect of reforming European Governance, is considered important because *"despite (the EU's) achievements, many Europeans feel alienated from the Union's work"* (page 7). The white paper mentions "principles of good governance" that reinforce the overriding principles of proportionality and subsidiarity (chapter II). These imply that, before launching any initiative, it is essential to check if public measures are really needed, if the European level is the most appropriate one and if the proposed measures are proportionate to the objectives. This white paper reflects the universal democratic values within the EU, together with the concepts of European citizenship and European civil society. With this paper the Commission refocused on their core mission, taking the subsidiarity principle into account.

*Subsidiarity and the Open Method of Coordination*
Although much attention has been paid to the principles of subsidiarity, in practice a more complex situation can be observed, due to the adoption of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). This method replaces the principles of subsidiarity by collaborative planning processes on different levels of policy making (Pochette 2001). It supplies a framework for European cooperation through networks and institutions that are mostly inhabited by Euro-pessimists. This approach to policy making and implementation has been described as multilevel governance (Bache and Flinders 2004). Despite the unifying influence of European governance, there remains a tension between Europe's universal democratic principles and

cultural grounded ways of planning and policy development (Bang 2003; Bang 2004). The OMC[46] plays a key role in this relationship. These interrelations of cultures and planning have been studied at a theoretical level, with a specific focus on spatial planning cultures at regional and national levels (Richardson and Jensen 2003; Friedman 2005) (Faludi 2005). The OMC helps to construct European regulations and translate them into practice in a way that recognises national interests.

The OMC is widely used as a governance tool in the EU and has, to some extent, undermined the concept of subsidiarity. This can be observed in the Committee of the Regions, which recently issued a white paper on multilevel governance(Committee of the Regions 2009). In this paper the OMC, reframed as multilevel governance, is put above the principles of subsidiarity, which is reduced to a condition of implementation to be monitored. According to the paper the two are inseparable, *"because the principle of subsidiarity indicates the responsibilities of the different tiers of government, while multilevel governance emphasises their interaction"* (page 7). A wholehearted adoption of the principle of subsidiarity can be interpreted as unworkable as it would imply that every self defining and self governing group contributing to the cultural diversity of the European Community should be given political relevance and their autonomy should be respected, thereby creating an "atomised society". No politician in Europe and no region would be in favour of this interpretation of democracy. While minorities and ethnic groups are legally acknowledged by the EU, limitless subsidiarity would result in a society in which political lobbying and agenda setting by interest groups take precedence over implementing rules decided on by many democratic institutions. It would result in a highly pluralist democracy which would, effectively, be ungovernable. In the scientific literature, multilevel governance has come to take precedence over subsidiarity (Pochette 2001; Bache and Flinders 2004; Leonardi 2006). A further evaluation of related disourses on jurification and value articulation is needed, to find out more of their limiations.

Within EU governance there is a tension between the conception of fundamental human rights, representing binding and enforceable constraints on the power of the EU, and one that sees human rights as a system of values that should positively inform and shape

---

[46] The OMC provides a new framework for cooperation between Member States, to help them direct their national policies towards certain common objectives. Under this intergovernmental method, Member States are evaluated by another one (peer review), with the Commission being limited to a surveillance role. The European Parliament and the Court of Justice play virtually no part in the OMC process. The OMC covers areas which fall within the competence of Member States, such as employment, social protection, social inclusion, education, youth and training. It is based principally on:
- jointly identifying and defining the objectives to be achieved (adopted by the Council);
- jointly established measuring instruments (statistics, indicators, guidelines);
- benchmarking, i.e. comparison of the Member States' performance and exchange of best practices (monitored by the Commission).
Depending on the areas concerned, the OMC involves so-called "soft law" measures which are binding on the Member States to varying degrees but which never take the form of directives, regulations or decisions.

the conduct of all the actors within the governance system (de Búrca 2003). The first disposition could be designated as 'juridification' and the second as one of value articulation. This contrast relates to subsidiarity, as value articulation relates to a pluralist and decentralised view on society, and juridification to a unifying centrally organised process The Council of Europe and its networks have constructed a value articulation discourse around cultural rights and this strongly influences discourses over cultural heritage (Pickard 2002). The cultural policy of the Council of Europe recognises the relationship between culture and human rights and seeks to protect both individual cultural rights and the collective cultural rights of vulnerable groups (Pickard 2002). The primary focus of attention is on recognising the cultural values of other groups in order to avoid conflicts, so its discourse on cultural rights focuses on value articulation rather than on juridification. Discussions on juridification occurred during the preparation of the EU White Paper on Governance (discussed above). The Euro-sceptic "Bruges Group"[47] criticised the focus of this paper on European Regulation, suggesting that this focus was adopted by Prodi (President of the Commission between 1999 and 2004) in order to sell the white paper to the European Parliament (Shore n.d). The message of the White Paper was supported by Jacques Delors, who supported its call for participatory democracy in which organised civil society would participate more in governance, thus helping to create a citizens' Europe(Shore undated)[48]. The White Paper represented a highly significant and important development in the use of the *Acquis Communautaire* (body of law created by the Community). Euro-sceptics argue that it is the intention of the Commission to promote greater use of regulations, framework directives and co-regulatory mechanisms, and to seek more effective enforcement of Community law(Shore undated). In addition to this, the European Social Observation Centre pointed out that the European Parliament is not focused on subsidiarity but on efficiency (Pochette 2001). Both critiques are relevant, because efficiency and juridification can both be seen as unifying forces. Efficiency is enhanced by the exchange of best practices, which can be used as a mechanism for control and simplification.

A deconstruction of governance discourses reveals different models of democracy that either give more weight to the principles of pluralism or those of universalism. Comparing different models of democracy, Coultrap (1999) shows that a shift from parliamentarism to pluralism can contribute to reducing the democratic deficit. He defines political pluralism as providing citizens with direct access to politicians, without having to rely on the interventions of a public administration. He sees the American system as more pluralist and the

---

[47] The Bruges Group defines itself as an independent all-party think tank. Set up in February 1989, its aim was to promote the idea of a less centralised European structure than that emerging in Brussels. Its inspiration was Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech in September 1988, in which she remarked that, "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level". The Bruges Group has had a major effect on public opinion, and forged links with Members of Parliament and like-minded groups in other countries.

[48] N.B. the white paper symbolises the fact that regulation is the primary mechanism of the EU, in the end leading to the Acquis Communautaire being the inviolable body of law created by the Community.

European system as more parliamentary – although both share many similarities, including autonomous subsystems, a trilateral decision making structure, independent executive bodies and other legislative similarities. However, he argues that the EU's bureaucracy is an obstacle to a significant shift from parliamentarism to pluralism and with this, to increased subsidiarity. EU regions do have direct access to the European Commission, without having to go through their national governments. As such it seems that the extent of subsidiarity varies from regions to the level of legally acknowledged cultural groups.

The concept of subsidiarity favours political pluralism, although in the discourse of Europe of the Regions it is restricted to a regional level. Subsidiarity implies the need to address more complex models of society. OMC focuses on building consensus between different policy layers, and this gives the regions greater autonomy and, at the same time constrains cultural differences. At the same time the OMC offers less support to pluralism, because every decision or regulation requires consensus, which in turn involves finding shared interests, norms and values.

## 3.4.  Discourse of European regions and regional identity

The increasing attention to cultural pluralism, the discussion of the principle of subsidiarity and the OMC have all contributed to giving the regions a stronger position in the construction of Europe. Adherents of nationalist discourses about Europeanisation have expressed much mistrust in regionalisation, considering it to be a new sort of particularism, or a new ethno-nationalism in disguise (Brande 1996). This view may be outdated, but it shows the relevance of limitative conceptions of culture and identity in discussions about Europeanisation. These limitations are caused by a straightforward coupling of identity and territory, without recognition of other less geographically fixed identity constructions. Regional identity is a key concept in the regional policy of the EU. The following section analyses the debate about the links between regional and European identity and starts by giving an account of different interpretations of regions and regional identity.

One recent press release from the Assembly of European Regions is entitled *"Regions are the building blocks for Europe!"* The Udine Declaration, published at the time of establishing the European Regional Assembly, states: *"A region is a territorial unit, legitimised by the state laws, being a lower stage of the state and having is own political autonomy (or self-governing)"* (Kavaliauskas 2004). The following statement by EU President Barroso is also included in this document: *"regions play a significant role in forging strong regional, national and European identities; regions are key to involving citizens actively in the building of Europe"*. This statement clearly places the emphasis of the "unity in diversity" at the regional level and supports the subsidiarity principle within European governance. It also shows a

nested view of identity: regional identity as the basis, with national identity at a higher level and European identity encompassing that.

The DG Regio sees culture and heritage as key components of the Union's wealth, the identity of its regions and as sources of economic activity and new jobs. Numerous articles in the policy newsletter INFOREGIO address heritage issues and, in almost all cases, the emphasis is on commodity aspects, reflecting the significant role that tourism and culture have in structural interventions from the European Regional Development Funds. Many programmes have different strands, some specifically devoted to the development of tourist-related infrastructure or projects, heritage protection and so forth. The Commission provide incentives for regions to cooperate with each other on the theme of regional identity and sees heritage both as a commodity and constituent element of regional identity. However the documentation of DG-Regio provides no clues as to how regional identity contributes to European identity. When it comes to prosperity, regions are framed as uniform building blocks of Europe[49] and the policy goal is to reduce the most pressing economic discrepancies.

The Assembly of European Regions[50] issued a White Paper on the issue of regional identity as part of the process of building a more rigorous approach to regional policy (Ricq 2006). The paper draws some interesting conclusions over the importance of culture and governance. It concludes that regional identity should include concepts of autonomy with respect to other levels of identity, such as national and European. The paper distinguishes three types of identity: memory-identity, action-identity and forecast-identity. Here, following Luhman (1995) we can observe one actor in the field seeking to redefine the basic distinctions of the nationalist and Europeanist discourses, in an attempt to stave off competing views. Although the paper states that no type of identity should be ignored, its conclusion is that future-identity is the most important. Note that this concept of future identity implies and emphasises autonomy. Here, language and power meet in a Foucauldian way. The paper reflects their basic understanding of Europeanisation at regional level, requiring social convergence and harmonisation. It addresses the 'unity in diversity' theme by making a strong call for autonomous regions. Yet it also states *if we want to construct Europe, we need to create Europeans"* (page 16), an argument clearly derived

---

[49] The Commission issued a unified description of all its regions: Eurostat (1993). Portrait of the Regions. Volume 1, Germany, Benelux, Denmark. Volume 2, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece. Volume 3, France, United Kingdom, Ireland. Brussels, Luxembourg, Directorate General for Regional Policy.
The Assembly of European Regions (est. 1985) is the largest independent network of European regions. It extends beyond the EU and brings together more than 270 regions from 33 countries, as well as 13 inter-regional organisations, AER's mission is to:
[50] Promote the principle of subsidiarity and regional democracy;
- Increase the regions' political influence within European institutions;
- Support the regions in the process of European enlargement and globalisation;
- Facilitate inter-regional cooperation across and beyond Europe.

from the Euro-optimist discourse. This dialogism appears to lead the Assembly toward the paradoxical situation of encouraging autonomous regions inhabited by Europeans.

The most decentralised and pluralist view on culture comes from the Committee of the Regions (COR)[51]. This Committee, established in 1994 has the task of advising the Commission on economic and social cohesion, trans-European infrastructure networks, health, education and culture. Its approach favours the participatory concept of culture (Barnett 2001). The Committee has lobbied for a better recognition of local and regional actors and for them to have a more active role in designing cultural policies, in order to allow a flowering of cultural diversity. Their conception of cultural diversity is primarily territorially defined and therefore emphasises regional identity. They also see this approach as helping to address the democratic deficit (Coultrap 1999; Barnett 2001; Barnett 2001; Decker 2002; Meadowcroft 2002). The COR believes that citizens will be more inclined to identify with Europe through participating in activities and programmes supported by the EU than through any loyalty to pan-European symbolism, such as a flag or anthem. Thus the COR sees cultural participation as an important part of integration. The COR has used the subsidiarity principle to argue the case for implementing cultural policies at the regional and local levels, since attempts to do this at the national level create a tendency towards nationally homogeneous cultures. The COR also avoids defining culture with any precision, talking instead about ways of living in regions and localities.

The concept of the region can have different meanings. Most commonly a region is thought of as the policy level below the level of the nation. But besides this, the concept of the macro-region is used to describe parts of Europe. Some people speak about the Baltic region, others refer to the historic Pannonia region. When we look at regions within a nation, we can discriminate historic and ethnic regions from policy regions. Ethnic regions have the strongest identity, e.g. the Basque region. Historic regions can survive in the memory of the local populace: and this can be observed in regions such as Thessaly and Macedonia in Greece. In Italy, the formation of twelfth and thirteenth polities in the north and the south continue to shape institutional practices and economic viability - even into the second half of the twentieth century - showing the strong impact of historically formative periods (Putnam 1993).

The spatial and physical characteristics of a region are assumed to be an important formative element of regional identity (Hendriks 2004). The compilation of Europe's living landscapes (Pedroli, van Doorn et al. 2007) reflects this empirical discourse. Ancient

---

[51] The COR has to be consulted in all matters relating to cultural initiatives. Under Article 128 (of what?) culture became a multidimensional sector which has a role in promoting European integration. As such. tt should improve employment, enhance the image of regions so they can attract investments, protect cultural diversity in the form of arts, heritage and language, and have a social development utility to combat social exclusion.

landscape features and heritage sites are considered to be an important grounding point of regional identity. The concept of "place identity" is separated from social identities in order to make it subject to spatial planning and place marketing (Hague 2005). According to cultural geographers, place identity can even be superimposed on the social relations that exist between the inhabitants of a region and its culture and/or history, This discourse about identity[52] sees landscapes as an important influence on European cultural identity (Sassatelli 2006). Sasselati believed that the European Landscape Convention had an important role to play in the construction of a European identity (chapter 2 in (Sassatelli 2006)). By contrast anthropological research postulates that culture defines spatial identity and spatial identity defines culture, through a complex inter-relationship between culture (which includes language, religion, material culture, images of history, moral values) and spatial identity (Lowenthal 1985; Van Assche 2004). If culture and regional identity mutually help to define each other, this would mean that a dominance of the material aspects of landscape merely reflects the disciplinary culture of the scientist. This scientific discussion can be perceived as a cultural influence within scientific discourses (Procee 1991). Besides the conventional view that cultural heritage (and regional identity) consists of landscape, monumental and archeological heritage, it is also important to consider the contributions of intangible heritage, such as historical narratives - sometimes only based on myths[53], in identity construction.

## 3.5.    European cultural heritage discourse

The governance of Europe has become quite complicated because of the interactions between its economic, cultural and governance policies. The culture/economy asymmetry and its roots in EU institutions play a significant role. As discussed earlier, the European Commission's main original focus was on the economy and trade, while the Council of Europe focuses primarily on democracy, culture and human rights. In this section the cultural heritage discourse will be examined in the context of cultural policy. This involves focusing on the cultural heritage discourse produced by the Council of Europe, while also recognising the role of the Commission, which is in charge of the European Heritage Label[54]. European cultural governance is a combination of top-down and bottom up policies. From the bottom-up level Euro-pessimists are promoting cultural policies intended to extend

---

[52] The concept of landscape as memory has been reproduced within several networks, sponsored by the ESF framework COST, within specified domain Cultural Diversity and a Common European Future

[53] For example, the Celtic/Gaelic identity is largely based on the Ossian, a collection of narratives invented in the 18th century.

[54] This European Heritage label has been proposed by the French Government in the meeting of the Council of the European Union of 19 May 2004. This proposal (document 9657/1/04) aimed at copying the model of UNESCO World Heritage. Jacques Chirac, promoted the idea in a speech on the occasion of a symposium for a Europe of Culture (2 May 2005). The label initiative was launched as an intergovernmental initiative by several European States in 2007. At its meeting on 20 November 2008, the Council of Ministers adopted the idea and expressed their wish to transform the intergovernmental label into a formal European Union Initiative. In the beginning of 2009 some 60 sites, located in European states have obtained the European Heritage Label.

territorial borders and encompass the cultural networks of cooperating organisations. From the top-down perspective Euro-optimists have been attempting to (re)shape European identity and citizenship. Identity and cultural heritage are addressed from both perspectives in ways that transcend the culture economy split. The remainder of this section discusses these European cultural heritage discourses in more detail and relates them to other discourses on Europeanisation.

The Council of Europe has put much effort into cultural heritage campaigns and institution building. The Council is Europe's oldest political organisation, founded in 1949.  Together with UNESCO, ICOMOS[55] and *Europa Nostra* it plays a central role in driving international discourses about keeping cultural heritage alive. We turn first to look at Council's role in European heritage discourse, in which it has a strong influence since it was set up *"to protect human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law" and "to promote awareness and encourage the development of Europe's cultural identity and diversity"*[56]. A concise overview of its policies and practices is given by Pickard (Pickard 2002).

The Council has issued a great number of conventions, recommendations and resolutions, largely on a thematic basis, although it has more recently adopted a more synthesised approach (Pickard 2002). Increasingly, emphasis has been put on the meaning of cultural heritage for society rather than on the material aspects of preservation and maintenance, which were the bedrock of the Venice Charter (1964) established by ICOMOS. This emphasis on the value of cultural heritage for a vital society is embodied within the Faro Convention (A Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society,  2005).

While any comprehensive review of the Council's position on cultural heritage is beyond the scope of this chapter, the aim here is to ascertain the discursive interactions of its policies etc., with other Europeanisation discourses.  First the Faro Convention  will be discussed, because discussions on the value of heritage can give a clear view on related pluralist and universalist dispositions. Second, the discussion on European cultural heritage will be explored further by focussing on a selection of the Council's publications that directly led to the Faro Convention, which represent the heritage discourse at European level. The most important of these are: Forward Planning: the function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe (2001), Heritage for the Future (2005) and Heritage and Beyond (2009).Third, ideological claims on heritage in the period when INTERREG started, will be discussed. This discussion on European heritage will end with a discussion on discursive interactions in European heritage networks.

---

[55] International Council for Monuments and Sites.
[56] http://www.coe.int, the Council of Europe in brief; objectives.

*The Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*
In 2005 the Council of Europe issued a new Convention on heritage valorisation, which introduced a new concept of European heritage. Valorisation raises the questions of what is being valorised and for whom? Is it about a single European society, or about a society that takes cultural diversity as a key characteristic? The preamble of the Convention reveals its underlying ideologies and rationale. The following quotes illustrate the complex of claims towards unity and diversity:

- *one of the aims of the Council of Europe is to achieve greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and fostering the ideals and principles, founded upon respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, which are their common heritage*
- *recognising the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage*

The Council sees cultural heritage as playing an important role in the construction of a peaceful and democratic society, in promoting sustainable development and enhancing cultural diversity (article 1). The general definition of cultural heritage is *"a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection of their constant evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions". The common heritage of Europe is described as 'all forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity", and "the ideals, principles and values, derived from the experience gained through progress and past conflicts, which foster the development of a peaceful and stable society, founded on respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law."* This quote is very important, because for the first time it provided a concrete description of the concept of European heritage. Maybe even more importantly, it shows a convergence of values and norms about what constitutes European society. If one seeks to support value pluralism, one then needs norms to deal with differences. According to Frisse (2007), this raises a key challenge for democracy: establishing compromises between different (political and ethnic) value systems to enable further public policy making, while still leaving different value systems in place (Frissen 2007). Pluralism presupposes that values and norms should differ. If norms are incorporated in the value system, then value monism is presupposed in the context of European society. The explanatory report, (which is annexed to the convention) explains how this issue is rooted and how cultural heritage is to be categorised. It clarifies the idea of the "common heritage of Europe" consisting of two inseparable elements:
- *"the cultural heritage, which represents a resource and a source of collective memory for people in Europe, and*
- *the shared intellectual heritage of an agreed set of social values, rooted in history, which form "the European ideal" in terms of how society should operate" (page 7 expl.rep).*

To summarise: European heritage consists of cultural and intellectual heritage which together provide the unifying theme of the Convention: objects of European significance and a democratic way of dealing with them.

Two more indications of value monism can be found in the explanatory report:
- *"an important principle of the Faro Convention is the right of every person of access to the cultural heritage of his or her choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others" (page 2 of the expl. Rep.)*
- *"allowing a further approach to the notion of heritage communities, based on the assumption that there can be no cultural life without a community, although here the report avoids any reference to ethnicity or other rigidly defined communities"* (page 4 expl. Rep.).

The concept of *"the right to cultural heritage"* shows the relation of this cultural heritage discourse with the Euro-optimists' discourse about European citizenship. The explanatory report states it to be *"a Convention which, without excluding the exceptional, particularly embraces the commonplace heritage of all people"*. The resistance towards what is called *"rigid ethnicity"* relates to the peace discourse, which was gaining importance at this time due to the Balkan conflict, (as will be elaborated below in a further analysis of ideological claims on cultural heritage). Although the Faro Convention focuses on valorisation, it gives little attention to economic valorisation. The tenth article, dealing with economic activity, addresses the issue of economic potential (in part a), but immediately emphasises the importance of taking into account the special characteristics and interest of cultural heritage and respecting the integrity of these. This tenth article should be of particular relevance for the INTERREG community.

The ratification of the Faro Convention has been problematic. Only 8 states, mostly smaller and/or eastern ones[57] had ratified the convention by the end of 2009. States were far more willing to ratify the more comprehensive Landscape Convention (with 19 Council of Europe member states ratifying this in the first five year period and more than 30 had signed up to it at the end of 2009). This raises the question of whether nations object to the tight connection that the convention proposes between heritage and identity and the potential this gives for provoking competition or even conflict between national and European identities. In January 2006, less than three months after the convention was drawn up, the Dutch government decided not to ratify the Faro Convention, arguing that it added little to the existing UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity[58]. This decision was taken without any parliamentary discussion[59]. In general discussions on Faro are said to have been

---

[57] See e.g. www.see-heritageatrisk.eu
[58] Personal comments by Mr. Bertens, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Treaties Division.
[59] No information can be traced about by the parliamentary search engine Parlando.

confined to civil servants specialising in heritage issues, partly because there is a lack of clarity about the practical implications of the Convention[60].  The Head of the Department of Cultural Heritage of the Council of Europe clarified the situation *"delays in the signature/ ratification of this Convention,  in particular on the  side of western countries (in the same period 40 countries ratified the Granada Convention, 38 the Valletta one and 30 that from Florence). I believe that Faro will enter into force at the beginning of 2011. It must be understood that Faro is a forward looking text coming, in one way or the other, 15 years in advance. From several angles a Framework Convention looks like a Recommendation and for a number of countries, which have not even signed the text, it constitutes a reference document introducing an  up-to-date approach to heritage issues. In the UK for instance a number principles inserted in Faro have been implemented even if the UK is not going to sign soon for political reasons (as it has no will  to sign new international treaties) .  Several issues were controversial, such as the concept of "heritage communities" and the fear that groups of people and minorities might ask for extra funding relating to specific components of heritage. Interesting article 3 b contains a completely new approach to the concept of heritage. It refers to common European values (ideals and principles). Of course this intangible dimension of the European common heritage is very disturbing for circles used to considered heritage as merely a series of buildings and objects. Working on the meaning and the understanding of heritage (and why should we keep it) is more difficult than working on the conservation process. Both are necessary approaches[61]."*

This illustrates the shift in focus that has occurred since the Venice Charter.  The Faro Convention Challenges traditions based on nationalised monument ownership with new discursive modes of (co-)ownership, that take societal value into account, including the importance of European value.

The Faro Convention and the Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008) have, more recently, provided the basis for the Council of Europe launching what is known as the Baku process. This process focuses on encouraging neighbouring regions to build good intercultural relationships in order to provide a solid basis for peaceful relations. A conference of Ministers of Culture from 16 countries was organised in Baku, Azerbaijan and signed the Baku Declaration for the promotion of Intercultural Dialogue[62]. This was in line with the Faro Declaration in 2005, at the end of the celebrations of the European Cultural Convention of 1954[63]. This discourse on intercultural dialogue views cultural heritage as an instrument of intercultural respect and understanding. One of the

---

[60]  Personal comments by J.P Corten, cultural heritage specialist for international affairs at the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency
[61]  Personal comments send by e-mail by Mr. D. Therond, dated 19 and 23 February 2010
[62] This location of the conference (in Azerbaijan) was chosen because of the heritage problems existing between Azerbaijan and Armenia.
[63] Personal comments by Daniel Therond, Council of Europe.

sessions at the Baku Conference was a debate on the topic of *"Heritage and intercultural dialogue – from national to universally – owned heritage"*[64]. The document itself described the necessity for a universalist heritage approach as a prerequisite for promoting more intercultural understanding, peace and stability (Paludan-Müller 2008)[65]. The final declaration affirmed cultural diversity, between and within countries, to be a common heritage of mankind, which should be *"promoted by sharing a political vision based on universal, indivisible and interdependent Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law, in particular through culture and cultural heritage, inside European societies and between Europe and its regions"* (quote from Baku Declaration). The discourse on intercultural dialogue aims at the acknowledgement of universal values and sees cultural heritage as including democracy and cultural diversity and acting as an important instrument for intercultural dialogue. This discourse emphasises a universalist approach, in which the right to have access to any cultural heritage is more important than the right to own one's own cultural heritage. This universalist heritage could already be found in the discourse of *"Cultural Heritage Without Borders"* (CHWB 2005), which was established before the Faro Convention[66], and was given new impetus by the Baku Declaration. Similar initiatives were launched for south eastern Europe[67]. This heritage without borders discourse has been established with the aid of ICOMOS and ICOM[68], showing their interests in global heritage and museum tourism.

In summary, the Faro convention on heritage valorisation distinguishes between European heritage and cultural heritage in general. It sees European heritage as consisting of cultural heritage of European significance and intellectual heritage as representing the democratic values of European society. This brief analysis of the Faro Convention, shows how this European heritage discourse is grounded in a variety of heritage discourses, producing arguments about citizenship, human rights, territorial and cultural cohesion and diversity and identity. These discourses construct arguments that imply universal values underneath cultural variety represented by common cultural heritage. In the following sub-section the discussion on valorisation will be further explored by discussing three reports of the Council of Europe that illustrate its discursive embedding. One of these preceded the Convention, one was issued almost simultaneously and the third is a call on nations to ratify the Convention.

---

[64] See the Council of Europe document DG IV/CULT/POL/MIN CONF(2008) 05

[65] Carsten Paludan-Müller (treasurer of the European Association of Archaeologists 2004-2007) has been General Director of the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Oslo, Norway since 2002. He has had a varied career holding leading positions within Danish museums and within the Danish central administration of monuments and museums. His focus is on the varying representations of the past through time and on the development and role of museums and cultural heritage in contemporary society. He is quite representative of the (universalist) museum discourse (information from the EAA website)

[66] In 2005 a Swedish initiative led to the foundation of "CULTURAL HERITAGE without borders", with a local office in Pristina, Kosovo. In 2005 the foundation made a successful application to the EU's Culture 2000 programme for a project entitled Cultural Heritage without Borders.

[67] See e.g. www.see-heritageatrisk.eu

[68] ICOM is the International Council of Museums.

*Forward Planning: the function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe*

The Council of Europe has a policy of acquiring opinions and exchanging and discussing these. This practice was followed in its Forward Planning Project for the Cultural Heritage Committee (CC-PAT). This forward study was intended to contribute to the preparation of the 5th European Conference of Ministers responsible for cultural heritage, which took place in Slovenia in April 2001. The theme of this conference was "Cultural heritage and the challenge of globalisation" (Clark and Drury 2001). The Committee had already organised several symposia and events to address the issue of future heritage management[69]. Working groups[70] were formed to report to the project organisation and then to the Committee. The Forward Planning Report built on the results of a similar conference in 2000 and was issued to get feedback from heritage specialists in the field, who were "given carte blanche" (p2). These experts were drawn from different disciplines with relevance to cultural heritage discourses, including modern history, heritage politics, heritage and spatial planning and economics (Weber 2001). Some outside opinions were sought, which could be seen as radical from the insiders' world of European heritage culture issues. For example one contribution was elicited from a specialist from the University of Wisconsin who spoke and wrote of a real crisis in Europe and the lack of emergence of a European identity (Wagner 2001). This presentation questioned the implications of adopting an identity grounded in the past, which is fixed, and argued the need to construct one based on *"a shared future"* (p 18). Wagner argued that it was "necessary to move away from an emphasis of "difference(s)" and particularisms, which as such has defined the political discourse on cultural heritage in the Council of Europe for the past twenty years, towards an emphasis of that which is shared and universal" (Wagner 2001)(p.22). A French anthropologist[71] wrote a scathing critique on the tendency to commoditise cultural heritage (Karnooh 2001), based on ethnographic research that he had carried out in Romania since 1973. This paper expressed the Euro sceptic concern that Europeanisation will lead to a loss of cultural diversity. As such, the publication was not solely restricted to inside discourses, or 'Eurotalk', but also included 'deviant' discourses. The synthesis document introduced a fundamental change in thinking: a shift from *"from monuments to people"*, resulting in a call to *"build(ing) a future of Europe through heritage"* (Clark and Drury 2001). The diversity of contributions displayed a breadth of viewpoints and discursive dynamics that encompassed the split between the economic and the cultural, the different dispositions towards Europeanisation and diverse disciplinary traditions that reflected both universalist and pluralist conceptions of cultural heritage. This publication was one of the inputs for the Faro Convention.

---

[69] For example the European Commission Conference "Research for protection, conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage" in Strasbourg, November 2000; the Council of Europe, "Forward Planning: the function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe, Paris, December 2000.

[70] For example the London Group working party (5 members) expressed its view on the role of heritage in society, and advised to move the stewardship of cultural heritage from the periphery to the centre of policy, to move from regulation to participation and to continue to take a lead in promoting best practice in heritage management.

[71] Claude Karnooh.

*Heritage for the Future, realising the economic and social potential of a key asset*

This publication (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities 2005) contains the speeches and lectures from a Congress in Dubrovnik (Croatia) organised by the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions[72]. The Vice President of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, Dr. Ian Micallef, described cultural identity as being " born out of the interaction with other cultures of traditions that have been shapes by common experience, history and living conditions. As long as localities, regions or nations retain their own way of living and outlook on life, the distinctiveness of their cultures and hence cultural diversity is preserved. The preservation and exploitation of cultural heritage, primarily in the field of tourism helps to highlight the significance of cultural identity." (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities 2005)(pps 12-13). This view on both culture and cultural heritage is primarily local or regional and its perspective on valorisation differs slightly from the Faro convention in that it gives more weight to tourism. In addressing the European dimension, Micallef adopted the distinction between material objects of heritage and intellectual heritage, stating that "Europe also possesses a priceless intellectual heritage. This can be a strong strategic element serving both common identity and regional development. The key strategic feature of European identity should be multicultural society which provides for an awareness, comparison and identification of common cultural features in all material and or spiritual areas of human endeavour" (p. 13). This view appears to distinguish between a common European intellectual heritage and a material heritage that is diverse and owned by nations and regions. This contrasts in some ways with the distinction between cultural heritage in general and European heritage that was made by the Faro Convention . Notably it does not recognise material cultural heritage that is of European significance, as forming part of European heritage.

The Vice-President of the European Council of Town Planners, Virna Bussadori, emphasised that cultural heritage plays an important role as an asset for spatial planning and development: *"cultural heritage is a concept which should not be dominated by the past… (it) is the cornerstone of local, regional, national and European identity, and planning should approach this issue in a comprehensive and integrated way."* (ibidem, p119). Bussadori made a basic distinction between the past and the present when speaking about heritage, and used this to argue for an integrated planning approach. This shows a tendency towards the Euro-pessimist discourse advocating cooperation between institutes. This Congress and the publication are interesting in that they reveal how regional and regional planning discourses relate to Europeanisation. Both examples reveal the Foucauldian way power is integrated in discourses. Making a distinction between material and intellectual heritage can be seen as a strategic move towards claiming the material resources at the regional level. Intellectual heritage is considered important, but doesn't need much money for preservation and maintenance. Material heritage needs to be preserved and restored and,

---

[72] This Association was already mentioned when referring to the INHERIT project in footnote 43.

as a logical consequence, it needs (European) money. Equally by distinguishing heritage as a construction of the past and present and claiming heritage as an asset for planning, Bussadori was staking a claim for the planning discipline as being most qualified to deal with heritage. It is they, not historians, who should be in charge.

*Heritage and Beyond*

The preamble of the publication Heritage and Beyond, written by Robert Palmer, director of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage at the Council of Europe set out to reiterate the need for the FARO convention. The book is said to address questions why such a Convention is needed, *"why governments that have not yet ratified it should do so, and the benefits will be to Europeans who live in the 47 member states of the Council of Europe"* (p.7). Its message is to clarify once more for the ones who failed to see the benefits of the Faro Convention. The contents of Heritage and Beyond, organised by the CDPATEP[73], reflects the discourse within the CDPATEP and differs significantly from earlier publications on cultural heritage. The contributions are persuasive and lack the plural discursive embedding found within the publications discussed above. Besides more traditional viewpoints, such as the importance of heritage for a local economy (Rypkema 2009) and the issue of a right to heritage (Meyer-Bisch 2009)[74], attention was also given to the contributions that cultural heritage makes in establishing intercultural dialogues (Tolstoy 2009). The Director of Culture and Cultural and Natural Heritage expressed the view that cultural heritage is not just a common good: *"it has often been a basis for conflict and there is much evidence in the past and also today, of heritage as a divisive force if it becomes a tool for resistance and the expression of difference"* (Palmer 2009). These aspects clearly have relevance to the discourse about intercultural dialogue, especially when speaking about complicated practice due to different value notions. This statement reflects a need for regulation of cultural diversity.

## Periodical *'European Heritage'*: ideological claims on cultural heritage

Between 1994 and 1999, the Council of Europe issued a periodical entitled European Heritage. Many of the articles within it took an ideological stance towards promoting cultural heritage. The early articles took a particular stance on the way that cultural heritage could contribute to the enlargement of Europe. The Council was at the time responsible for promoting a democratic model for a "greater Europe," which stressed the need to recognise the rights of minorities and to combat intolerance[75]. This responsibility provoked a consideration of the relationship between intolerance and heritage. One article raised a

---

[73] Inter-governmental Steering Committee for Cultural Heritage and Landscape of the Council of Europe
[74] This human rights discourse on heritage had already surfaced in 1995 when this author published her ideas in the periodical European Heritage Meyer-Bisch, P. (1995). "Defining the right to a cultural heritage as a human right." European Heritage 3: 28-31..
[75] This responsibility was given by the Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Council of European Member States in Vienna in 1993.

rhetorical question *"is it not the case that the attachment of an individual community –be it large or small- to its own heritage can lead to more aggressive assertion of its identity, stir up conflict and ultimately result in the rejection of other communities' values?"* (Muller 1995) This was, in turn, countered by a second rhetorical question "does not mutual knowledge and understanding of the riches of the cultural heritages of the other communities that make up Europe foster the acceptance of differences and common values tending towards universalism?" (Ibidem, (Muller 1995)p 3). These two questions inspired several round tables that sought to elaborate a set of universal ethical social standards, based on factors as multicultural alliances, life skills and learning skills.

At one point the journal addressed the contribution that heritage makes to stability. Fisher (Fisher 1995) (p.7)  described it thus: *"Peaceful development can be secured through intellectual and cultural exchange between states and regions: someone who feels sure of his position is likelier to respect the position of others"*. He went to argue that regions are stabilising units in the competition between countries and Europe, because *"with regions people identify most closely"* (Fisher 1995). This viewpoint was further  clarified in an article written by a Croatian writer[76] entitled, *"Sarajevo: heritage and identity"*, which argued that the Balkan problem was a result of the problems caused by Muslim identity not fitting in with the national identities of the Balkan countries. Croatia has recently acknowledged  the relevance of cultural heritage for promoting peace and stability and has used this criterion in developing its cultural heritage strategy[77].

The journal also promulgated the view that European identity is made up of *"what the different identities have in common, and what they have in common is the result of geography, kinship, language, religious beliefs, trade relations and war…. it can only be established complementary to regional and national"* (Leniaud 1994)(page 5). A member of the Swiss national UNESCO commission argued the case for establishing the right to a cultural heritage as a human right, because *"the right to a heritage is an important weapon on the democratisation front: there can be no freedom without tradition"* (Meyer-Bisch 1995) page 31, indicating democratic values to be a more profound norm or value than cultural heritage itself. This human rights heritage discourse was ultimately taken up in the Faro Convention.

These ideological viewpoints have been put into practice by promoting heritage tourism. The concept of Cultural Routes is supposed to answer the *"urgent question of awareness of a multicultural European identity and of a set of values shared by all European citizens"*

---

[76] Predag Matvejevic who  describes his identity as "Croat and South Slav, with a Russo-Ukrainian father and a French identity, because of his language choice in his writings".

[77] http://european-heritage.coe.int/sdx/herein/national_heritage/voir.xsp?id=1.2_HR_en

(Thomas-Penette 1999). The Council of Europe considered cultural tourism to be an appropriate strategy to foster social cohesion and cultural pluralism. Cultural Routes supplied new tourism opportunities, based on people's sincere interest in cultural exchange. The example of Santiago de Compostella was deemed a huge success and the concept was copied (in vain) around other themes such as the Silk Route, the Route of European gardens and many others. Tourism seemed a logical strategy, because *"travel has been a permanent feature of European history"* (Thérond 1999) page 11. The focus on heritage tourism reflects ideas of achieving more stability and less pronounced ethnocentrism. Cultural heritage tourism is seen as a regulative mechanism for cultural diversity.

### European heritage networks

Networks of cultural institutions can be seen as privileged intermediaries between EU institutions and the grassroots initiatives involved in fostering cross border cultural cooperation. These networks generate a plurality of politics, characterised by new forms of representation, accountability and decision making. Discourses over European governance have tended to frame cultural diversity as a territorially bounded phenomenon, to be represented by locally and regionally based organisations. However, access to EU support is dependant on the ability to link up with other organisations elsewhere in the EU to form networks. A multitude of networks is involved in this Open Method of Coordination. One of the most influential networks dealing with cultural heritage is Herein. It was established as a follow up to the third and fourth conferences of Ministers responsible for cultural heritage. These conferences passed a resolution to set up a permanent information system to keep authorities, professional researchers and training specialists in touch with heritage developments in other countries (Resolution 1 of the 1996 Conference in Helsinki). This work was organised in a programme entitled 'Heritage Information and Training' abbreviated to Herein. The need for a permanent network was further acknowledged in the Portoroz Conference of European Ministers (2001) which led to the Herein network coming under the supervision of the CDPAT (Pickard 2002).

The ideological viewpoints given above are influential in European heritage networks, such as Herein[78] and Europa Nostra[79]. A preliminary inventory of heritage networks and organisations undertaken by Europa Nostra identified 80 thematic heritage fields, this

---

[78] The European Heritage Network (HEREIN Network) is a permanent information system gathering European governmental services in charge of heritage protection within the Council of Europe. The Steering Committee for Cultural Heritage (CDPAT), made up of representatives of the 48 states of the European Cultural Convention sets the main direction for the Network. This CDPAT has been transformed into the Steering Committee for Cultural Heritage and Landscape (CDPATEP) in 2008.

[79] Europa Nostra campaigns against the many threats to Europe's cultural heritage. When monuments or sites are in danger by uncontrolled development, environmental change, neglect or conflict, it raises its voice. Europa Nostra consists of a network of more than 400 member and associate organisations from all over Europe. This network represents the citizens supporting or working for heritage as volunteers and professionals and it supports the exchange of best practices. It lobbies for cultural heritage as European priority. Cultural heritage is seen as a key asset to Europe's society and economy, essential to our identity and quality of life. Their website www.europanostra.com says "support us in taking care of our shared history and the unity in diversity of our common culture!"

seemingly being a concrete example of Luhmann's description of institutionalisation. Herein is particularly focused on architectural and archaeological heritage and is guided by the contexts set by the European Cultural Convention, the Granada (1985) and Valetta (1992) Conventions, also the (then) anticipated European Landscape Convention (2000). This network organises virtual exhibitions, *"intended to illustrate European cultural diversity through the discovery of its common heritage"*[80]. This tension between cultural diversity and common cultural heritage often emerges in discussions on ethnicity, subsidiarity and autonomy.

The Herein network has close links with UNESCO (a partner of the network) and many others, while focussing on shared vocabulary with a thesaurus and on vacant themes like digital heritage. The same is true of Europa Nostra, which claims that *"cultural heritage.. bring(s) Europeans closer together, regardless our cultural or ethnic backgrounds"* [81]. *This Europa Nostra network sees itself as "the voice of European civil society caring for cultural heritage".* The networks of CDPATEP, UNESCO, Herein and Europa Nostra are very influential and promote the ideas of cultural heritage as a prerequisite for social cohesion and of cultural diversity as a vehicle for pluralism. This view conceives intangible cultural heritage as an expression of cultural diversity. There is much cross over and communication between these networks, which contain political, disciplinary and institutional discourses that represent a wide range of positions with regard to Europeanisation, - in terms of governance, culture and cultural heritage. Autopoiesis within these networks may reaffirm the European significance of cultural heritage, but this does not necessarily imply that participants act likewise and establish European heritage as described in the Faro Convention.

This analysis of the European heritage discourse reveals striking differences between those who give primacy to the cultural aspects of heritage and those who give the economic aspects primacy. The economic perspective tends to a view that, to promote economic cooperation and free trade, culture should be open and universal. From this perspective cultural heritage is often framed as diverse, location specific, territorially bound and as an asset for planning and regional identity. The cultural perspective presupposes and values a diversity of cultures but frames cultural heritage as a common good that enables intercultural understanding. Both positions pay tribute to the motto of "unity in diversity" but in diametrically different ways. This analysis shows that these two dispositions can be traced back to the European heritage networks, the discourses within them and even to the culture economy split.

---

[80] http://www.european-heritage.coe.int/sdx/herein/heritage_discovery/heritage_discovery.xsp
[81]  http://www.europanostra.org/who-we-are/

## 3.6.    European identity versus regional identity

There are assumptions that 50 years of Europeanisation will, or should have, led to the emergence of a European identity. This assumption is largely based on static models of collective identification. This view is criticised by others who assume identities to have been changed by globalisation. A relativist and Marxist anthropologist from Egypt referred to Eurocentric values as *"old baggage"* and sees Europe  as *"a continent of migration"* (Amin 2004). Euro-sceptics commonly conceptualise collective identity as a 'zero sum model' (Risse 2003). This zero sum view suggests that increased identification with Europe would gradually and increasingly replace national and regional identities. Universalist discourses on Europeanisation are grounded in Durkheimian models of society: a single core society with a set of shared values. These models assume an ongoing process of assimilation. Adherents of this model of society see heritage as a way of strengthening the contrast between insiders and outsiders, with  one canonical body of historic knowledge and identity creation that foreigners need to internalise as part of the process of integration.

Pluralist ideas are grounded in more complex models of society. Ashworth and Graham distinguish between single core assimilatory models, core+ models, pillar models and salad bowl models (Ashworth, Graham et al. 2007). Another, slightly more complex view, is the layer cake model, favoured by Euro-pessimists. This model envisages social groups who hold multiple identities that can be compared with the nested layers in a sponge cake. The salad bowl model is a less static one, that sees many different intertwined, interrelated and context dependant identities. Risse (2003) argues the relevance of the intertwinement of identities in this model by comparing French, German and  English conceptualisations of Europe and showing how concepts of being European are dependant on national identities. Euro-optimists consider identity to be constructed by a mixture of cultural variety and common heritage and this vision does bear some semblance to the salad bowl model. It is one that conceives cultural heritage as a materialisation of shared values and norms. Newcomers in society are supposed to accept and internalise the shared values in a process of assimilation. Assimilationism and pluralism are "antithetic masterframes"[82]  and *"scientific attempts to reconcile them, have failed so far"* (Berbrier 2004) (page 30).

In societies with more than one core, heritage is used for creating and sustaining leading cultures by asserting social inclusion and exclusion. In this model peripheral cultures can also use heritage as a way to become a new core in society or to merge with another core in the centre. In the pillar model of society, heritage serves as a strong identifier of distinct and stratified social groups. In models of salad bowl societies, heritage exists within and between distinct social groups. It is supposed to be accessible by all citizens and policy instruments aim at both inclusion and exclusion (Ashworth, Graham et al. 2007). The federalist discourse of the Europe of offices sees the concept of identity layering as a key

way to bridge the discrepancy of 'unity in diversity'. It is assumed that a unifying identity of being European can be combined with a plurality of identities at a lower level.

Actors in Europeanisation discourses do not restrict themselves to a certain model, but may combine different ideas from different discourses. The analysis of the European heritage discourse showed the complex environment of ideological and practical positions that surround it. Figure 3.1 uses the conceptual framework to summarise the discursive tensions that influence and/or produce arguments of universalism and of pluralism.

Following Delanty (2005)we can distinguish three culture-identity discourses within Europeanisation discourses.These three different discourses make different claims on cultural heritage, as discussed below (see fig 3.2).

### Culture identity discourse 1: political community, territorial claims

This conception sees culture as the territorial basis of identity and of democratic legitimation. Identity is mostly seen as a limitative characteristic bound by a political community, which implies that a strengthening of European identity can only be achieved at the cost of other identity levels. This is probably the most powerful discourse in debates
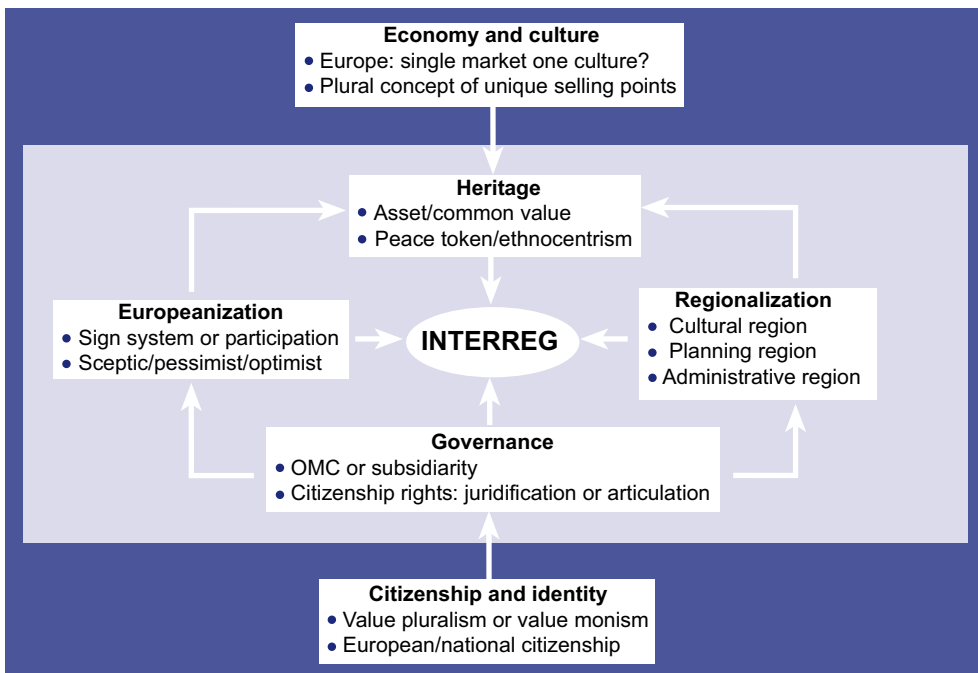


Figure 3.1. Overview of discursive dispositions discussed in this chapter that produce arguments of universalism and of pluralism.

on European integration and is reflected in attempts to create a European citizenship based on the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights in which European citizenship does not exist in itself, but is derivative of national citizenship. This conception of culture tends to lead to competing canonising claims on heritage at different policy levels. This discourse produces territorial claims on heritage by cities, regions and nations and even Europe, all using territorial criteria to construct identity.

*Culture identity discourse 2: Value consensus in societal change, strategic claims*
In this discourse the understanding of culture is related to strategy as theorised by Swidler (2004). Culture is assumed to be open and universal, as it helps to control societal change in a developing society. This view is related to the Durkheimian-Parsonian notion of a system of values which provide meaningful orientations to social groups. Democracy is anchored as a basic cultural value and this is translated into practice through adhering to principles of good governance. This notion implies that Europe should copy the semiotic mechanism that is considered to already exist at the national level. As nation states are assumed to already be culturally cohesive this discourse implies that European integration should be pursued through inter-governmental co-operation, again based on good governance. European heritage is assumed to provide a meaningful underpinning for the process of Europeanisation. In this view culture leads to complementary canonising claims on heritage, because of new sign systems related to heritage necessary for orientation in the process of Europeanisation. This discourse constructs strategic claims on heritage as an object of interregional and international governance, reflecting preferences about how to beneficially use heritage as asset for planning at all planning levels.

*Culture identity discourse 3: Culture as meta-narrative of history; ideological claims*
In this conception culture is constructed as a discourse which transcends national societies and relates to a genuinely European culture and cultural heritage, sprouting contingently from history. Culture is understood as the glue in society and involves value consensus and shared meanings. Europeanisation is perceived as a post national process. This discourse stresses the cosmopolitan or pan-European aspects of culture. This Europe is one with high culture, as is suggested in the choice of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as a European symbol. An important dimension of this conception of culture is that it equates culture with identity, and accepts a certain level of regional identity pluralism. European identity is perceived as equivalent to identifying with European heritage, which primarily represents Europe's past. This discourse produces ideological claims on heritage, reflecting the ideal society which Europe should develop, involving a pan-European citizenship.

*How regions relate to these three different discourses*
Regions are caught up in the middle of this complex of Europeanisation and culture-identity discourses which alternately draw on concepts of pluralism and universalism.
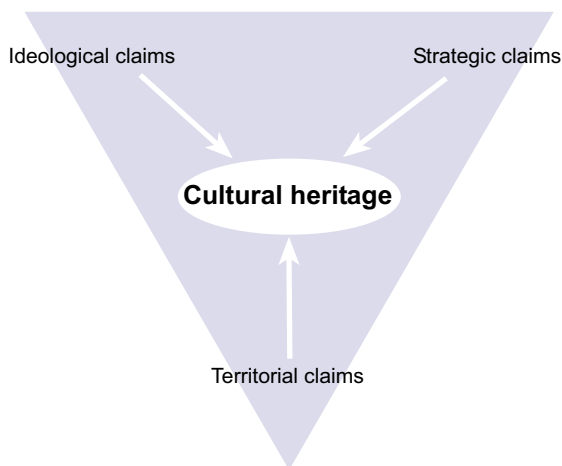
*Figure 3.2 Discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europeanisation with ideological, strategic and territorial claims.*

Actors, drawing on different cultural and political concepts, vocalise different views about the relevance and use of heritage in Europeanisation. The first discourse about cultural identity and the third, universalist one, hold culture to be plural, yet there is an underlying assumption that it is also underpinned by democratic values and principles, which are used to endorse a unique European culture. All three of the cultural identity discourses, and especially the Euro-pessimist one, hold a simplified, Durkheimian, view of society. The idea of a single core society with plural characteristics is grounded in ideological connections between cultural heritage, identity and peace in European ideology. This may be the reason why some actors stress the binding and bonding capacity of cultural heritage. They see cultural heritage as occupying a central political cultural role, being an auxiliary expression of shared values at European level. Cultural heritage enhances social cohesion. These discourses do not pay any attention to multi-core societies (e.g. the salad bowl model), as discussed by Ashworth. This seems quite startling, as the regions embody a huge diversity of culture and cultural heritage, which can never be completely united in the core of either European or their national societies. This can only be achieved with a multi-core model of society. The idea of a region representing a uniform and single building block for Europe is too simple to clarify heritage claims in Europeanisation.

This preliminary conclusion: that heritage claims are primarily formulated by single core culture identity discourses, is important for the next steps in the analysis (the case studies and overall analysis), because it implies that heritage discourses and claims upon them are in competition with one another. This competition is caused, and enhanced, by limitative

identity concepts and by value monism. Strategic claims can be based on identity, whether it is value monism or pluralism, whenever these approaches prove advantageous in Europeanisation discourses. As we have seen above, the discourse of Europe of the regions is primarily produced in economic discourses claiming cultural unity, while the European heritage discourse is primarily produced in ideological societal discourses about identity, citizenship and governance which encompass both universalist and pluralist approaches. The concepts and arguments underpinning heritage claims can migrate from different culture identity discourses to regional discourses. This complex discursive embedding necessitates a further and deeper analysis of the cultural heritage discourse on a regional level to understand the role of pluralist and universalist concepts and arguments. If a discursive migration of concepts does occur, further analysis is needed to clarify the underlying discursive dynamics.

In this chapter regions and regional identity have been discussed on an abstract European level. The next three chapters use case study analysis to provide a more detailed and grounded view on regional heritage and identity claims. The cases have been selected to illustrate the variety in heritage cultures within Europe. The first case study takes an example in Lithuania, and the second two focus on Greek and Dutch cases.

# 4.   The Baltic Fort Route and its environment in Lithuania

## 4.1.   INTERREG: history and programmes

This chapter looks at INTERREG's Baltic Fort Route Project and seeks to explore the divergent discourses that surrounded and influenced Lithuanian participation in it. It first sets out the project, and the discursive environment in which it was developed.  In doing so the chapter seeks to evaluate the ways in which the project appealed to the concept of European heritage and what this meant to the actors concerned. It goes onto to discuss INTERREG and its heritage discourses, which provided the environment in which the project emerged and asks how the project fitted into Lithuanian heritage culture. These discussions again are embedded in related discourses on history and identity. This analysis of the project and its environment will help to address the main issues to be explored within the case studies, the claims that Europeanisation discourses put on cultural heritage and how these claims relate to different views about cultural pluralism and universalism.

The general objective of the Baltic Fort Route project was to construct a network to develop and economically valorise a line of fortifications that lie in Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russia (see photo below). The idea for the Baltic Fort Route (BFR) project was a response to widespread concern that this extensive line of military fortresses in northern and eastern Europe might disappear forever into ruins. Local authorities and regional actors considered interregional cooperation as a prerequisite for solving problems with the protection, cultivation and development of these fortresses. According to the initiators of BFR, they originally did not know the best ways to maintain or develop these sites and there was no transnational cooperation in relation to their economic valorisation. Actors in the BFR network saw culture as a locational factor with potential for reviving both the monuments and the towns in which they were situated.  The main intended result was to develop a product: the "Baltic Fortress Culture and Tourism Route ". The project aimed at developing thematic routes which offered cultural and recreational opportunities and built up tourist infrastructure. The leaflet used to attract tourists promises that "travelling along the Baltic Fort Route gives you a unique opportunity to learn about the last 500 years of European history, about mighty empires of the past and the fortifications protecting their borders". The forts of the partners in the project were represented as "belonging to the world's and Europe's cultural heritage"[83]

---

[83] Leaflet project information

The Baltic Fort Route was initiated by German Fortress Cities in collaboration with the city of Kostrzyn in Poland. Contacts between partners from Poland, Germany and Lithuania originated from an INTERREG IIIB project, called CONVERNET[84], hosted by the KONVER programme[85]. The partners were confronted with "increasing demands on tourism concerning fortresses, town history in North and Eastern Europe". The project involves fourteen  fortresses and 5 scientific institutions, with partners from Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russian Kaliningrad. The route was designed to connect all the fortresses, which stretch from Fortress Kaunas in Lithuania to Fortress Dömitz, west of Berlin. The project was launched on June 2005 and ended in 2007. The total budget was 2.4 million Euro with 1.77 million Euro coming from the ERDF.

The partners focussed on tourism seeking to "enrich the Baltic offer for experiences and culture"[86]. The project also aimed to develop a transnational scientific network to procure and exchange best practices. These practices would involve further development of innovative and virtual marketing instruments, merchandising offers and a touring exhibition, annual programmes and an event calendar. It was intended to develop the fortresses into regional centres of tourism. At the outset of the project 6000 copies of a brochure on sightseeing and excursions along the route were printed (Röder, Neumann et al. 2007). The BFR project seemed to be very serious about the idea of tourists visiting the fortification route.

The project was divided into four work packages with two main strands[87], focused around the 'forts pool' and the 'brains pool'. The first package of work involved building a data base of Baltic fortifications, to record and protect the existing cultural heritage and prepare for tourist utilisation. Four universities collaborated in this work: the European University of Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder; Humboldt University, Berlin; Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas and the Kaunas University of Technology. The second work package aimed at developing transnational cooperation on restoration. Two dedicated scientific centres were established to achieve this: at Kaunas University of Technology and at the Humboldt University in Berlin. The third work package dealt with heritage development and economic utilisation. This

---

[84] The COVERNET project - Development of a Conversion Network in the Baltic Sea Region sought to convert former military areas into civil areas and ensure the utilisation of such regions by local societies. One of the elements was devoted to historical buildings, former forts and fortifications. (The project was started in 2003 and ended in 2005.)

[85] KONVER was aimed at diversifying declining industrial economies. The Commission adopted the KONVER initiative in 1993 to assist regions weakened by the decline of defence industries and military facilities Hooper, N. and N. Cox (1996). "The European Union KONVER programme." Defence and Peace Economics 7: 75-94. The initiative followed special measures under Peripheria 1 (1991) and Peripheria 2 (1992), which included demonstration projects for military conversion, foreshadowing KONVER. KONVER II ran from 1994 to 1999. The programme financed measures included training for new jobs and qualifications, support for other businesses and in particular Small and Medium Enterprises, the conversion and development of new activities on these sites and the rehabilitation of land previously used by the armed forces.

[86] www.bfr.pl

[87] Descriptions taken from the first newsletter

package involved forming organisations capable of managing quality tourist facilities. The fourth package described the work required to develop a new cultural route "the Baltic Fortress Culture and Tourism Route". This organisational structure involved aligning four related discourses: scientific, restorative, site development and tourist management.

## 4.2.    Kaunas' participation in the Baltic Fort Route

Kaunas is located at the confluence of two major Lithuanian rivers and since ancient times it has been a well fortified locality, situated in a largely trackless wooded area. Stretches of artificial mounds were built along the riverbanks close to Kaunas Castle. In addition to the Castle, Kaunas was also secured by defensive fortifications on the Azuolų Hill and a brick wall with gates and towers that encircle the medieval city (Jarmalaviciute and Strazdas 2007). The significance of Kaunas' fortress is unique. Kaunas Fortress reflects the military history of Russia[88]. According to historians, after the third partition of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century, the Russian Empire began to make a lodgement in the occupied territory. The fortification on Azuolų Hill, which commenced as early as in 1796, remained unfinished. At that time Russia had fortresses in its western lands, including Riga and Kiev, and was erecting fortresses in Daugavpils and Bobruisk.



---

[88] Communication by mail, by Rymvidas Strazdaz

At the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Russia resumed the construction of fortresses along its western borders. It mapped out a chain of fortresses along the western borders of the Empire to defend against any potential invasion from the Germans in the West (Jarmalaviciute and Strazdas 2007). On the 7th of July 1879 the Russian Emperor Alexander II approved a proposal from the Russian military leadership to build the fortress in Kaunas. The layout encircled the city with a ring of seven forts and nine gun batteries, and involved laying roads, building a military railway station on the left bank of the Nemunas river, together with food warehouses and arsenals for munitions.

The fortress around Kaunas is just part of a much larger military heritage that can be found in and around the city. Some of the buildings that represent the military history of Kaunas have been included in a special atlas (Orlov and Lukse 2007). Kaunas is steeped in military history. Even the church in the centre was a military garrison church. However, this military past is highly disputed. Actors in the project found that many local inhabitants and even planning experts did not recognise, or even rejected this military identity [G]. *"The old town was almost completely military and always closed, not recognised as ours; some experts are saying, why should we keep this? We should blow them up and build some new houses"*. The forts were perceived as Russian[89] heritage and most inhabitants did not want to spend time or money preserving this. When the actors in the BFR were challenged about conserving this Russian heritage, they responded that it was a "technical heritage" [G]. Following Luhmann, we can observe here that the Kaunas project team invoked a basic distinction between technical and non-technical to avoid the negative connotations of Russian heritage. By doing so they sought to sidestep the basic distinction between Russian and Lithuanian heritage, in order to overcome emotional opposition.

Kaunas' inhabitants are not proud of their Russian history. As one participant clarified: "Russian civilians are very deeply connected with Lithuanian history because a big part of the garrison defence force (of about 8.000 people)was Lithuanian. . Part of them were known as walking groups of Lithuanian workers, keepers of the garrison, they have no low motivation, some of them stay alive and it's not so that only Russians keep them" [G]. The distinction between technical and non technical heritage can be perceived as the result of autopoeisis within the project team through which they countered the cultural opposition to Soviet times. They argue that there was no real cultural distinction between Russian and Lithuanian people[90]. Lithuanians also worked within the "Soviet system"[91], and this system left behind some technical heritage. The system functioned without the full knowledge of the people working in it: "the people did not understand the omnipresent impacts of the

---

[89] In this interview it was Russian, not Soviet, although Russian in the non ethnic sense.
[90] In most interviews Lithuanian people feel deeply connected with Russian people because of the shared Slavic culture [C]. Atrocities in the past are ascribed to the Soviet system. "Russian people, they didn't know", was commonly expressed. This is different than Dutch feelings towards Germans.
[91] Lithuanians often use the concept of Soviet system, based on a basic distinction between system and people One of the alderman was a member of the Sajudis movement who gave us a tour of the city.

system"[C]. This view grounds the way in which the Kaunas partner signified this heritage, as indicated below.

The second problem is that for a long time Russia did not understand this part of our history, it was an imperialistic war so they are not feeling, maybe now they are beginning to understand such things and show interest, but all along time it was interesting for Russians, heritage. They were not active to understand, it was the Soviet way. But now motivation is changing. Maybe they use such heritage as real facts for the Russian influence [I]

This quote expresses the wish of Russians to understand the extent of their imperialist system by being confronted with its remnants. Here we can observe the very delicate relation between Lithuanian and Russian people. New distinctions and new heritage categories have to be invented to refer to the dramatic past, without violating ideas of cultural affiliation.

The project team from Kaunas included two current and two former aldermen[92] who highlighted the absolute necessity that the civilians of Kaunas recognised the heritage, in order to safeguard and preserve the monuments. They used project resources to produce flyers, leaflets and guided tours to focus the attention of Kaunas' citizens on the importance of the forts. It seemed that this was having a positive effect, because the number of people attending seminars rose from 30 to 100 during the project and some private initiatives emerged [G]. Lithuanian law forbids governments from directly giving subsidies to NGOs, so an association was established that acted as an intermediary between the public and civic actors. It tries to establish local community organisations who are interested in taking care of the forts: *"Our leaflets and seminars helped to find people who were interested in the past. For the first fort we have found some community members who organised a website and started to remove some plants from this fort. But it was not organised from the top. It was a grassroots community initiative where people came together as they realised that the fort needed protection"* [G]. This local initiative may not seem so notable but is remarkable in the Lithuanian context, in which civic participation is very limited[93].Because of this NGO activity is highly valued and there is even competition between municipalities to claim the largest number of active NGOs. Here then we can see governance giving way to bottom up initiatives that contribute to heritage pluralism. In this case it was not important what activities were pursued: more the act of involving the local community in contributing to fight the greatest enemy of the forts, encroaching trees and plants[94]. This community initiative can also be considered as a form of discursive ownership, as the community put its name and internet address on top of the fort (see photo above).

---

[92] One of the alderman was a member of the Sajudis movement who gave us a tour of the city.
[93] Personal comments from Keskutis Zaleckis, during an excursion to the Kaunas fortification on 1 July 2008
[94] Recently it turned that youngsters experimented with explosives there, and one of them was seriously injured

*One of the forts a private initiative takes care off*

 Legal ownership of the fortress is split between several different formal institutions, a strategy adopted by the government which considered it important to share of the huge costs of investment.  Two of the forts have been privatised, one other is owned by the municipality, two by the region and one fort still has a military function. The last one (fort 9) is owned by the Ministry of Culture. This decision to split the ownership was originally made so as to spread the costs of restoration – but it also helped mobilise local interests and allowed an element of favour local identity construction.

Nearly all these forts are in a very poor condition and a special photo book has been prepared to show the absolute lack of any maintenance (Cesonis 2007). The only fort that has been fully restored is number 9, which serves as a holocaust centre. This fort provides a model of how the other forts could be restored. The local identity problem and the poor condition of the forts, raised questions about whether Kaunas would participate in any follow up project. *"If the focus shifts too much to Eurotourism, then our cooperation with a new project will stop",* was the opinion of one actor, who followed this by saying "...*not only Eurotourism, if you focus on tourists, you are losing the interest of your local people"* [G]. It is assumed that the castle and not the forts will attract many tourists: *"the fortress*
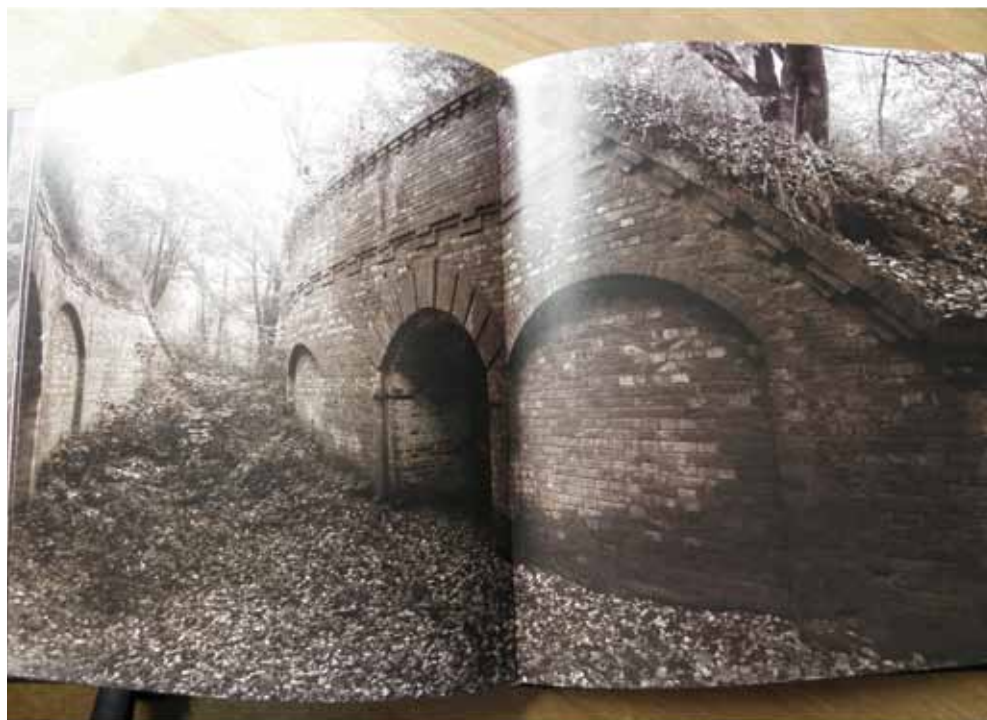
*A photo book was issued showing many forts covered by trees and in a state of ruin*

*is not for tourism, Kaunas Castle is the object for heritage and will be renovated next year to attract tourists"* [l]. When analysing this statement through a Luhmannian prism, one can observe a distinction of heritage categories between objects of tourism and objects of local communities which introduces an element of incompatibility. Following such an analysis, one could say that this distinction may cause a blind spot because the pros and cons of this distinction cannot be discussed without taking an ethical stance, based on second order observations. This basic distinction between objects of tourism and objects of communities is deeply rooted in Lithuanian heritage discourse, as will be shown later. In this case, it meant that the whole idea of European tourists travelling along the fortifications of BFR was seen as an unrealistic vision. The Kaunas project team gave priority to building relations with local communities, knowing the importance of attracting their support and getting private initiatives involved. By adopting this position they deviated from the dominant Baltic Fort Route discourse, which was primarily dedicated towards tourism development. Autopoiesis within the Lithuanian project group was remarkably stronger than it was within the international project.

## 4.3. The discursive environment around the Baltic Fort Route in Kaunas

### 4.3.1. The INTERREG IIIB discursive environment over the Baltic Sea

One can observe a dispute about identification as one of the reasons for maintaining and restoring the fortifications. To better understand this dispute one needs to examine the formal INTERREG framework. A programme framework sets the boundaries and even suggests the buzz words to be used in a successful application (During and van Dam 2007). In the INTERREG IIIB programme cultural heritage is addressed by measure 2.3, "Enhancing good management of cultural and natural heritage and of natural resources". The programme's description sees cultural heritage as *"the wide range of features and landscapes, ranging from geographically very limited areas of a castle or a village into larger parts of a landscape including fairly much biology"* (European Commission 2005) (page 12). The programme acknowledged the disputable distinction between natural and cultural heritage and offered the landscape concept as a compromise solution. It was recognised that this might cause problems if there was *"(a) lack of a harmonised view of the situation in the whole region"* (page 13). The programme suggested that such harmonisation should take place in the context of spatial planning arrangements, specifically the European Spatial Development Programme (ESDP). The INTERREG programme hosted a project called COMMIN which specifically aimed to harmonise planning cultures around the Baltic Sea[95]. The establishment of this project suggests that planning cultures as such were perceived as problematic. Indeed, the programme claims a need for harmonisation. It refers to the first Cultural Heritage Forum on "Baltic Sea Identity", held in Gdansk in April 2003. This initiative came out of an enduring cooperation, established when the Baltic Ministers of Culture held a conference in Lubeck in 1997. Subsequent reports were released every two years describing the strategic rationale of heritage cooperation in INTERREG. The third heritage report describes cultural heritage as a common resource for the development of the Baltic Sea Region and speaks about a Baltic identity (National Heritage Board 2003). Common cultural heritage necessitates a harmonised approach.

The report states (page 11):
*"if the Baltic Sea basin is seen in a global perspective and put in relation to Mediterranean basin, their differences and similarities open up for the notion of identities which could serve as a positive impact in a developmental process. It is out of that perspective that a strategic plan for the common Baltic Sea Cultural Heritage also could be connected with the expression of a Baltic Sea Identity".*

Using system theory this statement can be interpreted as a construct of the Baltic INTERREG discourse, taking information from the Mediterranean environment and using

---

[95] This COMMIN project has been selected as case study and been analysed in CULTPLAN

and reinterpreting it to create a self described Baltic identity that aspires to cover a similar European scale. Moreover it clearly shows policy intervention in seeking to create a modernist identity in a design oriented approach.

One may assume the Lithuanian government favoured cooperating with other parties in the Baltic region to establish a common identity, but this is a rather one –dimensional picture, as will be seen later when discussing the national discursive environment of BFR. Matters of identity creation were present at a strategic level, behind the scenes, of this INTERREG programme and the Lithuanian government participated in these discussions. The programme translated the issue of identity into the question of harmonised landscape management, which can be interpreted as a contribution to unification of cultures (especially planning cultures). This focus on harmonised planning as a step toward Baltic identity influenced the work package that was adopted by the Baltic Fort Route. Baltic identity seemed to be the rationale and tourism the operational strategy. Moreover the project application and the website express a notion that the Baltic Forts are a part of European heritage and have the potential to be developed into a real tourist itinerary. However, this European level of significance was not mentioned in the INTERREG environment.

In INTERREG the exchange of good and best practices contribute to second order observations and therefore to reflexivity. Second order observations are done by partners looking at the practices of other partners in their project. Discussions and negotiations about what constitute good and best practices play a significant in INTERREG's discursive environment. The Baltic Fort Route aimed to exchange best practices and this goal was enshrined in work package three. The project intended to publish these results in *"best practices for management organisation of fortresses"*[96]. However, at the end of the project no such book was published. The scientific coordinator of the project in Poland explained the reasons behind this:

*Concerning best practises: there is not much to say. Why? The best result of such a project is, if the tourist buses are running. And they are running! Last year, we had two international (one European and one American) groups for study tours on the Baltic Fort Route. This year we will have one more with British specialists. It means: there is a big interest immediately after finishing the project. Meanwhile, we have got the offer from Sweden for marketing in North-America, India and Far-East. You can say: the Baltic Fort Route will become world known. But once again back to the best practices: the most successful aspect was that the partners have qualified their military heritage and have prepared the tourist infrastructure. If you do not make such steps before, you will not get visitors. And "tourist infrastructure" is a large field.*

---

[96] Newsletter 1, January 2006

This statement, from the overall project leader, shows the discussion on best practices to be restricted to the tourism discourse in BFR. The project did not consider the scientific and restorative discourses when discussing best practices. This is an indication of operational closure of scientific, restorative, site development and tourist management discourses within the project itself. The consequences are a constraint for experienced partners to bring in experiences from other earlier INTERREG projects, which could have contributed to reflexivity. For the Kaunas team, this means weak connections with the INTERREG environment and also weak links with the scientific and tourism discourses within the project. These weak links were countered by strong links in its local and its national discursive environment.

### 4.3.2. The national discursive environment

The problem of Russian heritage has already been touched upon in the description of the BFR project in Kaunas as being a major issue in the heritage discussions there. Lithuanians living abroad claimed to have safeguarded their identity in the purest way. The diaspora opposed the liability of identity preservation in Lithuania under the severe Soviet occupation and the suppression of people and culture. Ciubrinskas (2004)[97] argues that a quarter of Lithuanians living in America (called the second homeland), having preserved their culture while abroad, were trying to influence the establishment of a new identity after the country became independent. Such discussions are reflected in Lithuanian Heritage, the journal of the Lithuanian American Community and an internet forum linked to the website of Vilnius[98].

In interviews, respondents also confirmed this American influence, some acknowledging that the current president comes from America [C, G]. Diasporic ideas of identity play a key role in the selection and development of projects aiming at restoring heritage (Ciubrinskas 2004). A large inflow of remittances from America has been used to rebuild Lithuanian family farms (Rutkauskas 2007) and this appears to be leading to some kind of hybridisation between the American dream and Lithuanian independence.

One can identify two discourses that delineate ways of dealing with objects that reflect Russian imperialism or the Soviet system (see (Lowenthal 1985)). The government and governmental institutes advocate keeping memories alive by designating certain objects as cultural heritage. This approach commemorates Soviet suppression and the atrocities committed. But the past can also be forgotten as an active deed, through 'social forgetting', which is the natural reaction of most Lithuanian citizens. In 1998 a special parliamentary committee announced a nation-wide competition for initiatives that would ensure careful preservation of the iconographic legacy of socialism, in order to stop the social forgetting of the Soviet past (Landauskas 2007). A former collective farm administrator, who developed

---

[97] Editor in chief of the journal Lithuanian Ethnology.
[98] www.forumvilnius.lt to be discussed later.

into a capitalist entrepreneur with a mushroom-pickling business, won the competition. He relocated all of the important statues of Soviet leaders to the back garden of his estate ('Grutoparkas') with the idea of using the collection of statues to illustrate the madness of Soviet system. This park and the idea behind it is strongly contested by the Lithuanian public: some applauded the initiative, while others saw it as a criminal act (Landauskas 2007). A completely different way of commemorating Soviet past can be found in Vilnius, in the KGB museum, which even contains torture rooms to remind people of the atrocities that occurred in the Soviet period. Despite the bad memories of Russian suppression government policy recognises the heritage of the Soviet era as a formal category of heritage[99]. The USSR rocket base at Ploksciai receives hordes of tourists from all over the world every year, admiring the engineering (Anonymous 2006). So there are also economic reasons to cherish Russian and Soviet heritage. In interviews no clear distinction emerged between these heritage categories, although Russian heritage was more frequently of a military nature. The alternative use of these heritage categories should be understood as dialogical, as theorised by Bakhtin. They allow divergence and convergence in conversations on the very sensitive political issue of Russification.

Apart from issues surrounding Russian and Soviet heritage, there are also controversial national issues about the regions and their diversity of regional cultural heritage. These are grounded in a complex relationship between regional and cultural policy discourses that encompass the gap between what is selected as monumental heritage and what lay people perceive as cultural heritage[100]. Some governmental institutes primarily focus on monumental and archaeological heritage, whereas others, such as NGOs and lay people, are more interested in folk history and living heritage. Responsibilities for heritage policy are divided between two ministries: the Department of Environmental Protection and the Department of Culture. The institutes under these departments do not communicate much with each other: the former has a very rigid view about heritage and the later is more flexible[101]. In a workshop on heritage and regional development in 2006[102], Prof. Jonas Glemza, chairman of the State Commission of Protection of Cultural Monuments, stated "there are three criteria for selecting heritage: *1) its role in the history of Lithuania, 2) its contribution to the patriotic development of our society and 3) its educational value" (Glemza 2006).* The Department of Environmental Protection has a bureaucratic approach to heritage and gives a high priority to cataloguing and recording official monuments. Almost every municipality has a cultural heritage assessment unit which approaches heritage protection with an administrative approach. In 2006, Lithuania had 16,575 official cultural heritage

---

[99]  Presentation of Rasa Maciuleviciute, Chief Officer of International Public Affairs at the  Cultural Heritage Department at the Ministry of Culture of Lithuania in the final conference of CULTURED in Ghent, date 27 November 2007
[100] Personal communication by Egle Kvieskaite, Vilnius Pedagogical University, on 27 November 2007
[101] Personal comments, given in the regional seminar of the CULTURED project in Panevezys county, in Rokiskis on 22-24 November 2006
[102] Regional seminar CULTURED project in Panevezys county, in Rokiskis on 22-24 November 2006

sites: an increase of 'just' 3,000 on the previous year (Glemza 2006). Almost 9,000 or so further sites are in the initial stage of becoming protected. The reason for this administrative orientation is the supposed vulnerability of heritage to pressures from ruthless developers and the sway they may have over local politicians (Umbrasas 2006). These procedures involve tracing the connections of a site to local, regional or national history. Legal protection requires approval from the Ministry (Umbrasas 2006). This administrative orientation may be historically rooted in the highly administrative focus of Soviet times, which remain anchored in social memory, but has also been ascribed to reluctance of Lithuanian experts to engage in debate, which tends to allow the bureaucratic heritage culture to hold sway. While the monumental heritage discourse is highly formal and oriented towards the past, it is countered by a pluralised cultural heritage discourse, as outlined below.

### Pluralist views on cultural heritage

Discourses on culture acknowledge Lithuania's diverse (or diversifying) heritage. For instance, the Lithuanian tourist industry uses heritage to attract visitors and speaks of an "extremely diverse heritage". The tourism department of the Ministry of Culture runs a travel website, which has the following to say about the situation in Lithuania[103]: *One of the most vulnerable areas of the heritage is the wooden and small wooden architecture. More than ten authentic ethnographic villages of the 16th-17th centuries having survived in the Aukštaitija, Dzūkija and Žemaitija regions still foster ancient crafts, including wood carving and wickerwork, plain and black pottery, smithery, textiles, and weaving and knitting of sashes. Unique and especially beautiful palm-branches from dried flowers and grasses are weaved in the environs of Vilnius. One can enjoy home-craft articles, sometimes representing real folk art masterpieces, which are displayed and sold during craft fairs or live days of crafts that are gaining in popularity. The Kaziukas fair hosted in Vilnius for over 400 years is definitely the oldest in Lithuania.* This description of Lithuanian heritage emphasises intangible heritage and authenticity. It suggests a country in which every village has its own specific cultural heritage. In more than ten villages this cultural heritage is fully authentic, in line with the 16th and 17th century wooden buildings.

This description is elaborated further to expound the diversity of heritage. *Lithuania is proud of its extremely rich and unique non-material cultural heritage including ancient songs, chants, raudos (a kind of lament) and sutartinés (ancient polyphonic folk songs), the latter featuring the unique examples of world's folk music, as well as tales, stories, legends, dances and ritual ceremonies of Baltic festivals. Lithuania, with around 800 folk music companies, often hosts national and international folk festivals.*

---

[103] Cited from: www.travel.lt

*Even now, both occasional and ritual songs are sung during wedding parties and laments are still popular during funerals in Dzūkija. A large variety of ancient songs are sung and pagan rites to pay homage to water, fire and plants are performed during Midsummer Day Festival, also called Rasos or Kupolinė in Lithuania (St. John's Day according to Christian tradition).*[104]

This description focuses strongly on the particular and diversified aspects of heritage. Even pagan practices are mentioned. This pluralist view on cultural heritage reflects the interests of ordinary people. During the CULTURED seminar in Rokiskis[105], Lithuanian partners presented what were considered to be examples of best practices. One of them was a narrow gauge railway, restored with European funding, which connects all kinds of locations where visitors can experience traditional life in the 'Golden Age', such as the the woodland culture with sculptors, traditional clothing, singing and much more. The railway seemed to provide a story board for their traditions. It was explained that this attraction had become tremendously popular among Lithuanians. There is also a myriad of organisations promoting living heritage and contemporary culture[106].  While any in-depth analysis of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this thesis, a closer examination of one midsummer festival provides some insights into the popularity of living heritage and reasons for this[107].

The origin of the Rambynas summer solstice festival can be traced back to efforts to save Lithuanian as a living language. Lithuanians have had a long struggle to practice their language, which for them is an important ethnic marker. In 1872 Russian law prohibited the use of the Lithuanian language at schools and the land lost its script[108], despite the fact that farmer families used to write Lithuanian words and small sentences on the kitchen table[109]. Many books in the Lithuanian language were smuggled into the country and were often stored in churches. A book printer, named Martyno Jankaus living in Small Lithuania (Memelland,  part of Germany at the end of the 19th century), issued books in Latin script on very different topics, trying to keep the Lithuanian language alive. Around 1890 a scientist named Georg Sauerwein arrived, who was making an inventory of disappearing languages. In the following year he advised Martyno Jankaus to organise cultural events and establish communities to prevent the language being lost. In 1892 Jankaus organised the first St. John's festival, drawing some influences from the prehistoric Rasa festivals that took place on the longest day of the year. One festival, at Rambynas Hill, was first mentioned in a document dating back to 1265. Jankaus chose the same site to organise the festival and made a programme of ancient symbolic activities. He invited young girls from small

---

[104] Cited from: www.travel.lt
[105] Regional seminar CULTURED project in Panevezys county, in Rokiskis on 22-24 November 2006
[106] See e.g. the anthology of Lithuanian ethnoculture: http://ausis.gf.vu.lt/eka/EWG/default.htm
[107] Description based on interviews with D and E
[108] Lithuanian script was re-invented in the 1920's [D]
[109]  Such a table can be found in the museum of Birzai

Lithuania to attend wearing their grandmothers' traditional clothing[110]. Although at first there were very few participants by the end of the 19th Century all girls (and their relatives) from Small Lithuania were taking part. During the Interbellum participants came from all over Lithuania and the festival became important for re-establishing the identity of Lithuania. In the beginning of the 20th century a philosopher, Vydunas, became involved. He (re)introduced all kinds of pagan practices, such as making prayers and offerings to the fire and water gods of the Nemunas River. The girls were encouraged to collect flowers on this particular day, because they were ascribed great healing powers when used for tea. They also had to wash their clothes in the midsummer morning dew, as this was thought to be purifying. The practice of singing daimas, small pieces of text representing the wisdom of Lithuanian people from the prehistoric period, also became established. During Soviet times the festival was strictly controlled and national Lithuanian songs were forbidden. In recent times the festival has seen a revival and people attending are interested in traditional and in popular songs. The organisers (including the Martynus Jankaus Museum and the Pagegiai Culture Centre) face the challenge of balancing the more popular elements with the traditional ones. One problem is the lack of traditional song specialists. The organisers receive funding from the Ministry of Culture. They try to deepen people's knowledge and experience of ancient Lithuanian culture and traditions, while the government urges them to promote the festival internationally. This dilemma has been intensively discussed on the national radio. Lithuania's song festivals (some of which the Rambynas festival organisers perceive as copies) have been put on UNESCO's World Heritage List. When asked about possible European funding, the organisers of the Rambynas festival stated that they would not fancy a European status or money at the cost of the quest for tradition. Thus there is an ongoing discussion, in which a clear distinction emerges between heritage as an object of tourism and heritage for community. Actors find it difficult to reconcile both dispositions within a single integrated approach.

The interests of lay people are not confined to ancient times. There is also much popular interest in the period of the Interbellum, a period of freedom and independence also known as the Golden Age [F]. This start of this period was marked by land reforms, intended to atone for past injustices. This process accounts for the public fascination with the Interbellum: a fascination which the Minister of Agriculture views thus: *"during the years of perestroika, Sajudis and the National Revival, people had a positive but sentimental and idealised view of the  countryside as the cradle of the nation"* (Davoliūté 2007)(page 39). The Minister is keen to promote a different view of the countryside: one of *"a multifaceted multifunctional site of high technology and advanced management. It must be seen as the source of more than just food production, but as a creator of cultural values. We need to revive traditional crafts, cultivate rare plants and species, and use neglected land for*

---

[110] Traditional clothing was forbidden in Small and Big Lithuania in the 19th century, but families stored their ancestors' traditional clothes in hidden places.

*country holidays to preserve the traditional rural landscape"* (Davoliūtė 2007)(page 39)[111.]
These fragments show how the dilemmas of modernity and traditions are projected on the
countryside and how the roots of cultural diversity are framed in traditional country life.
Land rights were restored to the situation of 1939[111]. Almost everybody has land rights
somewhere in the countryside. The ascription of these land rights goes slowly, because
many rights are in the possession of the Lithuanian diaspora or because the rights are over
parcels of lands that have already been developed or urbanised or which were historically
transformed in the Soviet era of collectivisation. During the time of Soviet occupation, the
cultural testaments to Lithuanian statehood were nationalised, confiscated, destroyed or
allowed to decay. Research shows that since the beginning of collectivisation almost 60%
of the entire cultural heritage of the country was destroyed or rotted away beyond repair
(Deveikis, Naimaviciene et al. 2004). Country mansions were the most effected, with some
80% being destroyed (Deveikis, Naimaviciene et al. 2004). Restoring these manors has
become an important issue, because they are considered to reflect centuries of Lithuanian
history (Bucas, Grazuleviciute-Vileniske et al. 2008). One problem in this process is that
some of these manors were German-owned and the descendants of the original owners
have been trying to reclaim these properties through the courts. At the same time the Soviet
agrarian system has not yet entered the heritage discourse. While all Lithuanians older than
thirty or forty years will have experienced living and working in a kolchose or a sovchose
during the peak agricultural labour seasons, there have, as yet, been no discussions about
keeping these memories alive and transforming some of them into museums [F].
This unfinished process of land restitution means that whenever a piece of land becomes
available to a municipality for city development, many civilians appear on the street
with banners claiming their rights. While there is a possibility to sell land rights to the
government, the owners only receive approximately one percent of the market value. This
situation hampers the planning process and has also affected the planning of heritage
sites in Kaunas. This account clarifies the pronounced contrast between the government's
approach to monumental heritage, which reflects periods and events in the past and cultural
heritage, which reflects the agrarian roots and identity of individuals and families..

*The interaction between monumental and cultural heritage at the regional level*
As discussed before, there are different ways of understanding the regions of Lithuania.
There are ethno-historical regions and administrative counties. The administrative counties
are represented in the Assembly of European Regions. County identity is an important
issue. Counties produce books on their heritage: one[112] states *"the built heritage has the
potential to make a dynamic contribution towards lively European regions"* (Panevezys
County 2006) page 9). This suggests a clear intent to use regional identity for the purposes
of economic development (and possibly seek European funding for this). But in an interview

---

[111] The description of planning is primarily based on interviews B and H
[112] Panevezys County.

with the Governor of this county [B] this assumption would be misplaced. Despite the fact that counties joined the Assembly of European Regions, the county has no explicit aim to promote its peculiar regional identity. Two or more counties fit into an ethnographic region and, according to the Governor, it is on this overarching level regional identity has to be anchored. The region has a responsibility for cultural development and, while some objects of cultural heritage play an important role in this mission, the region has no formal responsibility for protecting or preserving cultural heritage (these responsibilities lay at municipal and national level). *"In order to secure cultural development, then we take care of the preservation and development of cultural heritage"* [B]. The Ministry of Culture and its Department of Cultural Heritage have regional offices. The municipalities see the counties as having little leverage in terms of European funding. *"They have no money for co-financing and can only do some soft and marginal projects"* [H]. This quote shows the view of an influential city planner, with an interest in spatial programming who views cultural programming as quite marginal. In Kaunas *"money coming from the EU is abundant and therefore there is no need to be strategic. Kaunas has a shortage of employees that can cope with European projects, so a lot of opportunities go astray"* [H]. Although monumental and living cultural heritage discourses do meet on a regional level, an analysis based on Luhmann shows operational closure in terms of communication and governance.

Despite a shortage of European funds to support regional cultural programmes, living and immaterial cultural heritage, particularly as it relates to agrarian life in the Golden Age, is very popular. Immaterial heritage can be seen as "portable heritage". It can be cherished no matter where someone lives. The Lithuanian diaspora in America community has a strong interest in folk art, native costumes, customs and traditions, legends, myths, stories and fairytales[113,114]. Thus a number of social forces combine to generate a powerful enthusiasm for living heritage: the empowerment of diaspora interests, empowered moreover by land restitution and a process of social forgetting of collectivism. These forces explain the great enthusiasm for traditions on regional and local level. Different positions are taken towards imperialist Russian and Soviet system heritage. As a result there is a huge gap between monumental heritage, designated by governmental specialists and the cultural heritage that finds expression in ethno-cultural practices. The end of Russian suppression suggests that further diversification may occur due to an ongoing pluralisation in discussions about identity, as discussed below.

---

[113] Included in the topics of the Lithuanian Heritage Magazine, issued in the USA.

[114] This link between America and Lithuania is quite interesting: the LAC re-established the Vitautas Magnus University (involved in the BFR). This university was closed in 1950 by Soviet authorities, who considered one university in Vilnius to be enough. This University now has a Lithuanian Emigration Institute, with a large collection of diaspora archives Saldukas, L. (2006) "The Main Tasks and Problems in Preservation of Lithuanian Diaspora Archives in the Lithuanian Emigration Institute." Volume, DOI: . It is notable that many Lithuanians living abroad have pending land rights and archival repatriation and research is a necessary task in substantiating these rights.

## 4.4.   Lithuanian history and identity discourses

Herritage discourses are embedded in different understandings of history and identity and may lead to plural heritage constructions. To clarify the heritage discourses that circulate in Lithuania it is useful to provide a short summary of Lithuanian history. Two alternative historical discourses will be discussed: one that is primarily political and international and the other primarily religious. Reading this account, it will become quite obvious why Kaunans do not favour Russian heritage. Most of the information here has been retrieved from the government journal 'Lithuania in the World', which reflects the official selection of facts and understanding of history presented by the Lithuanian government. Most Lithuanian people are quite uncomfortable in discussing history and often avoid the subject as almost everyone was involved in maintaining the Soviet system in some way [A]. However, when history is discussed there is a divergence in the facts or periods in history selected to construct identities or signify heritage. For example religious heritage is representative of lay people's attachment for the Golden Age.Firts the government's perspective of Lithuanian history is presented, followed by a discussion of the diversity of identity and heritage discourses.

### 4.4.1.   The governmental history discourse

#### Policy history discourse: the founding of the state and the struggles for independence[115]

Historians still disagree on the exact period when the Lithuanian state appeared. Many argue that it happened during the reign of Grand Duke Mindaugas (1236–1263), who later received a king's crown from the Pope. Others claim that it must have happened much earlier, in the 9th century, or at least the 12th century, when the Lithuanians' military power increased. As there are no known facts about earlier attempts to establish a state, 6 July, the day Mindaugas was crowned in 1253, is celebrated as the Day of Statehood.

King Mindaugas was assassinated by his rivals in 1263. But the state he had founded remained and grew stronger, despite a difficult period of bloody disturbances. The growth of its power and authority was clearly seen during the reign of Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341), who started the Gediminian dynasty. He is also considered to be the founder of the capital, Vilnius, and invited craftsmen and merchants from Europe to live here, promising them good business conditions.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania reached the climax of its power in the times of Grand Duke Vytautas (1392–1430), see illustration 4.1. King Algird (Poland/Lithuania) conquered the Crimean peninsula, so the kingdom stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and

---

[115] This description is mostly based on: Lithuania in the World 16 (2) 2008.

between the rivers Ugra, Oka and Bug. A joint Lithuanian and Polish army, led by Vytautas and the Polish king Jogaila, defeated the Teutonic Order at Grünwald in 1410. This victory is a landmark in the history of Lithuania and in 1910, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary, a dramatic commemorative book was published (Anonymous 1910) This battle near Tannenberg is designated by some as the most significant military conflict in medieval Europe(Dubeski 2001; Ekdahl 2002)[116]. The victory brought an end to German advances to the East. In the 15th century, Lithuania was involved in the Hanse League. In this period, Lithuania, acted as a barrier to the powers in the East and the West and enhanced peace and stability in Eastern Europe. Between 1700 and 1721, during the Northern War, invading armies destroyed towns and villages, there was famine and an outbreak of plague (which killed about 40 per cent of the country's inhabitants). Internal strife and anarchy damaged the combined state of Lithuania and Poland (the Republic of Two Nations) which was established by the 1569 Union of Lublin. It became increasingly weaker, while neighbouring Russia, Prussia and Austria grew stronger. In 1795, these countries divided the Republic up amongst themselves and Lithuania found itself under the rule of the Russian tsar for over a century.

Lithuanians and Poles attempted to overthrow the rule of foreign power. In 1831 and 1863, revolts were organised, but these were put down and many participants were killed. Families of the supporters were deported by the thousands to regions by the River Volga and to Siberia. The University of Vilnius (established in 1579) was closed in 1832 and Lithuanian law was abolished in 1840. After a second rebellion in Poland in 1863 a reign of terror was established by General Moerawief who stated his aim of exterminating the Lithuanian people within 40 years (Steinmetz 1920). Catholics were barred from holding any public position, all the high schools were closed and farmers were excluded from any education. Hundreds of colonists were brought in to live on the farmsteads of those who had been exiled and a period of intensive Russification began. All schools with a Catholic connection were closed. The language at schools became Russian and the Lithuanian language was banned and almost completely lost. In 1896 the Minister for Societal Development declared that poor people did not have to be educated. In practice Lithuanians were already boycotting the public schools and educating their children at home. It is estimated that between 25 and 40% of the population was illiterate. In the wake of vicious reprisals, armed resistance gave way to cultural resistance a secretive and furtive fostering and safeguarding of the national culture- which turned out to be more effective than armed resistance.

From 1863 resistance to Russification was hampered by a further problem, the difference in the interests of Lithuanians and Poles. The latter wanted to re-establish the old Lithuanian-Polish state, and were backed by most Lithuanian nobles, who called themselves *"gente lituanus, natione polonus"*. Others strived for Lithuanian sovereignty, considering the time

---

[116]  The Battle of Tannenberg is re-eneacted annually on the 15th of July, see http://www.grunwald1410.pl/

*Illustration 4.1  A map of Lithuanian territory in different historic periods, including the Grand Duchy.*

of supranational imperial powers as over. They were concerned that re-establishing the Republic of Two Nations would create a Polish state and that Lithuanians would sooner or later lose their national identity, language and traditions. Up until the 1863 revolt, (when they were replaced by Russians) all public servants in Lithuania had used the Polish language.

The aristocracy had lost its connections with the peasants who retained their national identity. Some nobles opposed the idea of Lithuanian sovereignty. So Lithuania had to fight on two fronts against Russification and against Polonisation. Despite these difficulties, the Lithuanian national movement grew. In 1883, Aušra, the first Lithuanian periodical started to be printed in East Prussia and was smuggled into the country. The publishers and contributors called themselves lovers of Lithuania, and urged their compatriots to respect the mother tongue and take an interest in the country's history and develop a national identity and pride in the homeland. Another illegally published and distributed periodical 'Varpas' carried on between 1889 and 1905, publishing not only national, but also democratic, ideas. In 1898, it published Kudirka's National Anthem, which clearly declares the ideal of a nation state: *"May our love for our native land keep on burning in our hearts, For the sake of the land we shall stand together."* It remains the national anthem of Lithuania.

The call for freedom was even stronger during the 1905 revolution. The Great Vilnius Seimas (parliament) brought together representatives from almost every corner of the country, who declared their determination to become independent. Vilnius became the centre for the national revival. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 hampered the movement and in 1915 Lithuania was occupied by the German army. The military authorities restricted all the rights of the population. Although some leaders fled to Russia, the rest stayed in Vilnius and continued working, encouraged by the idea of national self-determination. The process strengthened in 1917, when the occupying authorities relaxed the police regime as Germany's situation worsened on the battle field.

The Act of Independence, prepared by a small group of Seimas members, was passed in Vilnius on 16 February 1918. It declared that *"it re-established an independent state based on democratic principles with Vilnius as its capital city, severing all links with other nations that this state had in the past."* German authorities reacted by confiscating all copies of the daily newspaper Lietuvos Aidas, which printed the document. Lithuania did not become independent but had to fight for several more years. But the ideas that were declared in Vilnius on that day spread across the country, were supported by the people. February 16 became a symbol of freedom. From 1919 to 1940, it was celebrated in independent Lithuania, its main capital Kaunas and in Vilnius, which at this time was occupied by Poland, and in Lithuanian communities abroad. It was secretly marked during the 50 years of Soviet occupation, although such participating in these celebrations could entail imprisonment and, even, death. It is still celebrated nowadays, after independence was re-established on 11 March 1990.

During the successive Soviet and Nazi occupations between 1940 and 1944, Lithuania lost over 780,000 residents. Among them were around 190,000 Lithuanian Jews (91% of the pre-war Jewish community) one of the highest total mortality rates of the Holocaust.

A further estimated 120,000 to 300,000 Lithuanians were killed by Soviets or exiled to Siberia, adding to the total that had already been sent to German forced labour camps or had managed to flee to safer countries.

After the Second World War, Soviet occupation was re-established. It ended after forty-six years with the advent of perestroika and glasnost in the late 1980s. Lithuania, led by Sajūdis, an anti-communist and anti-Soviet independence movement, proclaimed its independence on March 11, 1990 and was the first former Soviet republic to do so.

### The religious culture discourse[117]

Lithuanian people follow the Roman Catholic belief (Steinmetz, 1920). Protestantism was important in the past, but its influence declined at the end of the 18th century. Lithuania was the last country in Europe to convert to Christianity and this is expressed frequently. Although the battle near Tannenberg was one between pagans and the Christian Teutonic knights, Lithuania freely adopted Christianity a century or so after this battle [G]. The previous section discussed how resistance to Russification contributed to preserving Lithuanian culture[118]. Religion played a key role in saving Lithuanian culture throughout this, and other, periods of suppression. Under the Russian suppression, between 1840-1850 the Samogitian Bishop Valanczevskis played a prominent role in promoting national consciousness. He was the first highest prelate for a long time to address the farmers and poor people rather than the nobility. He published books in the Lithuanian language that were studied in seminaries and which contributed to the emergence of an underground movement (Steinmetz, 1920, p. 355). Thousands of Lithuanian language books were smuggled into the country from Prussia and fed a growing interest in Lithuanian literature.

One characteristic of Lithuanian religious culture is the tradition of making field crosses. The priest and ethnographer Liudvikas Jucevičius made this description of western Lithuania in the mid-19th century. *"To the eye of the wayfarer, Samogitia provides the most pleasing views: stately, nicely laid out homesteads along the road, and next to each house, in a front yard, there stands a cross, the flag of the faith. The cross usually stands at the end of a house, with the Crucifix facing the windows. There are crosses by the roads too, but mostly one sees poles with a tiny 'house' on top of it, and a statute of St John the Baptist inside…"* He also noted that *"the crosses along the roadside are so numerous that there are maybe ten steps separating one from the other."*

A tradition evolved of commissioning crosses from local artisans and these became the sites of religious practices that were one of the staples of rural community life. These

---

[117] Based on Lithuania in the World 15 (3) 2007, unless other sources of information are cited.
[118] For a detailed account of the Russian suppression of the church see Bourdeaux, M. (1979). Land of Crosses. The struggle for religious freedom in Lithuania, 1939-1978. Devon, Augustine Publishing Company..

crosses and shrines were held in great veneration, and passers-by would raise their hats and stop to make the sign of the cross and pray. The local village cross was also a focus for religious processions, prayers and rituals. Since the end of the 19th century the cross-crafting tradition became an important element of national identity. Crosses erected to honour fighters for independence became symbols of patriotism, and, as such, were banned and destroyed, especially in the period after the 1863 uprising against Imperial Russia. In 2001, the Lithuanian cross-crafting tradition was proclaimed a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, one of the first 19 nominations by UNESCO, to protect outstanding but endangered forms of popular and traditional expression. Cross crafting practices are valued by lay people because they unite several concepts of identity. They are pluralistic, since there are many differing crafting traditions, sometimes even within the same locality: they were a focus of opposition to Russian imperialism (and thus of the aspiration to freedom and self-determination); they mark the role of the Catholic church in safeguarding Lithuanian traditions and language and lastly they mark the way in which Lithuanians voluntarily accepted Roman Catholicism, while integrating elements of paganism within it.

It is interesting to look at the facts selected to represent this great narrative of freedom. Some stress is placed upon the role of culture in organising resistance against the Soviet system. Because the Soviet system considered the church as a threat to the communist party system religion, in all its facets, has a strong connection to freedom and nationality. The Lithuanian language and script are strongly emphasised as national markers of identity and freedom..  The Lithuanian language is also very special for national identity as it is among the oldest language families to be found in Europe and is thought to be part of the Indo-European language family. It has been suggested that the Lithuanian people language and character were preserved because of the country's remoteness, surrounded by large impenetrable forests and moors.  Written Lithuanian documents are relatively recent: the oldest known one, a small catechism, dates backs to 1547. Not until the nineteenth century it was used for secular literature. When Lithuania became independent after the First World War, the original script was re-introduced for all forms of writing, as a token of Lithuanianness [D].

### 4.4.2.   Identity discourses

Heritage and identity are closely interlinked in Lithuania (Glemza 2006). This implies identity discussions will influence or even determine the social construction of heritage. As such these identity discussions are an important component of the discursive environment of the Baltic Fort Route. This section reviews those identity discourses that can be considered relevant for this INTERREG project.

After becoming independent, the issue of Lithuanianness - derived from Lithuanian heritage and culture became very important (Ciubrinskas 2004). In the regional identity discourse this has been described as *"the effect on the formation of the identity of the whole country has been exerted by the influence of the soviet period and the period since the regain of independence. Lithuania has been a part of the former Soviet Union for 50 years (1940 -1990) what has put a great imprint on the whole development of the country – industry, planned economy, science, education, culture, ideological formation, ecology, etc. The region as the whole country was full of monotony as the people were considered equal and had to conduct similar ways of life according to the political ideology. Typical soviet settlements have been designed in rural areas as well as the so called residential areas in the cities, "one face" architectural buildings have been designed at that period. Industrial areas encompassed the factories as parts of joint planned economy. These facts and difficult conditions have not precluded the retaining of the native Lithuanian language, customs and traditions. As religion was not tolerated at that time, thus, many churches and edifices in the whole country have been erected as museums (of weird application, e.g. a museum of atheism in a Vilnius church, etc.) or concert halls.  Thus, the interior designs of such edifices were defaced meeting the specific needs."*[119]

This quote is given in some length, because it very clearly shows the mechanism of pluralising identities, which has consequences for cultural heritage. Lithuanians are trying to re-invent their identity in response to dramatic episodes of suppression in the past. This identity is constructed in various frames and we-they oppositions, three of the most important of these are considered below: Lithuania in Europe (based on historic accounts), Lithuanian culture and ethnicity and geography. These are strongly interlinked and while it is not possible to give a full account of the construction of Lithuanian identity since independence, some headlines can be given that can serve as clues to understanding the environment of the Baltic Fort Route project.

### Identity discourses based on history

After Lithuania's accession to the EU, the issue of identity became a topic of interest and of many discussions. Many of these discussions were aired on a Vilnius forum website in between 2006 and 2008, but this site has unfortunately now disappeared[120]. The majority of contributions were written in English, allowing the diaspora with poor Lithuanian language skills to participate. There were public debates about the definition of Lithuanian identity and Lithuanian citizenship, particularly between Lithuanian Poles and other Lithuanian émigrés. The Poles put most emphasis on place of birth and culture (language, surnames and religious practice). The émigrés wished to maintain a Lithuanian identity despite being

---

[119] From the Best Practice Description of the Regional Workshop in Rokiskis in the CULTURED project
[120] www.forumvilnius.lt

outside the territory of the nation-state, so ideas of heredity, "blood" and family genealogies assumed greater importance (Savukynas 2006).

After independence there was a marked increase in social interest in history. The pre-war History of Lithuania edited by Adolphas Sapoka was published and had a print run of 100,000 copies. New titles and editions of historical books were continuously published and the largest daily newspapers used to allot several pages to historians. Europe has always been "the other" for Lithuanians (Savukynas 2006). Discussions concerning Lithuanian identity with respect to the EU acknowledged Lithuania's intermediate position between Russia and Europe. This created a strong urge to identify with the other states occupying the same zone between Russia and the EU (Savukynas 2006; TereAikinas 2007), an identification that is historically grounded in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. President Juschenko of Ukraine even established a Historical Memory Forum (an internet forum),  the *Institute Acadamia Momoriae Historicae* (www.iaa.lt), chaired by Prof. Alfredas Bumbliauskas. This aims to re-invoke the historical memory of this period andwas established in cooperation with Lithuanian historians (Jushchenko 2006). This Academy of Historical Memory has very clear ambitions. It has established a project (Meetings of the new and old Lithuania) intended to *"contribute to overcoming the thresholds of oblivion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"*. The project focussed attention to the historical process of the polonisation of Lithuania's elite, many of whom left for Poland during Lithuania's short period as a republic in the 19th century. The project aims to identify this elite and virtually retrieve it by supporting Lithuanian heritage searches in Poland and Ukraine, as a beginning of rebirth of the Grand Duchy again[121]. This discourse of historical identity conflicts with the Baltic Sea INTERREG discourse. The two discourses reflect a frame dispute about the geopolitical position of Lithuania. Is Lithuania suspended between Europe and Russia, or is it part of European Baltic history and identity?

The INTERREG discourse contains two competing identity frames of the Baltic: one focused on just three countries (Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia) and a broader one which covers the entire region surrounding the Baltic Sea. The first frame contains notions of old Baltic culture, which were important in establishing and constructing the identity of Lithuania after independence. This Old Baltic culture is framed as a pagan culture and is used to create and recreate Lithuanian tradition and Lithuanianess (Ramanauskaite 2002; Delis 2006). Interpretations of pre-Christian elements in folklore in modern ethnological research focus on the cross and its uses as well as the explanation of calendar holidays (Trinkunas 1999; Mardosa 2001). The curator of a museum of field crosses[122], drew our attention to pagan symbolism, related to sun worship. The identity frame of Old Baltic culture is related to

---

[121] www.iaa.lt/repository/projektai/Meetings_of_the_new_and_old_Lithuania.doc
[122] Regional seminar from the CULTURED project in Panevezys county, in Rokiskis on 22-24 November 2006

the rural traditions of peasantry and is popular among Lithuanians who hold nationalist views. The second contrasting dimension, of a broader Baltic macro regional identity, finds expression in the Hanse Association, which has inspired many cities to submit INTERREG projects and give new life to historic connections.

*Identity discourses based on geography*

Geographically-based identity frames are quite complicated. Regional identities are theorised as merely ossified and are juxtaposed to social identity constructions (Hague 2005). In Lithuania complexity is caused by the fact that connotations with regions as such are various and problematic. Regions are sometimes framed either as ethnographic, administrative or in terms of autonomy (Kalnius 2007). The Regionalisation of Lithuania has its long history from first feudal territorial districts (Baltic lands) to present-day municipalities and circuits (Kavaliauskas 2007). For about 500 years of this history the country was under occupation (Polish, Russian, French, German, Soviet) and the territorial divisions made by foreigners did not reflect  real local interests (Kavaliauskas 2007). Recently regions became important because of EU accession, and there was much debate over different concepts of regions (Kavaliauskas 2008; Kavaliauskas 2009)

After regaining independence, Lithuania started a new administrative territorial reform, renewing the regional governance lost in the Soviet period. Ten administrative regions were established as NUTS-3 units, although these do not correspond to either historical or ethnic boundaries. Extensive discussions took place around the time of the 2008 elections and several attempts were made to combine regions so they would cover the former ethnographic regions (Kavaliauskas 2004). Prof. Kavaliauskas, wrote *"especially complex occasion is with official validation of ethnocultural differences - our Government and ministries are not yet ready to recognise this criterion despite of public opinion"* (Kavaliauskas 2009).  The differences between the NUTS-3 and the ethnic regions is shown in the Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3.

*Figure 4.2. Lithuania, divided into NUTS-3 regions*

The official ethnocultural regions are: Samogitia (Zemaitia), Aukstaitija, Suvalkija, Mazoji Lietuva (Small Lithuania) and Dzjukija, see illustration 4.3



*Figure 4.3 . The official map of Lithuanian ethnic regions*

Lithuanians do not seem to fully recognise these regional ethnic divisions. The most common distinction they seem to make is between lower (Samogitia) and higher (Aukstaitija) Lithuania. Inhabitants of Samogitia (actually called the Zemaitija region) strongly identify with their region and are even lobbying to have separate passports [A]. These separatist sentiments have historical roots. Before 1861, the old feudal structure involved secondary slavery[123] above the Nemunas river. In Samogitia the peasants were relatively free, because they were allowed to pay for their "feudal obligations" [G]. Lithuanian independence movements started from this region and its inhabitants still identify with the past and see themselves as independent [G]. The area also has a peculiar dialect that cannot be understood by inhabitants of other regions. Zemaitija's historic name is Samogite a name is unfamiliar to many – even those involved in discourses about Lithuanian culture[124]. By contrast people from Samogite use this name to identify their roots although they recognise that other Lithuanians do not want to acknowledge the old name of the region, as many consider this region to be "retarded"[125].

The different ethnographic regions have different customs, traditions and dialects. There is a noticeably different dialect between the lower and upper parts of the country.. One of the problems in defining ethnographic regions is evident in Zemaitija (Samogitia), where language is considered as the marker of identity. Yet identification with being Samogitian (through use of the word Samogitian dialect) has only really become a cultural identifier since Lithuania was restored as an independent country. As such the difference in language is more a symbolic identification issue. Ethnographic research showed that the great majority of Samogitians do not know where the dividing line between upper Lithuanian and Samogitian dialects (as established by linguists) lie, nor do they know the historical borders of Samogitia (Kalnius 2007). The collapse of the Soviet system fostered a rebirth of small-scale ethnically-based nationalism. The same process that invoked the rebirth of Lithuanian nationalism also affected the rebirth of Samogitian regionalism. This is explained by a Samogitian respondent *"we were forced to fight against a common enemy"*. At the end of the Soviet period everyone could go their own way, so *"we don't need to fight Russians now, so we can demonstrate our differences, our qualities and we want to lead our own way of life"* (Pakalniskis 2001)

The BFR project members had clear responses to questions about the regional identity issues surrounding the INTERREG project. Kaunas could not be fully identified with Aukstitija as the city lies at the border of two ethic regions: Aukstitija and Sudovia. Recent archaeological evidence also shows its connections with Zemaitija. It was stated that: *"Vilnius is capital of Lithuania, and Kaunas is capital of the Lithuanian people, because*

---

[123] To be understood as feudal obligations in kind
[124] When asked about Samogite, a respondent from CULTURED, did not know the word [A].
[125] Personal communication Estella (AIO Vitautas Magnus University)

*Kaunas has 92% Lithuanian people and in Vilnius about 52% or maybe more" {I}*. Kaunas is seen as the people's capital of Lithuania, because it always had the purest ethnic composition, particularly compared to Vilnius where many Poles live. This identity frame of Kaunas competes with regional identity frames established in the Europe of the regions discourse.

### Identity discourses based on ethnicity

After Lithuania became independent a revival of ethnic identity took place. This can be explained and understood as a response to ethnic injuries. Injury to territorial, social, cultural or political identities of individuals, which are perceived as ethnically motivated,, create the conditions in which an ethnic identity can crystallise (Cepaitiene 2001). The perception of injustice and the inheritance of violated biographical episodes within the family histories are significant motivations, which can reinforce such attitudes. Referring to this mechanism, the periods related to the emergence or destruction of the nation state produce the dynamic context for conceptualisation of ethnic identities (Cepaitiene 2001). This view substantiates theoretical views that hold identity to be relational and dynamic, (discussed earlier in the theoretical framework of this analysis).

Identity construction based on ethnicity strengthen regional concepts such as Dzemaitija, Aukstaitija and others. Yet at the same time people also identify with their nationality, religion and their town or village of origin. According to the 1989 census, there are 109 nationalities in Lithuania. The larges minority ethnic groups are Russians (8.2%), Poles (7%), Belorussians (1.5%), Ukrainians (1%) and Jews (0.1%), with other nationalities accounting for a further 0.7%. Historically, Lithuanian society is very complicated, because of fuzzy ethnic boundaries. Some Lithuanian speaking Lithuanians used to define themselves as Polish because of their religion or other traditions. Sometimes members of the same family even claim to belong to different nationalities(Steinmetz 1920). Nowadays, it is not at all straightforward to define Lithuanian identity . Some people identify with their ethnographic region, others with the county they live in and others still with their municipality [B]. Inhabitants of Birzai identify with a Calvinist religious past which provides a very distinct form of education One interviewee thought it was no coincidence that many officers in the Lithuanian army during the Interbellum were recruited from Birzai [A]. There are also occasional indications of tribal identities which date back to ancient pagan times (Trinkunas 1999). Several minority groups who identify with the Old Baltic culture initiated the World Congress of Ethnic Religions in 1998, and have established an institute that connects this group to all ethnic groups in the world outside Christianity and Islam, including Buddhists, Hindus and others. Related to the identity discourse, but not sprouting from it, is a preference of Lithuanian people to clarify their lineage, to endorse claims on former land rights – a material consideration which adds considerable weight to the discourse.

These three identity discourses are highly positional, relational and dynamic as indicated by Howard (2000). The historic identity discourse refers to the Old Baltic culture: it is used in by government to create geopolitical affiliations and in lay discourses it is used to re-invent the uniqueness of Baltic culture and traditions. The less developed geographical identity discourse is used to differentiate between Lithuanian regions and uses language as cultural marker.  The dynamic ethnic identity discourse is interwoven with the historical and geographical discourses and is used as a contra-indication to the period of Soviet suppression. These (and probably more) discourses of identity contribute to a pluralism of identities. Even a marble cake concept would not be appropriate to describe the diversity and dynamism of discourses that can be found within this small country.

## 4.5.    Discussion and conclusions

### Theoretical perspectives on the case study

It is somewhat problematic, from both a theoretical and practical point of view, to develop a clear view on the intensity of interaction of the identity discourses described above. The consequences of receding power relations for the emergence of plural identities are not well understood. The emergence of plural identities may be a consequence of low levels of interaction, rather than a response to injured identities. The theoretical framework of this analysis assumes free access to information generated in discursive practices, although this information is processed in self referential social systems. Operational closure is theorised as a necessary condition for openness, implying that information from outside the project is imported and reinterpreted using the shared language generated in previous communications. But how does this relate to the Lithuanian case, in which there is weak discursive interaction on heritage and historic issues?[126]  It may imply that operational closure is much stronger and less contested in public debate. This could also serve as an explanation for the most remarkable feature of this case: a strong autopoiesis in the Kaunas city project team. As a project team they were surrounded by social systems with a universalist orientation, but nevertheless they chose to deviate from this approach. Both the INTERREG environment and the direct partners of the project shared a strongly universalist point of departure. If one adds in the high geopolitical historical relevance of the fortification ring around Kaunas in terms of Russian history, then it becomes clear that the attitude of the Kaunas partnership towards local signification and embedding runs against the mainstream of concepts in their environment, further showing the team's strong autopoiesis. A theoretical perspective of intensive interaction in an information society assumes that discourses compete with, contextualise, exclude and marginalise each other. If one assumes low interaction the opposite may occur, as appears to be the case here.

---

[126] This was indicated on several occasions, including the Rokiskis conference and interviews with A and C

Discourses may endorse one another: it seems the geopolitical discourse could function as an umbrella for more specific discourses or even help intensify them. Discourses on affiliation and on ethnification may share elements of autopoiesis, e.g. significations of certain periods in the past. Low interactions may favour a diversity of identification, with interesting consequences for the signification of cultural heritage. Further analysis of identity creation via polysystem theory would be necessary to explore the possible consequences of receding power relations and weak discursive interaction between identification and cultural heritage. Here, in this Lithuanian case, some observations give some preliminary clues. It seems there is some competition about who are the 'best' Lithuanians. Are they to be found in Samogitia because of reasons going back to feudal history? Are they found in Birzai because of historically high education levels? Or are they in Kaunas, because of the absence of a Polish community? Interviewees openly expressed all these viewpoints to a foreigner doing research on cultural heritage and Europeanisation, but is there a real competition between them? It may be the case that this competition for national virtues has its origins in tourism. With the exception of its World Heritage sites, Lithuania is unlike most other European countries as most tourism is domestic and it receives few foreign visitors. This more pragmatic perspective would undermine any theoretical framework based on distinctions of essentialist and constructivist cultural heritage approaches, because here they are combined in a single cultural heritage discourse.

## Conclusions

The Baltic Fort Route project is embedded in and surrounded by European and regional heritage discourses. The European heritage discourse emerged from "KONVER", a programme aimed at generating new economic opportunities in regions that had been heavily reliant on the military or the defence industry. INTERREG, which succeeded KONVER, has a broad conception of regions and sees the Baltic as the macro-region of that includes all the regions surrounding the Baltic Sea. This notion of region strategically frames the Baltic alongside the Mediterranean region. It sees heritage as an economic resource and attempts to make the Baltic heritage attractive to all Europeans. No attempts are made by the BFR to differentiate the Baltic Forts from other fortified regions in Europe. Their ambition is to unite all European forts in tourist routes. It is notable that the idea of an itinery has been copied from the very successful formula developed for the Santiago de Compostella route (Lois Gonzalèz and Somoza Medina 2003; Reader 2007) and this Spanish itinery has received a lot of money from the EU. To accomplish this aim it was thought necessary to harmonise the planning context of the forts. A special project (COMMIN) was initiated to work on this harmonisation of planning systems, adopting ideas from the European Spatial Development Programme.

If we focus on Lithuanian participation in the project, the picture becomes far more diverse and complex. The project team from Kaunas city decisively rejected the strong focus on European tourism. This was remarkable, since Kaunas' fortresses seem to embody this European historical narrative, especially when one takes into account the history of Russian occupation. The rejection can be explained by the underlying resistance of the inhabitants of Kaunas against the military history of the town. It seems that a process of social forgetting is taking place that involves replacing the city's military history with a history that stresses the role of Kaunas as the capital of Lithuania in the Interbellum. To overcome this public resistance, the project members of BFR in Kaunas used project resources to advocate the local view of Kaunas' identity and the contribution of the fortress ring to it. The team saw winning the active support of civic society as an obligatory prerequisite for any development or restoration of the forts, given the scattered ownership, complexity of the Lithuanian planning system (due to land rights restitution) and the limited resources available for large scale restoration work. Public private partnership is organised through an association, and the restoration of the forts accompanied by a cultural programme. The heritage discourses in Kaunas (and Lithuania) make a basic distinction between heritage as an object of tourism and heritage as owned by a community. This distinction is fundamental and the two categories are seen as being incompatible[127]. In contrast to the BFR project as a whole the Lithuanian part of Baltic Fort Route is focused on local identity construction and local ownership.

From the perspective of INTERREG's goal to strengthen regional identity, the question arises if the BFR project has contributed to the identity of the region (both macro region and the region in which Kaunas is situated: Aukstaitija). The answer from the project members is a clear no, because the European regions in Lithuania have no basis in history or in ethnicity. They are just administrative constructs, trying to establish their own identity and simultaneously contribute to the identity of underlying ethnic regions. The idea of Kaunas belonging to any region is not considered appropriate, since it is seen as the capital of Lithuanian people. The very idea that Kaunas belongs to any particular region (in this case) Aukstitija is disputed by archaeological evidence that relates Kaunas to Zemaitija.

It is also worth asking how the BFR project relates to the plurality of heritage discourses in Lithuania. Does it enhance pluralist views on heritage? Does it support plurality in practices? Lithuanian heritage cultures are plural and becoming more so. This increase in pluralism is a response to the end of Russian suppression. Because Lithuanian identity is no longer endangered, people now feel freer to differentiate within this identity. Soviet collectivism imposing an equality in living conditions on everyone, and this period has now come to an end. Some even speak of ethnic injury to account for the public focus on re-establishing identity. Differentiation is caused by different factors. There are different

---

[127].Clearly shown in discussions on European support for the Rambynas festival, but also shown in discussions on tourism focused on Kaunas castle rather than on the fortification ring

views on commemorating the Russian suppression, some of them stress the madness of the Communist Party and its leaders, others stress the suffering of Lithuania. Discourses about historic and ethnic regions differ and are imprecisely designated through vernacular language or historic autonomous structures. Lithuania officially recognises five main ethnic regions but underneath this there is a plurality of views about smaller historic, ethnic and linguistic regions. There are different views on anchoring identity in historic periods, related to different views about Lithuania's identity in Europe. Some refer to the period of the Great Duchy, and this seems to be a more elite and policy oriented view. Others refer to the Interbellum, known as the golden period of freedom for Lithuania. Religious affiliation, localised arts and crafts and traditions all further contribute to the diversity. The Lithuanian diaspora strongly influences heritage discussions, putting an emphasis on the living heritage that has been conserved in exile. The Ministry of Culture and its regional departments support intangible and traditional heritage practices. But this Ministry is not involved in INTERREG, due to strongly separated function systems that are operationally closed. The Ministry of Environmental Protection is formally in charge of monuments, but their view on heritage (as illustrating history) is not supported by the general population. The operational closure of function systems, means that the INTERREG programmes with a focus on macro regional identity construction (and operated through the Ministry of Environmental Protection) do not support the pluralist heritage cultures in Lithuania.

Governmental and lay identity discourses in Lithuania are closely related in their symbolic reference to the historic narrative of the Great Duchy of Lithuania and yield different categories of heritage. Governmental discourse focuses on either remnants of a Europeanised Lithuanian history or as lying between the histories of Europe and Russia. Lay people reinvent a mythical traditional country life from this period. Living heritage and monumental heritage are bound up in a heroic narrative of the greatness of the country in the 15th century. A similar discursive dynamics occurred in the project group of BFR. The project group as a whole wanted to adhere to the overarching INTERREG conceptualisation of heritage, giving proof of a genuine Baltic culture and serving as commodity for European tourists. But the Kaunas project group decided to localise the signification and ownership of heritage. From a European perspective, this could be designated as a pluralist heritage culture. But it did not generate any discursive ownership for the EU, despite its role in initiating the KONVER programme.

## List of interviews

A. Interviews with Aidas Glemza (Birzai Municipality), Lina Kuncyte (Birzai Castle), Antanas Seibutis (Historian Birzai Castle) Gyntaras Butkevi ius (director Birzai Castle Museum) on 25 June 2008. These are experts from the CULTURED network, participating in national and international heritage discourses

B. Governor of Panevezys, Mrs. Gema Umbrasien , 26 June 2008

C. Birute Karalevi iene, Head of International Cooperation and Public Relations Division, Regional Development Department, Panevezys County Governor's Administration, 26 June 2008

D. Ludmilla Burzdžiuvien , director of the Martyno Jankaus Museum, 27 June 2008, organizer of the Rambynas festival on 27th June, 2008

E. Svetlana Jeszenkiene, Pagegiai Culture Centre, organiser of the Rambynas Festival on 27th June 2008

F. Elena Ivanauskiene (Local NGO director in Pagegiai, Alfonsas Ivanauskiene (ex-manager of a Kolchoz), Reda Tamasauskiene, 27 June 2008

G. Ingrida Veliute (PhD student Vytautas Magnus University), Valdas Rakutis (Vytautas Magnus University Kaunas and Chairman of the Scientific Coordination Centre and of the Forts Association), Keskutis Zaleckis (ass.prof. Kaunas University of Technology), and Rimvydas Strazdas (Senior Executive, Division of Development Programme Management, Kaunas City Municipality Administration) of the project Baltic Fort Route, 30 June 2008, followed by an excursion to the fortification ring around Kaunas on 1 July 2008.

H. Vygintas Grinis, Head of Development Programmes Management Division, Kaunas City Municipality Administration, 1 July 2008

I. Rimvydas Strazdas, Senior Executive, Division of Development Programme Management, Kaunas City Municipality Administration, participant in the Sajudis Movement. 1 July 2008

# 5. Restauronet and its environment in Greece

## 5.1. The Restauronet INTERREG project

Restauronet aimed at running a sustainable network[128] working on management and restoration of historical monuments of the Mediterranean area. The main objective of the project was *"to succeed, rationalise and/or reinforce the economic, social and cultural role and centrality of historical sites"*. The focus was mainly on urban and metropolitan areas, promoting sustainable development, securing the overall inheritance of cities as living organisms while offering quality housing and services for residents. The partnership expressed their wish to improve the competitiveness of cities and strengthening local assets by limiting weaknesses[129].

The objectives of the project were described as:
• Reinforce the Restauronet network in order to continue the exchanges initiated under previous projects and establish a permanent platform: the Restauronet FORUM
• Organise thematic workshops for a dialogue among the involved actors and identify and develop useful tools
• Create a permanent network between the technical offices and service providers in the different participating cities and historical centres
• Develop a portal to diffuse and inform and sensitise local actors
• Compare the approaches, successes and failures of different local initiatives.

The order in which these objectives is set out suggest that the primary aim of the network was to create a structure that would continue beyond the funding support offered by INTERREG. The final declaration of the project, which contained the following passage, confirmed this *"Les representants des Organismes Partenaires du project Restauronet …… annoncant: leur volonté de continuer et élargir le réseau RESTAUROnet. Leur intention d'intensifier la participation du réseau dan les programmes européens"*. (RESTAURONET 2006)(page 67).

The final deliverables of the project were to establish a Forum, Restauro-centres, a website and internet portal, a series of pilot activities and a Restauronet best practices guide.

---

[128] It was called a sustainable network, because it intended to extend its existence over many more European funded projects
[129] The Restauronet partnership consisted of the following cities and regions: Toscana, Umbria, Liguria, Sardinia, Calabria, Valencia, Sevilla, Palma de Mallorca, Sevilla, Alicante, Matera, Xanthi, Rethymnon, Tanger-Tétouan, Bizerte, Fes, together with two knowledge institutes: L'école d'Avignon and the Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation in Lisbon.

The lead partner said of the project *"it has to do with the experience that each region has in planning historical centres. We have regions that are very advanced and regions that are less advanced"*[130]. It would be *"…a social, political and cultural project involving many European cities that are located in the Mediterranean zone. It has the objective of promoting the progress of these places in harmony with the cultural property, the urban development and the involvement of city dwellers in the context of the social life and of the available information about culture, history and services of the territory."* [A].

The project was inspired by ideas of polycentrism derived from the "Schéma de Développement de l'Espace Communautaire (SDEC or ESDP)[131] (RESTAURONET 2006),. UNESCO's Memorandum of Wien[132] was also mentioned as a source of inspiration. This ability to combine the rhetoric of UNESCO and ESDP shows a strategic international orientation among the partnership.

The project had four consecutive implementation phases: Dialogue, Verification, Simulations and Finalisation. The network held several meetings, each in a different city. These included five general "réunies" attended by about 100 participants, four laboratories (workshops) and three forum sessions. The forum sessions were meetings to discuss the wider challenges facing participants. The laboratories played a key role throughout the whole project and were the source of most of the more technical discourses. One key aspect of the project was for partners to gather information on local stakeholders and create local networks with academics and practitioners (Universities, NGOs, etc.) [A]. Thus from the very outset the project mobilised a discursive environment.

### The partnership of Restauronet produced several publications on cultural heritage practices

The Restauronet project produced seven publications; each of the four laboratories published a book related to its theme: accessibility, residential quality, government and participation and restoration techniques. These books contained details of best practices selected by the laboratory. The three fora also each produced a publication. Each project partner had a specific theme for its municipality and each wrote in their native language, as the publications were primarily aimed local people. The publications were also available in French, the official language of the project. The contents of these publications are a mixture of technical information and documentation of the meetings. None of the publications discusses heritage at a European level- but are all clearly focused on Mediterranean culture and cultural heritage.

---

[130] ·Note the striking similarity with INTERREG rhetoric, which state the goal of reducing disparities between regions. This is a good example of the discursive migration of a concept.
[131] In English: the European Spatial Development Programme ESDP
[132] This memorandum, from an international conference held in Vienna from 12-14 May 2005 and attended by more than 600 experts from 55 countries, promotes the concept of Historic Urban Landscapes..

*The partnership of Restauronet produced several publications on cultural heritage practices*

The results of the work were presented on a website [133] where all members uploaded the final results of each workshop/laboratory and their own publications. It was primarily only available in French, the main language of the project. Some parts of the site were translated into (or remained in) the native languages of other partners.

The partnership consisted of thirteen Medocc[134] partners, coming from all five Medocc countries and three Meda[135] partners from Tunisia and Morocco. It was relatively simple to build this partnership, because of the previous experience and the contacts of the lead partner as well as of the rest of the partners in European Programmes and to their previous cooperation in INTERREG IIC [A].

### The international profile of the network participants

All the Restauronet actors interviewed shared a strong international tradition. The project leader was a Greek living in Florence (Italy), with extensive experience in INTERREG projects. He describes his own experience: *"...after twenty- five years of international work, personally I think I have learned quite a few things about how to work, how to treat partners, how to make them interested or how to understand what kind of problems they have and so on...."*[A]. One of the actors from the municipality of Xanthi completed her doctoral thesis in

---

[133] Despite regulations that state that websites should to be accessible for five years after the end of a project, this website immediately disappeared when the project was complete.
[134] Medocc is the name of the INTERREG programme hosting this project, arranging the involvement of Spain, France, Greece, Italy, Malt, Portugal and the United Kingdom
[135] MEDA intended to support Maghreb countries participating in INTERREG III MEDOCC

Brussels and spoke perfect French [B]. A respondent from Crete, had a similar international background *"having lived for years in Italy and France, I could easily understand the way of thinking and the cultural background of the Italian and French partners"* [B]. Another representative from Xanthi had also lived in France for many years and understood French culture and ways of thinking. The lead partner clarified why he considered the project successful: *"the first strong point was that the group has been working since '97. So we knew each other. The second strong point was that the working groups were already used to contributing to shared products. So, we were able to go rapidly in the meetings from a technical point of view"* [A].. He also displayed his own preference for technical discourse by stating that all the individuals in the project (up to 100 participated in the reunions), were highly educated and had similar scientific backgrounds.

One participant from Rethymnon claimed that culture is a combination of educational and cultural elements [B]. He believed that anyone working in an international programme should be receptive to new ideas and receptive to other civilisations. *"If a nation is impervious to others, if it is historically xenophobic, if it contains elements of any kind of racism, social or racial, and if it has a lot of intensive stereotypes, then probably this will contribute to what is called cultural gap".* [B]. He argued that heterogeneity and cultural diversity are basic elements for human progress. Analysing these statements through Luhmann, we can see a basic distinction between culture and technique. As will be shown later, this distinction will be very important when it came to harmonising techniques without affecting cultural diversity.

The partnership seemed well established and practiced a relatively intensive communication. One could also expect that this would be highly reflective because of different ethnic perspectives, drawing on different predefined concepts. However, the results were not even all published in a shared language. In this instance the language differences may have limited the degree of autopoiesis that could otherwise be expected to emerge from the partnership. Moreover, each of the twenty cities involved were wrapped in their own discursive environments about heritage and governance. This implies discursive competition between disciplinary project based communication systems and those embedded in peripheral local heritage discussions.

## 5.2.    Greek participation in Restauronet: Xanthi and Rethymno

Two Greek municipalities participated in Restauronet (RN): Rethymnon in Crete and Xanthi in Thrace. Crete and Thrace articulate their identities in very different ways, due to their location and history. Thrace is remote, poor and close to Turkey; Crete is an island, has done very well out of the tourist business and is considered to be rich and successful.

We will look at both these regions and how these, and other, differences influenced their participation. First there is a brief description of the two regions, their heritage culture, the reasons for their participation and the activities they undertook.

### 5.2.1. Xanthi

Xanthi is located in the north of Greece, in Western Thrace. Xanthi's official tourist guide describes its historic centre thus: *"The old Town is a well maintained and a distinctive preservable architectural structure, a case of urban planning. It has a human face and the houses seem to be in harmony. Voices fill the roads and the yards. There are small gardens where honeysuckle enchants passers-by, jasmine produces beautiful blossoms and gates compete for the balusters. Doors were made by skilful carpenters. A banquet of creations… The colours of the houses are closely related to the natural landscape. No distances, immerse communication. It is really wonderful to watch the kids playing in the narrow streets and women sitting at the street corners, talking about daily routines. If you want to feel the life of the town while eating a syrup pastry or ice cream, go to Antika Square for a travelogue to the past…"*

The Xanthi municipality interviewee explained that the municipality has extensive experience of European programmes and has been involved in more than a dozen[136]. Xanthi was already part of the network in INTERREG IIc MEDOC programme. Xanthi tried to establish a "nouveau territoire ecosymbolique pour la peripherie Sud-Europeanne". It also contributed to the technical report, published in Greek, entitled 'The Assessment of the Bearing Capacity of Traditional Buildings in Xanthi Area'. It had made an earlier contribution to INTERREG IIC



*Postcard of Xanthi tobacco manors built along a slope*

---

[136] Xanthi was included in the Action Programme for Local and Regional Authorities in Europe, PACTE, organised by the Assembly of European Regions on behalf of the European Commission (Directorate General for Regional Policies). Xanthi also participated in INTERREG IIC.

with a publication on 'Identifying Effectiveness Indicators for Implementing Cross-Border and Transnational Projects'. Normally the funding is received directly from Brussels, but in case of INTERREG it was channelled via the central government in Athens[137]. As usual in Greece, the municipality has established a special company to manage European activities.

Xanthi's main reasons for participation were [L]:
- While Xanthi has a bright and lively centre, visited by many tourists, there is need to spread out tourist activities. The old town of Xanthi, close to the town square is almost unvisited by tourists. This is partly due to the characteristics of the terrain, with the old town built against the slope of a mountain forming part of the Rodopi Mountains. The steep streets make walking difficult and cycling is forbidden for safety reasons. The RN project presented an opportunity to put this problem on the agenda of a network of international experts and to seek innovative solutions to these challenges.
- Restoring monuments in Greece is subject to a dense system of regulations, set by two ministries. This often results in projects being reduced in size, scope and ambition. In Xanthi the regulations are very strict, as the city was demolished by an earthquake in 1820. RN supplied an opportunity to explore ways to restore the monuments in the old city of Xanthi, by finding practical solutions for overcoming these regulatory issues.

Thus Xanthi's expectations of RN were to learn more from other regions about new solutions for restoring old buildings and try to apply these to their situation. One of the actors from Xanthi [L] thought that there were two attitudes towards heritage within RN. One group had a strategic orientation towards seeking European funding for restoring and saving heritage; another group was seeking ways of solving problems related to complex legal systems. In Xanthi, this problem was hampering the restoration of the old city centre.

*"the town of Xanthi is one living settlement now, about 10,000 people. It's not like that in bars or something touristic: it's a living organisation. We have families that live in the old town, as we restore and save more buildings that can store more people, leading to more inhabitants in the old town. Before 10 years the law was not clear about the restoration of personal initiative and not public organisation. And all the buildings were overgrown and deteriorated and with many demands. And then after 1995 they find new rules from the citizens and from the public organisations, and as you see now the old town is beautiful. Every time they restore many buildings to make it more useful in the modern way of living: with physical air, with optical network of internet, we have it up to date. From down, when you make your little walk, you see no electrical or telephone cables, these are in the ground. It's more from beautiful to see."*[L]

---

[137] My question about strengthening regional autonomy through INTERREG was answered with a large laugh, followed by a clarification that INTERREG has the opposite effect, entrenching the power base of the national government [L]

Xanthi participated in the second thematic laboratory (La notion d'accessibilité et la gestion durable des centres historiques en Europe)[138]. During one of the Forum meetings in Rhethymnon the group from Xanthi did a presentation that illustrated their problems with accessibility and legal frameworks. .

The culture of the Xanthi team was characterised one member of the team as *"generally high, receptive and open"* [B], a positive prerequisite for good cooperation within the partnership. However, the same individual thought that a bureaucratic INTERREG culture was emerging, to the detriment of the exchange of knowledge and best practices. He thought that standardising the methodology of heritage management by means of cooperative projects was important in achieving progress in knowledge exchange between cultures [B]. This reasoning can be interpreted as relevant for dealing with issues of cultural diversity or unification. This statement once again reflects the distinction between culture and techniques. This position enables one to separate ones activities from the concept of culture. In this way he sees his work as technical, but still relevant for culture and cultural diversity because it makes cultural exchange more facile. Thus technical standardisation is completely different from cultural standardisation, so the project does not contribute to reducing cultural diversity.

Harmonising techniques and science while respecting cultural diversity is important in terms of  heritage ownership and Europeanisation, as shown by the following quotes:
*"If you see how many programmes or projects we have from Europe, you understand that Europe respects the heritage of the city, it's clear. It cannot be more clear."[L]. "I believe that the original name- the Economic European Community – makes the target of Europe clear. It's in the name. Then they made it into the European Union. But the targets are still clear, first economic targets, to have stability, to have one Euro to improve the exchange of agricultural and industrial products and tourism projects; cultural heritage is part of tourism projects. But it is also the heritage of all peoples. Perhaps in two or three generations we will find some common culture, but now in the first generation of the EU I believe we have our own cultural heritages and want to keep these for themselves. Probably the next generation or the third generation will find another EU perhaps with more in common. I am a federalist. I was working in the first European Office in the prefecture of Xanthi in 1990. I am Europeanist. I see the good things from EU. Of course it's difficult to change all your national and traditional heritage, some will say you are not Greek- you are European; it's a little bit difficult but we must go forward…."*

This second quote shows great complexity, as it contains both dialogism and ambiguity. The dialogism emerges when this actor uses the concepts of the Euro-optimists when

---

[138] Concepts of accessibility and sustainable development in European historic centres

speaking about the distant future, although he identifies himself as federalist. The ambiguity stems from his dual attitudes towards unification and pluralism. Both are acceptable to him: pluralism because it is compatible with his more fundamental view on cultural diversity as a resource, and unification as the final consequence of his focus on technical harmonisation.

This view reflects the heritage discourse within RN: a network, based on ideas of federalism and promoting cultural heritage as a commodity for all citizens and in need of technical care, which in turn provides a first step towards a unified culture. The partnership considered that this view gave the best guarantee of prolonging the network beyond the lifetime of this project.

### 5.2.2.   Rethymnon

A second Greek partner was involved in RN, the city of Rethymnon, located in Crete. The city contributed a pilot project to the *"Laboratoire thematique, La Notion D'Accessibilite et la Gestion Durable des Centres Historiques en Europe".* They also were involved in a second thematic laboratory on *"Governement et Participation",* they participated in excursions to the cities of Florence, Genoa and Séville and hosted the first Forum meeting during 17 and 18 March 2005.

The Municipality *"consists of 20 settlements, 16 of which have been declared traditional. Within its borders there is a large number of archaeological monuments and traditional buildings of great value, many of which have not yet been officially registered".*

Important monuments include the Loggia, the mosque and the Venetian harbour. The history of the Loggia is quite typical: it was built in the 16th century, in the Ottoman period it served as a mosque with a newly constructed minaret, which was demolished in 1930. The old city centre is located beneath the walls of the Venetian fortress. More than 20 years ago, Herzfeld analysed how the restoration of the harbour removed all traces of its Venetian past (Herzfeld 1991). One interesting question is whether this process of 'purifying' Cretan heritage is still going on and whether such actions or motives colour the city's involvement with RN[139].

The Ministry of Culture owns less than ten monuments in the centre, so the protection of the monumental character of the old city, is mostly achieved through regulation. As in Xanthi, the idea of a living city is valued. For this, the project team organised a Forum about *"the quality of residence".* On several occasions the respondent from the municipality mentioned the idiosyncrasies of the Cretan people who he said *"are always against the law"* [P].  This

---

[139] Notably, the city of Rethymnon is now restoring its two mosques, located in the old city centre. These have been included in their cultural heritage discourse.

raised issues for heritage conservation, since the owners of historic buildings would not accept the idea of their old buildings being declared monuments (even though some were gazetted as long ago as 1967).

Property in the city centre is expensive and people who want to open restaurants are disinclined to respect the monument regulations. The RN project (and particularly the forum) was used to attract press attention to show entrepreneurs and the general public that complying with regulations for monuments doesn't mean they cannot make a profit. The Rethymnon team focused on this issue and after each of their visits to other cities or participating in their laboratoire, they issued press releases showing how conservation brings benefits to local business and the community alike. [P].

The respondent from Rethymnon explains the dilemma that Crete is facing, that infused their involvement in RN.

*"Over the past 40 years, you could see two categories of people in Crete. The people involved in tourism, on the north part of the island, and the farmers on the land with the animals on the south part. …but, unfortunately with the passing of the time Crete is becoming more touristic. …big hotels are destroying the landscape and the beaches, so we try to safeguard the south"* [P].



*Image of traditional Cretan country life*

The shift from an agricultural towards a tourist economy is framed as a battle between people making fortune in the tourist industry and disobeying the laws and people living harsh traditional lives in the villages of the countryside.  The respondent from the Municipality emphasised that Crete is an island and that the people have had to be self supporting, and to withstand 400 years of Roman and 300 years of Turkish suppression.

*"They have a very, very strong identity. It's difficult,… for me, it's a personal opinion, but I think we lost the north"* [P].

Developments in the northern part of the island took place in the 80's and were largely uncontrolled – but now this respondent hopes that he can trust in the law to avoid the same overexploitation in the south. The problem is that Cretans do not obey any laws.

The island authorities run approximately 60 EU programmes and projects. EU funding is used to fund sustainable agricultural and rural development wit the aim of maintaining the countryside and keeping its villages populated. Special priority is given to engaging young people, so as to prolong the traditions of farm life. If too many farm and village buildings are deserted, it is assumed that tourism will also take over the southern part of the island and EU money is being used to resist this. However this battle is being fought at the cost of identity, because EU money also quickly changes traditional life. It is thought that people get spoiled by EU money. A more concrete example can be found in the education system: the increased presence of Muslim children in schools meant schools could no longer be based on the teaching practices of Orthodox Christianity – a change that was enforced by European laws [P]. The EU is strict in enforcing common laws and values and this can have negative effects on local culture: *"it doesn't matter if they are bad for some groups of people, this happens"* [P].  And: "if general laws start to conflict with identity, then the changes are going too fast" [P].

These statements reveal that Crete faces a dilemma over the issue of heritage, identity and governance. The discourse of the Cretan government discriminates between Cretans living a traditional life and those making a profit in the tourist economy. Consequently, monumental heritage is related to the tourist environment and living heritage to traditional Cretan life. Monumental heritage is almost exclusively seen as providing objects for tourists and real Cretan culture is, or should be, concealed from them. This reasoning leads to a black and white opposition between heritage as a commodity and heritage as a characteristic of a community. Entrepreneurial activities are perceived as contrary to safeguarding Cretan culture. The rhetoric is laden with conflict, especially as EU support is needed to safeguard cultural roots. Yet at the same time these European funds are influencing and changing Cretan culture and identity, due to *"subsidy addiction, increasing prosperity and to the process of complying with the democratic requirements and regulations of the EU"* [P]. This

discourse can be seen as ideologically pluralist in the sense that it values cultural diversity. However, the consequence of a rigid pluralist view does not extend to the autonomy of tourist entrepreneurs, the governance of whom is based on universal values of democracy. Both the ideological and practical dispositions are perceived as problematic, because they threaten 'pure' Cretan identity.

## 5.3.    Planning environment of Restauronet in Greece

Tourism is an important planning issue in Greece. In 2004 a new Ministry of Tourism was established. It aims increase  tourism but with a focus on culturally based tourism [G]. Discourses on tourism in Greece look at good and bad examples of cultural tourism. Meteora, the world heritage site with many monasteries high on steep mountains, is considered an inspiring example [G]. Plaka in Athens is considered as a cultural distortion which showed a lack of respect [H][140]. Chania on Crete is seen as a good example of the how to manage the intensity of tourism [L]. Spreading tourism is becoming an increasingly important planning concept in the Mediterranean area[141]. These discourses on planning tourism intensity and cultural tourism have produced the concept of polycentrism, one of the leading concepts adopted by the RN partnership.

Regions are becoming more important in Greece, due to European regulations and INTERREG programmes [F]. In the 1990s the number of regions was expanded from ten to thirteen regions [E]. At the next level down there are fifty prefectures, an older form of governance that has existed for more than hundred years and is well recognised by people because of elections [E]. The number of regions changed for administrative and political reasons[142] [E]. For Thrace, these reasons will be discussed below from the perspective of regional identity.  Regions always have been more important for the identity of inhabitants than prefectures, because they reflect ancient history [E]. Regions such as Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Cyclads and others are deeply rooted in official Greek history and social memory. Politically, regions differ from prefectures. Regional governors are appointed whereas the politicians of prefectures are elected [G]. EU regulations which prescribe administrative territorial units of 50,000 inhabitants or more, have led villages to be merged into larger municipalities [G]. This has a great impact on the organisation of civic life [G], but also has had a great effect on the bureaucratic implementation of EU projects and programmes. The EU prescribes political commitment and responsibility by

---

[140] H is an expert working in the festival industry around Mikis Theodorakis.
[141] CultMark, a Greek INTERREG project, developed concepts to regulate the tourist intensity which were analysed in CULT-PLAN
[142] The relevant changes for this research include the old regions of Thrace and Macedonia being divided into three regions: East Macedonia and Thrace, Central Macedonia and Western Macedonia; Crete's status as a region remained unchanged.

elected politicians and their administrations at regional level, but in Greece this can only be organised at national level.

This absence of elected regional politicians is compensated for by parliamentary politicians. They normally spend two days per week in their home region involved in local political issues. If an MP becomes a minister, then the region will look on him to fulfil his promises [G]. There is a tendency in Greece to make financial arrangement s at the highest possible level, to avoid loss of resources at intermediate bureaucratic levels [G]. A succession of left wing governments has led to *"the nation being poor and civilians rich"* [G]. The general public have limited faith in national government, and as in Italy, they resent paying taxes [G]. The state is not recognised as an institute that takes care of things, maybe due to the Ottoman past [G].

To fully understand Greek planning, one has to acknowledge the strong interrelations between politics and religion which date back to the Ottoman Empire [F, G]. The government is locally organised and the church plays a strong role [G]. The previous Archbishop was frequently on TV as a political commentator {F}. Local bishops have a strong political influence and this can explain the frequency with which restorations of monasteries were prioritised in European funded projects. The church is very rich in Greece [F]. There was a scandal with land transactions that favoured the monasteries of Athos [G]. In addition many leaders including Bush senior, Putin and Prince Charles have visited Athos, illustrating the area's relation with politics on a global level: *"one day the Euro-Commissioner visits Athos, and simply donates a million"* [I].

Due to the strong role of the church, an emphasis on local administration and the absence of political regions Greek spatial planning exists in a status *nascendi*. Baltas (2007), a governmental official, provides a historic overview of Greek spatial planning which clarifies its relationship with European Regional Policy At the end of the 1980s, under pressure from the EU, Greece developed a series of Special Spatial Planning Studies,. The focus of planning was redirected from urban growth to a more integrated approach. In the period of the 1990s and 2000s a new framework of regulations, that followed the principles of the European Spatial Development Programme (ESDP), was adopted (p173). In 2005 the Greek government started preparing the National Framework for Spatial Planning which was completed in 2007. As a consequence of this weak spatial planning tradition, landscapes are only just beginning to emerge as an interpretive concept of planning whereas until recently landscape was merely used as a descriptive concept [F]. This planning environment is highly relevant, because it was from here that the partnership retrieved the concept of polycentrism and also because of the increasing relevance of regions for planning. In addition tourism discourses do not seek leisure tourism that only follows economic profit but are increasingly adopting concepts of cultural heritage discourses.

## 5.4. The discursive environment of RESTAURONET

### 5.4.1. International discursive environment

Considering the international profile of the partnership, its relation to the ESDP and the way they cooperated in a vast international network, a relatively intense discursive interaction occurred between these Greek projects and INTERREG programme in which they took place. To better understand this issue, one needs to look at the formal INTERREG framework. A programme framework sets the boundaries and even suggests the buzz words to be used in a successful application. The primary objectives of the hosting MEDOCC INTERREG Programme were to increase the territorial competitiveness of Southern Europe in order to create an economic integration zone of world-wide importance, and to enhance integration between the EU regions of the MEDOCC and Third Countries in the Mediterranean zone.

The programme had four priorities, listed below, with the number of projects within each given between brackets:
1: Structuring and integrating the two sides of the Mediterranean (23)
2: Strategies of territorial development and urban systems that promote polycentric sustainable development (24)
3: Development of effective and sustainable infrastructure (26)
4: Encouraging environmental protection (63)

Priority four was split into another four sub priorities
4.1 Protection and valorisation of the natural and cultural heritage, management of biodiversity, territories and landscapes (21)
4.2 Promotion of sustainable tourism (16)
4.3 Environment protection, the prevention and management of natural risks (15)
4.4 Management of water resources and combating desertification (11)

The number of projects indicates the interest of institutes in cultural heritage. Both programmes and projects aim at revealing and promoting the common aspects of Mediterranean culture. Some of the so called sustainable tourism projects also contained elements of cultural heritage. This can be shown by the contents of some projects like MEDINS. This project aimed to standardise categories of intangible cultural heritage. The project was established out of a perception that the heritage categories employed by UNESCO were being interpreted in different ways in different regions, and this hampered the valorisation and protection of intangible heritage. Another project within RN, 'Technolangue', aimed at standardising planning approaches and vocabulary. This project bears a remarkable resemblance to the COMMIN project in the Baltic Sea Region INTERREG III programme (see Chapter 4). Another project, called Identité Mediterraneenné, aimed at developing a common marketing strategy, based on best practices and diversifying tourism

intensity (in terms of both seasons and locations). The discourses of MEDOCC framed the Mediterranean region as a cultural region, stressing the common elements of its culture. They found the concept of a Mediterranean macro regional culture more appealing than attempting to lay claim to affiliations with pan-European culture.

To strengthen cooperation between both sides of the Mediterranean Sea, the EC established the MEDA Neighbourhood Programme in October 2005[143]. MEDA was designed to support Maghreb countries participating in INTERREG III MEDOCC. This programme reimbursed expenditures incurred within Europe by institutes from these countries. The idea was to encourage information sharing within INTERREG initiatives. Involving Maghreb countries is a very strategic element of getting approval for INTERREG proposals.  This was obviously well understood by the RN partnership, who included three such partners in their project application.

The ostensible reason for including the Tunisians and Moroccans in the project were because *"there is really a cultural area around the Mediterranean in which historical cities have developed along a similar track: so we were interested to see the south side of the sea, at least part of it."* [A]. This quote shows the rhetoric involved in getting the project approved. Yet at the same time partners within RN admit that their North African partners had difficulties in participating in the meetings. One of them expressed this thus: *"…they were not the main partners of the project…they were just watching…they were not active members, they were mostly guests so they did not really participate in the project, they only watched. I don't think they gave much added value…they didn't have a specific role…and they were not at all of the meetings…"*.[D]. One participant from Crete rather more bluntly described their participation as *"vacations"*.

The North African partners were not included in the social practice of the project. The two interviews with the representative from Xanthi in Greece showed this quite clearly: he had no idea about these partners and when asked directly about the North African partners, he did not remember any Arabs being included [C, L]. Yet, he did mention countries (Belgium, Denmark, Germany) that did not even participate in the project. One of the reasons for such exclusion was the technical discourse of the project. The partnership constructed autopoiesis about monuments, their restoration and the planning concept of polycentrism. The partnership which was well established, had shared experiences and had an advanced technical thesaurus to tackle possible misunderstandings, was not prepared to start from scratch and fully include these new MEDA partners. This would require a disruptive setback of the autopoiesis. They were excluded because of their lack of knowledge and experience,

---

[143] The ambitions of the EU to establish and enlarge their influence in neighbouring countries lie at the basis of the neighbourhood programmes included within INTERREG. The best example of such a programme is CADSES, covering the Balkan area

despite the huge amount of credit that the RN claimed for having such an open culture and international profile.

Beyond INTERREG, a completely different international discourse on human rights affected Thracian participation in RN. Recently, Thrace has been designated as a lagging region in the EU (Objective 2)[144]. This was due to the very poor economic and social status of Pomaks, an ethnic Muslim minority  acknowledged by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) but until 1995 living in a militarily restricted zone bordering Bulgaria, with restricted freedom of movement [L, G]. This group lives north of Xanthi, mostly in the Rodopi Mountains, although part of this community lives and works in Xanthi itself.

Until quite recently the Greek government treated this group as second class citizens, on the basis of article 19 of Greek Citizenship Code[145]. In the 1980s this group rallied and made a powerful demand for self-determination as a 'Turkish minority' (Anagnostou 2001). The Greek government's treatment of this minority was subject to much criticism from the Council of Europe, with Turkey taken the lead role in condemning the discriminatory treatment of the minority at these European forums (Anagnostou 2001). In 1991 the Greek government recognised that its designation of 'Muslim minority' contained three separate identifiable groups: ethnic Turks, Slavic speaking Pomaks and Gypsies (Anagnostou 2001)[146]. The Pomak community is considered to have a double identity: Pomak and Turkish and are said to mix three cultures: Slavic, Greek and Turkish [L]. Their claims to a minority identity are contested, because there are several international claims on their history [K]. The Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks all claim that Pomaks are part of their respective nations, the Turks on the grounds of religion, the Greeks on the basis of blood group research and all three countries on the linguistic basis of the origin of the word Pomak. Greek historians also consider them to be descendants of ancient Thracian tribes which in turn have been Hellenised, Latinised, Slavised, Christianised and finally Islamised[147].

Recently, the living conditions of the Pomaks have improved, because of Greece's accession to the EU. When visiting a village of Pomaks, it was immediately clear that half of the buildings were being extended and improved. There are no monumental buildings in the village. An elderly Pomak gentleman in a village near to Xanthi, explained: *"we have no heritage, we only have traditions"*. Their heritage or contribution to the regional and municipal identity is not reflected in the Folk Museum of Xanthi. Even today their history is not taught at primary schools [K].

---

[144] Gross Domestic Product (GDP) between 75 and 100% of European average

[145] This article stipulated that individuals who were not ethnically Greek (allogeneis), who left the country without the intention of returning, could be deprived of their citizenship

[146] Besides this officially recognised group, there are eight unrecognised minorities (mostly Slavic, such as Vlachan and Albanian) in Thrace [G]. According to Anagnostou (2001), who studied the minority rights and Greek citizenship, Article 19 of the Greek Citizenship Code shows Greek identity to be reflected in a fundamental assumption: only ethnic Greeks are entitled to the rights defining Greek citizenship.

[147] Information retrieved from the Balkan Human Rights Web Pages, Source: www.greekhelsinki.gr

So the poor status of this Pomak community actually provides the real reason for Thrace being so successful in accessing European funds. Their history and identity reflects a Turkish past, so it will be very intriguing to find out if this is the reason why their heritage is not included or even mentioned by the RN.

### 5.4.2.   Regional discursive environment

*Heritage culture in Thrace*

The municipal museum shows the most important economic activity in the past, which is reflected in almost every building of the old city. Xanthi and its surroundings in Thrace had a lively tobacco past. Many of the manors in the old city of Xanthi were established by rich tobacco barons. The tobacco industry here had a famous reputation, because the soil characteristics gave a special flavour to the tobacco. In the C18th and C19th this region was very prosperous and it is still proud about its rich cultural past. When Sarah Bernhardt, the famous French actress went to Istanbul, it was only natural that she visited Xanthi [L]. Xanthi tobacco dealers lived in Vienna, Odessa, Moscow, Rome, Paris and London and the city was home to three embassies. In the 19th century and before, many Turks worked in the tobacco industry [K]. After the First World War, the Treaty of Lausanne led to Western Thrace being incorporated in Greece, creating a substantial Muslim community within Greece. The mixture of religious cultures is definitely recognised as part of the region's identity, [G, J, K, L] and one can find Muslim art in the Municipal Art Exhibition Centre, although it is not explicitly described as such. Despite the overwhelming involvement of Muslims in the tobacco industry, its history is today presented as Thracian and Greek.

This negation of Muslim history and heritage is a consequence of a nationalist heritage discourse. Formerly, during Interbellum and dictatorship of Metaxas, heritage culture was strongly Hellenistic, especially in northern Greece [G]. Houses even had to be painted in colours of the Greek flag and those that did not comply suffered persecution. This extreme nationalism has a deeper reason, as before the Second World War, Greek people were a minority in the northern regions [G] [148]. In Xanthi this implies the need to present its tobacco history as Greek and not Ottoman, although the later would make more sense.

A Xanthi respondent clarified the reasons for the tobacco culture being presented as being Greek:

*"It's Greek culture. When Xanthi was freed in 1919, it was part of an empire, built on tobacco, and the first language was French, the second was Greek and the third Turkish.*

---

[148] This issue contributed to the regional reorganisation in Greece, as will be explained below

*The official languages. Between 1912 and 1914 Xanthi was a French protectorate. But from the Ottoman empire onwards as far back as the 14th century Xanthi had a 70% Christian population, a Greek population, who know that the Turkish were not the merchants; they did the petty commerce but the real trading was by Christians, who became rich and built and maintained the heritage, the culture, the religion. So all that came from Greeks who improve and to sold out to the Greek character. So I believe our history is more connected to the nation of Greece. The region has its own colour, one that is a part of Greek colours."* [L].

This answer shows the strong influence of Greek nationalism in first creating an opposition between Muslim and Christian and secondly identifying Christian as Greek. This nationalistic influence is also influenced by a regional historical discourse. The rich cultural heritage of the city and region was established in Ottoman times and the idea of calling this a dark period in history (as the rest of Greece does) seems be odd. Here the dark period was when the region was annexed to Bulgaria. *"They* (the Bulgarians) *only destroyed and left nothing that can be seen as heritage"* [L]. Thrace has twice been in the hands of Bulgarians, once in a six year period between 1912 and 1919 and again during WWII. In these periods they tried to wipe out all traces of Greece, including the Greek population. Most of the inhabitants fled, only 5,000 of 20,000 remained. *"After returning in 1919, the returning population rebuilt the old town that was destroyed by an earthquake in 1828"* [L]. This statement reveals that this rebuilding is used to define the history of the region as Greek rather than Ottoman. This point of view is based on history-heritage inversion in Xanthian historical discourse. Normally heritage is seen as the material remnants of history and historic cultures, here we find the opposite. The heritage was reclaimed and restored by Greek people and as a consequence its history is ascribed to Greece also. Xanthian logic also provides an extra argument: *"Turks were insignificant and almost invisible in society"* [L]. While it would be problematic to calling the Ottoman times in Xanthi a dark period in history the Ottoman influences in history are, nevertheless, being marginalised.

*Tourism discourse*
The Xanthi interviewee said his city had a prudent attitude towards tourism and compared their approach to that of Crete and the city of Rethymnon [L]. One respondent from Xanthi thought that Rethymnon was overexploiting its cultural heritage, at the cost of tradition and authenticity. Chania was seen as providing a much better example of sustainable tourism management.

*"We don't want to be a big tourist place. We prefer a softer, cooler, tourism."* [L]

One of the discourses in the project was to find ways of balancing tourism by looking at tourism management in the different regions of the network. The network provided the opportunity for discussions and for first hand visits to see local practices and regional

differences within the Restauro Network. In the old city of Xanthi the near absence of tourist industry is noticeable. The houses are inhabited by ordinary families and the overall atmosphere is of a remote quietness. However, the tourist literature about Xanthi promotes sweeping concepts of an open air museum[149] and the Mayor of Xanthi has created an annual festival to promote the old city. This festival is neither anchored in history or contemporary culture. When asked why it doesn't appeal to regional history, respondents in the street answer: *"we don't know, just go tell the municipality that* (anchoring in culture and history) *is important"* [J, K, M]. These considerations show the Restauronet project invoking dialogism in the Xanthi tourism discourse. New concepts, like polycentrism and sustainable tourism, that were produced and shared in Restauronet became imported into the Xanthi tourism discourse and create divergence in local tourism debates. They are seen as a potential source of innovation and of new projects. Equally their importation and use as promising concepts legitimate Xanthi's further participation in the Restauro Network.

### Regional identity

The region of Xanthi has been, and still is, very isolated [G, L]. Today this relative isolation is maintained by two natural rivers, the Nestos, over which it is forbidden to build any more bridges, due to its UNESCO status, and the Evros river [L], often seen as the border with Asia [L]. Regional identity is mostly conceived as being Mediterranean identity, but is coloured by the climate, with relatively cold winters, causing snow on the Rodopi Mountains {L}. On geographical grounds, one would assume that the Thracian identity would be lodged in the larger regional identity of the Balkans, but this is not the case - as this would imply cultural affiliation with Bulgaria. In fact the problematic relationship[150] with Bulgaria may be an important reason for Xanthi participating in the Mediterranean network of RN. Besides marginalising the Muslim identity of the region, participation helps frame Thracian identity as Mediterranean and, above all, as Greek. The project leader from Xanthi offered an interesting insight here about cultural differences and similarities: *"… concerning culture, and I mean culture not scientific culture of course, I think Mediterranean and south European countries have a common main level"*. This ethnic tension also emerged in recent boundary changes: to ensure a permanent Greek ethnic majority in Thrace, the government changed the historic region by including the city of Kavalla [H]. The formal name used in NUTS nomenclature, has been changed into "Anatoliki Makedonia Thraki". The fear of the region possibly having a Muslim majority in the distant future was the main reason for changing the borders of the region [G]. This change was made on ethnic arguments and shows concern of the possibility that the region may one have a majority Muslim population, in part because of EU regulations.

---

[149] The Folk Museum in Xanthi has produced a CD (with European funding), entitled "The Old City of Xanthi, An open-air museum". The contents of the CD contradicts the words of the interviewee, showing a strong interest in monumental tourism and less interest in a more balanced approach based on improving the quality of life

[150] See the ESPON Atlas, page 17, showing this border to have the highest European GDP relative difference between 3 and 7.5. Also see the INTERREG project Voluntary Blood Donation in the valley of Evros, analysed in CULTPLAN, for more information on the problematic cultural relation along this border.

This review shows that several discourses- concerning tourism, history, local, regional and macro-regional identity - have influenced Xanthi's participation in RN. When asked about the monuments of Xanthi, and whether they contributed to the national identity or to the identity of the region. The answer to this question was simple and straightforward: *"it's Greek heritage"* [L].

Thus, actors in Xanthi perceive heritage as a local colour, within a Greek nation. Investing in monuments is stressing the nation, not the region [L]. As such, RN is not framed as a project that promotes the regional identity of this part of Thrace, with its tobacco industrial past. The regional identity discourse is very complex, strongly based on we-they oppositions, because of the Macedonian and Ottoman past. There are strong affiliations with Greece (as a nation) and the Mediterranean (as a macro-region). The identity is certainly not Bulgur (Slav), Turkish or Ottoman. Discussions about Pomak descent show that ethnic arguments are preferred in the identity discourse and are even substantiated with blood resemblance arguments. The logic of their identity discourse shows that their identity is not defined along ethnic lines but is much more specific and particular view, that starts with the restoration of the old city by Greek people.

The partnership considered that heritage should be managed professionally and in the technically best way, and the RN project should contribute to finding innovative solutions to overcome the situation of having two Ministries imposing different systems of rules. They perceived the exchange and unification of knowledge and skills with other regions as beneficial for the profile of their cultural identity, because it enhances their Mediterranean affiliations. They see heritage tourism an important step towards building a genuine European culture, but are opposed to too much tourism. These identity considerations, the exclusion of Pomak heritage and the avoidance of the tobacco history, mean that a more universalist approach prevails in their discourses about heritage and identity. Their search to define a larger overarching identity is a strong motivating factor.

### Heritage culture in Crete

Cretan heritage culture is oriented towards archaeological artefacts, a monumental heritage of different periods in history and traditions that goes back to Minoan times. The Minoan heritage is both "emblematic" of local pride and also seen as a forerunner of the flowering of Greek civilisation (Herzfeld 2003). The archaeological and monumental heritage is discursively owned by the state, but also tells the history of the island of Crete. Heritage contributes to the construction of Cretan identity and is alternately perceived as a limitative and unlimited recourse of the tourism economy. *"After becoming independent at the beginning of the 20th century and until the 1960s Cretan people didn't like heritage, because it reminded them of periods in history in which they were not free"* [P]. Since the 1970s this has been changing and people have started to value history and heritage. There

is no consensus about whether there is difference in the way that left wing and right wing politicians address heritage issues[151]. Some consider heritage to be unpoliticised [P], while others see politically defined preferences, because ancient culture is perceived as a symbol of democracy [E, F]. Old monuments are primarily seen as objects of history. History is understood on different scales and monuments are perceived as showing both local history and that of Greece [P]. We can detect a small difference with Xanthi here, although Minoan history is undisputedly framed as Greek heritage.

### Traditions

Cretans are very strongly attached to their traditions.

*"…for example, the music in Crete is something amazing, the majority of the people still continue to listen to Cretan music. I don't like, I hate it. They not only listen, but there are hundreds of people that continue to learn it traditionally and to sing, in all the cities and villages. If  you have a marriage, a baptism or you celebrate 100 years of I don't know what, there will always there be a Cretan group to make the music and all the people, not just the folklore groups that go to dance, will dress traditionally. Everyone in  Crete knows a lot of, or at least several, traditional dances. This is something amazing, especially for me, because I haven't seen this in other parts of Greece. … here it's something real, it still continues like 200 years ago."* [P].

This member of the RN project, an archaeologist by discipline, explained these traditions a bit more, by referring to an annual celebration in his home village in the south of Crete where people made bodies from bread and offer these to the church. With it goes an old pagan rite, described as:

*"in the south of Crete there is a mountain, with a house near top of the mountain, 800 metres or so. Further up at around 1,150 metres there is a small church dedicated to the holy cross. In the same place there was a famous Minoan sanctuary from 2,500 years before Christ.  People came there from long distances and offered small statues of clay. That was where they constructed the church of the holy cross. We have some gifts that are offered to the goddess: a small special native type of apple that only grows on this mountain, nowhere else in Crete. And the same custom continues today on the day of the holy cross. On that day the priest blesses a small apple placed in a vase, that the young people picked from an inaccessible part of the mountain and they offer to the people. This tradition dates back a very long time, 3,000 or 4,000 years. They still do it. It's pagan, but they have kept it because it's tradition. The old people of the village they don't know that this*

---

[151] Surprisingly, music is politicised in Greece. The two most important composers, Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hadjidakis, representing institutionalised Greek heritage in the world, are respectively cherished by left wing and right wing political movements. "They differ like the Beatles and the Stones" [H].

*is what happened say 2,000 years before Christ, they just know from the old people and they just continue."* [P].

This cultural rite resembles the Rambynas festival in Lithuania. Both rituals originate in pagan times and are practiced outside the view of the tourist industry. They seem like cornerstones of the ancient culture, but in Lithuania it is re-invented and in Crete it might never have ceased. This event is discussed below, because it plays a significant role in constructing cultural continuity.

There are two different practices that societies adopt for dealing with heritage that shows the influence of foreign Empires. In restoring monuments, these outer influences are sometimes simply removed, as in the case of the Parthenon in Athens. This process of purification has been described for the Venetian heritage in Rethymnon (Herzfeld 2003). Another way of dealing with it is to integrate into the national narrative, as has been done with the Cretan icons, Byzantine art produced between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries during the Venetian period (Mourelatos 2008).

According to Herzfeld (2003), Cretan traditions and identity are simultaneously framed as the national Greek character:

*"Here is an island, contemptuously known within Greece for its endemic animal-theft and blood feuds, for which it is despised - even as the masculine ethos that undergirds these practices also serves as a guarantee of national heroism"* (page 281).

He clarifies the issue of nationalism, by comparing Greece with Italy. Italy has large centrifugal powers at the regional levels and below. It is difficult to maintain the idea of one nation, as the northern and southern regions want to split. Italy contributed to western European Enlightenment with the Renaissance and Greece did the same with its culture. The rationale for Greece's fervent nationalism comes from outside, as the country is located physically and symbolically between east and west (Herzfeld 2003), or between the occident and orient (Weithmann 1996). One Greek writer interprets Herzfeld as providing a combination of *"an outward directed conformity to western expectations about what Modern Greece is to be, and an inward looking self critical collective appraisal"* (Caftanzoglou 2001)(page 23). Below, we will see that there is one extra interior argument: maintaining democracy.

*Regional identity in Crete*
Cretan identity is grounded in self images of the oldest European culture and of heroism and revolts. They claim to be the inventors of democracy [O] and see themselves as being the 'best' Greeks [G]. Crete used to consist of four provinces [O]. The differences between

these provinces are limited, but they do differ in mentality. People in the west are more open and friendly [O]. Accession to the EU changed the regional boundaries of Crete and the four provinces were merged into one region. *"The provinces don't exist any more, but we still continue to use them, because it's more clear"* [P]. The new situation, with only one region, is still largely unknown to the general population.

*"Cretans are revolutionary, free and independent"* [N].

The most important Cretan hero is Daskalogiannis, who led the revolt against the Turks in 1770. He became a martyr when he was captured and did not betray his colleagues, despite being severely tortured. Cretan museums, such as the Maritime Museum in Chania, highlight the tradition of revolts, against the Ottoman Empire and the resistance during WW2. There is no representation of Cretans having been victims. Their identity discourse is grounded in self-esteem, and they have a heroic view of their history. In the municipal Folk Musuem in Rethymnon, the central exhibition gallery is reserved for arms and guns. Here Crete is portrayed as being autonomous and independent during in the Byzantine Empire. The museum also highlights the 27 revolts that took place in the age of the Venetian Empire, between 1204 and 1669. This focus on independence and revolts is reflected in daily talk about weapons. People explain that Cretans were forced to hand over their weapons just before the Second World War. "This we did, but never again", they say. Most Cretan households have weapons, even today. An old citizen recalled that there is one small village in the mountains that never surrendered to the Germans in WW2. Herzfeld also describes the culture of Crete as violent and explains that the central government never framed the local brigands as national heroes, as occurred in Italy (Herzfeld 2003).

Cretan identity, like Greek identity, is rooted in religion. This can be illustrated by the history of the Greek Muslims who lived on Crete in the 19th century. They were called "Tourki" , a term not used in Turkey before the collapse of Ottoman Empire (Herzfeld 2003). The only way for this religious group to remain in Crete was to become baptised or to marry a Christian (Herzfeld 2003). The ones that didn't accept Christian Orthodox religion were dispatched to Turkey, purely on the basis of religion, in the 'Great Population Exchange', arranged by the Treaty of Lausanne. In Crete, as in Xanthi, this population exchange still influences identity construction which is largely built on religious oppositions.

Cretan identity discourse is based on self determination and on oppositions between Muslims and Christians. The combination of arguments retrieved from the archaeological past and religious we-they oppositions strengthen this discourse. As a consequence Cretan identity is much stronger (more based on autopoiesis and more institutionalised) than Thracian identity.

Cretans are depicted as very passionate with their culture [N]. In order to get acquainted with Cretan culture I visited the former mayor of the little village of Pikris. He was once a migrant worker in the Netherlands and became fully accepted in the Dutch community (see the article "Oisterwijkers zijn mijn dorpsgenoten", by Marianne van den Brand, published in De Uitstraling, 2005, page 34-36). After 25 years he returned to his village and became the mayor.

2005

# | in gesprek met |

Kostandinos (Kostas) Birikakis (70)
in gezelschap van zijn vrouw Kostandina (Dina) vertelt:

## "Oisterwijkers zijn mijn dorpsgenoten"

*Op maandagochtend ontvangt de redactie van De Uitstraling een enthousiast telefoontje van Ria van Grinsven. Uit het korte gesprek blijkt dat Ria en Chris twee sympathieke voormalige 'Oisterwijkers' te gast hebben. Zij verblijven voor twee vakantie weken in Moergestel. Het zijn hun Griekse vrienden. Hij is komisch, zij is stilzwijgend de beste. Ze zijn vijfentwintig jaar niet meer in de gemeente Oisterwijk geweest.*

'Oisterwijker' Kostandinos Birikakis

*Door Marianne van den Brand*

Kunt u zich het eiland Kreta visualiseren? Bij Heraklion gaat u westwaarts, dan belandt u in de provincie Rethimno. Daar ligt het plaatsje Pikri waar Kostandinos Birikakis is geboren om het op 24-jarige leeftijd weer te verlaten. In het jaar 1959 was er voor hem en vele anderen niet genoeg werk in Pikri om een toekomst op te bouwen

las hij in een lokale krant een artikel waarin melding werd gemaakt dat veel Grieken in het buitenland gingen werken. Voornamelijk in Duitsland. Kostas droomde weg, hij zag een nieuwe kans in een andere wereld. Na het lezen van die woorden zou zijn leven drastisch veranderen. Opgetogen ging hij naar het plaatselijke arbeidsbureau. Daar werd hem verteld dat Kretenzers niet naar Duitsland mochten. De klappen

reis per boot en trein voor de boeg. bestemming België. Vertegenwoordigers van de kolenmijnen stonden te wachten op het station Luik. Ter plekke werd de groep over diverse locaties verspreid. "Het was gevaarlijk werk in de kolenmijnen" laat Kostas in uitstekend Nederlands weten, "instortingsgevaar maar ook het gevaar van gassen en het water. In zes maanden ben ik twee keer ontsnapt aan de dood." Onnoeme

*Interview with Kostas Birikakis, published in 2005 in De Uitstraling.*

His views and explanations combine an emic and ethic perspective on Cretan culture. He explains that traditions are really important in Cretan life. Besides the Cretan music, many groups still cherish traditional costumes. These groups include many youngsters. Old people still wear these costumes as daily clothing. He also describes the serious problems facing the villages, with many people leaving them to find work in the city or abroad. The deserted houses are then bought by foreigners. In his village, there are three foreign families (out of a total of 51 families). There used to be 300 families in the village. National and regional celebration events, such as Ochy Day, the 28th of October and the 18th of November, when Cretans celebrate their victory in battle over the Turks, are important opportunities to express Cretan culture with costumes and music. On these occasions villagers who live

abroad come back and join the festivities. In the cities, tourists learn the Sirtaki dance, an iconic aspect of Cretan culture. However the authentic Cretan culture is preserved and nurtured in the countryside. His denial view that the Ottoman Empire did not represent a cultural break with old Cretan culture is very interesting. He clarifies that despite the atrocities, *"Greek culture survived the Ottoman Empire, because it was nurtured on small scale family life in the country side".* He explains this by referring to the Turks' fear of going outside the cities. He draws a parallel to recent history of the village Kallikratis, *"a little village in the mountains that never surrendered to the Germans"*[O].

*The same Kostas Berikakis in Crete, in traditional outfit*

Here we can see that the self image of Cretan identity is producing new images of history. The Cretan identity discourse frames traditional life in the countryside as the fountain of authentic culture. Foreigners buying empty houses in small villages are a threat to this authentic culture, a threat that is omnipresent all over Greece[152]. The cultural heritage discourse considers tourism to be incompatible with authentic culture. It is seen as replacing authentic culture by *"staged authenticity"* [H]. By contrast, in the tourist discourse heritage and culture are seen as limitless resources for the economy. European subsidies widen the gap between these positions, either because they promote tourism and its economy or because they affect traditions. Europeanisation is seen as posing as a threat to Cretan culture and identity, a view which seems to be based on an ambiguous pluralist view of culture, incorporating some of the universal democratic values.

In terms of identity, people see a debate (especially at the national level -see next section) about the relationship between current and ancient culture. Historians consider the Ottoman

---

[152] Personal communication with Sophia Molpheta, Greek student at WUR, who reflected exactly the same discussion taking place in Thessaly, where municipal governments are encouraging foreigners to buy village houses, whereas inhabitants of the villages are inclined to accept every negative consequence of their declining community.

Empire as a cultural break with the ancient past (Koumaridis 2006), but there are different views about this period and whether it was a time of oppression or prosperity (Plantzos 2008). In Crete the folk memories of the Ottoman Empire invoke fierce reactions: *"Many people were murdered by the Turks, even children"* [N]. Thus, the issue of Cretan identity is approached in two different ways: with arguments of preservation, based on a concept of continuity (path dependency) or those of disruption due to cultural assimilation or suppression.

## 5.5.    Greek national history and identity discourses

History discourses in Greece reflect its intermediate position between east and west: as a territory which is framed as a bridge or tension zone between the orient and the occident (Weithmann 1996). Greece was part of the eastern Roman Empire. On the other hand Hellas (800 until 400 B.C.) has a history of individual freedom and political participation, which is closely intertwined with the subsequent ideas of western European civilisation. The historical and political narrative of Hellenism is infused with the idea of the greatness of Macedonian society and the territories ruled by Alexander the Great (Weithmann 1996). This finds expression in the 'Macedonian question' [153], which leads to more emphasis being laid on Greek nationalism and the national identity (Triandafyllidou, Calloni et al. 1997). Greeks consider that everything concerning Macedonia is part of their national cultural heritage. Greek nationalists see this culture as an object, associated with time and space and  belonging to the Greek community. Greek ownership of this heritage is perceived as a fundamental element of the nation's existence (Triandafyllidou, Calloni et al. 1997).

The Greek population reacts very sensitively to the Macedonian question - and this reveals the prominent role of the past in defining Greek identity. Traditions, myths and collective memories, especially those associated with the struggle against invaders or enemies, have played an important role in the formation of the Greek nation (Triandafyllidou, Calloni et al. 1997).

After the Hellenist and Roman periods, Greece was part of three more great empires: the Byzantine, Ottoman and Venetian-Levant Empires. Byzantium has also been a strong

---

[153] The historic region Macedonia is now split between three countries: Bulgaria, Greece (Thessalonica, the southern part of Macedonia) and the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje, the northern part of Macedonia). When the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia proclaimed its independence, called itself the Republic of Macedonia and used the symbol of the Alexander the Great's sunburst (the star of Vergina, considered as an emblem of the empire, discovered in the mid 1970s at Vergina, where the ancient Macedonian capital Aegai was located) Greece opposed its recognition by the UN. As a result the Republic is not allowed to use this flag, as it was considered too offensive to the feelings of the Greek people. According to the Republic of Macedonia, Alexander the Great was neither Slav, Bulgarian or Greek, so neither country has the right to claim the cultural heritage and no veto can be raised towards the use of the name and its symbols.

focus of interest for Greek historians[154]. This interest is rooted in the idea of Asia Minor, including important cities such as Constantinople and Smyrna, being part of Greek culture. When Greece was established as a modern nation in 1830, it was grounded in the ideals of antique Hellas and of medieval Byzantium, which respectively referred to a smaller and larger territory (the idea of re-establishing the great territory of Byzantine Greece is called Idea Megale) (Weithmann 1996).

Greek history, identity and heritage is strongly oriented towards the Hellenistic period. This is reflected in the restoration activities conducted under the supervision of the state, the most famous of which is the Parthenon in Athens. The restoration of this monument involved careful removing any trace of later influences and bringing the Hellenist past to the fore. The state archaeologist Plantzos explains this restoration as the beginning of a process of the purification of history (Plantzos 2008) in which foreign influences are carefully removed from objects and history.

Greece seeks to trace its historical trajectory in a linear form, without any ruptures or discontinuities from antiquity to modernity (Triandafyllidou, Calloni et al. 1997). Despite the various political conditions in different empires, it claims a continuous lineage stretching back over a period of more than 2000 years. However, the issue of continuity is a source of great dispute among historians  [F} who alternately frame the Ottoman period as a period of flourishing trade relations with the Levant [G] or as a dark period, responsible for the absence of Renaissance and Baroque periods in Greece [E]. The Great Population Exchange is one of the controversial incidents of his time. Following the defeat of the Greek invasion of Turkey after WW1, the Greek inhabitations of Smyrna and other parts of Asia Minor were forced to leave this part of Turkey, and Turks living in Greece were also forced to leave. Smyrna was burned to the ground the civilians on both sides were subject to horrendous atrocities in a particularly vicious period of 'ethnic cleansing.'[155] This dramatic period remains controversial to this day. A Greek movie director made a film on the subject, called A Touch of Spice.  This movie was widely viewed [G] and prompted much discussion on the internet, often from Greek and Turkish youngsters, who expressed radical opinions about the film's treatment of history . One Greek commented that *the film maker needs history lessons."* In these forum discussions, some participants refer only to history lessons and others mix this knowledge with stories from their parents and grandparents. Yet contrary to expectations, those who also drew on personal stories of suffering had a more nuanced viewpoint than those who relied solely on historical sources, who adopted much more black and white positions.

---

[154]  In the Theodosian cultural and administrative split (395 A.D.) between the eastern and the western Roman Empire, Greece was part of the Eastern Empire Weithmann, M. W. (1996). "Griechenland zwischen Ost und West." Geographische Rundschau 48(10): 556-561.
[155]  I was advised to watch this movie by interviewee G, and took the responses on the web into account

In 2008, the Benaki Museum in Athens organised a congress on Archaeology and Hellenic identity in C20th Greece, where the cultural break due to the Ottoman Empire was discussed between archaeologists and historians [F]. This congress saw a degree of scientific consensus on the idea of a cultural gap between ancient and modern Greece, which was reflected in the publication 'A Singular Antiquity' (Damaskos and Plantzos 2008). This view is not shared by the public or by politicians, although for different reasons. Politicians use the idea of continuity, to oppose communism or fascism and to vindicate democracy as an idea that has lived since ancient times. In so doing they seek to frame democracy as the most effective remedy against another civil war. The social memory of the last civil war is still very strong[156] and is still an open wound in society, which is not often openly discussed [H].

Civilians support the idea of continuity, partly as a token of resistance to accepting changes in daily life [157] [E, F]. *"The model of daily life has been westernised and traditional life museumised"* [F]. To understand this resistance, one needs to look back at history and realise that the Greek nation had a peasant culture as recently as the beginning of the 20th century [E]. Greece was never truly involved in the Enlightenment change that ran through Europe [E]. Peasant culture was rudely disturbed by the civil war. The atrocities of the civil war, led many villagers to move to larger cities, where they often stuck together in a specific quarter. This phenomenon is highly noticeable since all family names in a region have an identical termination or affix, a requirement introduced by the Turkish administration. Despite the foreign introduction of this custom these affixes nourish strong and enduring regional binding and affiliations.

The cases of Thrace and Crete both show that Greek communities identify with traditional village life. Even today many people only live in cities because of a lack of employment opportunities in the countryside [E, L]. The government tries to maintain village life by attracting tourists and second homers to depopulated villages. Villagers oppose this as they would prefer to remain in relative solitude and maintain the purity of their traditional culture, regardless of the practical consequences.

The civil war depopulated the Greek countryside and yet it soon became apparent that there was not enough work in the cities for so many people, leading many to emigrate [E]. Nowadays, there are more Greeks outside Greece than inside. In the summer, when festivals are organised or when there are elections, many overseas Greeks return to their ancestral homes [G] where they take part in recursive cultural practices, reliving traditions etc. This

---

[156] At the end of WW2 a civil war started which lasted until 1949. The Democratic Army of Greece, a military branch of the Communist Party had been at the forefront of the resistance against the Germans/Italians in WW2 and claimed governmental rights at the end of the war. The military and governmental establishment disagreed and was supported by English military forces. During this war more than 160,000 citizens were killed.
[157] As an example, nowadays, the siesta has disappeared, due to business life and air conditioning [G].

creates a vibrant culture in which cultural heritage acts as a crucible in which the diaspora [158] and people still living in the countryside exchange ideas and experiences [E].

The Greek diaspora is organised in communities, along regional lines [G]. In New York, there is a Greek community in Astoria, living their lives (clothing, food habits etc) as though they were still living in the 1950s [F]. The traditional clothing still uses colours that are specific to a region, a prefecture or even a village. In the Macedonian region the clothing is less colourful than on the island regions (Papantoniou 1996). In the Ottoman period, the dress code was determined by Ottoman custom, by firmans. In some cases these rules were religiously obeyed: in others they were ignored (Papantoniou 1996). Traditional clothing is still a major social identifier, as is music and gastronomy. However, the differences are sometimes overstated [E].

One can imagine that each specific diaspora community has its own ideas about Greek Traditions, which need synchronising with the concepts and ideas within their home villages. In Athens and abroad, Greek communities organise festivals to keep the memory of their culture alive. Despite the unifying powers of Greek nationalism, there is a multitude of cultures and heritage traditions on the many islands and even among the regions of Crete.

*"Every group of islands has its own identity, represented in specific traditional clothing, dialect, music, gastronomy and habits. It's history that unites Greek people"* [159]

Following Herzfeld, these observations lead us to slightly adjust our view on the relationship between nationalism and localism in Crete. The nation nurtures the symbolism of ancient Greece, by claiming an archaeological and mythical heritage.
The question of how actual and ancient Greece are culturally connected cannot be answered on the basis of historical facts or logical reasoning. The idea of traditions, originating in the mists of time, cherished within family life and vocalised as "peasant discourse" provides an answer to this symbolically framed cultural rupture. This discussion affected Restauronet: in Thrace the Ottoman past was being marginalised or socially forgotten. In Crete there was desire to safeguard the font of authentic culture, which can still be found in the countryside, against the tourist industry. This authentic culture survived in Crete more than anywhere else because Cretans have the strongest identity, define themselves as prototypically ethnic Greek and have rites that go back to pagan times. This authentic culture or historical peasant discourse is very strong, and fits with the governmental discourse of ancient

---

[158] The Greek diaspora has two components. There is the Pontic Greek community, who have lived in Russia and next to the Black Sea (in the Crimea) for centuries. There is also the scattered community of migrant workers that left Greece in the sixties. Pontic Greeks are organised in an association that can be found in every part of Athens and other big cities in Greece. [G].

[159] This explanation was given by an attendant at the Museum of Greek Folk Art in Athens.

Greece with its democratic symbolism and heritage contributing to the concept of Europe. National and local claims on archaeological and living heritage are produced in a coalition of discourses, in a mutually supportive way.

## 5.6. Discussion and conclusions

### Discussing the case from theoretical perspective

From a theoretical perspective this study offers interesting insights into path dependency grounding cultural continuity as there are important differences between the two case studies. Cultural continuity is constructed in an ethnic discourse in which path dependency is supposed to connect the present with the past. From a theoretical perspective path dependency can result from autopoietic conversations, reducing contingency and grounding decisions about identity and heritage in a step by step process. On the other hand, discontinuity can result of a process of social forgetting, as a mechanism for coming to terms with inconvenient periods in the past. From the perspective of social system theory the discursive disposition of the archaeologist on Crete is very intricate. As an archaeologist he is most probably involved in, or aware of, the scientific discourse about the Ottoman past as a cultural break. His qualifications concerning Cretan identity can be interpreted as being inspired by the ethnical discourse, although he is not Cretan by birth[160]. His story of the Christianised pagan rite in his village illustrates his conviction that path dependency is used as a mechanism to safeguard Greek culture against the Ottoman past. In his view ancient Cretan culture has survived until today, because Cretan people always nurtured their culture during times of oppression. The academic archaeological heritage discourse does not accept this idea of continuity, grounded in a path dependent ethnical identity discourse. But autopoiesis in the ethnic identity discourse is too strong to accept ideas of discontinuity. This raises the scientific question of how path dependency relates to a strong identity discourse.

In Thrace a cultural discontinuity can be observed in the way the past has been constructed. The restoration of Xanthi by the Christian element of society serves to reinforce their view about the marginal historical position of the Muslim community. As a consequence, Thracian history has been Christianised. Greece has claimed Xanthi's history by virtue of Greek restoration activities, thereby creating a break with path dependency. If path dependency were accepted, the history of Xanthi would be more Turkish than Greek. This cultural discontinuity in framing Xanthi's cultural past may contribute to a weak identity. Given the existence of a cultural break , Xanthi's adoption of a Mediterranean identity is not problematic, although historic reasoning would give more weight to a Balkan/Slav identity.

---

[160] His name does not end with the affix "akis".

On national level the use of path dependency as concept leads to a major difficulty in the ethnic nationalist discourse. The Great Population Exchange gave rise to an ethnic discourse that cultivated religious oppositions and which unites the Greek people. Nevertheless, after WW2 the civil war made it clear that society was deeply divided. Greeks describe this period as tragic, because brothers were fighting brothers. The civil war is at odds with an ethnic discourse based on cultural continuity. The only way to deal with this is through a process of social forgetting. There is no public debate on, or acknowledgment of, the civil war. Moreover, as Herzfeld indicated, accession to the EU reinforced ideas of cultural continuity, because of Greece's role in ancient history of inventing democracy. Thus social system theory gives interesting theoretical perspectives about relations of path dependency and social remembering and forgetting, and the consequences of this for heritage cultures.

## Conclusions

The partners in the Restauro network constructed a discourse based on a fundamental distinction between culture and technique. This discourse was already established in previous partnerships, producing a set of shared concepts and categorisations. This predefined and shared technical language allowed the network to discuss matters on a very high technical level. When for strategic reasons new members from North Africa were included in the network, autopoiesis was already advanced and functioned as a barrier for the new members being actively involved. These new partners in the network were excluded and stereotyped, despite the expressed intention of project partners to represent a Mediterranean culture. Within this Mediterranean framework, their ideology can be designated as universalist. The partners from Greece represented institutions that benefited from participation in networks like Restauronet: before the project even started they had agreed upon extending their network. European funded projects became the strategic means to continue their autopoiesis on technical issues of the management of monuments and monumental cities. Information from other projects and from networks was imported as rhetorical devices to be used in project applications.

In Xanthi the project was used to convince the private owners of monuments that it was feasible and worthwhile to restore the monuments, despite the large amount of regulations from two operationally closed ministries. Europeanisation in general is helping the minorities in Xanthi to improve their lives, accept modernity and let go of the harsh periods in the past. Their heritage is in their minds and relates to their traditional mountainous life. Their heritage and identity has been excluded or "forgotten" by the Restauronet project.

In Rethymnon, the project has been used to convince entrepreneurs and the wider public that it is normal in Europe to obey the law and that this does not necessarily imply a loss

of profit. European projects in Crete are generally perceived as both a salvation and a threat to Cretan traditional life. Restauronet has been used to tame cowboy Cretan tourism entrepreneurs.

The relations between identity constructions and heritage are complex, both at the national and the regional level. The Great Population Exchange led religion to become a prominent identifier; creating a we-they divide towards Muslims. Greek nationalists produced an identity discourse based on ethnic arguments. In addition to using a vast reservoir of archaeological arguments for Greece existing prior to its establishment as a modern nation state, they even drew upon blood research to determine descent. Greek identity discourses are highly politicised, positional and strategic. Both Greek partners identify with Mediterranean culture: rhetorically they adhere to the whole Mediterranean, but in practice they only include the European Christian part of it. In Thrace, and to a lesser extent, in Crete monuments are discursively owned by the state and no discursive ownership towards the EU is expressed.

Regions are important to Greek people: they identify with them on the basis of their family name. Their primary allegiance is with historic regions and then, to a lesser extent, with provinces (prefectures). The Greek government, facing EU regulations over regions, changed the historic regions and in so doing, jeopardised deep regional affiliations in Greek society. The boundaries of Thrace, the region around Xanthi, were changed. The concept of "region" is subject of many territorial, historical and political discourses in Greece. INTERREG actors from both Xanthi and Crete have strong symbolic affiliations with the broader Mediterranean region. This affiliation seems to be stronger than the idea of Europe as a region or of the macro-region called Archimed[161]. These actors frame their regions as being at the core of Greek or Mediterranean society. The Thracian region frames itself as being at the very heart of the Macedonian region, grounding it in the historic empire of Alexander the Great. The very fact that this region extends to Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia (part of former Yugoslavia) is forgotten. Cretan actors define their culture as prototypical or 'the best' Greek culture. On a higher level both regions consider Greek culture to be in the core of Mediterranean culture.

Understanding Greek heritage culture requires a clear view on the interrelations between the archaeological past and its relevance for nationalism, the culture of localised traditionalism and its vibrant annual diasporic reconstruction. Moreover, it needs to take into account the disruptive effects of Ottoman period, and the Great Population Exchange. Greek heritage culture can be described as very diversified and simultaneously unified. The country, with its great cultural diversity in regions and numerous island groups, is bound together by its history and heritage while at the same time there are strong regional differences.

---

[161] See the description of INTERREG IIIB in section 3.1.

In Greek society there are different levels and realms of identity, which bring forth particular conceptions of, and discursive claims on, heritage. These different identity frames seem to avoid claiming the same heritage. Monumental heritage is rhetorically claimed by the state and contributes to national identity. Living heritage contributes to decentralised identity frames. These different symbolic patterns provide the basis of identity frames. The disruptive cultural effects of the Ottoman Empire are denied by both national and localised symbolism. This is done by constructing particular images of the past in a synergetic relation. At the lowest level there is the family and because of the affix to one's name, it is clear to anyone (and everybody else) where their geographical roots are. Historically Greece has a peasant culture and most of its inhabitants used to live in the countryside. Identity is strongly interwoven with idealised images of peasant life in villages. Villages contribute to the sense of identity, not only for Greek people actually living in the country, but also for the Greek diaspora. They identify with traditions, influencing the music, gastronomic habits, clothing and so forth. As their traditions originate in the mists of time, before written texts, these have become key arguments in the Ottoman cultural disruption discourse initiated by archaeologists. This reasoning complies with governmental political reasoning which claims that the Greek nation existed prior to its foundation in the 19th century. Both lay and governmental discourses agree that although Greek people suffered immensely during Ottoman Empire, Greek culture survived. It was nurtured and safeguarded in the countryside and the social memory of Greek people has bought ancient times to the fore. Through this reasoning Greece justifies its contribution to the EU as being the inventor of democracy.

European projects are used to save the cultural identity that can still be found in village life. The RN project did not increase the diversity of heritage cultures. In Xanthi and Rethymnon, there is recognition of the problem of tourists overrunning heritage and culture, legitimising a deliberate choice to regulate tourism in an interregional European context and accept the negative consequences for cultural diversity. This sort of problem is not well acknowledged by the EU's regional policy, because ERDF policies and strategies focus on improving (expanding) the tourist economy. The RN project did not emphasise European heritage at all. This is a striking difference with many other INTERREG projects and with the situation in Lithuania. The reason for this is the aggravation of the problems of tourism if the sites are designated or promoted as European heritage.

**Interviews:**

A. George Risicaris, Toscana Region, Restauronet Project Leader, Interviewed by SpirosKoumarianos, June 2007

B. Lefteris Apostolidis, Xanthi Municipality, Interviewed by Chara Maraidoni, May 2007

C. Georgios Deres, Xanthi Municipality, Interviewed by Chara Maraidoni, May 2007

D. Kostas Giapitsoglou, Rethymnon Municipality, interviewed by Spiros Koumarianos, 2007

E. Dimitris Koutoulas interview by phone on 22 July 2008

F. Panagiotis Doukellis, Associate Professor of Roman History, University of the Aegean,

G. Hanno Wurzner and Natasha Apostolides, Dutch Embassy in Athens

H. Dimitris Koutoulas, second interview, Athens

I. Sakis Karamoschos, Athens

J. Onor, Pomak youngster, Xanthi

K. School teacher in Pomakian Rodopi area, Xanthi, Museum of Folk Art

L. Georgio Deres, Municipality of Xanthi

M. Muslim Entrepreneur, Xanthi

N. Four history students, Rethymnon

O. Kostas Birikakis, former Mayor of Pikris, Crete

P. Kostas Yiapitsoglou, Rethymnon

# 6.   Crossing the Lines and its environment in the Netherlands

After discussing Mediterranean and Baltic heritage projects, the focus in this chapter will be on a north western European INTERREG project. This chapter explores the ways in which heritage development was applied in the Crossing the Lines project, part of the INTERREG IIIB North Sea Programme. When discussing the project environment, it is useful to refer back to figure 2.2. This conception of a heritage project frames this project in the discursive context of Europeanisation and regionalisation, touching upon other relevant discourses on Europe and its regions.

## 6.1.   INTERREG's Crossing the Lines project

The "Crossing the Lines" project involved the communities of Utrecht (the Netherlands), Mortsel (Belgium) and the County of Essex (Great Britain) who jointly set out to protect and redevelop the defence lines of the "Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie" (Utrecht), the east coast of the UK (Essex) and "Vesting Antwerpen" (Mortsel). The partnership was led by the Municipality of Utrecht.

The partnership consisted of three institutions:

- The City of Utrecht: A Local Public Authority for one of the largest cities in the Netherlands.. Utrecht is one of the four Dutch municipalities with a dedicated division for monument policy and restoration, the Bureau of Special Maintenance, who played a lead role in the project.
- The County of Essex, a Regional Public Authority and the largest county in England, with 1.3 million inhabitants. The budget of the County Council was 728 million pounds in 2007/8 and the council has more than a thousand employees.
- The City of Mortsel: A Local Public Authority for a small municipality, just outside Antwerp. The fortified area covers one third of the total area of the municipality and is part of the Brialmontgordel around Antwerp.

The project ran from August 2002 to October 2006. The overall objectives were[162]:

- To develop and implement knowledge on restoration techniques and the use of

---

[162] Cited from the official application form

sustainable energy.
- To make investments for opening the fortified sites to the public and jointly develop new presentation techniques that would provide new visiting opportunities and reveal the history and current use of these post-Napoleonic fortifications
- Strengthen cooperation between local authorities in north-west Europe with post Napoleonic fortifications and explore the opportunities to develop a strategy to protect such Defence Lines across north-west Europe, linking up with the ESDP and the Spatial Vision.

Crossing the Lines sought to develop and implement knowledge on restoration techniques (interior climate control and brick work) and the use of sustainable energy for post-Napoleonic fortifications through transnational studies and pilots. The project chose three main themes:

### Preserved and open to the public

The aim of the *"Crossing the lines"* project is the sustainable redevelopment and opening up of former defence lines in Northwest Europe. These historical landscapes should be preserved by developing new contemporary functions. This common Northwest European heritage needs to be made available for the benefit of the public. From being former enemies, the countries of Northwest Europe are now allies in a united Europe. In the *Crossing the lines* project, new partners will cooperate to preserve and redevelop defence lines for peaceful functions. This project symbolises the new united Europe.

Fort IV, Mortsel.

• 6 •

### Protection through development

The philosophy of the project is to establish "protection through development". An important focus is the development of new, sustainable, functions for defence lines respecting the cultural history and ecological function of the sites. Many ideas and spatial visions already exist on this subject. In order to realise these it is necessary to resolve practical issues at the site level. The question of the redevelopment of buildings, a common problem for fortifications all over Northwest Europe, needs to be resolved.

Tilbury Fort, Essex.

The defence lines involved in this project include the Dutch Waterline, the defence line of the east coast of the UK and fortress Antwerpen (B). In addition, a large number of observers from the Netherlands, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Luxemburg and possibly Ireland is involved as well.
At the beginning of the project, all parties for which this project is potentially interesting (including owners of forts, cities located in defence lines, national governments, heritage foundations etc.) will be approached to take part in the project. A list of relevant partners has already been set up.

• 7 •

*Fragment of a flyer produced by Crossing the Lines*

- restoration techniques, chaired by Essex
- tourism, recreation and culture, chaired by Mortsel
- spatial planning, chaired by Utrecht.

Unlike the other case studies this project involved substantial actual restoration work. Jaywick Martello Tower (Essex) was developed into a multifunctional visitors centre, using the arts to communicate its historical value. Tilbury Fort[163] was also restored in a way intended to appeal to the public. "Fort aan de Klop" (Utrecht) was redeveloped as "fortress inn" with a hostel, a teahouse and a small campground for low impact tourism and opened in the summer of 2007. Fort IV (Mortsel) was transformed into a "creative barracks", which provided facilities for local groups and events that had had a far wider appeal..



*Three booklets produced by each partner of Crossing the Lines*

For INTERREG, with a total budget of 3.25 Million Euro Crossing the Lines was a large project. It attracted 1,625,000 Euro from the European Regional Development Fund mostly to fund extensive restoration works. The project bid contained two elements: restoring the monuments and the exchange of knowledge and practices between the partners and setting up and/or participating in new European networks.

## 6.2.    Utrecht's participation in Crossing the Lines

In 1997 the City of Utrecht bought five forts from the Ministry of Defence for the symbolic amount of one Euro. The military had stopped using these in the 1980s, and the forts were in need of substantial investment[164] to restore and maintain them.

---

[163] The project focused on post Napoleonic defense lines, but the Tilbury Fort is much older having been built between 1672 and 1685, to defend the approach to London along the River Thames.
[164] At this time the restoration budget was calculated at 80 million guilders (37 million Euros) - primarily needed for the restoration of Fort Lunet 2, which was passed over to the city in a state of ruin [D].

Right from the beginning we expressed our willingness to buy the forts in order to give them an up to date function and to open them for the citizens of Utrecht [B].

In 1998 Utrecht renovated Fort De Bilt, using funds from the European KONVER programme[165] (Municipality of Utrecht Bureau Special Maintenance 1999). Forts in the territory of Utrecht were seen as separate objects that had lost their spatial coherence due to changes in the landscape, involving infrastructural and residential developments in the former military zone. This was perceived as an appropriate reason to discuss the future of the forts outside of the normal planning channels. (ibid p. 3). Utrecht developed its plans[166] for the forts through discussions with the State Forest Agency (Staatsbosbeheer) and with special bureaus such as Grontmij and BEMOG, a project developer in Almere. *"We made our plans on the basis of a city developmental and monumental rationale, respecting the interests of civilians and entrepreneurs"* (ibid, p.6). Despite the fact that the relevant alderman was member of the Steering Group of the New Dutch Water Defence Line (NDWDL), the Bureau of Special Maintenance developed a separate technical discourse. In this way they avoided adopting a spatial planning based approach, organised by the Project Bureau of the NDWDL. The concept for developing Fort aan de Klop, was however derived from the Belvedere Memorandum[167] (Municipality of Utrecht Bureau Special Maintenance 2001).

According to the project manager for Fort aan de Klop the concepts of ownership of the monuments varied quite significantly between the different partner countries. *"Very characteristically in England there is the idea that monuments belong to all the people and English Heritage manages heritage on behalf of the people. In the Netherlands this is different: you have 'fort freaks' and people who know a lot about the Water Defence Line and a small group that is professionally involved. We do not see monuments, like the Dom Tower or a fort, as a common good, belonging to our culture. The Belgians are somewhere in between"*[B].

This quote takes the form of a second order observation and critically shows the rationale for the municipality claiming ownership of Fort aan de Klop. Based on the theoretical considerations given in chapter 2, this line of reasoning follows as a direct logical

---

[165] TThe KONVER in the Netherlands focused on the conversion of military bases instead of helping military companies to diversify their strategy and products Hassink, R. (2000). "Regional Involvement in Defence Industry Restructuring in Belgium and the Netherlands." International Regional Science Review 23(1): 81-90.

[166] Bolhuis, P. v. and P. Vrijlandt (1993). Waterlijn. Ideeën voor de toekomst van de Stelling van Amsterdam en de Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie. Ruimtelijke Planvorming Sectie Landschapsarchitectuur. Wageningen, Landbouwuniversiteit.This influential report was commissioned by the Ministry of Spatial Planning (VROM). It invoked many design studies and discussions during the 1990s.. Although this report is mentioned in the preparation phase of Crossing the Lines with great enthusiasm, its recommendations based on a spatial planning approach have not been adopted.

[167] This Belvedere Memorandum contains the governmental view on dealing with cultural heritage in spatial planning, and set the policy context of the New Dutch Water Defence Line.

consequence of a disciplinary culture: that only people with expertise should be involved in the project, other people do not have any knowledge and, as a consequence, no ownership. Through this knowledge the municipality claimed ownership, believing that monuments are relics that should be taken care off by governmental bodies, which are best qualified for the task. Thus the organisational discourse of the Bureau of Special Maintenance made a recursive logical connection between knowledge and ownership, which effectively decoupled any link between monuments and culture.

The city council of Utrecht wanted to restore Fort aan de Klop and strived for economic sustainability by allowing a small camping ground and hotel accommodation to be developed in the Fort site. But the City Council did not supply the money for restoration, so the funding had to be found from elsewhere. This task fell to the small Bureau of Special Maintenance. *"From the perspective of Utrecht, it was considered important to profile the city in European context"* [A]. So, with the aim of raising European funding, a staff member started to become involved in European networks and got in touch with a former Council officer responsible for the CONVER programme in the Netherlands, who had just established a consultancy bureau called Bureau Buiten [D].

An INTERREG specialist, working for the Province of Utrecht, advised them to link with the Holding the Fort initiative, led by the municipality of Den Helder, which had recently failed to gain funding approval. Den Helder withdrew from this project and The Bureau of Special Maintenance took their place and rewrote the project application. A meeting was organised with the project organisers of the New Dutch Water Defence Line (NDWDL), to invite them to join the project, but without any positive result. *"They were looking for projects of their own with European funding. We asked for their support because they have a reputation and status, but this was denied. They did not like the idea of cooperating with Utrecht"* [D][168]. The rewriting of the project application involved a meeting with some members of the INTERREG Steering Committee in Lille who advised cutting the original project budget from 10 million to 4.5 million Euro [D]. At this meeting it also became apparent that the Steering Committee were keen on the Crossing the Lines project. Several projects in the INTERREG IIIB programme had taken longer to negotiate than anticipated and they faced losing funding if they couldn't get some projects off of the ground [D]. This meant it was important to start the Crossing the Lines with the minimum of delay. This situation shows the complex relationship when many different parties are in negotiations that are, in turn, restricted and conditioned by different systems of rules. In this case the rules of the funding game strongly influenced the planning of the project. The INTERREG Steering Group and project partnership agreed upon a high level of expenditure - of 70-80% of INTERREG's total

---

[168] The validity of this statement is questionable, as the Project Bureau had already been active in cooperating with the Brialmont Gordel around Antwerp when Crossing the Lines started. In addition the Alderman responsible for the Forts was also member of the Steering Group of the NDWDL.

budget in the first year of the project [D]. The lead partner called it "a dare-devil plan" [D]. During the negotiations also emerged that INTERREG wanted the project to have a more European orientation, which, for them, was an important condition for justifying such a level of expenditure. According to the second overall project leader, one reason the project was approved was because *"we touched upon European interests on every page three times"* [A].

The council in Mortsel also wanted to restore their fort, but they did not want to start restoration straightaway. They chose to first develop an intensive cultural programme to ensure that the fort won a place in the hearts of their citizens [E]. They chose to do this because they believed that public appreciation of the value of military and fortification monuments was much lower in Flanders than in the Netherlands or in England [E]. This was ascribed to the public associating all army matters with Wallonia, because French was the obligatory language in the army[169]. In contrast with the Dutch partner, the Belgian partner did not assume that there would be widespread public support for the project.

In England, Essex County Council wanted to use European funds to restore Jaywick Tower, giving a much needed boost to the local community. This community, located in an industrial and marginalised part of greater London, is impoverished and facing social problems. By collecting personal stories about the Tower from within the local community, the County Council hoped to generate publicity and boost public interest in the monument. Crossing the Lines allowed them to develop a museum in the tower, where these stories could be heard using interactive technology. A second goal for the County was to establish a European network foundation for fortification zones. The County Council saw their role as being the spider in the web of the heritage institutions with whom they cooperated with on a regular basis. Not surprisingly, they had to negotiate the contents of the project with the other members of their network. This gave rise to problems as some organisational cultures had fixed attitudes towards restoration and the influence of Europe. The project was prepared with local and regional partners, including a local division of English Heritage. Halfway through the project, the central organisation of English Heritage objected to the idea of including a sustainable energy system in the monument, as they considered this would threaten its historic character. According to the Essex project manager, institutionalised anti-European sentiments also played an important role in this decision[170]. The project was interpreted by English Heritage as an attempt by the EU to intervene in legally established working routines. This position slowed down the project (and the expenditure) and led to further lengthy negotiations between the project and INTERREG. Here it is interesting to

---

[169] There exists a myth concerning the Belgian army that the huge number of Flemish casualties in the First World War was caused by misunderstanding of French commands, the lingua franca of the army.

[170] Interestingly the project manager also complained about anti-European sentiments in his own organisation, as his request to establish a financial facility in Euros to manage the project was refused. In the end every time the project had to provide a financial report they lost quite a lot of money due to fluctuating exchange rates between the Pound and Euro.

notice the complexities caused by the scales of the discourses. The English government and planners had been involved in preparing and establishing the INTERREG programme in a large scale planning discourse. Local political discourses yielded a project idea and provoked reactions from other institutions, working in different function systems, representing different organisational cultures and having different administrative and disciplinary environment, with more nationally-focused roots and connections.

The implementation of the Crossing the Lines revealed significant differences in the governance and working cultures of the partners. The Dutch partner embodied a very strong regionally-oriented planning culture. Fort aan de Klop is part of the New Dutch Water Defence Line, an immense Dutch Government project covering a large stretch of the eastern part of the Randstad (the conglomeration of cities along much of the west coast of the country). Maintenance of monuments is the responsibility of municipalities. Their institutional culture[171] takes economic sustainability very seriously and they normally calculate the economic costs and benefits over a period of ten years. The project was also marred by conflicts with local residents who didn't want any disturbance in their quiet neighbourhood. Local residents were not consulted at the beginning of the project, when the first ideas on re-using the fort involved building a yacht harbour next to the river Vecht. These proposals and the lack of consultation led to strong local opposition throughout the entire project.

The Belgian partner faced a political culture of localised planning [E]. It lacks specific heritage policies and there are no heritage institutes at the federal level. Local politics play a much more influential in Belgium, compared to the Dutch situation [H]. The partner from Mortsel envied the Dutch planning tradition[172] which was able to have a programme that covered the entire historic defence lines [E, G]. They would have liked to have been able to adopt such a regional planning approach for the whole Brialmont Ring that encircles Antwerp.

During the project it became apparent that the European focus requested by the INTERREG Steering Committee somehow got lost. The elements of the project addressing Europeanisation were removed, outsourced or undertaken with little commitment. The overall project manager clarified what happened *"the partners knew that there were some targets concerning Europe that were not really in line with their ideas. The project had to be*

---

[171] This culture can be described as focused on the local job, exercising absolute control over financial affairs and having a technical and rationalist view on planning. In interviews the Dutch partner criticised and stereotyped the English partner as a network organisation lacking any actual experience in restoring monuments, creating financial disasters and fond of traveling in style to visit symposia in other European countries (at the cost of the project). Every project of the Bureau was supposed to combine making money and meeting public aims. Initial investments were acceptable as long as the final situation was financially sustainable and healthy [D].

[172] Others in Belgium have a more critical view of the Dutch or Scandinavian spatial planning tradition because of the consequences for individual freedom and the high costs of planning procedures [H].

*organised in such a way that the other targets could be recognised"* [D]. These deviations from the original project application are discussed in more detail below, and show the lead partner had little interest in sharing its heritage with Europe and its heritage institutions.

One of the original project objectives, to develop a European spatial development strategy for historic defence lines or fortifications, was unilaterally removed from the agenda by the lead partner. *"We had to do something with spatial planning to improve the project's chances of acceptance, but nobody thought it was relevant. We just hired someone to do something and we thought let's see what comes out of it. We have put some material on paper, but I never recommended it to anyone to read: it was too flimsy"* [A].  The idea of developing a spatial strategy, either at a European or a regional level, was not carried out. In hindsight, the Dutch partner said that they just didn't "see the value of that goal" [A]. The Belgian partner found this rather disappointing, because they didn't have an integrated approach for maintaining and restoring the Brialmont Ring. Belgian planning practice treats all forts in a similar way, under generic regulations. There is no specialisation or differentiation between the forts, based on a spatial strategy.

For the Essex partner the disappearance of this goal was disappointing, because this meant that their plans to construct a European foundation evaporated. The comment of the lead partner was simple and to the point: if there are good functioning networks, such as Europa Nostra, why do we need another one? [A]. *"Europa Nostra is a foundation that produces terribly thick reports and if we can fulfil our obligation by joining them we will, but only reluctantly"* [A]. The consequence of losing this aspect of the project was that Crossing the Lines was poorly linked with other European heritage networks, mostly through partners attending a few symposia.

Another shared activity was a promotion plan for attracting tourists. *"Very soon this idea of developing a shared tourist plan proved to be a dead end. We were too different, so we chose to make some kind of toolbox"* [A].

Avoidance of the European dimension of heritage was also observable in some minor details. The forts of Utrecht, Mortsel and Tilbury definitively share a European history and they were all considered to be "historical follies" [D]. Tilbury Fort was built by de Gomme[173]

---

[173] Bernard de Gomme (1620-1685) was the most important figure in 17th century English military engineering, but little is known of his early life. He was born in Terneuzen (near Antwerp) in the Netherlands in 1620 and may have attended the engineers' school at Leiden University. In his early years he served as an apprentice in the armies of Prince Frederik Hendrik. He served in the Gennep campaign of 1641, and probably also in the Breda campaign of 1637. During these campaigns de Gomme came into contact with various English captains, and learned to speak and write English. At the beginning of the English Civil War between 1641 and 1651 Prince Rupert recruited professional soldiers and engineers from the Netherlands for the Royalist cause. As an experienced  22 year-old Dutch engineer, who could speak and write English, de Gomme was a prime target for recruitment and came to England to serve King Charles I in August 1642. From: www.fortified-places.com

from Lille, a Dutch city at that time [D]. Fort Rhijnouwe in Utrecht, located near Fort aan de Klop, is a small replica of Fort 4 in Mortsel [D]. During the First World War Fort 4 was defended by 14 English soldiers, as the Belgian soldiers had abandoned it [E]. Two of them died in Fort 4. During the Second World War the Germans found the grave of an English soldier there and re-buried the corpse in the graveyard of Mortsel. Someone became interested in this story and went to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in Ypres to ask for information about the identity of the unknown English soldier. He did not get an answer, but he did get one from the British Embassy. This led to an English monumental plaque being put up in the graveyard of Mortsel which is shared with the Belgian war victims. All the locations had European connections, but they were not taken up actively in the project.

The Belgian partner developed a remarkable, diverse and attractive cultural and social programme at the location of the fort. A constant and intensive flow of cultural activities were organised which are still going strong. As a result, the fort became quite well known during the lifetime of the project, with many television programmes being recorded at the site. They project team wanted the fort to resemble a park, as this would attract more visitors: trees were allowed to grow almost anywhere at the site, despite criticism of this policy from the English partner[174]. The Belgian partner strived to get national status for their monument with an intensive cultural programme (sports, recording TV programmes, theatre etcetera) and in doing this they surpassed the institutional limits of monument policy, which is organised separately for Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels [H, J]. They organised events that attracted regional and national interest and many were broadcast by Belgian television [E]. The larger events attracted between 5,000 and 10,000 visitors [E]. As a result, the fort began to become nationally famous. The Belgian partner initially encountered opposition from the local community, as many buildings on the site were used by local charities and foundations. However, the city authorities managed to convince the community about the positive trade-offs of this project, a striking difference with the situation in Utrecht which experienced a constant stream of legal conflicts.

At the end of CtL different flyers were produced to show case the project and its results. The flyers for Fort aan de Klop show that the project had migrated from being one of local importance to one of national importance. Initially the Utrecht partner issued several documents (a promotion plan, a leaflet about Fort aan de Klop, and a description of the Fort) which stressed the local relevance.[175] These leaflets occasionally mentioned

---

[174] The English partner was responsible for making  a website of the project and they changed the photos that were submitted by Mortsel, using Photoshop to remove the trees from the site,. After vigorous protests from the Belgian partner, the trees were restored to the photos.

[175] This local focus was deliberately chosen by the Municipality in response to a perceived absence of a coherent national policy for the New Dutch Water Defence Line (Municipality of Utrecht (1997). Van geheim naar publiek domein. Beleidsnotitie over de Utrechtse forten: 8.

the Dutch Water Defence Line but did not discuss the relevance of the fort to European heritage. The Belvedere Project Bureau developed a flyer entitled "A pulsating heart for the neighbourhood; the redevelopment of Fort aan de Klop" (translation RD) (Steenhuis, Doorn et al. 2008). This presented the Fort as part of the city of Utrecht: a recreational resource serving the public in the neighbourhoods of Overvecht and Zuilen. This leaflet ignored the legal status of the fort as part of a national monument. The relation with the Defence Line was limited to its historic angle. The NDWDL published an article in the heritage magazine Vitruvius, which described Fort aan de Klop as illustrating good practice and being a worthy element of the national project (Ros and Weijschedé 2009). The project seemed to have been "nationalised". The relationship between the NDWDL and the city of Utrecht initially focussed on the exchange of knowledge and gaining access to the network of the NDWD.[176] It subsequently became more intensive[177] and this led Crossing the Lines to eventually be framed as a good example of the NDWDL programme. None of the project's publications framed the fort as European heritage and this aspect of the fort was absent from the discursive environment.  On one occasion this was done by the partners of Crossing the Lines, at the end of the project, when they issued a declaration on the European relevance of defence lines (Crossing the Lines 2006). This stated "*...in a period of great change they are now a testimony to our common European culture and identity and as such offer opportunities for the creation of both shared and individual identities*". This phrase shows the ease with which partners can employ European buzzwords yet ignore them in their actions.

All the partners managed to achieve some of their individual goals and considered the project to have been a success for them. But they did not manage to take (full) advantage of the knowledge, skills and capacities of the other partners. Some partners faced problems that other partners had experience in successfully dealing with[178]. Local communities' resistance claimed much time and effort from the local project managers, especially in Utrecht where the relevance of the national level only emerged at the end of the project. Utrecht Municipality had focused on the local aspects of the scheme largely to avoid spatial planning interference by the national project bureau. The Utrecht and Mortsel partners were interested in European funding for their heritage plans, but not interested in sharing their heritage with Europeans. The Belgian partner expressed this position very clearly as "Europa moet beogen iedereen zichzelf te laten blijven en toch proberen om iets samen te doen"[179] [G].

---

[176] Personal comments by Anneke van Mispelaar, Bureau Buiten, who was involved as an external consultant throughout the entire duration of Crossing the Lines (including the preparation period that started in 2000), d.d. 17 July 2009.

[176] Personal comments from Peter Ros, Project Bureau NDWDL and responsible for generating European projects. 10th June 2009.

[178] For example the English partner offered assistance in building local support and trust, based on their broad experience. One of their strategies was to consult locals and collect oral history narratives. But this offer was refused by the other partners.

[179] "Europe must aim to let everyone be themselves, while still attempting to do something together."

## 6.3. The discursive environment of Crossing the Lines in Utrecht

### 6.3.1. The international discursive environment: INTERREG IIIB north-west Europe

The first application for Crossing the Lines was unsuccessful[180]  [A]. During negotiations over the second application the Steering Committee of the INTERREG IIIB NWE Programme in Lille made it clear that the project needed to have more European relevance.  It was not unusual for the contents of a project to be negotiated so that they fitted better with the main operational aims of INTERREG [F]. The negotiations led the CtL project to adopt more of INTERREG's discourses within its application. As such the goals of INTRREG played a key role in the discursive environment of Crossing the Lines and led to the project adopting a stronger European dimension (at least on the surface) [A]. Below the INTERREG Northwest Europe programme will be discussed to account for this European dimension.

The INTERREG IIIB NWE programme framed itself as being the result of "a national and transnational consultative process, based on a broad dialogue in which institutional partners from national, regional and local authorities as well as non-governmental bodies were able to contribute" (page 9). This remark links the programme description to the INTERREG planning discourse in this part of Europe. The programme aimed to contribute to sustainable territorial development in north-western Europe (European Commission 2002)[181]. The programme description had a sharp focus on planning, as stated: *"cooperation on planning to be well established in much of Europe, due to the CRONWE Initiative"* (European Commission 2002)(page 6)[182].

Moreover the programme emphasised the legacy of 45 INTERREG IIC projects which "draw up a Spatial Vision Strategy" (page 6). The INTERREG IIIB Initiative *"offers a significant window of opportunity to create a new and more dynamic territorial development culture in North West Europe"* (page 8). INTERREG III NWE saw itself as making three major contributions: 1) creating a new territorial development culture, 2) paying attention to the territorial impacts of sectoral policies and 3) creating new institutional mechanisms to set out long-term planning objectives (page 8). The focus on planning was justified by reference to the ESDP[183] and the preceding SPESP report[184] (page 17) and to the concept of a north-western metropolitan area (page 11). The section of the INTERREG programme

---

[180] Initially written by the City of Den Helder. (deleted because repetition).
[181] The territory covered by the programme did not include the whole of the Netherlands. The northern part of the Netherlands is excluded. It includes part of Germany.
[182] The CRONWE initiative consisted of a small group of planners from various European countries and regions who came together in the 1950s under the umbrella of the permanent Conference of Regions in north-western Europe and were superseded in the 70s by the Council of Europe. They advocated planning in at a transnational level (an unprecedented vision at that time) and identified the European Economic Community as an appropriate level for such planning. Zonne-veld, W. (2005). "Multiple visioning: New ways of constructing transnational spatial visions." Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 23(1): 41-62.
[183] I consider the concept o f the European Spatial Development Programme to be a product of NW-European planning culture, which defines such spatial concepts as the key to sustainable economic development – concepts which they considered to be sadly missing in Mediterranean countries.
[184] Study Programme on European Spatial Planning

that discusses natural resources and cultural heritage (II.5) does not pay attention to the concept of (regional) identity but conceives of cultural heritage as an asset for tourism and the quality of life in general (ibid p. 17).  The description of priority 4[185], *"sustainable development, prudent management and protection of other natural resources and of cultural heritage, makes a reference to regional identity. However the rationale of priority 4 is formulated as: "the ESDP considers the natural and cultural heritage to be a 'development asset' However, it is important to acknowledge that conservation objectives may sometimes need to be pursued independently of economic development"* (ibid p. 55). The reason for paying so little attention to strengthening regional identity can be found later in a statement that reads *"…the present cultural mosaic is an asset for the region. Appreciation of national, regional and local identities is essential for developing partnerships and building strategies for territorial competitiveness which capitalise upon local diversity – allowing the region to respond to market pressures whilst ensuring environmental, social and cultural sustainability"* (ibid p. 57). So the programme did not aim at strengthening the identity of north-western Europe, but improving its competitiveness and sustainability. The actions of the NWE programme are supposed to be complementary to cultural programmes, supported by the Council of Europe, *"to build a cultural area common to all European peoples"* (page 57). These quotes illustrate the strong emphasis on strategic planning. Even regional identity, which is haphazardly addressed, is presented as an asset for strategic development.


The INTERREG II and III discussions in the Netherlands were strongly interwoven with the ESDP's activities (Waterhout and Faludi 2006). Together with French and German colleagues, Dutch planners were intensively involved in the ESDP process and contributed to the ESDP report in 1999 (Waterhout and Faludi 2006). The initial focus was on strategic planning for rural areas, which was put on the governmental agenda in 1992 by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid 1992) with its report 'Grond voor keuzen'[186] which was taken up by the Ministry for Housing and Spatial Planning in 1994 as part of their project on Rural Areas and Europe (Klundert, Dietvorst et al. 1994). Dutch professor Andreas Faludi was a leading expert in the ESDP process. In his analysis the discussions about the concept of territorial cohesion were complicated, because they were not well linked with any discussion about social cohesion and because the conflicting goals between pursuing balanced growth and competitive economical regional development (Waterhout and Faludi 2006). The ESDP process is another related discursive environment which Dutch and European planners have been engaged with for more than a decade. Recently, spatial planners have been less focussed on the European agenda and interactions. The Netherlands Institute for Spatial Research now even speaks of

---

[185] Crossing the Lines was submitted under priority 4.2 *Protection and creative enhancement of the cultural heritage.*
[186] This report evaluated four scenarios for rural development within the European Union

"Unseen Europe" when discussing the relevance of European regulations on Dutch planning (Ravestein and Evers 2004). The situation seems to have changed dramatically: instead of discursively creating European planning in international disciplinary groups, the very existence of European planning in the national system now seems to be largely unknown and in need of re-discovery. As a consequence European planning is now considered as a fixed fact rather than a field of mutual planning cooperation.

Other INTERREG projects also contributed to the international environment in which Crossing the Lines was embedded. Members of CtL had had involvement in other INTERREG projects (some running simultaneously) and had attended symposia to exchange knowledge and ideas. The Mortsel officer talked about a very similar project, called Septentrion, mostly focused in northern France but which also included Ypres, Brussels, Lanaken, Maastricht and Den Bosch. This project also connected cities and their local historic defence structures. He regarded the project as a disaster, because of cultural differences and the lack of cooperation between the involved cities [E][187]. Clearly, there was some competition between projects. The Dutch lead partner had not participated in other INTERREG projects, although their advisors from Bureau Buiten were specialists in European projects and structural funds and had an overview of many INTERREG projects and a large network. They organised some symposia for their network to facilitate knowledge exchange on heritage matters. In the mid-project event[188], the Utrecht partner presented Fort Vechten as a best practice of "tourism development in an unpolished fort", again showing how the New Dutch Water Defence Line had acted as a reference point.

Thus, the INTERREG discourse appears to be a composite one, consisting of: a project discourse, a programme discourse and a planning discourse. The international discursive environment of CtL advocated a strategic approach and saw identity as merely an asset. In the following section, the national influences in the Netherlands will be reviewed, confirming that identity did play an important role, but had a different focus.

### 6.3.2.  The national discursive environment
Discursively, Crossing the Lines was nationally embedded in the New Dutch Water Defence Line (NDWDL) and Belvedere programmes. These programmes were, in turn, embedded[189] in discourses over national planning, landscape policies, national history and identity. Recently, the national identity discourse has focussed on describing canons and canonicity. These discourses will be briefly described in terms of their relevance for the Crossing the Lines project and Europeanisation.

---

[187] I had an opportunity to do a short interview with the project leader of Septentrion on an INTERREG day, organised in Eindhoven by VROM, and he described his own project as lively, productive and very positive.
[188] Held on 22 and 23 June 2005, in Fort aan de Klop.
[189] Note that embedding in embedding normally leads to frictions or are never completely logical.

The discursive relation between the NDWDL Programme and Crossing the Lines was asymmetric, but nevertheless quite strong. Officers of the national project bureau of NDWDL had visited the Brialmont Gordel around Antwerp in 2002 and discussed the policy contexts, possibilities for financing restoration and for cooperation (Purcaro 2002). There were many connections between Crossing the Lines and this project bureau and informal contacts provided a platform for exchanges of ideas and strategies[190].

The NDWDL initiated an intensive programme of discussions[191] immediately after its launch, grounding the official structure plan Panorama Krayenhoff. These debates were expressed in "Waterlijn" a quarterly newsletter first published in 2003. It frequently mentioned the Crossing the Lines project (in issues 12, 18, 19), which was also mentioned in the 2005 Annual Report. The newsletter can be seen as a reflection of the discursive environment of Crossing the Lines, as it contains the ideas of a great number of planners, politicians, officials, journalists and lay people about ways of developing forts and military heritage. The published opinions were, almost without exception, strong and personalised. The discourse on redeveloping the NDWDL had a strong focus on design and planning, regional identity, regional development and financial arrangements. These issues were the focus of nearly all the published articles. International relations were only very occasionally addressed, with only two topics emerging: tapping into Europe as a source of funding for the developmental programme[192] and putting the NDWDL on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Annual Report 2006)[193]. This low interest in the European significance of the NDWDL is remarkable as its project bureau was involved in several INTERREG projects, including ASCEND and CULTURED. Information from these projects provided insights into the experiences and approaches of redeveloping fortification zones in other European regions. This was re-interpreted through the shared vocabulary of the national discourse, a clear case of operational closure through autopoiesis.

In 2005 the NDWDL invited an advertising bureau to develop a marketing and communication strategy. This was aimed at improving recognition of the project at a local, regional, national and, in the end, international level (Arnold van Vuuren in Waterlijn nr. 11). TV documentaries in 2000 and 2007 highlighted the concept of of the Defence Line as a "National Landscape". Right from the beginning the project was framed as "national".

---

[190] The relations have been described as intended to share networks and knowledge, by Anneke van Mispelaar from Bureau Buiten

[191] Right from the start five discussion scenarios were generated and I was involved of one of them. The scenarios were publicly discussed at a meeting on the 11th of September 2001 in Fort Voordorp

[192] On the international level the Project Bureau aimed to increase its sourcing of European funding, as stated in the Annual Report 2007 (page 12). The INTERREG IIIC ASCEND project was also described by the formal representative, but this has never been a point of debate.

[193] In 1995, the State Secretary of the Ministry of Culture proclaimed his support for nominating the Water Defence Line as a UNESCO monument and the procedure of nomination was started in 1998. Howevere this nomination was never made and more recently this ambition is being pursued through seeking a link with the Stelling van Amsterdam, which already has such status.

In 2001 State Secretary Geke Faber clarified the national relevance of the project as an endeavour to develop a stronger national and regional landscape identity and countering the process of losing regional characteristics[194]. In due time, these issues of identity were introduced by representatives of the government[195], landscape architects[196], planners[197] and by the Director of Belvedere[198]. The idea of promoting regional identity can be traced back to the Belvedere discours[199]. The NDWDL project was the biggest project in the Belvedere Programme, and there was intense cooperation between the two initiatives for ten years[200]. This also made Belvedere relevant for Crossing the Lines: the concept of Crossing the Lines was very similar to the concept of the Belvedere Memorandum, to combine restoration and new developments[201]. Besides this conceptual cross over, the Belvedere programme also indirectly influenced the Crossing the Lines project via the Water Defence Line project. A short account of this organisational discourse is given below.

The Belvedere Policy and Belvedere Memorandum were intended to bring planners and historians together and invite them to discuss and make proposals around the motto "conservation through development". Practitioners of planning and cultural heritage preservation were invited to submit projects[202] that sought to create continuity through maintaining cultural historical aspects within spatial development plans (Labuhn 2008). The Belvedere approach aimed to establish a new planning doctrine, "Belvedere planning", which hinged around this mowtto of preservation by development. The Belvedere programme served as a discursive platform for all professionals involved in planning and heritage conservation. The programme has produced many publications[203] and organised innumerable discussion meetings. It publishes a periodical called "Belvedere News" that explores the interaction between planning and heritage discourses. In addition it has produced thematic booklets that draw on the expertise of water managers, project developers, and others with different planning knowledge. Design principle and planning practice played a key role in these publications, since the strategy of the Belvedere programme is to focus on identity and identity creation and because design plays a strategic role in planning processes (Labuhn 2008). The focus on identity was intended to boost heritage and to counter the loss of regional characteristics and sense of alienation felt by inhabitants of new lookalike residential areas with no distinctive features (Eerden 2008; Eerden, Remmers et al. 2009).

---

[194] Flyer describing the National Project in June 2001.
[195] Judith van Kranendonk, (Director-General of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science), with "de Waterlinie is onlosma-kelijk verbonden met het Hollandse landschap".
[196] Michael van Gessel, 'Juweeltjes in het landschap'. nr. 9, page 2.
[197] Identiteit als bindmiddel, Europese subsidie voor ondernemersimpuls, nr. 25, page 6
[198] Frank Strolenberg in nr. 14, page 3, "Wat is Nederlands?".
[199] Referring to discourse theory, this process can be designated as discursive migration
[200] See the interview with Frank Strolenberg and Arnold van Vuuren in nr. 27.
[201] Personal comments by Anneke van Mispelaar, 17 July 2009
[202] More than 350 projects were initiated. Labuhn, B. A. (2008). Nietsche-Belvedere. Belvedere beschouwd in het licht van Nietsches "Over nut en nadeel van geschiedenis voor het leven". Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte. Leiden, University of Leiden. Bachelor: 127.
[203] See www.belvedere.nu

Belvedere's discussions on identity were located in the discursive friction between planners and designers who value either principles of *genius loci* or global principles of efficiency. Belvedere encouraged planners and designers to conceive identity as the equivalent to a marketing concept. Identity was presented as an objective characteristic of an environment (in a phenomenological tradition) that could be strengthened, modified or even created at any scale and in any location[204]. This conception of identity infused the discursive practice of the Water Defence Line and later that of the Crossing the Line project. For Crossing the Lines, this planning orientation was visible in the way that the planners strived for a specific localised identity as *"a green oasis"*, connecting the site to the problematic residential areas of Overvecht and Zuilen (Steenhuis, Doorn et al. 2008).

One substantial Belvedere project, the Roman Limes, created an interesting discourse through addressing national and European heritage aspects. The Limes project was implemented by a dedicated team within the Belvedere project bureau, representing an alliance of national, provincial and local partners[205]. Their point of departure: *"a local approach if possible, unless a national one is required"* is written on the back of all of their publications and reflects the decentralisation discourse that they adopted. The head of research of the Dutch Institute for Cultural Heritage argued for an international approach, and to consider the nominating the project as a UNESCO world heritage site (Bazelmans 2006). He stated *"it would be curious if the Dutch Limes were a missing link"*. The project bureau issued a lot of Dutch language publications[206] describing the local potentials of the Limes. Only one, very small, leaflet in English has been produced, *"A national heritage programme on the frontiers of the Roman Empire"*. All the publications show the influence of the point of departure mentioned above. The Limes became localised in a dispute between government and regional/local policy actors. There is no sign of this project being involved in international networking or seeking international signification. Even going to international symposia was not allowed by the alliance[207].

Another, although less influential discursive environment of Crossing the Lines is the policy framework that defines 20 national landscapes, one of which is the Defence Line. This

---

[204] See the periodical for Dutch planners Blauwe Kamer. This discussion started with a review of a lecture by Anne Winston Spirn called "the language of the landscape", in 1998 (28-40). In 2001 a special addition of Blauwe Kamer was issued called "Ontwerpen aan betekenis. Cultuurhistorie in het landschap van morgen".

[205] National government, the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, South-Holland, the city region of Arnhem-Nijmegen, the cities of Utrecht and Nijmegen

[206] E.g. Tijdgrens, Ontwerp Masterplan Limes, Koersbepaling, which covers the whole project within the Province of Gelderland and the city region of Arnhem-Nijmegen. Other lefalets included "Beleef het langs de Limes!"; "De Limes"; "De Limes, grens van het Romeinse Rijk"; "Limes Quaestio, een spel langs de Limes van het Romeinse Rijk";" De Romeinse Limes in beeld"; "Fietsen langs de Romeinse Limes"; "Op zoek naar de Limes"

[207] Comments by Katja Hoitink (officer at the Limes Project Bureau), 20 August 2009: the Limes did not have an international scope. There were no foreign contacts, no visits to international symposia and no relations with other countries with Roman Limes. This situation was despite requests to the Ministry of OCW. This situation was partly due to the project being reliant on funding from municipalities and provinces which had a narrow interest in public and publicity programmes. The Limes project bureau did co-operate with Wageningen University Research to organise an international symposium 'Visiting the Past', although this did not result in an ongoing discourse within the project on European aspects.

policy framework stresses the national importance of these landscapes and tries to bring any spatial developments in these areas in line with their outstanding landscape qualities (Kleef 2004). The reason for this "national" dimension is not nationalism per se, but policy arrangements. It enables the national policy makers to interfere with Belvedere's dilemma's over conservation and development on a local and regional level. In this environment, political discourses take precedence over discourses on landscape identity and quality (Boonstra 2004; de Boer, Zouwen et al. 2007). Recently this landscape policy environment has yielded an array of innovative practices aiming to improve landscape qualities in public private partnerships (PPPs)[208]. These practices, undertaken at a regional level, have inspired the national Defence Line project and, probably, the Crossing the Lines project to establish new public private partnerships.

## 6.4.    Dutch identity frames and heritage discussions

In the second half of the decade the wider discursive context of Crossing the Lines also changed, due to discussions about national identity, culture and heritage in a country feeling under siege from large numbers of immigrants. During the implementation of Crossing the Lines, the focus on national identity and national heritage became stronger. As in other European countries, right wing political parties gained ground by making claims about preserving national identity (Margry and Roodenburg 2007). This increase in nationalism occurred to the detriment of support for Europe[209]. This became apparent in the Dutch referendum on the European Constitutional Law on the 1st of June, 2005 in which right and left wing parties both organised anti-European campaigns. More than 60% of Dutch voters voted against the Treaty[210]. This led to more emphasis being put on assimilationist models of society[211].

Increasing emphasis is being placed on the acculturalisation of immigrants (a process known in Dutch as 'inburgering'), to the extent that potential immigrants are now required to take language and cultural courses in their country of origin[212]. This increasing focus on nationalism is reflected by discussions on the national historical canon[213]. The discussion

---

[208] See www.nationalelandschappen.nl

[209] According to a study of the Social and Cultural Planning Agency, Dutch citizens have little or no knowledge about Europe and are barely interested. Wennekes, C. (2005). Goed Europees burgerschap in Nederland. De goede burger. Tien beschouwingen over een morele categorie. P. Dekker and J. d. Hart. Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

[210] The anti-Europe movement was organised by XminY, Attac Nederland, Eurodusnie, which recently regrouped itself in a new organisation called Ander Europa, which focuses on solidarity and social claims.

[211] The discussion on assimilation of cultural minorities started as early as 1991 with a public lecture by Frits Bolkestein at the occasion of a Congress on Liberalism in Luzern (Switzerland) on 8 September 1991.

[212] Legacy of Mrs. Verdonk. NUFFIC organization annually provides a guide to living in the Netherlands for would be immigrants.

[213] This national historic canon was prepared by a commission, established in 2005 by the Minister of Education, Maria van der Hoeven, and led by Prof Frits van Oostrum.

on the canonisation of history started in the context of education and was fuelled by concerns about youngsters' (and especially those from immigrant backgrounds) poor level of knowledge of Dutch history[214].  The national canon puts Dutch history in a European perspective and stresses the inappropriateness of using the adjective "Dutch" in times that predate the foundation of the modern nation state (at the very start of the 19th century). While the authors have tried to avoid nationalist sentiments (Margry and Roodenburg 2007) the national canon has, nonetheless, been criticised for being xenophobic and contributing to nationalist ideas (see reactions at the forum http://entoen.nu). This canonisation of history reinforced earlier canonisation discussions about landscape and landscape identity (Herngreen 2002; Hendriks 2004). Arguments from the historic canon were taken up in the discourse about the landscape canon, in a process of discursive migration.

Increasingly, the canonisation of landscapes was seen as a useful response to the process of the loss of landscape characteristics and the resulting decline in landscape identity. New canons were rapidly developed for different territorial levels: cities such as Eindhoven, Gouda, Amsterdam and many others, the Inter Provincial Communication Platform, provinces such as Overijssel, Groningen, Friesland and regions such as the Green Heart and the area between Vecht and Eem. These canons reflect the basic idea that identity is territorially grounded and can be objectively described. In the "Canon van het Nederlandse Landschap" landscape design and planning are discussed as major influences on regional identity. In contrast to the historical canon, the canon on the Dutch landscape does not have a European dimension. Planners and designers strive to find a landscape identity that is based on the particular features of Dutch landscapes. More recently, Dutch planners have become more interested in European landscapes[215]  and this is reflected Dutch involvement in the European Landscape Convention (Strolenberg, Greeuw et al. 2008). On this European level, identity is also perceived as derived from a set of objective landscape characteristics and planning is seen as having a role in contributing to regional identity. This shows that the recursive relationship between planning/design and identity exists at the national level. Planning journals such as "Blauwe Kamer" are full of examples and expectations of how landscape design contributes (or can contribute) to regional or local identity (Guinée 1999; Harsema 2000; Herngreen 2001; Witsen 2005; Hendriks 2006; Hendriks 2007).

Dutch heritage discourses are nationally oriented. The officer for international affairs in the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) underpins this *"we staan nog aan het begin om ons internationale beleid en samenwerking vorm te geven, om die reden is ons overzicht van wat*

---

214 Research by the Social and Cultural Planning Agency showed cultural heritage and history to be poorly recognised and visited by immigrants during the period 1983-2003 Broek, A. v. d., F. Huysmans, et al. (2005). Cultuurminnaars en cultuurmijders. Trends in de belangstelling voor kunsten en cultureel erfgoed. S. e. C. Planbureau. Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau..

215 As shown by A Wider View during the Triënnale in Apeldoorn 2008.

*er in Europa en onze omliggende landen gebeurt nog niet volledig"*[216] [I]. Dutch heritage discourses are thus framed somewhere between concerns about spatial dynamics and the politics of a multicultural society. However, these discursive environments are relatively closed to one another. A major public concern about heritage is caught under the concept of "verrommeling[217]" (Egmond, Kuiper et al. 2008). Planners are included in this debate, as both a cause and potential solution to these problems. They focus on the heritage features in landscape, and thus primarily on material heritage. In policy terms these features are classified as monuments, archaeology and historical geographical structures (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed 2009). This categorisation excludes living heritage: traditions, folklore and other forms of authentic or invented memories of the past. These aspects are addressed by cultural policies and are gaining slightly in importance in the moral discussions about Dutch culture, as well as becoming more politicised[218]. A cross-over between these two forms of heritage does occur when planners adopt the concept of identity and this allows elements of non-material culture to be included, although this only rarely occurs[219]. Research by the Meertens Institute clarifies how (regional) identities are created in social practice (Borgt, Hermans et al. 1996): similar processes that have been recorded in France and Scotland (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1992).

This review of the national discursive environment of CtL shows a discrepancy with the identity concepts embedded in the INTERREG Northwest Europe programme. Identity and local identity is not used an asset or a point of departure for strategic planning, but in practice it serves as a planning goal, which is considered by planners to contribute to improving environmental quality and better revenues for site development. It is grounded in a phenomenological tradition of managing identity in a design oriented approach.

## 6.5.    Discussion and conclusions

Discussing the case from a theoretical perspective
Social system theory and governance concepts have been used in this case study to reveal that planning plays a significant role in the north-western European environment. The focus on discursive and legal ownership, as theorised in the theoretical framework, supported a Foucauldian analytical perspective on the planning approach. This implies that it is not the plan of CtL that needs to be the major focus of analysis, (if it were this could have been done through the conceptual framework of multi-level governance), but planning discourses. Such an analysis has enabled a more comprehensive understanding of power

---

[216] "We are still only just beginning to shape our international policy and cooperation; for that reason, our overview of everything going on in Europe and the countries around us is not yet complete."
[217] "Messing up the landscape"
[218] In the programmes of the VVD (Liberal Party),  "Trots op Nederland" (Proud of the Netherlands, a nationalist party) or the Partij Voor de Vrijheid (nationalist party). For example, Wilders (the leader of PVV claims football matches are a category of national heritage, and argued that they should broadcast free on public TV.
[219] One of the best examples is the book by the landscape architect Steven van Schuppen: 'Onland en Geestgrond.'

relations between different planning discourses, with some ideas being accepted and others rejected by a project partnership. The analytical perspective yielded some observations which will be taken up further in subsequent theoretical discussions (in chapter 7). These involve the scale of discourses and of discursive interaction and the decoupling of culture and cultural heritage. The relations between the scales of the discourses explored in this case show cascaded discursive interactions that simultaneously influence each other and shape a dynamic planning environment. Moreover, the complexity arose from long term discursive relations, in which the identity of a planning discourse (ESDP) gradually changed and became incorporated in a governance framework. Interactions are sometimes more direct, as in the case of INTERREG's need to spend its budget, which contributed to CtL's application being 'fast-tracked'. Sometimes the interactions are indirect as in case of second order observations from partners in other INTERREG projects. Autopoiesis can result in a strong planning discourse, as was the case with the discourses of the Bureau of Special Maintenance and the ESDP. The CtL partnership had a very weak autopoiesis, which made it quite vulnerable to environmental influences. This raises theoretical questions regarding the scale of planning discourses and the consequences of this for the level of autopoiesis. Unfortunately such questions go beyond the scope of this research.

The de-coupling of culture and cultural heritage occurred as a result of autopoiesis in spatial planning discourses. Moreover this distinction has been institutionalised by ascribing immaterial heritage to culture policies. This had consequences for ownership and identity. Governments tend to dissect cultural heritage from its constituting culture. As a consequence it is not supposed to be owned by citizens. This provides the government with the arguments to claim ownership of monuments and make them available for the public to visit. The planners in the project adhered to this view and added an extra argument of expertise on economically sustainable development. This reasoning gave the planners autonomy in dealing with the object of planning, a monumental site, because they are working on behalf of the government and have the knowledge about how to plan. This case study shows that the Bureau of Special Maintenance planning group developed an autonomous relationship towards other planning groups (NDWFL) and the public. As the planning process became more advanced the group put less emphasis on legal aspects and became more open to the issue of discursive ownership and to relating to other planning groups. Theoretically this fits with system theory, in which self-referential interpretation of information from outside the system is an operational prerequisite for openness. What is special here is the evolutionary aspects of closure and openness.

## Conclusions

This review of the INTERREG IIIB project Crossing the Lines provides insights into the mechanisms used for addressing or discursively construing heritage in an INTERREG project. Identity, politics, ownership and representation all played key roles which can be summed up in the conclusions.

In the INTERREG IIIB north-west Europe discourse identity was seen as a strategic developmental asset.  Cultural diversity was seen as positive and a good point of departure for strategic planning. Regional identity was only considered relevant for developing regional strategies. The idea of cultural integration of European society towards a melting pot does not ally with this view. The Dutch lead partner in Crossing the Lines considered cultural heritage as contributing to landscape identity and added value in monumental site development. Identity is considered as an emergent characteristic of a physical environment, which should be protected by government. This observation corresponds with other discourses within Crossing the Lines and the Belvedere Programme, which appeared to interpret identity as *genius loci*. This emerged in the Belvedere planning discourse of developing locations with heritage characteristics in ways that strengthened identity. This way of reasoning tends to frame heritage as place bound, local and peculiar and constrains attempts at framing heritage as European. Both planning discourses were influential in the Crossing the Lines project.

Political scale matters. This was reflected discursively in the descriptions of heritage that both directly and indirectly revealed ownership relations. When a fort was described as a park it became indirectly categorised as just another park owned by a municipality. The concept of a park is part of a common semiotics of space, easily recognisable by ordinary people (Van Assche 2004)[220]. When framed as part of a national defence line, ideas of national ownership emerge. Such a concept is part of a professional semiotics of space and heritage, probably not fully recognised by ordinary people. In the Dutch situation, the ownership of the fort was claimed by the municipality: and because they "owned" it, they could open it to the public. Ownership was clearly contested between different political levels. Yet these competing national and local claims were only discursively, not juridical. It is notable that there was a complete absence of provincial claims. This may have been due to the project only being weakly linked to a province that does not have a strong regional identity.

These claims on ownership had consequences for the restoration project. Utrecht Municipality was able to decide for itself about the plans for the restoration and exploitation of Fort aan de Kop. They pursued a strategy that they hoped would be economically sustainable and allow low intensity recreational activities. The Bureau of Special Maintenance's institutional culture of full professional control and its strong focus on juridical

aspects, played an important role here and created difficulties with local inhabitants who opposed these plans. Moreover, the Bureau more or less avoided working closely with the National Project Bureau and clearly avoided sharing their solutions and plans within a European heritage network.. This mechanism of adhering to juridical certainties meant that the European dimension of the project was kept to a minimum. The Dutch partner rejected the European dimension of the project much more than the partners in Mortsel and Essex. .

Ownership and representation are closely connected, because ownership has a symbolic dimension that connects representation to identification. In juridical terms Fort aan de Kop may be owned by the Municipality of Utrecht, but when it is signified as part of the national defence line, the ownership symbolically moved towards national level. By the end of the project, a shift towards national ownership had occurred, although no signs of European ownership were expressed: Fort aan de Klop was not seen as having any relevance for European visitors or tourists.

In conclusion we can see that, in the Crossing the Lines project as a whole and the Fort aan de Klop project in Utrecht, the discourses on heritage neither contributed to regional identity or to discursive European ownership. The national planning culture led to the heritage approach being pluralist although this aspect receded at the end of the project.

### Interviews Crossing the Lines

A. Hans Bonfrer, Crossing the Lines project leader, (during the last year of the project), 01/03/07
B. Anton van Emst, projectleader site development Fort aan de Klop, Datum 24/04/2007
C. Paul Gilman (project leader for the Essex partner) and Sue Tyler, Chelmsford, Essex County Council, England 05/04/2007
D. Thijs Offermans, Crossing the Lines project leader during the first two years 12/04/2007
E. Nest Lernout, Fort 4project leader and head of spatial planning department Mortsel, Belgium, 12/04/2007
F. Ruut Louwers, member of the INTERREG IIIB NWE programme Steering Committee
G. Nest Lernout, second interview by Sander Muns
H. Kristof van Assche, Professor Land Use Planning, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota State Universities and Colleges, interviewed by Sander Muns
I. Jean Paul Corten, public administration officer at the RACM (nowadays the RCE) and coordinator of the international programme, interviewed by Sander Muns
J. Dhr De Borgher, public administration officer Ruimtelijke Ordening, Wonen en Onroerend Erfgoed gewest Vlaanderen, interviewed by Sander Muns

# 7. Heritage signification in Europe of the regions: overall analysis

## 7.1. Introduction

INTERREG projects dealing with heritage can be seen as social systems, as outlined in chapter 2. They engage with many networks and organisations that form their environment. Discourses emerge and are constructed in these structures. Some are more dominant than others, sometimes based on marginalising or excluding other discourses (Foucault, 1990). The analysis of the INTERREG environment has shown that competing frames of heritage are produced in economic and culture discourses and the case studies illustrate both examples. Organisations and project partnerships, bound together in networks on various scales, meet in INTERREG and exchange information about opportunities, best practices and guidelines and about how to improve their competitiveness. Many of these actors see Europe as providing a ready source of funding and see INTERREG projects as a possible prelude to large projects within the Structural Funds. There is organisational autopoiesis which gives rise to organisational cultures that define the strategy for acquiring European funding. New initiatives emerge around appealing concepts diffused in the networks, and organisations may decide to participate in these. Cultural heritage is a 'hot' topic and is often supported by the EU, since it has the potential to bring the EU closer to the European public. The EU supports many initiatives that seek to embody new ways of expressing cultural heritage.

The research question asked whether these claims on heritage indicate pluralist or universalist approaches towards Europeanisation. To answer this question one needs to interpret the data. Before doing so it is useful to return to describing universalist and pluralist heritage cultures. In the case of a pluralist heritage culture, one would assume identification to occur primarily at the community level, based on participative and semiotic practices that signify particular heritage categories that display uniqueness, with an emphasis on segregation, exclusion and cultural content. One would expect the management of cultural heritage to be infused by ideas of protecting or even concealing heritage from outside influences. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture would be based on self definition in we-they oppositions, or by making use of ethnic markers such as language, religion or specific images of the past. The view on society is polycentric and one would expect that the governance of such heritage would be based on subsidiarity.  By contrast, a universalist heritage culture would be more likely to be

based on considerations of affiliation with a wider community. The emphasis here would be put on exposure of cultural heritage, inclusion of others in society and incorporating procedures that can accomplish this. Identity construction would be based on shared values. Ownership of cultural heritage would not be legalised or privatised, but would merely reflect discursive ascription to broader community levels. One would expect the management of cultural heritage to be based on democratic values and aimed at cultural exchange. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture would be based on familiar universal semiotic mechanisms such as a flag or an anthem for Europe. The overriding view of society would be that it has a single core and is based on shared values, norms and semiotics that bind and unite people.

The subsequent paragraphs seek to interpret cultural heritage practice by addressing the research questions set out in chapter 1 and elaborated upon in the analytical framework (section 2.5). The initial focus will be on answering the research questions about regional and European identity and will examine the discursive relationships of heritage, regionalisation and Europeanisation within the INTERREG environment.  Secondly, these findings will be related to the environmental discourses on governance, culture, identity, planning and citizenship. Here the analysis will concentrate on discursive interactions between European ideology, policy making and regional practice. This analysis will aim to show if the interpretive assumptions given above are valid or if they are too simplistic: a question which will be discussed at the end of the chapter. The main research question concerning pluralism and universalism will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

## 7.2.    Do cultural heritage INTERREG projects contribute to regional identity?

The case studies in this research encompass much of the diversity in heritage cultures that can be found within Europe. They show different mechanisms of claiming and ascribing heritage. None of the case studies exhibited a specific interest in expressing or strengthening regional identity, which is one of the major rationales of INTERREG. Only in Crete was some focus put on regional identity. This focus resulted from disputes over the commodification of heritage: an issue that deeply divides Cretans. This dispute involves a divergence between an ethnic emphasis on privatisation and the commodification of cultural heritage. Both approaches are embedded in the very strong sense of ethnic uniqueness that exists on Crete. Cretans claim to be the best Greeks and that Greek culture is best preserved in Crete. These aspects of Cretan culture are used by entrepreneurs to expand the tourism industry. Yet the discourse over traditional Cretan country life views the tourist

economy as staging authenticity and destroying true Cretan culture. This discourse seeks to privatise and preserve Crete's living heritage. The democratic principles, that are supposed to underlie and unify all European cultures, are used as a rhetorical weapon to combat these 'unprincipled' tourist entrepreneurs. The project team can be interpreted as privatising Cretan heritage, for the sake of cultural continuity. This partner probably comes closest to the original idea of INTERREG in articulating regional identity. However, the focal point is not on deepening regional identity, but in combating and restricting the spread of mass tourism which is seen as a threat to Cretan identity. In Xanthi, Kaunas and Utrecht the project discourses did not mention regional identity. Crete, by contrast, shows regional identity to be a natural focus for a region that already has a strong identity, interpreted to be caused by autopoiesis in its identity discourse.

Despite the lack of attention paid to identity in most projects, they were all considered a success by almost all the partners. This raises the issue of what criteria the partners used to judge success, a question which is addressed below. This leads onto a discussion of regional identity in the framework of competition within Europe, its nations and regions.

In the case studies claims to establishing good practices give some first initial ideas about how success is conceived. Ideas about good practices may reflect the way that one single partner in the partnership works, or a joint idea about how heritage problems should best be tackled. In Crossing the Lines and the Baltic Fort Route these good practices were based on the ideas of single partners. In Crossing the Lines ideas on good practice were focused on site management and less on spatial planning or societal interests. The Baltic Fort Route did not produce any publications on good practices during the project. The Polish lead partner focused on tourism development and the Kaunas partner focused on developing an inclusive planning approach. In Restauronet ideas on good practices were reported on an individual level and discussed by the partnership. Their views on good practices were closely related to city planning and democracy. Qualifying ones own practices as good, allies with the theoretical perspective of polysystem theory on codification. It is a mechanism for becoming acknowledged as a valued partner or partnership, working with innovative approaches that are worth further investment in future EU funding rounds.

Returning to the aims of INTERREG and the system of interdependancy in which regions participate, one would expect regional identity to be part of success stories. Project teams invent and construct criteria of success within an autopoietic communication process. Success stories reveal the way a project is deemed relevant for its political and societal environment. Analysis of these success stories can clarify the way in which the environment is observed by the system of communications and how outside information is reframed to fit in the autopoietic construction of success. In the case studies making a contribution to regional identity was not incorporated as a criterion of success.

What other criteria do partnerships use to judge whether a project is successful? This is a complex issue, because arguments from different systems of communications, regional, disciplinary, national, ethnic, can interact. The partners in Crossing the Lines thought that their project was a success, because it enabled them to use European money for restoration work that had already been scheduled. They valued participating in INTERREG, but did not consider the partnership a success. As a result they did not apply for a follow up project in INTERREG IV, to the disappointment of others in the partnership. The Belgian partner already had good links with European networks and was invited to participate in other projects. However the English partner was not able to extend its network and develop a new partnership and for this reason saw the project as a failure. For some partners developing follow up projects and maintaining a position within European networks is one of the most relevant indicators of success.

The Lithuanian team considered their project a success because it enabled them to use resources to communicate with the public of Kaunas. This increased public awareness and interest and led to a foundation being established to restore the forts. Both these factors were seen as indicators of success. The team managed to work on matters of largely local interest while remaining connected to the network of Baltic forts. For the Polish project leader of the Baltic Fort Route, the only indicator of success was the number of tourists. This clearly shows the partners as having different ideas of success. Moreover it shows autopoiesis in the institutional environments of Kaunas to be stronger than in the project as a whole.

In Crete the project was deemed successful, because it managed to start a public discussion about respecting heritage and nevertheless help the tourist economy make more profit. But, at the same time the project was considered to be part of European programmes and projects that together contribute to the erosion of traditional Cretan culture. Due to their ambivalence to European interference, there were no straightforward indicators of success. These stories of success within partnerships contain little or no mention of strengthening regional identity, indicating a lack of acknowledgement of INTERREG's objectives and the primacy of self referential reasoning.

Success criteria are also constructed on a programme level in a process of canonisation that is outlined in poly-system theory. In practice, at the programme level a project is deemed a success if its implementation was smooth. The worst thing that can happen is for a project to crash, or encounter a conflict that requires arbitration. A project that runs to completion without any administrative problems is already a success! Again these criteria have no relation with issues of regional identity. DG Region's website contains "success stories", with statements from regional actors about how they benefited from participating

in INTERREG and found the administrative procedures easy to deal with. As a former director of DG Region[221] clarified, success stories often refer to networks that stay together and implement one project after the other. This increases the cohesion and commitment of the partnership, guaranteeing project results. INTERACT provides instructions and recommendations on how to be successful with "strategy" being the key buzzword.

Projects are codified and canonised in a governance environment. If a partnership codifies a project as good practice and this is adopted at a higher level as part of the canon of success stories, then the partnership reaches a position closer to the centre of power and influence, making it easier to access European money. Codification occurs in a bottom up fashion and canonisation in a top down way (see fig 2.7). Both are grounded in governance considerations that either relate to planning and heritage cultures or to a corresponding framework of ideology, regulations and efficiency, see figure 7.1 (below). According to Even-Zohar, this mechanism that leads to the adoption and replacement of projects in the power centre can be interpreted the motor that keeps the poly-system running.



*Figure 7.1 A graphic presentation of the discourse coalition, based on polysystem theory.*

The basic idea of EU canonisation, to highlight projects that profile regional identity, is problematic in view of the diversity of well and poorly established regions. Europe frames its regions as uniform building blocks, but disregards the fact that some regions have a strong regional culture and others have not. The analysis of the case studies showed regions can be defined in different ways, creating ambiguities in the different societal and political ideas that they represent, see table 7.1 below.

---

[221] Ms Helander, at the occasion of the CULTPLAN final conference in Amsterdam, see www.cultplan.org

*Table 7.1 Different types of regions and their rationale*

| Type of region | Rationale |
|---|---|
| administrative | assignment/control |
| political | autonomy/dependency |
| historical | anchored in history and social memory |
| macro | defined by culture or history beyond nations |
| cultural | defined by cultural markers, like language |
| geographical | based on landscape |

The case studies in Lithuania and Greece show how national governments changed and weakened regions before entering the EU, although for different reasons. In Lithuania the government did not want its regions to coincide with the historic ethnographical regions, because these identities were too strong. So a hybrid construct was made to facilitate control and administrative procedures. In Greece, the historic regions that were strongly anchored in social memory were changed for political reasons (to avoid the future possibility of a majority of Muslim people in Thrace) and for administrative reasons. The standardising effects of EU policy about the minimum number of inhabitants within regions, has been disastrous for social memory within Greece. It was not recognised that the historic regions were institutionalised as cultural heritage. With its policy frame of regions as building blocks, the EU overlooked the competition over identity claims which exists between regions and cities. Whenever a large city, such as Kaunas or Utrecht, participates in INTERREG, its interests are in promoting the city, its identity and its heritage tourism. In the case studies within this research the projects made little or no contribution to regional identity. In this sense the issue of regional identity, based on exploiting regional heritage is problematic and far from straightforward. At the strand B level within INTERREG, attempts have been made to promote the idea of macro-regions. Attempts by the EU to establish a western European Metropolitan identity, following the same lines as the programmes for of the Baltic Sea Region and the Mediterranean, were unsuccessful. This intermediate metropolitan identity level has not been recognised in practice. At the same time the IIIB strand divided the well established Mediterranean region into smaller macro-regions, a move which appears to have been counter-productive and undermined the previously strong Mediterranean identity also seemed to have failed. It seems the EC underestimated the degree of ossification of established regional identities which are anchored in social memory. So, the self-referential nature of success stories, ambiguities in the concept of region and regional identity and identity competition have all complicated the construction of regional identities more than the INTERREG discourse initially anticipated. Regions with a strong identity may succeed in strengthening their identity through European projects, but regions with weak identity may be weakened because of competition with city and national identities.

## 7.3. Do cultural heritage INTERREG projects contribute to European signification?

The EU's initiatives to establish European heritage are poorly reflected in INTERREG. Limes projects can be found in the CULTURE 2000 programme[222], but not in INTERREGIII. INTERREGIII makes no mention of the European heritage label, which means that there is no competitive advantage in using the concept in a project application. No new projects have been initiated concerning the Celts, or the European Bronze Age. Despite this, INTERREG projects may contribute to European heritage in a discursive mode. This may come about as a result of ascribing cultural heritage to Europe, thereby contributing to discursive ownership (as theorised in chapter 2). It may also result in attracting tourists to European sites of cultural heritage, which can be interpreted as a Europeanised category of world heritage. To address these issues of discursive ownership, it is important to analyse the rhetoric that is used in the course of project implementation. This shows that negotiations with a hosting INTERREG programme lead projects being more focused on, and more relevant, to Europeanisation. Within a project, partners exchange information in a dialogic process, reducing contingency and overcoming differences in heritage cultures, ultimately reaching agreements on distinctions and definitions. Predefined concepts lie at the basis of new meanings, produced through a social practice of cooperation. This reflects the importance of 'repertoire creation', as theorised in polysystem theory by Even Zohar. In all three projects it was observed that, at the beginning and at the end of the project, partners tended to discuss the relevance of its heritage issues for Europe. Information from outside the project, mostly retrieved from networks or the hosting INTERREG programme, is brought into the project, translated (reframed) through distinctions and categories defined previously in their social practice. Occasionally, European rhetoric is literally copied into project statements and websites. Stating the European relevance of a project is part of a strategy for acquiring new projects and rweproduces the discourse of European heritage. However, during the lifetime of a project, partners are focused on discussing organisation, strategic development, efficiency etcetera in an autopoietic process, which contributes to institutionalisation within their own disciplinary or territorial environment. In INTERREG projects, this institutionalisation is devoted to local or regional valorisation. Between ending one project and starting another, partners use information gathered from INTERREG and their disciplinary networks to develop new ideas of European relevance, to improve their status and situation within the INTERREG network. The case studies of this research did not contribute to any institutionalised European signification of the cultural heritage at stake.

---

[222] The European Culture 2000 project, Frontiers of the Roman Empire involves cooperation between ten European countries, stretching from the British Isles to the Black Sea.

## 7.4. What assumptions towards cultural heritage are inherent in European regional policy?

INTERREG primarily addresses cultural heritage from an economic, rather than a cultural, perspective. The very idea of cultural heritage as asset is embedded in economic ideas of 'Unique Selling Points'. This emphasis is due to the culture-economy split in European policies, discussed in chapter 3. This split reflects a fault line between Europeanists who believe in economic cooperation and those who believe in cultural integration. This gap has long been institutionalised, with the Commission primarily focused on economic growth (as described in the Lisbon Agenda) and the Council of Europe mainly focused on citizenship rights and cultural policies. The Gothenburg Agenda in 2001 can be interpreted as an attempt to bridge the institutional and discursive gap and has led the Commission to adopt a growing interest in cultural policies, reflected recently by the adoption of the European Heritage Label.  INTERREG policy is clearly grounded on the economic aspects, but practice shows it has been open towards cultural initiatives in its programmes. On the economic side there are strong relations between the Euro-pessimist, economical and regional discourses, which are operationally closed (no unbiased information exchange) to cultural discourses. These later discourses are produced by Euro-optimists, and address major constitutional issues such as European citizenship, European identity and social cohesion. INTERREG discourse is organised around a specific vocabulary, in which territorial cohesion and regional identity play a key role. These differ slightly from concepts such as European citizenship, European identity and social cohesion. These conceptual differences illustrate the process of reframing information from counter discourses into predefined categorisations and concepts. For example, the concept of social cohesion has been imported into the discourse of Europe of the Regions and translated via self-referential communication into territorial cohesion. At another level there is a cross over between the discourses of INTERREG and of Euro-sceptics. Although very few Euro-sceptics are involved in INTERREG practice[223], the strong connection of territoriality and identity that characterises their discourse is adopted within INTERREG.

This operational closure is less significant in INTERREG's cultural heritage projects. Cultural heritage often is particularised as an asset for spatial development and for attracting tourists, while culture is perceived as a set of universal values that are annexed to the idea of Europe as a single market. Yet, at the same time culture is perceived as the reflection of regional diversity. Europe's cultural heritage policy and regional policy interact in European heritage networks. The cultural heritage discourse views cultural heritage as contributing to social cohesion, cultural exchange and peace. Excessively strong ethnic identities are

---

[223] Of course a pure Euro-sceptic attitude would be very inappropriate for anyone trying to fund projects with European tax money.

seen to be problematic, because these may jeopardise peace and unity. Such tendencies are countered by cultural tourism, promoting heritage sites and encouraging people to visit them. The analysis of the European heritage discourse (chapter 3) revealed the strong influence of cultural relativists whose views on ethnic identity became influential following the Balkan conflict. This conflict deeply influenced European thinking about cultural diversity, ethnic cultures and cultural heritage. The Council of Europe took many initiatives to promote cultural understanding, starting with the cultural routes and more recently revising the Faro Convention to increase the relevance of heritage in achieving cross cultural understanding. In INTERREG this discourse can also be readily observed, because of an active involvement of the DG for Enlargement in programming (see section 3.1). In practice this primarily affects the choice of partners in a partnership. The Baltic Fort Route invited a Russian partner (the city of Kalinigrad) to participate. The Restauronet project showed how well informed the project partnership was about the agenda of the Council of Europe and UNESCO. For this reason they included the Maghreb countries in their project, although without achieving much in the way of cross cultural understanding. The emphasis on heritage as an instrument for achieving intercultural understanding is grounded in a universalist heritage approach, but does not always lead to success. This perspective on cultural heritage primarily frames culture as diverse and cultural heritage as universal (shared or common) and contradicts the idea of cultural unification, as expressed for example in the Mediterranean macro region.

In INTERREG the strongest heritage discourse is produced in a coalition of the two cultural perspectives on Europe. Although INTERREG officers mostly adhere to the idea of Europe as a single market, requiring an open unified culture and oppose the idea of cultural diversity, that might constrain trade and international business, they fully embrace the idea of common heritage. Common heritage can easily be reframed to the idea of heritage tourism, a concept that appeals to economically oriented Europeanists. The outcome of this interplay is that commodification of heritage becomes the most important strategy, because it is grounded in a discourse coalition that bridges the split between culture and the economy. This focus affects the pluralisation of culture, identity and cultural heritage. Cultural variety is conceived as positive, as long as it doesn't acquire too strong an ethnic tone (see the section on the Faro Convention). Ethnic pluralisation is regulated promoting heritage tourism.

The European cultural heritage discourse contains a cultural ambiguity, produced through discursive interaction about Europeanisation. Culture and cultural heritage are characterised as being both plural (regional or local community specific) and universal. The European heritage discourse thrives on the interaction of different culture-identity discourses and as a consequence is strongly dialogical. This dialogism is used as a resource in INTERREG as the basis of a broad discourse coalition on heritage commodification.

## 7.5.    Claims on cultural heritage in Europeanisation

Discourses about Europeanisation differ in having dispositions that appeal towards complete or limited integration. Analysis of INTERREG policy and its environment yielded three cultural identity discourses that provide ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage. This section provides a brief interpretive account on the ways heritage claims are constructed: the identity concepts that are used and the consequences that they have for cultural heritage. First different cultural identity claims on heritage in Europeanisation are briefly recalled in order to discuss how they can be observed in practice. Next, an analysis is given of the ideological, strategic and territorial claims made in the case studies. This account will be used to substantiate a conclusion about identity pluralism and its relations to cultural heritage.

Ideological claims on European heritage that reflect an ideal European society based on shared values and norms, are the most controversial set of claims, as the Faro discussion on European heritage showed. This perspective views cultural heritage as embodying the directly observable core values of European society. This discourse equates norms with values which are both related to democracy. Strategic claims on cultural heritage as objects of interregional and international governance are less controversial, reflecting preferences for Europeanisation based on ideas of federalism. This discourse is highly influenced by the idea of economically exploiting heritage. The least controversial are territorial claims on heritage made by cities, regions and nations, which reflect ideas on identity construction. In this discourse heritage easily becomes nationalised in a Euro-sceptic discourse. Leniaud, director of Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, at the Sorbonne in Paris, makes the distinction between national and nationalised heritage (Leniaud 1995). Opposing nationalism, Leniaud claims this nationalised heritage category for regions or communities. The analysis of ideology in cultural heritage discourse within the circle of the Council of Europe[224] which includes Leniaud's perspective, sheds a beam of light on a battle between EU and its nations, both seeking to lay claims to heritage.

The strategy of the EU is obvious, installing mechanisms of clientelism to connect itself with its constituent regions and bypassing the national level. Leniaud argues that this is a feasible strategy, even in a highly nationalised country like France. In practice, the competition is hard to observe, due to an absence of clear ideological disputes in discussions about good practices. Strategic planners claim heritage as part of their regional economy, but without acknowledging the dispute with politicians who idealise the national canon. The Crossing the Lines case study shows this dispute to some extent, for example when semiotic concepts of local park or national defence line were competing with each other. On a more general level,

---

[224] See paragraph 3.4

changing the historic boundaries of regions that are anchored in social memory (prior to joining the EU) can be interpreted as a consequence of this competition.

*Differences in heritage signification in the case studies and their environment*
The Lithuanian case study shows local embedding of heritage to be crucial for participating in a universalist approach which aimed at European tourism development. The partner from Kaunas could not keep pace with the other partners in linking military heritage to the idea of a tourist itinerary. In their view, local acceptance and recognition of the significance of heritage was a prerequisite to 'going European'. The idea of developing heritage tourism at the same time was rejected, because the heritage items involved were in a poor condition.. Restoration was required, but this was no longer a priority of the EU programmes[225].
The focus on local embedding by the Kaunas partner occurred in a stream of activities in the overall Baltic Fort Route project which were primarily focused on institutionalising the concept of military heritage. This shows the autopoiesis within this partner's direct institutional environment to be stronger than the autopoiesis of the project as a whole. This focus on local embedding was pursued alongside the Polish lead partner's focus on commodifying heritage for European tourists without creating any controversy. This shows that pluralist and universalist approaches are sustained by different communication systems that interact within a single project and which can be operationally closed to each other. In Lithuania cultural heritage is closely connected to identity. Identity is still under construction and has ambivalent relationships with the past, either reframing the past (social forgetting of cooperation with the Soviet system, stressing the victim role of Lithuanians, or stressing the absurdity of the Soviet system) or highlighting some periods (such as the period of the Great Duchy of Lithuania or Lithuania's Golden Age in the Interbellum). Heritage is being invented and pluralised in a society that now recognises its freedom to define its local and regional colours. Pluralisation involves (geo)-politicisation (towards the states on the fringe of Europe and Russia, towards Europe or the Baltic Area), reinterpretation of an ancient Baltic past, ethnification and ratification of European conventions. Following discursive pluralisation, this process of institutionalisation is still in progress. Discussions on remembering the communist heritage have different consequences for the ways in which heritage is categorised and there is still no overall consensus as to what should be institutionalised. Pluralisation thrives in the living heritage system. Here, some objections have been expressed towards further European institutionalisation, for example the organisers of the (re-invented) traditional Rambynas Festival were reluctant to accept EU funds. This is arguably a result of incompatibility of using living heritage for identity creation and tourism. Inherent in this process of pluralisation is a community orientation at all levels in society. There is no specific or strong focus on regional identity. Regional identity is merely one identity among many other competing identity constructions.

---

[225] Earlier EU programmes (such as Raphael, outlined in the Athos case) gave good opportunities for restoration subsidies.

In Thrace the Restauronet partner obviously combined very different perspectives in constructing its view on the relevance of Xanthi's heritage. They argued that it reflected and commemorated the glorious tobacco past of the region and proved the Mediterranean identity of Thrace. This shows the simultaneous existence of pluralist and universalist tendencies within the discourse of a single partner. In Greece, national heritage reflects the Hellenic past and Greek identity. Monasteries and churches are a very popular category of heritage and this shows the strong influence of the Greek Orthodox Church in politics. It also shows the risk-averse strategy of the EU: who would oppose investing money in restoring monasteries? In Greece heritage is institutionalised in many categories of archaeological and monumental heritage and owned (nationalised) by the government. One of the biggest annoyances to the Greeks is the theft of the Elgin Marbles from the Acropolis, showing their strong focus on national ownership. But below this national level, many local identities are constructed using living heritage, in which the diaspora is actively involved. EU support is given to a wide range of heritage objects and to the promotion of heritage tourism. In Crete, this is aggravating the severe tensions between the parts of society that benefit from the tourist industry and other parts that adhere to authentic culture and tradition. Here the increased emphasis on heritage promotion seems to have become counter-productive. In Xanthi, the regional history and identity in which Muslim and Balkan history is interwoven is problematic in the light of the ethnic nationalist discourse, which frames the Ottoman period as a minor disruption of Greek culture, which stretches back to the empire of Alexander the Great. The strengthening of Thrace's regional identity is contested, because it does not easily fit with the national discourse on Ottoman past.

In Utrecht the project started with a concept of a fort as a park and ended with the fort being represented as good practice within the context of the far broader National Water Defence Line programme. These examples show a new repertoire emerging as a result of the codification of pragmatic signification practices that combined different viewpoints. Earlier in this chapter it was argued that signification follows a certain pathway: European significance is stronger at the beginning and the end of a project, while localised (regional, city oriented or national) valorisation emerges in between. In north-western Europe heritage is perceived as an asset for strategic and economic development and institutionalisation occurs less at the national level, unlike in Greece. Institutionalisation is more focused on material heritage and facilitating legal ownership. Underneath is a planning oriented approach towards heritage, seeking to exploit it for economic and spatial development and appealing to genius loci. The Province of Utrecht has a relatively weak regional identity, probably the weakest of all Dutch provinces. As a result the regional identity discourse was far too weak to withstand the strong planning autopoiesis within the planning group. The group was focused on privatising and localising this object of military heritage, in order to keep their autonomy with regard to the National Project Bureau for the National Defence Line. As the project advanced more opportunities emerged for discursive co-ownership.

The provincial level, accorded much importance in INTERREG's strategy for strengthening regional identity, was not addressed at all.

Territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage
The case study interviews revealed that INTERREG actors lean strongly towards federalism, although they also express concepts associated with other Europeanisation discourses. For example, Euro-sceptic regionalism was expressed in Crete within a federalist project discourse, in which arguments of identity preservation, competition and autonomy could be detected. In Thrace, an interviewee declared himself to be a pure federalist at work while expressing universalist Euro-optimist ideals in the long term. In Kaunas INTERREG actors participated in a project aiming at a pan-European tourism exploitation of military history,

*Table 7.2 An overview of ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage in the case studies.*

|  | Territorial claims | Strategic claims | Ideological claims |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baltic Fort Route | Focus on Kaunas as a homogeneous single-core society, reflecting pure Lithuanian identity, with heritage being privatised to the community level | Strategic focus on scientific cooperation, harmonising fort management; claiming heritage as technical and not Russian | Weak relations to environmental discourse on the Baltic and the Great Duchy of Lithuania Kauna as capital of Lithuanian people |
| Restauronet Crete | Focus on a single core society serving as a model for ethnic Greek society; reflecting pure Cretan identity originating in antiquity, the commod-ification of material heritage and the privat-isation of living heritage | Strong sense of societal change due to Europeanisation and mass tourism, eroding an idealised peasant life; identity and cultural heritage reinvented and negotiated | Self image as the inventors of democracy and being completely independent, victim heritage reframed as heroism heritage |
| Restauronet Thrace | Focus on a single core, nested Mediterranean, Greek and Thracian culture and identity, weak national territorial claims, strong claims towards neighbouring countries | Cultural heritage is used to improve the attractiveness of the inner city and region, to counter depopulation | Cultural heritage used to give proof of Macedonian descent and marginalise Muslim influences in the past and present and to exclude Balkan culture |
| Crossing the Lines | City claiming the fort as a park, contributing to a spatially based identity of adjacent residential areas | Striving for economically sustainable maintenance of the fort, with limited initial public investments | Delivering a best practice in project management for the national programme of the Water Defence Line |

based on universalist ideals, while simultaneously and deliberately particularising their local identity in a post Soviet movement. These contradictions show that actors cannot be associated with solely one Europeanisation discourse. This can be better understood by looking at the different ways in which heritage is claimed. The forms that these claims take are summarised in table 7.2.

### Societal embedding of claims

This account of different heritage claims helps us to understand the relations between heritage claims and identity pluralism. In general, the federalist Europeanisation, discourse conceives of society as being like a layered cake. In practice this was observed in case of Restauronet and, to a less notable extent, in the Baltic Fort Route and Crossing the Lines. In Crossing the Lines however the regional level was ignored. The regional identities of Crete and Thrace were particularised with regional flavours that also drew on Greek and Mediterranean identities which formed higher aggregation levels of the layer cake. The layers of the cake were considered by INTERREG actors to represent regional policy layers. Euro-scepticism could be found within these layers, and were most clearly observed in Crete. The intermediate structure of European macro-regions such as the Mediterranean and Baltic, which sometimes corresponded to INTERREG IIIB programme territories, represented combinations of higher layers (national and European).

Some respondents pictured the totality of European regions as making up a pan-European cultural community, although they recognised that in reality this was still far away in future. Heritage professionals make a distinction between technical and cultural aspects and see this distinction as contributing to an open European culture, without directly reducing Europe's cultural diversity. They consider cultural heritage to be primarily relevant for regional flavour and identification in a society that increasingly resembles the melting pot model. Cretan identity is based on archaeological heritage and is framed as the core of Greek identity, which in turn is put in the middle of Mediterranean identity. The Thracian partners use historic evidence to tie their identity in with Macedonian history and consequently to the idea of greater Greece. This is a variant of the same reasoning: the region in the middle of Greece and Greece in the middle of the Mediterranean area. In both cases this conception of the Mediterranean area is confined to the Christian part of it. The partners in Kaunas also applied this societal model; they see the city as the capital of Lithuanian people, and Lithuania as occupying a central place in the middle of the Baltic area, with the Great Duchy of Lithuania encompassing the countries that lie on the borders between Europe and Russia. Utrecht limited its claims primarily to strategic ones and did not make any claims on city or regional identity with its project[226]. They employed cultural heritage as an asset for small scale tourism development. These examples show identity reasoning to be self-centred.

---

[226] Although it was not mentioned in Dutch interviews or documents, the idea of Benelux as a predecessor of the EU also illustrates a similar self centeredness.

Positioning ones identity in the centre of a national or macro regional one is a strategy that is grounded in a melting pot idea of society. This melting pot concept also is applied to the concept of European society. On European level it thrives on the assumption of tourists visiting regions, becoming more Europeanised and producing a common European culture, while spending money in the tourist industry. This melting pot idea lies at the basis of omnipresent ideas about heritage binding people, as it seems to be an expression of directly observable shared values in the core of society. This view of heritage as representing observable and universal values that supply a mechanism for territorial cohesion is incompatible with the idea of cultural diversity that exists in on the ground in European regions. A self-centred approach can not be the basis for a pluralist conception of society, because it presupposes a single core identity model and not a poly centric model which is more like a fruit salad. Moreover a territorially based conception of identity denies or underestimates non-territorial identity constructs. In this way territorial competition can be reframed as identity competition. In INTERREG practice identity competition is not directly expressed as a conflict, but this interpretation does emerge from interviewees references to other identity levels. They hardly mention the European level although they do more often refer to the macro-regional level, particularly in the south. The national perspective on identity is the most commonly held. Nationalism in identity thinking is incompatible with the motto 'unity in diversity', because this rather simple, conservative and exclusive conception of identity does not allow for any dynamics of identity pluralism. The discourse of a Europe of the Regions has promoted the idea of regional identity, based on the assumption that regions represent the cultural variety of European society. Identity pluralism seems a logical consequence of Europe of the Regions, however, it is not acknowledged in practice other than in the simple model of the layer cake.

## 7.6. Understanding pluralist and universalist tendencies in heritage practice

Heritage practices differ in the way that they define the relevance of cultural heritage for society. The analysis of heritage claims above already gave some indications about pluralist and universalist tendencies. These will be elaborated below in a further analysis based on the theoretical concepts introduced in chapter 2. These are:

• heritage conceptualisation
• heritage ownership
• governance
• planning cultures
• repertoire
• heritage institutionalisation

*Heritage conceptualisation*

For some, cultural heritage is primarily about commemorating the past, others see its value in identity construction and many see cultural heritage as an asset for regional development. These dispositions are grounded in different scientific traditions and either  address cultural heritage as a phenomenon or as social construct. Concepts of cultural heritage in Europe of the Regions can be semiotic and/or participative. The idea of intellectual heritage signifying Europe's legacy is a semiotic approach. The distinction between tangible and intangible heritage refers to explicit legal ownership and implicit cultural ownership. Intangible heritage still can serve as a tourist attraction. A focus on living heritage combines a semiotic approach with participation. Cultural heritage is conceptualised in different ways and placed into different categories. Above the community level, participation can become problematic. At the European level a pure semiotic approach prevails. More emphasis on a participative concept of cultural heritage provides more opportunities for privatisation at the community level. More emphasis on a semiotic approach gives more opportunities to unite communities.

Although INTERREG mainly focuses on commodification, based on a semiotic approach of material heritage, nearly all project partners also mention a participative approach in other projects dealing with their cultural heritage. The analysis of the environment of the three INTERREG case studies show living heritage to be important aspect of a pluralist heritage culture in Greece, Lithuania, England and Belgium. Greek and Lithuanian societies both have large diasporas who claim to nourish living heritage in the form of traditional culture and identity. This involves a strong focus on living heritage, and is annually negotiated and re-established in summertime, when people return to their ancestral homes. Living heritage can either become a strong brand for mass tourism, or it can easily be privatised. In Crete and Lithuania a distinction could be found between the practices that tie living heritage in with tourism and those that use it for community life and identification. Lithuanian heritage discourse shows that events aimed at attracting mass tourism also generate money to involve specialists on cultural history and their knowledge is imported into projects aimed at re-inventing traditions. Diasporas also influence and interfere with heritage discourses and this has a privatising effect and deepens the sense of ethnicity. An active diaspora implies more focus being given to descent, based on a reasoning of path dependency. The absence of a diaspora gives more opportunities to design an approach to regional identity that allows for more discontinuity. An active diaspora can contribute to a pluralist heritage culture, as best seen in the Greek cases. The promotional activities of INTERREG projects connected these discourses on material heritage as a commodity and living heritage as a tourism attraction. This was evident in the leaflets and websites of all the partners involved in the three case studies, except for the Dutch partner. In the Dutch situation the systems of living heritage and monumental heritage were organisationally and operationally closed to each other, illustrating Luhmann's view on institutionalisation.

## Heritage ownership

Legal ownership can readily be particularised in signification and privatised in use and management. Legally owned cultural heritage may show the autonomy of the owner. Discursive ownership aims at sharing cultural heritage with others. Signification is not claimed by the discourse of the owner, but is produced in discursive interaction.
In practice there are great differences in the way in which the partners frame ownership. In Kaunas the fortification is owned by governmental agencies, and this is considered a problem, because of a shortage of funding for restoration and a lack of sense of urgency among the local community. Attempts were made to organise discursive ownership on community level and NGOs were invited to share the use and ownership of a fort. The city of Utrecht acted in almost the opposite way. They used their legal ownership to enclose signification in a managerial discourse. Only at the end of the project did signification become subject to discursive interaction with the National Defence Line. In Greece discursive ownership seemed more important than legal ownership: a strong nationalist cultural heritage discourse meant that monuments and sites were primarily seen as Greek. The Muslim community in Xanthi was included in legal ownership (many of the monuments are actually owned by Muslim families) but they were excluded from discursive ownership. Ownership discussions provide interesting indications of pluralist and universalist tendencies in signification practices. Discursive ownership tends to favour a more universalist approach, uniting communities. Legal ownership can be a basis for self-referential signification and privatisation via a pluralist approach.

## Governance discourse

When subsidiarity, the principle of making democratic decisions at the lowest possible level of governance, is applied to cultural heritage it tends to favour pluralism. Yet, those who are concerned about the dangers of societal fragmentation and the need for social cohesion are opposed to this principle. As outlined in the previous section, ethnic subsidiarity is considered particularly problematic, as it may cause instability. Others, mainly with a federalist perspective, value intergovernmental cooperation as a mechanism for making legitimate democratic decisions. This tension between subsidiarity and an Open Method of Coordination is relevant for cultural heritage, because intergovernmental decision making can have consequences for signification practices. One would expect these to occur primarily within European networks, not by the communities that produced the heritage objects. The Open Method of Coordination requires more intercultural consensus, is network driven, requires a wide use of similar concepts and limits peripheral autopoiesis and as a result tends to favour universalist heritage approaches.

INTERREG practices make no mention whatsoever of the concept of subsidiarity. In regional practice, actors are primarily interested in joining networks and contributing to the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). This focus reflects the importance of these actors' federalist

views on Europeanisation. Networks play a significant role in institutionalisation, where the focus is on more refined heritage categories. They concentrate on finding niches in European project development and valorising cultural heritage for the goals of regional development. This means valorisation primarily contributes to diversifying already existing heritage categories. Valorisation in a network environment cannot be directly ascribed to pluralist or universalist approaches to heritage tourism, as discussed above. However, as a consequence of autopoiesis, based on recursively framing tourist projects as good practices, universalist approaches to heritage culture will tend to be favoured even when this may lead to a clash of interests with a local community or society[227]. When cultural heritage tourism copies the concepts and ideologies of world heritage and applies them to objects designated as European heritage, this can be interpreted as a universalist approach.

Sharing information in networks can limit contingency, as described earlier, and through this also limit diversity, as communication hypes (success formulas, best practices, appropriate themes, etc) are taken up and interpreted within social systems using information from their environment for strategic aims. In Lithuania this process of observing other systems (projects, discussions, best practices etc) was less obvious and less developed than in the other parts of Europe. Autopoiesis in Lithuanian community-based social systems was rather stronger than in the networks, and this led local ideas of identification with heritage to prevail. Here, autopoietic local identity discourses led to pluralism being favoured.

In the Restauronet project a more universalist tendency can be observed from the reference that a specialist from Xanthi made to the world heritage site Meteora as representing best practice for regional projects. The project sustained a network of heritage specialists exchanging good practices on heritage management. The planners involved had all been active in networks originating from INTERREGII and earlier projects. These networks produce strong discourses on the commodification of cultural heritage as a strategy for offsetting rural depopulation and ascribing cultural heritage to the Greek nation and Mediterranean culture. The Utrecht partner of the project Crossing the Lines had no interest in participating in networks and decided for themselves what to do with Fort aan de Klop, but this did not result in a community-based signification. Although not acknowledged as a useful concept in INTERREG practice, subsidiarity can imply pluralist tendencies in heritage signification. Network discourses, full of ideological and pragmatic dialogism, tend to favour universalist approaches.

### Planning cultures

Developing strategies is a key issue in the INTERREG IIIB strand and this makes it very interesting from a perspective of planning cultures. The focus on strategy is omnipresent

---

[227] This clash of interests was recognised in the INTERREG IIIC INHERIT project and was addressed in their Declaration of Dubrovnic, which stated that local interests should prevail. This declaration was produced through an OMC process and sees subsidiarity as an appropriate solution in case of conflict.

in INTERREG practice, as shown by the cases. The effect is outward looking partnerships, as could be observed especially in Restauronet and the Baltic Fort Route. Cultural heritage practices are often deployed in spatial planning and regional development. If certain rigid models of planning are exchanged and harmonised, this could be interpreted as a universalist tendency. If less procedural and more open models are exchanged, this implies more opportunities for pluralist heritage signification. The concept of planning culture addresses this tension between a "one size fits all" approach and one that leaves room for cultural influences. It invokes the question of whether planning autopoiesis favours a harmonisation or a pluralisation of heritage practices.

The European Spatial Development Programme (ESDP) discourse is an example of a powerful harmonising initiative. The INTERREG programme structures were strongly influenced by the ESDP. INTERREG IIIB made particular attempts to use spatial planning approaches to establish macro regional identities in its programme. The key issue was harmonising planning cultures and this required more understanding on a semantic level. Aiming at harmonisation and typifying cultural influences in spatial planning was problematic (Faludi 2003; Faludi 2004; Faludi 2005). This universalist tendency of harmonisation is counterbalanced by autopoietic planning discussions on self definition that lead to pluralist and particularist strategies being adopted. Developing a strategy involves elements of self definition and relations with the outside world. Strategy is often composed in an autopoietic process of communication in which spatial planners discuss the position of their city or region in a European context and import information from other communication systems to help define their strategy. Information from the outside is reframed in such a way that it merges with earlier observations and justifies the decisions that are taken. In the case studies this strategy was sometimes even produced in separate departments of a city administration (e.g. Kaunas and Xanthi). In Kaunas the strategy was produced by direct intervention of aldermen, one of whom was active in the singing revolution (the Sajudis). A strong planning autopoiesis was produced by the Utrecht partners in Crossing the Lines. In the north-western European situation, where the diaspora is small and lacking influence, monumental heritage attracts the most attention, while overlooking traditions. The Utrecht partner aimed at strengthening local identity, and the identity of the site of the monument itself. This approach fits into a planning culture that frames cultural heritage as asset for strategic development, and sought to derive economic benefits from a site. It would be problematic to characterise this approach as either universalist or pluralist, as there was no active participation by the local community. The idea of genius loci could be interpreted as a straightforward implementation of pluralism, but does this view hold if this strategy is applied universally? Equally, a pure universalist characterisation would be misplaced, because of the lack of willingness to frame the fort as European heritage. In Crossing the Lines a particularising approach prevailed, more pluralist than universalist and this was implemented by a group of planners wrapped up in a discourse with a strong autopoiesis.

The examples show strategy as such is indifferent towards universalist and pluralist approaches and the extent to which these are pursued depends more on the specific autopoiesis in a planning culture.

*Repertoire*

A diversity of repertoires in heritage signification could favour both universalist and pluralist heritage practices. The invention or harmonisation of repertoires can respectively imply pluralisation or unification of cultural heritage practices. Although repertoires as such are impossible to observe on a European level, the discussion on canonisation and codification (section 7.2) can give clues or indications on changes in the ways in which cultural heritage is addressed and signified. Poly system theory helps clarify issues relating to repertoire, particularly in relation to codification and canonisation. In INTERREG good or best practices are qualified within a project and submitted to the broader programme structure. Criteria for good practices for cultural heritage projects are emic constructions that are grounded in the INTERREG discourse. They are constructed and exchanged in partnerships, in programme websites and in symposia with INTERREG officers and generate their own, self-referential, reality. It is remarkable that they do not refer to the contribution that a project makes to Europe as a society. If a project helps to maintain a European network or, even better, leads to a subsequent project, it is deemed a success. On a higher programme, strand or regional policy level the only criteria used to evaluate the codified status of projects are those relating to procedure and implementation. INTERREG officers describe themselves as being embedded in a specific organisation culture, which grounds the semiotic mechanisms of codification and canonising. The theories of Lotman and Uspensky (Lotman and Uspensky 1971), on the openness and closure of cultures, can provide further insights into this phenomenon. These authors argue that the openness of cultures is a result of a focus on procedures related to expression and that closure is caused by a focus on content. INTERREG's culture can be interpreted as a system of procedures and accession that requires in-depth knowledge about INTERREG's specific language and precedents. Discussions on best practices are primarily based on procedures. As a result INTERREG's canonising practices are more universalist. Newcomers who adhere to these best practices are welcomed and have a good chance of being successful. Arguments about content, which involve assessing the relevance of a project for Europeanisation, European heritage and regional identity, are not used. As a result good and best practices are self-referentially evaluated, with an emphasis on administrative and collaborative issues. Both these perspectives on success, resulting from codification of a project and canonisation at the programme level, can be interpreted as a discourse coalition. Partnerships that run one project after another are seen as successful. The possible consequences of this for further operational closure and self-referentiality are not taken into consideration[228].

---

[228] In interviews INTERREG officers admit to belong to a rather closed community, sharing a typical language that is difficult to understand for outsiders, see the CULTPLAN report

One consequence of this can be a lack of openness towards either the institutionalisation of European heritage or community based signification of heritage. Poly-system theory clarifies this shortcoming, which leads to a repertoire to become conservative. A further consequence is a perpetuum mobile of European funded projects, whose contribution to European society is not expressly taken into consideration.

*Heritage institutionalisation*

Institutionalisation involves the production of new ideas and concepts, discussing them until they are accepted and need no more discussion and then managing them as objects of cultural heritage. This view on institutionalisation is illustrated in figure 2.1. In theoretical terms (see figure 2.6) two different ways of institutionalisation were discussed. One, designated as pluralisation, begins at the level of ideas and the other, designated as diversification, divides institutionalised objects in more refined categories. This framework of difference is important because it can deepen our understanding of why European heritage is only sustained as an idea and is not subject to institutionalisation.

In practice, European networks discuss heritage categories and split them into more detailed categories, which are then institutionalised in running projects. In this way, the category of military heritage has been divided in Second World War heritage, fortification heritage, the WWI killing fields, etcetera. Some eighty categories of heritage are officially acknowledged by European heritage institutes[229.] The role of networks is complex, as the strategy of participants towards INTERREG includes sharing their ideas on increasing specialisation (diversification) and lobbying for official acknowledgement at the programme level. Such specialisation can be driven by a preference for technical issues. By contrast concepts about cultural heritage are pluralised at the community level, as was the case in Lithuania. Here, INTERREG actors involve themselves in many local networks and may only share a weak attachment to European networks because of language problems. In such cases conceptual innovations primarily result from autopoiesis at the community level. In the longer-lasting European heritage networks (most of the INTERREG interviewees had been active in networks for at least two programming periods) autopoiesis is strong. Information from participants that refers to their communities is imported and weighed in view of their INTERREG strategy. The resulting project strategy is almost exclusively focused on diversification and valorisation. Signifying an object as European heritage would imply a conceptual innovation, but the only community who can invent such categories is the collection of European heritage networks. But these are too focused on diversification: an easier way of institutionalisation. These universalist and pluralist tendencies are indicated and summarised in table 7.3.

---

[229] A preliminary inventory of heritage networks and organisations undertaken by Europa Nostra identified 80 thematic heritage fields

*Table 7.2 An overview of ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage in the case studies.*

|  | **Universalist tendency** | **Pluralist tendency** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| conceptualisation | semiotic<br>territory-based<br>branding approach | participative/semiotic<br>community-based<br>path dependency |
| ownership | inclusion: discursive ascription as the mechanism of sharing signification | exclusion: (legal) claiming as the mechanism of privatised signification |
| governance | Open Method of Coordination, favouring signification through multilevel governance | subsidiarity, supporting ways of local identity construction |
| planning culture | harmonisation of semantics and planning approach | strategic discourse for exploiting a unique position; competition |
| repertoire | focus on procedures | focus on content |
| institutionalisation | institutional diversification | conceptual innovation |

This analysis of universalist and pluralist tendencies in practice, which focuses on claims and their societal embeddings, allows a further discussion on the motto "unity in diversity". Is it merely Euro-speak? Or, is it actually taken up in the project based INTERREG discourse?

## 7.7.    How does INTERREG practice correspond to European ideology of unity in diversity?

The analysis so far has shown that universalist and pluralist concepts and attitudes are mixed in with discourses of strategy, programmes and projects. The discourse of Europe of the Regions, interpreted as a pluralist view of Europe, would imply more identity pluralism than the oft-used image of a layer cake. In theoretical terms identity has been discussed as being both dynamic and positional. Practice shows how identity dynamics vary between regions, with some being ossified and others not (yet) even institutionalised.
The following section looks at identity claims on cultural heritage from a positional perspective, in order to try to account for this broad range.

The theoretical and practical research shows that different mechanisms of claiming and ascribing of heritage are employed. Emic identity discussions often lead to claims on heritage, and are endorsed by ethic "image" constructions from outside. Strategic discussions relating to Europeanisation may lead to an ascription of heritage to certain policy levels, including the European Union, which provides a platform for requests for more

money or new projects to valorise heritage in strategic development, such as attracting tourism. But the cases show there is an ideological component that cannot be accounted for solely through emic-ethic and money relationships. This ideological component involves an encompassing narrative of a country or region that can express both uniqueness and affiliations.

In Greece this narrative defines ancient Greece as the fountain of democracy and science, and directly connects it with present day society. The idea megale related to the Empire of Alexander the Great, is connected to archaeological remains, to national history that  dates back beyond the founding of the nation itself, to historic regions such as Macedonia and to rural family life as the repository of cultural diversity and ancient tradition. The connection between family life and ancient history contributes to the national identity of Greeks being strongly based on ethnic conceptions. This ethnic discourse is strongest in Crete, where they frame their identity as prototypically Greek and see Greek identity as part of the core of Mediterranean identity. Discussions on the Ottoman cultural disruption mean that the discourses over living and monumental heritage employ similar concepts and historical images and endorse one another through a discourse coalition. The heritage culture described by the Xanthi partner expresses affiliations with Mediterranean culture while also stressing Xanthi's central position in ancient Macedonian territory. The cultural heritage discourse marginalises Ottoman influences, again showing the positional nature of cultural heritage and identity, in the case influenced by Greece's ambiguous position between east and west.

In Lithuania a basic distinction was made between national monuments and local or regional traditions/customs. Both categories are taken seriously in national and regional policies towards cultural heritage and culture. These two active categories are bound together in a discourse coalition that is grounded in an embracing narrative. For Lithuania this narrative frames the country as the most important national territory of Europe, the Great Duchy of Lithuania, which only voluntarily accepted Christianity after they won the battle of Tannenberg in 1410 against the crusades of the Prussians. But simultaneously, their heritage gives proof of belonging to ancient Baltic culture and having a Slav identity. Their heritage also represents unpopular Soviet suppression, and to avoid negative connotations, artefacts from this period are referred to as "technical heritage". As shown in the case study analysis, this is grounded in considerations of having a Slav identity and Lithuanians feeling closely attached to the Russian people. This geopolitical ethnic discourse became more important after Lithuania's accession to the EU and reflected positive and negative affiliations towards Europe. This discussion also shows identity discourses to be positional and that major changes can occur when a position is reframed, with consequences for the signification of cultural heritage.

In the Netherlands, the most important distinction in cultural heritage is between material[230] and immaterial heritage. The last is seen as an aspect of civil society, which operates through associations and clubs, which can apply for subsidies and support under broader cultural policies. This leaves government agencies with a sharper focus on monumental heritage. The preservation of monuments requires cooperation between policy layers and public funding is also needed for heritage preservation and valorisation. These subsidies in turn ground claims of co-ownership and are seen as contributing to 'unity in diversity' in the national context. There are strong narratives supporting the notion of Dutch nationhood[321], but these do not encompass or embrace living heritage in the same way that they do in Greece and Lithuania.

This analysis shows a combination of claiming and ascription of heritage and a discourse coalition of distinct heritage categories bound by a narrative to be a prerequisite for unity in diversity. Heritage categories in this discourse coalition may include both living and monumental heritage, as shown in the Greek and Lithuanian cases. On a European level, different narratives, such as a Europe of peace or a Europe of ancient cultural diversity, compete and are not (yet) institutionalised. The difference between living and monumental cultural heritage is poorly reflected in the INTERREG programme: the majority of heritage projects deal with material things, a minority with regional products or events, such as food and/or festivals, but no projects specifically deal with living cultural heritage. This may be due to caution, as it is not so easy to account for investments in living entities as it is to account for investments in bricks and mortar. In regional practice the "unity in diversity" motto provokes a more implicit motto that might be characterised as "unique though affiliated". This reframed ambiguity clarifies how diversity can flourish under a regime of unity.

## 7.8. Discussion: validity of interpretive assumptions

This account on theory and practice indicate pluralisation to be contingent upon to conceptual innovations, which are mostly based on identification and participation. Universalism is grounded in single core images of society, is enhanced by cultural ambivalence in networks and is subject to valorisation in a semiotic approach to commodification. Mechanisms of pluralisation include: the influence of a diaspora on localised practices of living heritage and societal reactions to generalising policies (e.g. communist ideas about equality), to globalisation (the effects of mass-tourism) contributing to a loss of identity. The analysis of the environments of projects showed how conceptual innovations are enhanced by cultural policies. But this does not necessarily imply these innovations will be taken up in regional practice. Social system theory, combined with poly-system theory showed operational closure between regional and cultural policies on

European and national levels. Concepts migrate between the two and are reframed before they are shared in networks and applied to the practice of project initiation. As a result pluralist and universalist approaches can coincide in heritage discourses and should not be just designated as dialogism in social systems. Universalist and pluralist heritage practices can be readily combined in strategies, programmes and projects.

The discussion on discursive mechanisms confirmed the validity of the a priori assumptions made in this section, but shows them to be even more complex, hybrid and ambiguous. In practice the relations between European ideology and the resultant regional practice and policies are quite blurred. Hardly any of the case studies can be interpreted as being solely influenced by a single clear European ideology or policy. Other factors come into play. There is the influence of money, which can give rise to opportunism in partnerships. There is also the influence of strategy, which is strongly related to planning culture, which connects different policy structures and regional development opportunities. Moreover there is the influence of competition between regions, nations and the EU to assert their autonomy and identity. The discussion on discursive mechanisms has revealed other tensions, some related to the tension between universalism and pluralism, others not. These tensions are listed below.:

- privatising – commodifying
- pluralisation - diversification
- nationalised – national
- societal responsibility for monuments– value approach to monuments
- heritage of victims – heritage of heroes
- heritage as past (path dependency) - contemporary social construction
- heritage binding or dividing people
- heritage as asset for planning (uniqueness) versus heritage that shows affiliations
- heritage showing norms and value monism or value pluralism

The discourse of Europe of the Regions in policy and practice is neither wholly oriented towards pluralism or universalism. Both orientations are used to address the identity limitations discussed above. As an example, moves to harmonise regions reflect the logical consequence of universal democratic values. Regions differ because of their culture but regions may not differ in prosperity and quality of life. The fact that some regions are merely invented because of Europe's regional policy shows the urge towards harmonisation. If, on a regional level, society is perceived as having a single core and heritage policy pays no attention to ethnic differences then a universalist attitude prevails. Moreover, the governance of good INTERREG practices is based on a universalist approach, as discussed before.

This discussion reveals the problematic issues associated with trying to make black and white characterisations of universalist or pluralist heritage practices. Practice is more complicated. Despite this complexity, it seems that this lack of clear universalist and pluralist ideologies based on poly centred models of society and the strong autopoiesis on valorisation (diversification and commodification) inhibits the institutionalisation of both European heritage and regional identity.

# 8. Conclusions, discussion and recommendations

This thesis has analysed INTERREG, its projects and their environments and revealed the existence of a wide range of discursive interactions and mechanisms that stem from pluralist and universalist oriented heritage cultures (and sometimes a combination of the two). This concluding chapter addresses the main research question, combining theory and overall analysis. The example of Athos, in the first chapter of this thesis, raised the question of whether cultural heritage should belong to the culture that produced it or should be seen as a universal commodity which should be treated according to democratic standards. There is a slight but significant difference between "cultural heritage" and "heritage", both commonly used terms in practice. "Cultural heritage" acknowledges the connection of culture with its heritage. When using "heritage", this connection is detached. Then heritage becomes a singular object of policy. The analysis so far has made it clear that culture and cultural heritage are perceived and treated as different things. Social system theory has been used to understand the basic distinction that separates them. The distinction is apparent in the way in which actors express their ideas about unity in diversity when talking about culture and cultural heritage. This theme of unity in diversity is a key one, which will be returned to when discussing the main research question; which was formulated thus:

"what claims are put on cultural heritage in Europeanisation discourses and how do claims relate in view of cultural pluralism and universalism?"

Before seeking to answer this question, a few conclusions will be drawn which will provide the substance for the final interpretative account about cultural heritage within the INTERREG environment. These conclusions focus on regional and European signification and the practices and ideological orientations of the involved discursive mechanisms. Subsequently, there will be a discussion on the way the in which the empirical data was acquired, analysed and related to theory. Finally, the conclusions and discussion are used for formulating policy recommendations.

## 8.1.   Conclusions

*Regional heritage claims in Europe of the Regions*

External views on 50 years of Europeanisation[232] are more positive than inside ones. Internal views are troubled by the enduring competition between nations and Europe. One way to overcome this competition is found in the discourse of Europe of the Regions. This discourse, based around the concept of 'territorial cohesion', seeks to establish a unified Europe by uniting a great diversity of regions. INTERREG is a Community initiative that seeks to install mechanisms of interdependencies between the EU and the regions and seeks to overcome internal borders by encouraging regions to cooperate in cross-border, transnational and interregional programmes and projects. The basic idea underlying INTERREG is to assist regions in achieving a) a stronger profile or identity through European cooperation and b) to use these to become more competitive. Cultural heritage projects fit well with INTERREG's agenda, because they contribute to the construction of regional identity and they connect Europe with the citizens. In this way Europe makes a positive contribution to the cultural daily lives of regional citizens.

In practice, the meaning of heritage is produced in identity constructions that are built on arguments of both affiliations and uniqueness. The discourses on identity appear to be strong, subject to autopoiesis and difficult to redirect or even influence by means of INTERREG projects. In Greece this identity discourse is both national and local. It was characterised by reasoning based on path dependency that connects old Greek culture to present day society in the core of Mediterranean culture. Local traditions claim their origins from antiquity. On the national level the focus is on great episodes of Greek history, such as the invention of democracy or the Macedonian empire of Alexander the Great. The regions relate to these stories, and both Crete and Thrace try to place themselves centre stage within these narratives. In Lithuania identity discourses are pluralising in a process of recovering from the injuries of Soviet suppression. Identity claims are both based on uniqueness, because of history, and on geopolitical affiliations. As in Greece, living heritage draws on antiquity and can be very readily be pluralised. Here living heritage draws on the old Baltic culture that yielded localised craft traditions in woodcarving, wooden architecture and on traditional farm life. Monumental heritage is claimed through political processes and relates to the macro region around the Baltic Sea, to Europe and the territory of the former Great Duchy of Lithuania. Slav affiliations play a significant role. The formal Lithuanian regions are new administrative concepts that subdivide well established ethnographic regions. The discourses on regional identity are weak and in the case of Baltic Fort Route were not even mentioned. In the Netherlands cultural heritage is increasingly becoming

---

[232] On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the EU, several historic reviews were published in Dutch newspapers (Volks-krant 17 March 2007, supplement Het Betoog; NRC Handelsblad 23 March 2007 page 5), these indicated appreciation from Americans, such as Jeremy Rifkin, and doubts from opinion leaders from within the EU such as Frits Bolkestein.

canonised at the national level. Living heritage is an almost neglected heritage category in official policies. Monuments play an important role in the idea of genius loci. This means cultural heritage is used to add value to a developmental plan or site, an approach that became more important because of the Belvedere Programme. The region of Utrecht has a weak identity, even compared to other Dutch regions and Crossing the Lines did not contribute to it. As in Kaunas, regional identity was not addressed or mentioned at all.

Local autopoiesis in identity construction supports pluralist heritage cultures and may even be strong enough to resist the unifying management concepts (harmonisation of concepts, techniques, planning and regulations) imposed by INTERREG practices. The analysis of cases showed pluralism was weakened by nationalism and often enhanced by an influential diaspora. However, the cases showed a high level of diversity may go hand in hand with strong unification. This seems paradoxical but is based on separate processes of signification and institutionalisation. This raises the question of whether Europe would become more cultural diverse (i.e. accepting more cultural subsidiarity would lead to deeper ethnic identities) if there were more unity. This issue will be addressed in the subsequent discussion and is used to ground a policy recommendation. Pluralisation results from strong autopoiesis in the discourses over cultural heritage and identity. Autopoiesis becomes stronger when ethnic arguments and cultural path dependency are influential. The stronger the sense of identity, or the more an identity has been suppressed, the stronger the autopoiesis in identity discourse. This implies that weak regions have a weak autopoiesis in their identity discourse, as was observed in the case of Crossing the Lines and the Baltic Fort Route. The opposite also holds, strong regions have a strong autopoiesis in their identity discourse, and their ethnic sense of uniqueness will be made in response to European influence. This disparity becomes deeper when large cities or national institutes are involved and focus on the construction of city or national identity.
Participation in INTERREG projects seems to increase these contrasts in the strength of regional identity, which is contrary to the goals of a Europe of the Regions.

This interpretation of regional heritage claims leads to the following conclusion:

1)   INTERREG projects dealing with cultural heritage may succeed or fail in contributing to regional identity, depending on the strength of autopoiesis in the project with respect to other identity discourses in their environment. As a result INTERREG projects seem to increase the contrast between regions that have strong and weak identities.

*European heritage claims in Europe of the Regions*
The difference between a universalist and pluralist approach has been theorised as the difference between private/legal or discursive ownership: private and legal ownership focus on exclusion and discursive ownership focuses on inclusion. The issue of ownership has

proven to be complex, because it relates to issues of autonomy, differences in planning culture, financial systems and unresolved historical traumas. The case studies displayed significant differences on the issue of ownership. In the Dutch situation the planners claimed legal ownership to keep their autonomy, but as the project came to its end, discursive ownership at the national level emerged. In Crete, ownership of cultural heritage was socially disputed, with some sections of society aiming for privatisation and the other half wishing to use cultural heritage as a tourist attraction. In Thrace the ownership of monuments was primarily discursive and national. In Greece as a nation, a balanced system of privatised ownership of living heritage and discursive nationalised ownership of monumental heritage was produced through a coalition of discourses. In the Lithuanian case, legal ownership was privatised at the community level, with the aim of getting local communities involved in supporting the significance defined by city planners and politicians. All the cases showed an absence of discursive ownership by the EU. Actors only tended to express the European significance of their heritage at beginning and closure of their project. In between, the need to regionally valorise heritage leads to private, legal and discursive ownership being claimed by, or ascribed to, a community, region or nation, rather than to the EU. As a consequence, projects co-construct the idea of European heritage but do not contribute to its institutionalisation in their practice.

Attempts by the Commission or the Council of Europe to promote the idea of European heritage have not succeeded in leading to European oriented signification. There has been no mention of the European Heritage Label[233] in INTERREG's discourses, despite the promotion of this label by the European Commission. The Faro Convention has not (yet) succeeded in establishing intellectual heritage as a category of heritage at the European level nor has it succeeded in redirecting the cultural heritage discourse towards a focus on societal values instead of monumental care and commodity aspects.

This interpretation of European heritage claims leads to the following conclusion:

2)  Despite a mixed universalist and pluralist management discourse on cultural heritage in INTERREG, discursive ownership is limited to a regional or national level as a consequence of regional or local valorisation and privatised cultural heritage ownership. As a consequence European cultural heritage is not subject to institutionalisation and remains just an idea.

*Discursive mechanisms in INTERREG*
Although cultural heritage is closely related to an identity discourse, the conclusions above show that the discourse in INTERREG on restoration and commodification is stronger

---

[233] Proposed in the Council of the European Union, January 2004 by the French government

than that on identification. This paradox requires a further discussion of the discursive mechanisms within the environment of INTERREG projects. This analysis has already discussed the ideological, strategic and territorial claims that are made on heritage (see table in section 7.5). This discussion has shown the first to be the least influential, territorial claims to be a key to valorisation and strategic claims to play a role in negotiations at both national and Europeanisation levels. Analysis of INTERREG projects revealed that INTERREG actors tend to be federalists, seeking to participate in long lasting networks and build enduring project partnerships. These partnerships may become self-referential due to long lasting autopoiesis, generating a lexicon of working concepts and categories. When discussing management issues a distinction is frequently made between techniques and culture. Actors see this distinction as justifying the harmonising activities without affecting cultural diversity. Participation in European heritage networks enhances the harmonisation of techniques and planning and, in this way, contributes to a universalist approach. This is supposed to enhance efficiency and democracy of cultural heritage management, both themes that are of great interest to the EC. When INTERREG projects are implemented cultural heritage is focused on valorisation, a key concept in describing good practices, which in turn address the issue of increasing or regulating cultural heritage tourism. In the rhetoric of INTERREG's programmes and regional policy it is important to become more strategic in terms of being seen to be making proper use of public funding to be make regions' more competitive and enhance their profile. At the level of partnerships this is translated into developing new projects, inventing new categories of cultural heritage, attracting more tourism and keeping attached to the right networks. Being strategic also means acquiring one project after the other with a partnership that runs smoothly. Developing strategy requires a clear distinction on the inside and outside the partnership and building a logical framework for decision making. This process is based on autopoiesis and can contribute to the diversification of cultural heritage categories. The invention of new categories can be interpreted as innovation. On the other hand there is conservativeness, because winning teams don't change and their successful ideas are observed and reframed by other partnerships.  Governing of good practices, in the case of canonisation that takes the form of success stories confirms the practical view on the use of cultural heritage and focuses on applying the correct procedures to avoid problems in the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). In canonisation, "strategic" means the capability to negotiate a project (and its outcomes) in the system of multilevel governance that is the OMC. Having a project that delivers concrete results is one way of being respected and seen as successful. Innovations take the shape of new categories or new procedures, but not of new heritage concepts. According to polysystem theory, this focus on expression and procedures can be characterised as a universalist approach that is constructed in a discourse coalition based on codification and canonisation. Good practices are not defined in terms of wider content, such as the significance of a project for regional or European identity.

This interpretation of discursive mechanisms leads to the following conclusion:

3)  In INTERREG discourse "strategy" is a key issue in the canonisation and codification of practices. Being strategic requires developing an appropriate set of new cultural heritage categories, forecasting tourism revenues, being seen as efficient and having negotiating skills in a multilevel governance environment. INTERREG communications are largely self-referential and there are no discussions about content which could involve making judgements about European and regional signification. As a consequence this discourse gives rise to a perpetual roundabout of projects that merely float on unresolved ideas of European heritage and regional identity.

### *INTERREG pluralist ideology in a universalist perspective on society*

The discourse of Europe of the Regions and its expression in INTERREG can be interpreted as representing a pluralist view of Europeanisation. From a European perspective the very idea of a wide variety of regional identities bound together through a process of territorial cohesion departs from the concept of diversity. INTERREG actors use a layered model ('the layer cake') in discussions about identity. The layers correspond to the policy layers in multi level governance. Territorial identity claims presuppose the layers to vary in thickness: one specific layer can become more important. Identity disputes are frequently characterised by 'zero sum' identity thinking: which view identities as a limitative characteristic of society (Risse 2003). Deeper analysis of this dispute about identity shows that identity politics that refer to layers are based on a territorial understanding of culture (Connolly 1996) and a single core image of society (Ashworth, Graham et al. 2007). In this model norm and values are exchangeable, because of value monism. This analysis did not confirm the scientific premise of zero sum identity logics held by Euro pessimists. Such logics would imply that a European identity is perceived as an assault on national or regional identities.  Cases showed identity claims to be primarily positional. Actors vocalise a single core image of society when expressing self-centeredness. A single core model of society may be useful for defining a unique regional identity, but it is not compatible with the idea of a diversity of regions comprising a multi-core European society.

The examples of heritage signification discussed prior to the first conclusion show the problematic aspect of identity reasoning in practice. The analysis of cases shows that the self definitions of regions to lie somewhere between a national identity and the macro-regional identity in which this national identity is embedded. Although Europe of the Regions is a pluralist concept, it is not grounded in a pluralist multi-core concept of society. This identity problem puts cultural heritage projects in a paradoxical position, because it is unclear how can they contribute to both a diversity of regional identities as well to one European identity.

This interpretation leads to the following conclusion:

4) The discourse of a Europe of the Regions claims cultural heritage as key concept for the diversity of regional identities, but runs into a paradox because of its single core model of society: regions position themselves in this single core.

*Cultural heritage in ambiguous interpretations of being united in diversity*

The discourse of Europe of the Regions lacks an ideological pluralist concept of society that would allow it to adapt a more complex model than that of the layer cake. As a consequence this discourse imports universalist concepts, based on equal human rights or cultural integration, from other discourses on Europeanisation and reframes them. Analysis of projects and their environments show that universalist and pluralist orientations co-exist in programmes, projects, partnerships and regional project teams, apparently without sparking any big discussions. Occasionally individual actors combine them in a single phrase. Dialogism on universalist and pluralist approaches is exchanged in networks as a result of ambiguity in heritage cultures. On the one hand actors seek to valorisation through tourism, based on universal principles of commodifying cultural heritage for European tourists and on the other hand they work with the assumption of promoting regional identity which implies diversification. The first of these approaches can be interpreted as universalist and the second as pluralist.

The analysis in the preceding chapter showed this ambiguity to be grounded in the fundamental and institutionalised distinction between culture and the economy. This distinction is rooted in the history of the EU, which started out aiming at economic cooperation and has only later moved towards the idea of a unified community. This has created a split in its cultural and economic ideology, which is reflected in the policies that it pursues (Scharpf 2002; Scharpf 2002). Operational closure between function systems (as theorised on by social system theory) has institutionalised this split. On both sides of this gap there are profound ideological differences towards unification and respecting diversity. Economists stress the concept of Europe as a free and open market and their concept of this open market requires a unified culture. Yet at the same time cultural heritage is being localised or regionalised in the search for assets for planning and the economy. In a reverse paradox the cultural discourse stresses the value of cultural diversity and leads to cultural heritage becoming more universal. The European cultural heritage discourse takes up, reproduces and reframes arguments from the different ideological dispositions and their claims. This ambiguity comes about because cultural heritage jointly represents the shared norms and values society which is built upon and the cultural diversity of Europe. As a consequence, the European motto of 'unity in diversity' is addressed with alternating pluralist and universalist imperatives on culture and cultural heritage.

This discussion substantiates the following conclusion:

5) In INTERREG's discourse the motto "unity in diversity "is alternatively framed as unified culture and diverse cultural heritage, or, vice versa, cultural diversity and communal cultural heritage, giving a fertile ground for rhetorical divergence.

*Answering the research question*

The interpretive account on cultural heritage signification and the conclusions provide the substance for answering the main research question. In the discourse of Europe of the Regions, territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage are often in competition and, if one presupposes identity limitations, these can be considered to be incompatible. The analysis of INTERREG projects' environments showed that territorial claims on cultural heritage sometimes resulted in practices of privatisation, which sometimes even excluded tourists. Such claims are constructed outside of the INTERREG projects, are primarily community based and often influenced by an ethnic discourse. They mainly emphasise living heritage and place less emphasis on monuments. Territorial cultural heritage claims express uniqueness rather than affiliations. Strategic claims focus on the potential added value of monumental heritage in terms of social economic development. They are mostly constructed by institutions participating in federalist discourses and are exchanged in European cultural heritage networks. They are based more on arguments of affiliations rather than of uniqueness, but both arguments are used within an understanding of ownership that combines legal claim and discursive ascription. The idea of monumental heritage as an asset and an object of commodification is widespread and, as a consequence, the institutionalisation, professionalisation and harmonisation of management are considered to be of vital importance. Strategic claims are the most widespread and apparent type of claim made in INTERREG projects. Ideological claims are hardly visible in INTERREG practice, but are influential in the INTERREG environment. They are related to identity claims and to identity competition and are based on static identity models (such as the layer cake and single core Durkheimian image of society). They can be recognised in attempts to reframe images of history and identity and in disputes over cultural or administrative regions. The analysis of the cases showed neither of these two types of claims on cultural heritage contributed to the institutionalisation of European heritage or to regional identity, both of which are explicit aims of INTERREG policy.

Claims on cultural heritage are generated in universalist and pluralist discourses and may seek to appeal to the motto 'unity in diversity'. Yet there are two competing ideas about this motto, which influence the discourse of Europe of the Regions: one is of a universal culture aligned with a diverse cultural heritage that serves as a developmental asset, the other is of a diverse culture and a universal heritage that can attract mass tourism and intercultural understanding. In practice it was possible to observe operational closure

between cultural and regional policies. Analysis of the environment of INTERREG projects show heritage cultures are pluralised through local autopoietic practices of identification which are supported by local and regional cultural policies. INTERREG projects fail to address and reinforce pluralism because of the universalist focus on management and commodification[234]. Both these perspectives find the commodification of cultural heritage to be acceptable, an outcome which can be interpreted as a discourse coalition. The two competing ideological concepts of culture and heritage are reproduced in the European heritage discourse, contributing to a diversification of arguments (dialogism). This fuzzy discourse is used as a rhetorical resource by partnerships seeking new INTERREG projects focused on cultural heritage. As a consequence, strategic claims often reflect a mixture of different ideologies that are negotiated through multi level governance. The ability to pursue a strategy of negotiation is a key competence in INTERREG discourse. However such a strategy only relates to the Open Method of Coordination in multilevel governance and not to European society as a whole. As a result of this self-referential concept of strategy, taken up in canonisation and codification of so-called good practices, projects are confined to regional valorisation and do not serve the public goals of European society, such as the European signification of cultural heritage. European heritage, therefore, is supported as an idea, but little progress is made in institutionalising this idea. The allopoietic[235] perpetual mobile of European projects only notionally produces European heritage. However, inside the projects valorisation is accomplished through institutionalised management and ownership that is considered necessary for efficiency. This implies that 'unity in diversity' is ultimately addressed by ideological and pragmatic duality, through an "Open Process of Identification".

The issues of unity and diversity are the key concepts of Europe of the Regions. If cultural identities are perceived as being intrinsically exclusionary, pluralisation would inevitably lead to social fragmentation. Discussing the ethos of pluralisation, Connolly advocates that cultural pluralisation should go hand in hand with increasing interconnectivity (Connolly 1996) (p. 197). This analysis has confirmed that pluralist and universalist heritage cultures do combine with each other in valid ways to establish unity in diversity. The analysis has shown that they are not real opposites that cannot be merged.

In some cases other, more appropriate, oppositions were employed to describe the complex of signification processes of cultural heritage. Ownership can be shared by combining legal claims and discursive ascription: some categories of cultural heritage may be privatised and others may be shared. Achieving unity in diversity might even require more heritage subsidiarity accompanied by selective European claims. Military heritage for example,

---

[234] Occasionally INTERREG valorisation of cultural initiatives can be found, e.g. the foundation of a museum
[235] The opposite of autopoiesis, indicating a machine-like mechanism that retrieves energy and resources from its environment (in this case tax money).

reflects a Europe at war in historic times and may now be used to reflect a Europe of peace. This change could have been claimed more by the EU because it was popularised through the Konver programmes. In INTERREG's programmes and projects the ideological dialogism, the self-referentiality of codification and canonisation, together with the Open Method of Coordination, limit the focus of projects on regional valorisation and the commodification of cultural heritage. As a consequence, the cases in this research neither contributed to the institutionalisation of European heritage nor to regional identity.

## 8.2.   Discussion of the results

Scientific literature often is written from a distinct discursive position in the political, economic and cultural ideologies surrounding the creation of the EU. Most cultural studies frame cultural heritage in a museum, with a focus on Culture with a capital "C" and take the Euro-optimist discourse as the point of departure, or environment. Viewing cultural heritage as asset and resource for planning and economic development involves adopting an economic perspective. It involves framing cultural heritage as national and regional history and refers to a landmark function of cultural heritage in societal and regional development. Different perspectives may be adopted that reflect different political goals. This can hamper a clear view on practice, because the adopted perspectives contain implicitly embedded power relations. This research used a system theoretical framework with a Foucauldian discourse analysis to study this political entwinement. However, applying this theoretical framework has some shortcomings that will be discussed here.

The framework assumes that discussions within a communication system become more self-referential as more and more concepts and categorisations from earlier communications infuse the conversations. As such it presupposes some level of intensity of communication and a memory of what has been said earlier. In daily life this view may stand, but in international cooperation it is problematic. Can one speak of autopoiesis in a project where communication is negotiated cross culturally, primarily through e-mails, where people meet only six times in a three year project and, most of all, if it causes no problem if someone is using words that nobody else understands? In addition, the analysis of Europeanisation presupposes a vertical interaction between policy and polity discourses. Is it feasible to hypothesise a discursive relationship between INTERREG praxis and political discourses? What discursive structures lie in between?

The issue of scale in this research also needs some further discussion. It seems that discourses have certain scales of time and place that can influence autopoiesis and the level of interaction with other discourses. Normally it is assumed that the discourses that encompass innumerable communication systems are stronger than tiny discourses.

According to Foucault, power relations, generated within discourses, determine the order of those discourses. Power is mostly understood as being derived from the active involvement of many people or of a central government. Yet this analysis shows very small and seemingly insignificant discourses withstand discourses at the European scale, because of the strength of their autopoiesis. Discourse theory and social system theory seem to conceive of power in discursive interactions in different ways. The issue of scale and power deserves more attention, but this lies beyond the scope of this research.

For this analysis the concept of dialogism has been incorporated in social system theory. The concept has also been applied in the discourse analysis, which extends it beyond the scope of its original meaning. The concept of dialogism has been used to address imported concepts, resulting from discursive migration, that are intended to produce innovative rhetoric in order to sustain a position in a network and to help actors deal with the paradoxes of regional identity. Dialogism deserves more attention in the theoretical perspective of discourse analysis, because the concept of dialogism seems a very powerful explanation of how people try to cope with ambiguities.

One flaw in this research is the imbalance in the empirical detail between the case studies. The Dutch case study was done in the author's native language and provided an excess of information about discursive interactions. Carrying out studies in Lithuanian and Greek raised language barriers that limited the empirical detail. It is practically impossible to undertake a decentralised discourse analysis on Europeanisation because of language problems. This issue would have been really problematic if the conclusions of this research would have been exclusively derived from comparative case study analysis. Comparing the cases by focusing on similarities and dissimilarities however was not as important as exploring the discursive mechanisms within them.

Interviews were a key part of this research, because language problems precluded detailed analysis of written sources. When carrying out interviews one has to be aware of the potential problem of respondents giving answers that they think will be socially acceptable. In this research this was difficult to recognise because pluralism and universalism are both socially acceptable. There was a potential for both pluralist and universalist approaches to yield socially acceptable responses. If someone highlights the importance of respecting cultural diversity in Europe, they may very well be providing a social acceptable answer. The same may hold true for an answer that focuses on the European significance of the respondent's heritage objects. It seems that combinations pluralist and universalist signification were considered socially acceptable. The problem becomes more complicated if one acknowledges that Euro-speak between officers active in the Europeanisation industry largely consists of socially acceptable politeness. This causes a scientific problem of distinguishing between words that mean nothing and words that contain messages.

When previously discussing confirmability in the methodological account, the relevance of CULTPLAN as previous research was mentioned. This has proven to be a useful assumption, since it helped to open up the very closed INTERREG culture by referring to well known individuals, knowing the commonly used acronyms, citing from important documents and, most importantly, showing empathy with the difficult task of running a European project. Some interviews (in Crete) were only possible after a formal introduction was made by the Dutch Embassy. When interviewees were informed of the authors earlier experiences with CULTPLAN, they opened up considerably and became more communicative. They clearly saw the researcher of this thesis as 'one of them'. Without a priori knowledge about INTERREG and its closed community, it would have been very difficult to gather information. The INTERREG community has an oral tradition of transferring information. Documents may be interesting, but are mainly full of Eurospeak. Real communications occur at the oral and informal level.

Further theoretical exploration is needed on the issue of system theory and universalism. System theory defines operational closure as a necessary condition for opening (framing as a condition for retrieving information from the environment). The idea of universalism is based on unconditional openness. This analysis shows that identities represent the necessary condition of closure that allows openness towards other identities and that cultural heritage supplies the markers or indicates the boundaries of these identities. This would imply a new theoretical step for system theory, suggesting that pluralism is a prerequisite for universalism. One of the problems that could not be addressed in this research is how different system theories address this relationship and its implications for the relevance of cultural heritage for society. E.g. departing from a Parsonic view on social systems that focus on action rather than discourse (Parsons 1951)can give competing results. This issue deserves more consideration than it has been given in this analysis, and such attention could contribute to a better understanding and conceptualisation of a society based on identity pluralism.

## 8.3.    Policy recommendations

This final section provides some general policy recommendations. The foregoing analysis, conclusions and discussions could be translated into some vigorous and comprehensive recommendations, but this would be quite unrealistic in the context of Europeanisation as it would completely ignore the complexity of decision making that has been analysed in this research. Given this complexity, some suggestions are given below. The first suggestion however is provocative, for the sake of debate.

A rather fundamental suggestion is given about the way Europe uses cultural heritage to establish social cohesion. It is suggested to abandon the territory based identity approach that calls upon cultural heritage. The territory based understanding of culture that goes with it, is too problematic as it causes inproductive identity disputes. It is suggested that the EU should promote a diversity of non-territory based identity constructions, (partly) based on cultural heritage. This focus should be embedded in a discourse about more complex societal models of Europe, that contain mosaic approaches of cultural diversity. More and other cornerstones for European society than nations and regions, should be taken into account. This plurified identity approach should not only address political structures, but also all other societal structures: communities and groups that define their identity and cultural heritage. It can be based on new forms of subsidiarity that go beyond the actual players in the Open Method of Coordination. In this way it is ascertained that cultural heritage is not politicised and taken from its culture of origin or production. The democratic model would shift from representative democracy towards political pluralism. It would enhance the plurification of cultures in Europe without affecting its "unity". The enrichment of cultural diversity should be considered as a valuable resource for economic and societal sustainable development.

European regional policy should be better differentiated so that it can be more focused on how it can address the existing differences in regions, their commonly acknowledged identities and identity pluralism in society. The ideas of standardisation (in approach, resources, information structure and decision making structures) are in conflict with the public's recognition of regional identities and this tension should be discussed more openly. It should be acknowledged that cultural heritage is not only a reservoir of monuments that require democratic decision making but also includes aspects of living heritage that are embedded in social memory. The understanding of the societal values of cultural heritage, as delineated by the Faro Convention, should be taken up to achieve a better functional relationship between Europe's cultural and regional policies. Different concepts of cultural heritage can reinforce one another in very strong discourse coalitions, as shown in the cases. Practices from different nations in actualising the concept of unity in diversity may serve to inspire European regional policy making.

INTERREG should become more clear about the relevance and contributions of their projects and programmes for the European society as a whole. Valorisation of projects should not be limited to the regional level, but should explicitise its European relevance.
The current situation, dominated by self-referential procedural canonisation, should be broadened to include arguments of content. INTERREG should revise its system of good practices for cultural heritage projects. It is recommended that new criteria be developed that can express the significance of projects for regional development and for Europeanisation.

The acceptance of subsidiarity as an important principle, within cultural heritage programmes and projects would favour pluralist heritage cultures. This could be compensated for by the Commission/Council expressing top down ownership claims on European cultural heritage. This top down approach should be explored by discussing the merits and drawkacks of its governance implications. Should claims be based on a legal framework with new policy instruments or can they be both firm and discursive? This research showed military heritage as a possible European heritage category that could be used to illustrate the ideological concept of a Europe of Peace.

# 9.  Literature

Aarts, N. and R. During (2006). Zelforganisatie en ruimtegebruik. Van open netwerken en gesloten gemeenschappen. Utrecht, Innovatienetwerk Groene Ruimte en Agrocluster: 55.

Aarts, N., R. During, et al. (2006). *Te koop en andere ideeën over de inrichting van Nederland. Wageningen,* Wageningen UR.

Almendinger, P. (2002). *Planning Theory.* Hampshire, Palgrave.

Amin, A. (2004). "Multi-ethnicity and the idea of Europe." *Theory Culture & Society* **21**(2): 1-+.

Anagnostou, D. (2001). "Breaking the cycle of nationalism: The EU, regional policy and the minority of western Thrace, Greece." *South European Society and Politics* **6**(1): 99-124.

Andersen, N. A. (2003). *Discursive analytical strategies. Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann. Bristol,* UK, The Policy Press.

Anonymous (1910). *Grünwald 1410-1910.*

Anonymous (2006). "Ukraine's Road to the West. Guided by a Lithuanian Map." *Made in Lithuania* **22**(4).

Anzuini, A. and W. Strubelt (2000). Criteria for the Spatial Differentiation of the EU territory; 1.7 Cultural Assets. *Study Programme on European Spatial Planning.* Brussels, Stockholm.

Ashworth, G. and P. Howard (1999). *European Heritage Planning and Management.* Exeter, England, Intellect.

Ashworth, G. J., B. Graham, et al. (2007). *Pluralising pasts. Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies.* London, Pluto Press.

Bache, I. and M. Flinders (2004). *Multi-level governance. Oxford,* Oxford University Press.

Baltas, E. (2007). Spatial Planning and Regional Development of Greece. *About Brand Greece.* Athens, The Secretariat General of Communication Greece,: 167-176.

Bang, H., Ed. (2003). *Governance As Social and Political Communication* Manchester, Manschester University Press.

Bang, H. P. (2004). "Culture governance: Governing self-reflexive modernity." *Public Administration* **82**(1): 157-190.

Barnett, C. (2001). "Culture, policy, and subsidiarity in the European Union: From symbolic identity to the governmentalisation of culture." *Political Geography* 20(4): 405-426.

Barnett, C. (2001). "Culture, policy, and subsidiary in the European Union: From symbolic identity to the governmentalisation of culture." *Political Geography* **20**(4): 405-426.

Bazelmans, J. (2006). "Limes als werelderfgoed: aansluiten bij bestaande nominatie." *Limes grensverkenningen* **2**: 14-15.

Berbrier, M. (2004). "Assimilationism and pluralism as cultural tools." *Sociological Forum* **19**(1): 29-61.

Beunen, R. (2010). The governance of Nature. How nature conservation ambitions have been dashed in planning practices. *Land Use Planning*. Wageningen, WUR. **PhD**: 187.

Bishop, K., M. Tewdwr-Jones, et al. (2000). "From spatial to local: The impact of the European union on local authority planning in the UK." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* **43**(3): 309-334.

Bolhuis, P. v. and P. Vrijlandt (1993). Waterlijn. Ideeën voor de toekomst van de Stelling van Amsterdam en de Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie. Ruimtelijke Planvorming Sectie Landschapsarchitectuur. Wageningen, Landbouwuniversiteit.

Bollens, S. A. (2008). "The City, Substate Nationalism, and European Governance." *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics* **14**(2): 189-222.

Boonstra, F. and W. Kuindersma (2008). "'Governance' in geïntegreerd gebiedsgericht beleid." *Bestuurswetenschappen* **5**: 51-71.

Borgt, C. v. d., A. Hermans, et al., Eds. (1996). *Constructie van het eigene. Culturele vormen van regionale identiteit in Nederland.* Publicaties van het P.J. Meertens-Instituut. Amsterdam, P.J. Meertens-Instituut.

Börzel, T. A. (2006). "Federalism is Dead - Long Live Federalism!" *Program in Contemporary European Politics and Society, Princeton University,* from *http://dx.doi.org/princeton. edu/~amoravcs/library/eps.pdf.*

Bourdeaux, M. (1979). *Land of Crosses. The struggle for religious freedom in Lithuania, 1939-1978.* Devon, Augustine Publishing Company.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Brande, L. V. d. (1996). Regionalisme, een nieuwe stimulans voor de eenmaking van Europa? *Colloquium over de IGC georganiseerd door de Stichting Christenen voor Europa.* Brussels.

Breeze, D. J. (2005). Presenting Roman military sites to the public. *The challenge of presentation. Reuvenslezing* 17. D. J. Breeze and A. Thiel. Amsterdam, Stichting voor Nederlandsche Archeologie: 5-38.

Broek, A. v. d., F. Huysmans, et al. (2005). Cultuurminnaars en cultuurmijders. Trends in de belangstelling voor kunsten en cultureel erfgoed. S. e. C. Planbureau. Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Bucas, J., Grazuleviciute-Vileniske, et al. (2008). "Minding Our Manors: Lithuanian Heritage at Risk." *The Public Historian* **30**(4): 35-58.

Bugge, P. (2003). A European Cultural Heritage? Reflections on a Concept and a Programme. *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe.* R. S. Peckham. London, New York, I.B. Tauris: 1-13.

Bukowski, J., S. Piattoni, et al., Eds. (2003). *Between Europeanization and Local Societies: The Space for Territorial Governance.* London, Rowan & Littlefield.

Caftanzoglou, R. (2001). The Shadow of the Sacred Rock: Contrasting Discourses of Place

under the Acropolis. *Contested landscapes: movement, exile and place.* B. Bender and M. Winer. Oxford, New York, Berg Publishers.

Cepaitiene, A. (2001). "Reviving Ethnic Identity: Individual, Symbol, Place." *Lithuanian Ethnology* 1: 167-197.

Cesonis, G. (2007). *Walking around Kaunas fortress.* Kaunas, VDU Karo istorijos centras.

CHWB (2005). *Cultural Heritage. Reconciliation, Reconstruction, Hopes for the Future.* Stockholm, Sweden.

Cichowlaz, P. (2005). "France and the ESDP in the context of European integration and Mediterranean cooperation." *European Planning Studies* **13**(2): 285-295.

Ciubrinskas, V. (2004). Transnational Lithuanian Identity: imagined, constructed and contested in diaspora. *Communicating Cultures.* U. Kockel and M. Nic Craith, LIT Verlag: 42-66.

Clark, K. and P. Drury (2001). From monuments to people: the functions of the cultural heritage in a changing Europe. *Forward Planning: The function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe.* Cultural Heritage Division, Council of Europe: 113-117.

Commission of the European Communities (2001). European Governance; a white paper, European Commission: 35.

Commisson, E. (1999). European Spatial Development Perspective; Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities: 87.

Committee of the Regions (2009). White paper on multilevel governance. Brussels, Committee of the Regions of the EU,.

Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (2005). *Heritage for the Future, realising the economic and social potential of a key asset.* Strasburg, Council of the European Union.

Connolly, W. E. (1996). *The Ethos of Pluralization.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Coultrap, J. (1999). "From Parliamentarianism To Pluralism: Models of Democracy and the European Union's 'Democratic Deficit'." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11(1): 107.

Crossing the Lines (2006). Final Report Culture, recreation and tourism. Utrecht, Crossing the Lines: 22.

Cuéllar, J. P. d., L. Arizpe, et al. (1997). Our Creative Diversity. Paris, UNESCO, World Commission on Culture and Development.

Culler, J. (1983). *On deconstruction: theory and criticism after structuralism.* London, Routledge.

Dall'Erba, S. (2003). European Regional Development Policies: History and Current Issues. *EUC Working Papers.* Champaign, Illinois, European Union Centre, University of Illininois at Urbana Campaign. **2**: 26.

Dam, R. I. v., J. Eshuis, et al. (2005). Closed communities: een verkennend onderzoek naar gesloten gemeenschappen in Nederland. Wageningen, Wageningen UR: 73.

Dam, R. v., R. During, et al. (2008). Ambivalence of cultural influences in INTERREG practice. Results of CULTPLAN study about effect of culture and dealing with culture. *The European Dimension of Administrative Culture.* J. Beck and F. Thedieck. Baden-Baden NOMOS: 32-45.

Damaskos, D. and D. Plantzos, Eds. (2008). *A Singular Antiquity; Archeological and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece.* Athens, Mouseo Benaki.

Davoliüté, V. (2007). "Custodian of the Countryside. Kazimiera Prunskiené, the Minister of Agriculture, speaks about the changing situation and prospects for agriculture." *Lithuania in the World* **15**(5): 36-39.

de Búrca, G. (2003). "'The Constitutional Challenge of New Governance in the European Union'." *European Law Review* **28**: 27.

Decker, F. (2002). "Governance beyond the nation-state. Reflections on the democratic deficit of the European Union." Journal of European Public Policy **9**(2): 256-272.

Delanty, G. (2005). "The idea of a cosmopolitan Europe: On the cultural significance of Europeanization." *International Review of Sociology* 15(3): 405-421.

Delis, R. (2006). "The Neo-pagan Movement in Post-Soviet Lithuania - Constructing an Alternative Lithuanian Identity as a Response to the Conditions of Modernity? (abstract)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **6**: 187-222.

Deveikis, S., J. Naimaviciene, et al. (2004). Cultural Heritage Inventory in Lithuania. Role of the Surveyor's. *FIG Working Week 2004.* Athens, International Federation of Surveyors.

Dryzek, J. S. and N. Simon (2006). "Reconciling Pluralism and Consensus as Political Ideals." *American Journal of Political Science* **50**(3): 634-649.

Dubeski, N. (2001). "Victory myths and the Battle of Tannenberg." Journal of *Political and Military Sociology* **29**(2): 282-292.

Duineveld, M., R. Beunen, et al. (2007). *The difference between knowing the path and walking the path : een essay over het terugkerend maakbaarheidsdenken in beleidsonderzoek.* Wageningen, Wageningen Universiteit, Leerstoelgroep Sociaal-ruimtelijke Analyse.

During, R. and R. I. van Dam, Eds. (2007). *Cultural Differences in European Cooperation. Learning from INTERREG Practice.* CULTPLAN - Report and appendix. Wageningen, Alterra, Wageningen UR.

Durkheim, E. (1893). *The division of labour in society.* New York, Free Press.

Dynamo, T.-N. G. (2006). The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity (2004-2006). E. S. P. O. Network. Venice, Venetiarum Universitas In Domo Foscari: 775.

Eerden, M. (2008). Observaties vanuit de Belvederepraktijk. *Op historische gronden. Erfgoed in een context van ruimtelijk ontwerp, planning en democratie.* R. During, M. Eerden, J. Kolen, E. Luiten and A. v. d. Zande. Utrecht, Onderwijsnetwerk Belvedere.

Eerden, M., G. Remmers, et al. (2009). *Belvedere op de werkvloer. Perspectieven op de werkpraktijk.* Utrecht, Projectbureau Belvedere.

Egmond, K. v., R. Kuiper, et al. (2008). Opgaven voor het Nederlandse landschap. *De toekomst van het Nederlandse landschap.* J. Bouma. Amsterdam, KNAW: 15-22.

Ekdahl, S. (2002). "Tannenberg - Grunwald - Zalgiris: A medieval battle reflecting the German, Polish and Lithuanian monuments." *Tannenberg - Grunwald - Zalgiris: Eine mittelalterliche schlacht im spiegel Deutscher, Polnischer und Litauischer denkmäler* **50**(2): 103-118.

ESPON (2006). *ESPON Atlas, Mapping the structure of the European territory,* European Spatial Planning Observation Network.

European Commission (2002). INTERREG IIIB Community Initiative North West Europe. NWE Joint Technical Secretariat.

European Commission (2005). Community Initiative concerning Transnational Co-operation on Spatial Planning and Regional Development, including two Cross-border Co-operation Priorities. Baltic Sea Region INTERREG III B Neighbourhood Programme 2000-2006. Joint Programming Committee.

Eurostat (1993). *Portrait of the Regions. Volume 1, Germany, Benelux, Denmark. Volume 2, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece. Volume 3, France, United Kingdom, Ireland.* Brussels, Luxembourg, Directorate General for Regional Policy.

Even-Zohar, I. (1990). "Polysystem Studies." *Poetics Today* **11**(1): 1-268.

Even-Zohar, I. (2007). The complexity of culture. *Cultural variety in Europe: policy and practice.* Amsterdam, CULTPLAN.

Faletar, S. (2005). "Short overview of a Pan-European Cultural Heritage Project, CALIMERA." *Library Hi Tech News* **22**(2): 23-24.

Faludi, A. (2003). "Unfinished business: European spatial planning in the 2000s." *Town Planning Review* **74**(1): 121-140.

Faludi, A. (2004). "Spatial planning traditions in Europe: Their role in the ESDP process." *International Planning Studies* 9(2-3): 155-172.

Faludi, A. (2005). The Netherlands: a Culture with a soft spot for planning. *Comparative Planning Cultures.* B. Sanyal. New York, Routledge: 442-454.

Faludi, A. K. F. (2008). "The learning machine: European integration in the planning mirror." *Environment and Planning* A **40(**6): 1470-1484.

Fisher, M. F. (1995). "Cultural heritage: the past and present of the concept." *European Heritage* **6**: 5-7.

Friedman, J. (2005). "Globalization and the emerging culture of planning." *Progress in Planning* **64**(3): 51.

Frijhoff, W. (2003). "Toe-eigening als vorm van culturele dynamiek." *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche folklore* **104**(1): 14.

Frissen, P. (2007). *De Staat van Verschil. Een kritiek van de gelijkheid.* Amsterdam, Van Gennep.

Gablenz, O. v. d., A. Plesu, et al. (2005). Europe as a cultural project. Final report of the Reflection Group of the European Foundation (2002-2004). Amsterdam, European Cultural Foundation. .

Gaimster, D. (2005). "A parallel history: The archaeology of Hanseatic urban culture in the Baltic c. 1200-1600." *World Archaeology* **37**(3): 408-423.

Gardiner, M. and M. Mayerfeld Bell (1998). Bakhtin and the Human Sciences: a brief Introduction. *Bakhtin and the Human Sciences*. M. Gardiner and M. Mayerfeld Bell. London, Sage: 1-12.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures : selected essays*. New York, Basic Books.

Giannakourou, G. (2005). "Transforming spatial planning policy in Mediterranean countries: Europeanization and domestic change." *European Planning Studies* **13**(2): 319-331.

Glemza, J. (2006). The Significance of the Lithuanian Cultural Heritage. Regional *Seminar CULTURED INTERREG III C project*. Rokiskis, Lithuania, CULTURED.

Goffman, E. (1983). *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. New York, Harper and Row.

Governa, F. and C. Salone (2005). "Italy and European spatial policies: Polycentrism, urban networks and local innovation practices." *European Planning Studies* **13**(2): 265-283.

Graves-Brown, P., S. Jones, et al., Eds. (1996). *Cultural identity and archaeology: The construction of European communities.* Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG). London, Routledge.

Greve, J. (2006). "Logik der Situation, Definition der Situation, framing und Logik der Aggregation bei Esser und Luhmann." *Rainer Greshoffund Uwe Schimank (Hg.), Integrative Sozialtheorie*: 13-38.

Grix, J. (2004). *The foundations of research*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Guinée, A. (1999). "Air-Zuidwaarts: de toekomst van de Hoekse Waard. Ontwerpers versterken identiteit van Rotterdamse achtertuin." *Blauwe Kamer*(3): 18-25.

Gullestrup, H. (2007). Cultural Analysis: Towards Cross Cultural Understanding. Aalborg, Aalborg University Press.

Hague, C. (2005). Planning and Place Identity. *Place identity, participation and planning*. C. Hague and P. Jenkins. London, The RTPI Library Series, Routledge.

Hajer, M. A. (1995). *The politics of environmental discourse: ecological modernization and the policy process*. Oxford, Clarendon.

Hajer, M. A. and H. Wagenaar (2003). *Deliberative policy analysis; understanding governance in the network society*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation : cultural representations and signifying practices*. London, Sage.

Harmsen, R. and T. M. Wilson (2002). Introduction: approaches to Europeanization. *Yearbook of European Studies*. R. Harmsen and T. M. Wilson. Amsterdam, Rodopi: 13-26.

Harsema, H. (2000). "Over vervlakking van het landschap en bestuurlijke onmacht." *Blauwe Kamer*: 26-31.

Hendriks, K., Ed. (2004). *Tijd voor identiteit: vijf essays over de toekomst van natuur en landschap. Regionale Identiteit en Natuur- en Landschapsontwikkeling 2001-2004.* DWK programma 382. Wageningen, Wageningen University and Research.

Hendriks, M. (2006). "Een trapgeveltje begrijpt iedereen, een galerijflat niet. Herstructurering en cultuurhistorie in New Town Zoetermeer." *Blauwe Kamer*(2): 21-29.

Hendriks, M. (2007). ""En die oude dijk, mag ik die iets verleggen?" Belvedere Debat." *Blauwe Kamer*(4): 56-63.

Herngreen, R. (2001). "Op zoek naar betekenis en mogelijkheden van regionale differentiatie in de planvorming voor landelijke gebieden." (2): 50-63.

Herngreen, R. (2002). *De 8e Transformatie. Over planning en regionale identiteit.* Wageningen, Blauwe Kamer.

Herzfeld, M. (1991). *A Place in History; social and monumental time in a cretan town.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Herzfeld, M. (2003). "Localism and the logic of nationalistic folklore: Cretan reflections." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* **45**(2): 281-310.

Hobsbawn, E. and T. Ranger (1992). *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge, University Press.

Hooper, N. and N. Cox (1996). "The European Union KONVER programme." *Defence and Peace Economics* **7**: 75-94.

Howard, J. A. (2000). "Social Psychology of Identities." *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* **26**: 26.

Hübner, D. (2007). European Regional policy: History, Achievements and Perspectives. t. A. EU. Brussels, European Commission: 7.

Janik, L. and H. Zawadzka (1996). One Europe - one past? . Cultural Identity and *Archaeology; The construction of European Communities.* P. Graves-Brown, Siân Jones, Clive Gamble. London, Routledge: 116-124.

Jarmalaviciute, N. and R. Strazdas (2007). The Fortress of Kaunas: History Present Situation and Conversion Challenges. *Environmental Security and Public Safety.* W. Spyra and M. Katzsch, Springer: 127-145.

Jensen, O. B. and T. Richardson (2001). "Nested visions: New rationalities of space in European spatial planning." *Regional Studies* **35**(8): 703-717.

Jones, S. (1996). Discourses of Identity in the interpretation of the past. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology; The construction of European Communities.* P. Graves-Brown, Siân Jones, Clive Gamble. London, Routledge: 62-80.

Jones, S. and P. Graves-Brown (1996). Introduction: archaeology and cultural identity in Europe. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology; The construction of European Communities.* P. Graves-Brown, Siân Jones, Clive Gamble. London, Routledge: 1-24.

Jushchenko, V. (2006) "Ukraine's Road to the West, Guided by a Lithuanian Map (Interview president Jushchenko)." *Made in Lithuania* 22.

Kalnius, P. (2007). "Self-awareness of the Local Population of the Boundary of Upper Lithuania (Aukstaitija) and Samogitia (Zemaitija)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **6**: 95-119.

Karnooh, C. (2001). Europe: common heritage and differences. Forward Planning: *The*

*function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe*. Cultural Heritage Division, Council of Europe: 29-51.

Kavaliauskas, P. (2004). Regional Politics in Lithuania: Myths and the Reality. *Ekonominiai ir demografiniai pokyčiai bei švietimo problemos Rytų ir Vidurio Europoje. (Tarptautinės mokslinės konferencijos darbai). Vilnius,* . Vilnius.

Kavaliauskas, P. (2007). "Regions of Lithuania: history, present, vision." *Lietuvos architektų sąjunga: Archiforma* **1**: 65-71.

Kavaliauskas, P. (2008). "A concept of sustainable development for regional land use planning: Lithuanian experience." *Technological and Economic Development of Economy* **14**(1): 51-63.

Kavaliauskas, P. (2009). cultural regions. E-mail to Roel During, Kavaliauskas, Paulius: 1.

Kleef, S. v. (2004). De ontwikkeling van het begrip 'beschermd landschap'. *KU.* Nijmegen.

Klundert, B. v. d., A. Dietvorst, et al. (1994). Back to the Future. New functions for rural areas in Europe. Wageningen/The Hague, DLO Winand Staring Centre, Wageningen & Ministry of Housing, Environment and Physical Planning, The Hague: 50.

Knieling, J. and F. Othengrafen (2009). *Planning Cultures in Europe between Diversity and Convergence? How to handle Cultural Differences in Planning Systems, Traditions and Practices*, Ashgate.

Koumaridis, Y. (2006). Urban transformation and de-Ottomanization in Greece. *East Central Europe.* 33.

Kraus, P. A. (2003). "Cultural Pluralism and European Polity-Building: Neither Westphalia nor Cosmopolis." *JCMS* **41**(4): 21.

Kristiansen, K. (1996). European origins - 'civilization' and 'barbarism'. *Cultural identity and archaeology; the construction of European communities.* P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble. London, Routledge: 138-143.

Labuhn, B. A. (2008). Nietsche-Belvedere. Belvedere beschouwd in het licht van Nietsches "Over nut en nadeel van geschiedenis voor het leven". *Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte.* Leiden, University of Leiden. **Bachelor**: 127.

Landauskas, G. (2007). "On the Sensory Memory of Socialism (abstract)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **6**: 47-70.

Laski, H. J. (1917). *Studies in the problem of sovereignity*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Leniaud, J.-M. (1994). "What heritage for what Europe?" *European Heritage* **1**: 3-6.

Leniaud, J.-M. (1995). "Heritage policy in France: redefining the role of the State." *European Heritage* **3**: 8-9.

Leonardi, R. (2006). "Cohesion in the European Union; The Impact and Added Value of Cohesion Policy." *Regional Studies* **40**(2): 11.

Lois GonzaÌlez, R. C. and J. Somoza Medina (2003). "Cultural tourism and urban management in northwestern Spain: The pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela." *Tourisme culturel et amenagement urbain dans le nord ouest de l'Espagne: le*

peÌ€lirinage de Santiago de Compostelle **5**(4): 446-460.

Lotman, Y. and B. A. Uspensky (1971). "On the semiotic mechanism of culture." *Critical Theory since 1965*: 411-412.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Luhmann, N. (1995). *Social Systems*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.

Mardosa, J. (2001). "The presentation of pre-Christian Culture in Lithuanian Ethnology (abstract)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **1**: 119-143.

Margry, P. J. and H. Roodenburg, Eds. (2007). *Reframing Dutch Culture. Between otherness and Authenticity*. Progress in European Ethnology. Aldershot, Ashgate.

Meadowcroft, J. (2002). "The European Democratic Deficit, the Market and the Public Space: A Classical Liberal Critique." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences* 15(3): 181-192.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962 (1996)). *Phenomenology of Perception*. London, New York, Routledge.

Meyer-Bisch, P. (1995). "Defining the right to a cultural heritage as a human right." *European Heritage* **3**: 28-31.

Meyer-Bisch, P. (2009). On the 'right to heritage'- The innovative approach of Articles 1 and 2 of the Faro Convention. *Heritage and Beyond*. Strasburg, Council of Europe: 59-66.

Middelaar, L. v. (2009). *De passage naar Europa. Geschiedenis van een begin*. Brussel, Historische Uitgeverij.

Mourelatos, D. (2008). The debate over Cretan icons in twentieth-century Greek historiography and their incorporation into the national narrative. *A Singular Antiquity*. D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos. Athens, Museio Benaki: 197-207.

Muller, M. (1995). "Heritage, diversity, and human rights." *European Heritage* **3**: 3-4.

Municipality of Utrecht (1997). Van geheim naar publiek domein. Beleidsnotitie over de Utrechtse forten: 8.

Municipality of Utrecht Bureau Special Maintenance (1999). Voortgangsbericht Forten 15 maart 1999. A. G. Dienst Stadsbeheer. Utrecht, Municipality of Utrecht.

Municipality of Utrecht Bureau Special Maintenance (2001). Voortgangsbericht nummer 2, Utrecht centrum van de Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie. A. G. Dienst Stadsbeheer. Utrecht, Municipality of Utrecht.

National Heritage Board (2003). Cultural Heritage Co-operation in the Baltic States. Stockholm, National Heritage Board Sweden: 43.

Neuvel, J. M. M. (2009). Geographical dimensions of risk management : the contribution of spatial planning and Geo-ICT to risk reduction. Wageningen, Wageningen UR,.

Orlov, V. and J. Lukse, Eds. (2007). Atlasas Kauno Tvirtove. Kaunas, Vitauto Didziojo universiteto Karo istorijos centras.

Pakalniskis, V. (2001). "Samogitian Identity in the Globalized World (abstract)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **1**: 199-215.

Palmer, R. (2009). Preface. *Heritage and Beyond*. Strasburg, Council of Europe: 7-8.

Paludan-Müller, C. (2008). Informal working document as input to the debates on: 'Heritage and intercultural dialogue - from national to universally - owned heritage'. *Conference of Ministers responsible for Culture 'Intercultural dialogue as a basis for peace and sustainable development in Europe and its neighbouring regions"*. Baku, Azerbaijan, Council of Europe.

Panevezys County (2006). *Cultural Heritage of Panevezys County*. Panevezys, Lithuania, Project CULTURED, INTERREG IIIC Program.

Papantoniou, I. (1996). *Greek Regional Costumes*. Nafplion.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. New York, The Free Press.

Pearce, M. (2008). "European heritage. A view from the periphery." *Archaeological Dialogues* **15**(1): 51-53.

Pedroli, B., A. van Doorn, et al. (2007). *Europe's living landscapes : essays exploring our identity in the countryside.* Zeist, KNNV.

Pickard, R. (2002). *European Cultural Heritage (Volume II). A review of policies and practice.* Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.

Plantzos, D. (2008). Archaeology and Hellenic Identity, 1896-2004: the frustrated vision. *A Singular Antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece. D.* Damaskos and D. Plantzos. Athens, Benaki Museum, : 11-27.

Pochette, P. (2001). "Subsidiariteit, bestuur en sociaal beleid." *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Sociale Zekerheid* **1**: 17.

Priemus, H. and W. Zonneveld (2004). "Regional and transnational spatial planning : problems today, perspectives for the future." *European Planning Studies* **12**(3): 283 - 297.

Procee, H. (1991). *Over de grenzen van cultuur; voorbij universalisme en relativisme.* Meppel, Amsterdam, Boom.

Purcaro, M. (2002). De Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie en de Brialmont Fortengordel. Verkenning van de Fortengordels rond Antwerpen. N. H. Waterlinie. Utrecht, Projectbureau Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie: 53.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work : civic traditions in modern Italy.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Ramanauskaite, E. (2002). "Construction of Neopagan identity in Lithuanian Youth Underground Culture (abstract)." *Lithuanian Ethnology* **2**: 89-122.

Ravestein, N. v. and D. Evers (2004). Unseen Europe. A survey of EU politics and its impact on spatial development in the Netherlands. R. Planbureau. Den Haag, RPB: 157.

Reader, I. (2007). "Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: Meanings and implications." *Religion* **37**(3): 210-229.

RESTAURONET (2006). Aménagement et gouvernement du polycentrisme historique de la Méditerranée. Portfolio. *RESTAUROnet.* S. Ceretti, M. De Zordo and G. Risicaris. Florence.

Rhodes, R. A. W. (1997). *Understanding governance : policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

Richardson, T. and O. L. Jensen (2003). "Linking discourse and space: towards a cultural sociology of Space in Analysing Spatial Policy Discourses." *Urban Studies* **40**(1): 15.

Ricq, C. (2006). AER White Paper "Europe and Regions" or "regional, national and European identities". *Europe Day*.

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (2009). Erfgoedbalans 2009. Archeologie, monumenten en cultuurlandschap in Nederland. Amersfoort, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap: 300.

Risse, T. (2003). European Identity and the Heritage of National Cultures. *Rethinking Heritage; Cultures and Politics in Europe*. R. S. Peckham. London, I.B. Tauris: 74-89.

Röder, H., H.-R. Neumann, et al. (2007). *Baltic Cultural and Tourism Route Fortresses. Sightseeing and Excursions along the European Cultural Heritage "Fortresses" in the Baltic Sea Region*. Kostrzyn, City of Kostrzyn.

Ros, P. and T. Weijschedé (2009). "Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie. Uitvoering leidt tot nieuwe kennisvragen." *Vitruvius* **8**(juli 2009): 5.

Rutkauskas, L. H. (2007). "Rebuilding Lithuanian Family Farms." *Lithuanian Heritage*(September/October 2007): 24-26.

Rypkema, D. (2009). Economics and the built cultural heritage. *Heritage and Beyond*. C. o. Europe. Strasburg, Council of Europe: 113-123.

Saldukas, L. (2006) "The Main Tasks and Problems in Preservation of Lithuanian Diaspora Archives in the Lithuanian Emigration Institute." International conference on the Baltic Archives Abroad. Tartu, Estonia.

Sanyal, B. (2005). *Comparative planning cultures*. New York [etc.], Routledge.

Sassatelli, M., Ed. (2006). *Landscape as Heritage: negotiating European Cultural Identity*. EUI Working Papers. San Domenico di Fiesole, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Sassatelli, M. (2008). "EUROPEAN CULTURAL SPACE IN THE EUROPEAN CITIES OF CULTURE." *European Societies* **10**(2): 225-245.

Savukynas, V. (2006) "Lithuania and Europe: Opportunities to reconstruct Identity." *www.forumvilnius.lt*

Savukynas, V. (2006) "Other in Society: Stereotypes and Identity. Contribution to the relationship between the identity of majority and stereotypes of minorities." *www.forumvilnius.lt*

Scharpf, F. W. (2002). "The European social model: Coping with the challenges of diversity." *Journal of Common Market Studie*s **40**(4): 645-670.

Scharpf, F. W. (2002). "Notes Toward a theory of Multilevel Governing in Europe." *Scandinavian Political Studies* **24**(1): 26.

Shehata, S. (2006). Ethnography, Identity, and the Production of Knowledge. *Interpretation and Method; Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. D. Yanow and P.

Schwartz-Shea. New York, M.E. Sharpe, Inc: 244-263.

Shore, C. (undated). "Democracy in Crisis: The White Paper on European Governance." Papers, 44, from *http://www.brugesgroup.com/mediacentre/index.live?article=78*.

Shotter, J. and M. Billig (1998). A Bakhtinian Psychology: from out of the Heads of Individuals and into the Dialogues between them. *Bakhtin and the Human Sciences*. M. Mayerfeld Bell and M. Gardiner. London, Sage Publishers: 13-29.

Stame, N. (2008). "The European Project, Federalism and Evaluation." *Evaluation* **14**(2): 23.

Steenhuis, M., J. v. Doorn, et al. (2008). *Een kloppend hart voor de buurt*. Schiedam, Steenhuis stedenbouw/landschap en Urban Fabric.

Steinmetz, S. R. (1920). *De Nationaliteiten in Europa. Eene sociographische en politische studie*. Amsterdam, Van Looy, S.L.

Strolenberg, F., S. d. Greeuw, et al. (2008). *The Radio Kootwijk Frequency. A call for action to preserve and develop varied and vital European landscapes*. Apeldoorn, Triënnale.

Swidler, A. (2004). "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* **51**: 13.

Tannen, D. (1979). What's in a frame? Surface evidence of underlying expectations. *Framing in Discourse*. D. Tannen. New York, Oxford University Press: 14-56.

TereAikinas, A. (2007). "History, geneology and memory in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." Retrieved in three parts, from *www.forumvilnius.lt*.

Thérond, D. (1999). "The cultural heritage of tourism and travel: an asset for development." *European Heritage*: 11-14.

Thiel, A. (2005). The challenge of an appropriate presentation of archaeological monuments along the Upper German-Raetian Limes. *The challenge of presentation. Reuvenslezing 17*. D. J. Breeze and A. Thiel. Amsterdam, Stichting voor Nederlandsche Archeologie: 41-64.

Thomas-Penette, M. (1999). "Cultural Routes: key factors in the discovery of a common heritage." *European Heritage*: 7-10.

Thurston, T. (2009). "Unity and Diversity in the European Iron Age: Out of the Mists, Some Clarity?" *Journal of Archaeological Research* **17**: 76.

Tinbergen, J. (1982). Benelux: unity in diversity - a pattern for Europe? Europe's *Economy in Crisis*. R. Dahrendorf. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: 141-159.

Tolstoy, V. (2009). Heritage and dialogue. *Heritage and Beyond*. Strasburg, Council of Europe: 85-91.

Triandafyllidou, A., M. Calloni, et al. (1997). "New Greek nationalism." *Sociological Research Online* **2**(1).

Trinkunas, J., Ed. (1999). *Of Gods and Holidays. The Baltic Heritage*. Vilnius, Lithuania, Tverme.

Trotzig, G. (1994). "Welcome to the Archaeology of Europe." European Heritage 2: 3-5.

Umbrasas, A. (2006). The problems of the protection of immovable cultural heritage of Lithuania. *Regional seminar CULTURED INTERREG III* C project. Rokiskis, CULTURED.

Unwin, T. (1998). Ideas of Europe. *A European Geography*. T. Unwin. Harlow, England, Pearson Education Limited: 1-16.

Van Assche, K. (2004). Signs in time : an interpretive account of urban planning and design, the people and their history. Wageningen, Wageningen UR.

Van Houtum, H. and A. Legendijk (2001). "Contextualising regional identity and imagination on the construction of polycentric urban regions: The cases of the Ruhr area and the Basque country." *Urban Studies* **38**(4): 747-767.

Varela, F. J., H. R. Maturana, et al. (1974). "Autopoiesis: The organization of living systems." BioSystems **5**: 187-196.

Wagner, P. (2001). From Monuments to Human Rights: Redefining "Heritage" in the Work of the Council of Europe. *Forward Planning: The function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe*. C. o. E. Cultural Heritage Division, Council of Europe: 9-27.

Waterhout, B. and A. Faludi (2006). Op weg naar een territoriale dimensie in Europees beleid? *Grenzeloze ruimte. Regionale gebiedsgerichte ontwikkelingsplanologie in Europees perspectief*. L. Janssen-Jansen and B. Waterhout. Den Haag, SDU: 55-68.

Weber, R. (2001). Role of heritage in a changing Europe. *Forward Planning: The function of cultural heritage in a changing Europe*. C. o. E. Cultural Heritage Division, Council of Europe: 5-7.

Weithmann, M. W. (1996). "Griechenland zwischen Ost und West." *Geographische Rundschau* **48**(10): 556-561.

Wennekes, C. (2005). Goed Europees burgerschap in Nederland. De goede burger. *Tien beschouwingen over een morele categorie*. P. Dekker and J. d. Hart. Den Haag, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (1992). Grond voor keuzen. Vier perspectieven voor de landelijke gebieden in de Europese Gemeenschap. *Rapporten aan de Regering*. W. R. v. h. Regeringsbeleid. Den Haag, WRR: 149.

Weyrich, P. (2003). "Feminism uber Alles." *Frontpagemagazine*, 28 September 2003, from *www.frontpagemagazine.com*.

Willems, W. J. H. (2007). "The work of making Malta: The Council of Europe's Archaeology and Planning Committee 1988-1996." *European Journal of Archaeology* **10**(1): 57-71.

Witsen, P.-P. (2005). "Discussies over culturele planologie. Cultuur als breekijzer." Blauwe Kamer(1): 41-44.

Yanow, D. (2000). *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. Newbury Park, Sage.

Zonneveld, W. (2005). "Multiple visioning: New ways of constructing transnational spatial visions." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* **23**(1): 41-62.

Zouwen, M. v. d. (2006). *Nature policy between trend and traditions. Dynamics in nature policy arrangements in the Yorkshire Dales, Doñana and the Veluwe*. Delft.

# Curriculum Vitae

Roel During was born in 1957 in Utrecht. After finishing his studies in Landscape Ecology at the University of Utrecht, he started working at TNO in Delft, focusing on environmental issues in spatial planning. One of these issues was the use of historical information in nature conservation planning and he initiated and chaired the working group "Historical Ecology" within the Working Community Landscape Ecological Research (WLO). In 1995 he was appointed as researcher at Alterra (previously the Winand Staring Centre). His focus shifted from environmental issues to public policy making, its use of and implications for scientific knowledge. He was assigned several research tasks by the First and Second Chambers of the State General, which gave him a good view on the interactions between politics and public administration. In 2005 he initiated CULTPLAN, a research programme looking at the the intercultural dimensions of spatial and landscape planning. This was undertaken within the framework of INTERACT, an EU organisation aiming to improve the management of INTERREG projects and programmes. During the three years of this project he became acquainted with the diversity of regional cultures in Europe and their influences on spatial planning practices. In 2006, as Assistant Professor he joined the Belvedere Educational Network, which consists of three related scientific chairs at the universities of Amsterdam, Delft and Wageningen. In this position he studied and critiqued the various ways in which spatial planners deal with cultural heritage, from a comparative perspective, both national and international. He combined his interests in ecological history, public policy making and cultural diversity to develop his PhD proposal on the role of cultural heritage in the creation of Europe.