

Developing and Integrating a Conflict Management Model into the Heritage Management Process: The Case of the New Acropolis Museum in Athens

Kalliopi Fouseki

This paper presents a conflict management model that heritage managers can use as a basis for the development of a conflict management strategy in cases where debates, tensions and conflicts occur among various stakeholders involved in a heritage project. The formation of the suggested model is based on conflict management models developed by economists, decision-making theorists, sociologists, psychologists, behaviourists, anthropologists and heritage management theorists (Boudon 1986; Demas 2002; Osborne 2002). Although the suggested model is still at a preparatory stage, this paper aims mainly to highlight the necessity for adopting an interdisciplinary approach to conflict resolution in the heritage sector. The application of the model is being explored in the case of the construction of the New Acropolis Museum in Athens (NMA), the construction of which, started in 1989, is yet

to be completed. This case study reveals the negative impact of complex and multi-levelled conflicts occurring among the stakeholders involved on the implementation of heritage projects and highlights the necessity for integrating a conflict management strategy into the overall heritage management process. The paper is divided into three main parts. The first section provides a brief review of the conflicting discourses regarding the construction of the NMA in Athens. The second section analyses the theoretical conflict management model, the applicability of which is being explored on the case of the NMA in the third section.

Keywords: Culture heritage management, New Acropolis Museum, Athens, Greece, conflict management, game theory



PLATE 1. VIEW OF THE NEW ACROPOLIS MUSEUM FROM THE ACROPOLIS

LOCATION	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Makriyianni site	-visual contact with the Acropolis Hill -close to the Centre of Acropolis Studies -revitalization of the area (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990:58-59).	-lack of parking facilities -densely inhabited area -traffic problems and problems of air pollution -construction of the Underground Metro Station Acropolis led to reduction of the available space -important archaeological finds -integration of historic buildings in the museum complex -expropriations of surrounding houses -did not belong to the Ministry of Culture
Koile site	-visual contact with the Acropolis Hill and its monuments -parking facilities	-visible ancient cuttings into the natural rock
Dionysos site	-visual contact with the Acropolis Hill and its monuments	-limited space that would necessitate the cutting as to the natural rock -archaeological finds -lack of parking facilities due to the pedestrianization of the area as a result of the Unification of Archaeological Sites

Table 1: The advantages and disadvantages of the suggested locations for the construction of the NMA

The history of the conflicts in the case of the New Acropolis Museum

In 1974, after the restoration of democracy to Greece, Konstantinos Karamanlis, then Prime Minister, expressed the idea of constructing a New Acropolis Museum (NMA) at the Makriyianni area, located on the south-eastern site of the Acropolis Hill (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990, 11; Plates 1 & 2).

The Ministry of Culture held two architectural competitions, in 1976 and 1979 respectively, where the Makriyianni plot was proposed as a site for the new museum (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990, 11). Both competitions were unsuccessful in finding a solution due to the problems that the site presented in relation to the building programme (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990, 11).

Finally, on 16 May 1989, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, then headed by Melina Merkouri, proclaimed that an international architectural competition for the construction of the NMA could be held. This proclamation was associated with Melina Merkouri's attempts to recover the Parthenon Marbles at the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies, organised by the UNESCO in Mexico City. The competitors had to choose from three sites for the NMA: the Makriyianni block, the site of Dionysos Restaurant and the Koile site, to the west of the Philopappos hill.

Despite the difficulties that each of these areas presented (see Table 1), the first prize was awarded on 10 November 1990 to the Italian architects Manfredi Nicoletti and Lucio Passarelli, whose design was located at the Makriyianni area (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990, 11).

In order to facilitate the construction of the NMA, it was then agreed that the Ministry of Culture would be permitted to appropriate the non-listed buildings located on the plot. They were aimed to be incorporated in the museum construction programme. The listed buildings at the site are the Centre for the Acropolis Studies, which used to be the first military hospital (1834/1928) of the independent Greek nation constructed by the Bavarian architect Wilhem von Weiler (Μπαμιατζής 1996), the small church of 'Sts Anargiroi' located on the north-west corner of the Centre for Acropolis Studies, the neo-classical building in the north-east corner of the plot called the 'House of Makriyianni', after General Makriyiannis,¹ and three apartment blocks with neoclassical architectural features on D. Aeropagitou Street.

The decisive factor in the choice of the site was the conviction that the new museum should be situated close to the Acropolis and to the Centre for the Acropolis Studies in order to maintain the inseparable bond linking the

¹ A general of the Greek War of Independence, who lived in this area during the mid nineteenth century.



PLATE 2. VIEW TOWARDS THE ACROPOLIS HILL FROM THE BACK OF THE NEW ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, CHATZICHRISTOU STREET

ancient objects with the Acropolis monuments (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1990, 11). However, the Association of Greek Architects reacted against the construction of a modern, high building in the vicinity of the Acropolis. At the same time, local inhabitants living in the surrounding plots reacted against the museum construction and the expropriations of their flats, required for the construction of the museum. Both the architects and the local inhabitants at that time denounced the museum construction to the Supreme Judicial Council, which finally decided to interrupt the implementation of the museum project in September 1993 (*Τα Νέα* 25/11/93). Opposition to construction of the museum in the Makriyianni plot was also voiced by international architects who requested the Greek government cancel the first architectural competition and proclaim a new one (*Τα Νέα* 24/07/1997). As a result, in 1995, in order to accelerate the process of the museum construction, the Greek Parliament established the Organisation for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum (OANMA) as a private legal entity supervised by the Ministry of Culture (Παπαχρήστος 2004, 442).

The archaeological excavation in the Makriyianni plot started in 1997 and revealed a significant Byzantine settlement dating back to the seventh century AD, as well as remains dating back to the Classical and Roman periods (*Τα Νέα* 14/05/1998). This gave the British Museum, soon after the accusations of St. Clair that the British Museum had destroyed the Parthenon Marbles, the opportunity to accuse OANMA of destroying significant archaeological remains (The British Museum 2004; *The Times* 07/07/1999). A group of archaeologists and the ‘Citizen’s Movement’,

a movement consisting of architects and intellectuals, objected to the museum construction arguing that it was leading to the destruction of the archaeological site. The discovery of the archaeological remains rekindled the conflict between the local community and the OANMA. At this stage, local inhabitants used the discovery and the partial destruction of the archaeological site as a means to oppose the museum construction and consequently prevent the expropriation of their blocks of flats (*Το Βήμα* 18/05/1997). In 1998, the Supreme Judicial Council again requested the interruption of museum construction works in the Makriyianni plot (Παπαχρήστος 2004, 443). The issues at stake were whether the previous decisions had predicted the environmental impact, whether the cancellation of the first international competition obliged OANMA to relocate the museum construction, and whether the museum building constituted a disruption of the historic landscape of the Acropolis area. The Supreme Court of Appeal (Areopagus) finally decided that the museum construction should continue, since all the above issues had been resolved (Παπαχρήστος 2004, 444). The issue of preserving *in situ* or reburial of the discovered archaeological remains was discussed by the Central Archaeological Council (CAC) on 12 October, 1999 (Παπαχρήστος 2004, 446). Since they constituted unique remains of the seventh century AD, the CAC decided that the archaeological remains should be preserved and integrated into the museum building. This decision required the proclamation of a new international architectural competition in 1999, in order to redesign the museum building so that it can integrate a significant part of the discovered archaeological site (*Τα Νέα* 4/10/1999). It was

felt that the new building should also replicate the natural light and atmospheric conditions of the original location on the Acropolis for the exhibits within the museum, achieve a balance between the museum's architecture and that of the Acropolis Hill, the Weiler building, and the façade of the neighbouring Acropolis Metro Station, and provide visitors with the ability to view the Parthenon frieze and the Acropolis simultaneously (OANMA 2001). Finally, the first prize of this competition was awarded in 2001 to Bernard Tschumi and Michalis Fotiadis.

However, the decision to preserve *in situ* the discovered remains and to redesign the museum building did not resolve the protests against the museum construction as such. The reactions of the Association of Greek Architects became even stronger when the Hellenic Ministry of Culture decided to announce a second international architectural competition aimed at building a new museum on the same plot. The architects stressed that the plot was inappropriate because of the archaeological remains and the continuation of the archaeological excavations (*Ta Néa* 02/06/2000). Due also to the fact that the NMA was being associated with the Olympic Games of 2004 and, consequently, with the repatriation of the Parthenon Marbles, reactions were generated against any connection of the museum with the Olympic Games, which was seen as constituting the appropriation of heritage for commercial purposes (*To Bήμα* 30/07/2000). Similar reactions were caused by the Citizens' Movement who endeavoured to prevent the construction of the NMA at the Makriyianni plot or in any area close to the Acropolis Hill due to the archaeological interest of the area (*To Bήμα* 20/05/2000). At the same time, British newspapers published detailed articles relating to the destruction of the archaeological site on the Makriyianni plot (*The Guardian* 15/07/2002). As a result, the Supreme Judicial Council ordered the interruption of the museum construction on 16 July 2003, requesting from OANMA evidence that the museum building was not to destroy the significant ancient remains. According to appeals made by the inhabitants of the area, representatives of ICOMOS, and architects, the museum plans did not have any provision for the protection of the site (*To Bήμα* 08/06/2003). Finally, the Supreme Judicial Council decided that the museum construction works were not illegal because they had been modified according to the protection of the archaeological site (*Ta Néa* 28/07/2003). At the same time, police officers were 'fighting' with the inhabitants of the block of flats at Chatzichristou St. 9 because they refused to leave their flats arguing that their appeal concerning the amount of compensation had not yet been dealt with (*Ta Néa* 17/07/2003). In 2003, Mr. Petros Tatoulis (now Deputy Minister of Culture, then member of the opposing conservative political party (Nea Demokratia)) accused members of the CAC and architects of the international committee who had approved the museum plan of destroying a significant archaeological site (*Ta Nea*: 27/07/2004). His appeal provoked reactions by both the Association of Archaeologists of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the opposing political communist

party (*Ελευθεροτυπία* 11/05/2004). This coincided with the Supreme Judicial Council's decision to halt the museum construction works in March 2004, because of the construction of foundation pillars in the 'red zone of the archaeological site' which prompted the inhabitants and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to call for the rejection of the ministerial decision that had approved the construction of the museum building (*Ta Néa* 11/03/2004). The president of the Supreme Judicial Council, Mr. Michalis Pikramenos, rejected the appeals but doubted the legality of the architectural competition since Mr. Vassilis Chandakas, director of Anastylis Museums and Technical Works, was simultaneously a member of the OANMA council and of the CAC, which was responsible for approving the museum building. Moreover, the CAC had approved the plan for the museum building (specifically, that its height would exceed that of the neoclassical Weiler building, and was therefore illegal) before the official promulgation of the 2912/2001 law that allowed increase in the height of the museum building by five metres compared to that of the Weiler building (*Ta Nea* 20/03/2004).

Developing a conflict management model

The heritage management model suggested in this paper (see Figure 1) consists of a vertical dimension that shows the sequence of steps of the development of a conflict management process, and of a horizontal dimension showing the interrelationship of the key elements of the process.

The first step of the model is the identification of the stakeholders and the assessment of their power. This has been emphasised as a necessary step in the heritage management process (Demas 2002, 28) and constitutes a basic principle for every conflict management model developed by other disciplines. The second step is the assessment of the goals, objectives, interests and needs of the leading heritage organisation in relation to those of the involved stakeholders. Prioritisation of the goals and objectives is a crucial element in this step, as well as the identification of the contradictions or the commonalities, which takes place in the third step of the process. The notion of common interest has been emphasised by negotiation theorists, and especially those focusing on the 'integrative negotiation', (Lewicki *et al* 1999, 107) which refers to the type of negotiation that allows both sides to achieve their objectives. This requires a constant dialogue with the involved parties and the gathering of information from available sources regarding the past behaviour of the parties. The next step is the identification of the common goals between the leading heritage organisation and the involved stakeholders on which both the alternative offers depend. Heritage managers should determine their resistance points and limits, and think of as many alternatives as possible that do not exceed these limits. They should also try to assess the possible alternatives that the involved parties might have to the proposed agreement

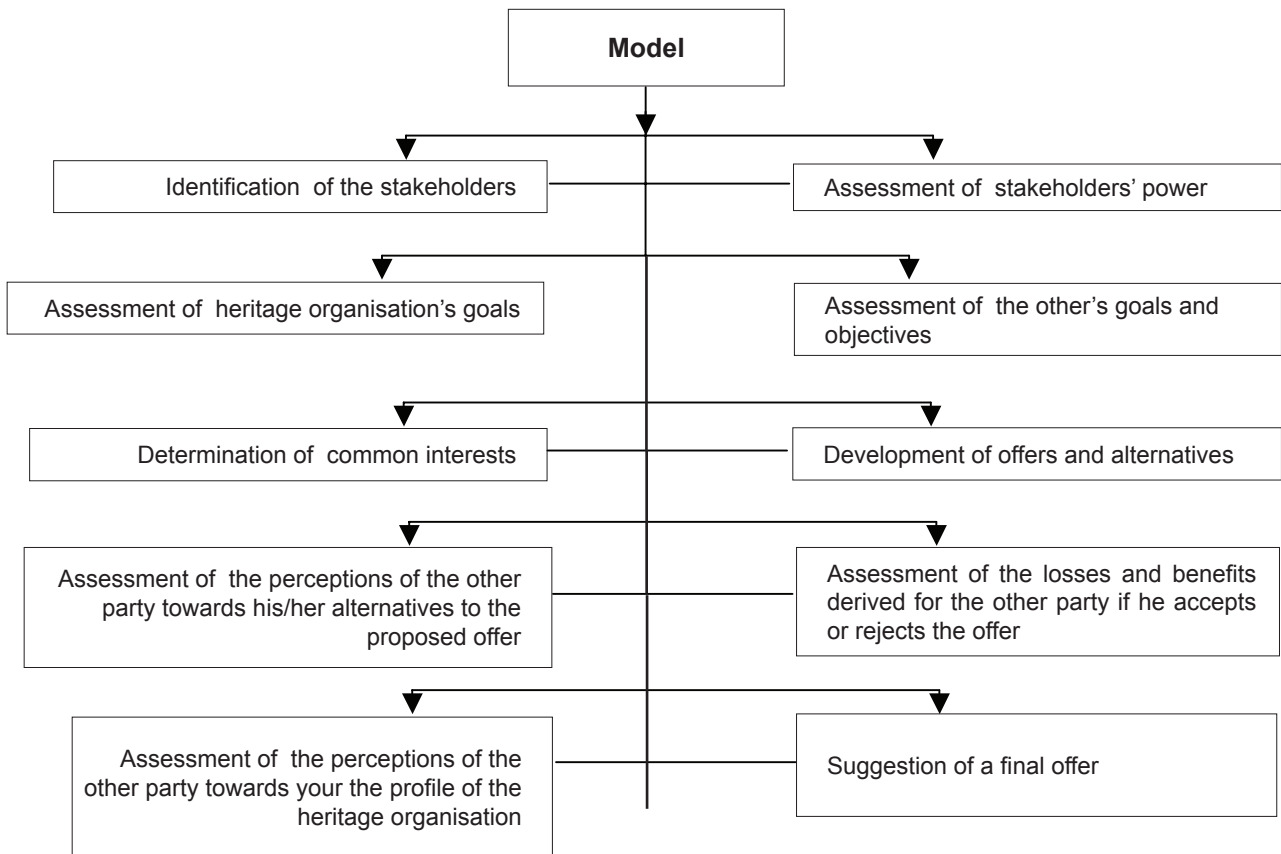


FIGURE 1. A CONFLICT MANAGEMENT MODEL

and assess what the losses and the benefits might be for the involved parties if they accepted or rejected their offer. This will depend on how the involved parties perceive their alternatives in relation to the cost required for selecting them. The notion of setting a series of alternatives has again been mainly developed by decision-makers and economists who emphasise the development of specific strategies for the selection of the optimal action that will maximise their profit. Their models are mainly based on the use of mathematical analyses that aim to provide optimal solutions to the problems. Their models assume that decision-makers consistently assess the advantages and disadvantages of any alternatives, according to their goals and their objectives. They then evaluate the consequences of selecting or not selecting each alternative in order to select the alternative that provides the maximum utility (optimal choice) (Lyles & Thomas 1988).

One of the most widely used economic models is the ‘game theory’, according to which the involved parties are assumed to be rational ‘players’ involved in a ‘game’, the rules of which are known to all the players. The ultimate aim of each ‘player’ is to maximize his gain and win the ‘game’ (Osborne 2002). One of the key elements of this theory is the ‘competitive interdependence’, according to which the actions of one ‘player’ affect the actions of the other (Οικονόμου –Γεωργίου 2000: 276). The ‘games’ can be either zero-sum games, where the more the one gains

the more the other loses, or non-zero sum games where the involved parties will simultaneously experience losses and gains. The non-zero sum games reflect real life situations, but their mathematical solution can be very complex.

‘Game theory’ has many disadvantages that derive mainly from the assumption that there are no intrinsic biases to the decision-making process, as well as the ignorance that individuals or groups of people involved in the process bring into such a situation regarding their own perceptions and mental models (Lyles & Thomas 1988). A further drawback is the assumption that all ‘players’ know the rules of the ‘game’, an awareness which arguably does not occur in real life situations. However, despite its disadvantages, the rational model utilises a logical, sequential approach that facilitates the deductive decision-making process by determining the goals or objectives, evaluating the potential alternatives, and choosing the optimal one, as will be shown below.

The last step of the process involves the assessment of the involved parties’ perceptions towards the heritage organisation, although this step can take place from the beginning of the process. The significance of assessing perceptions in the decision-making process has been emphasised by sociologists, psychologists and behaviourists who have recognised the weaknesses of the economic/rational model and have stressed that decisions are affected

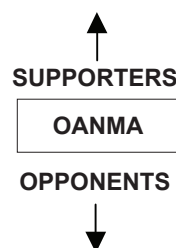
by the notion of ‘bounded rationality’ (Boudon 1986). This notion refers to the limitations existing when decision-makers have to select from a variety of alternatives. Such limitations might refer to the limited time available, the mental capacity of managers and the limited information and resources, and are defined by social psychologists as cognitive biases and heuristics.

Application of the model in the case of the New Acropolis Museum

The brief historical review of the NMA given above shows that the oppositions of architects, ICOMOS representatives, the local community, archaeologists and the Citizen’s Movement, who used the destruction of the archaeological site as an argument against the museum construction, delayed the implementation of the project, increasing also the cost. It is obvious that conflicts could have been

avoided or resolved if expropriations of the blocks of flats had been avoided, if the archaeological potential of the site had been fully assessed before the international architectural competition in 1990, and if the NMA had been built on another plot. However, the expropriation of the block of flats, in order to enhance the surroundings of the museum by planting trees, and the construction of the museum in the vicinity of the Acropolis Hill, constituted the resistance points for the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. In view of this, conflicts could have been resolved if they had been assessed, predicted and managed from an early stage in the project. Managing potential or existing conflicts requires constant communication with the debating parties, identification of all of the involved parties and assessment of their values, interests, motivations, aspirations, goals and objectives. This section aims to present a sequential process suggested by the model that should have been followed in order to avoid any conflicts.

Stakeholders	What do they value?	Why do they value it?
Greeks in general	The Acropolis site, its monuments and the Parthenon Marbles.	Rise of the local claim for the repatriation of Parthenon Marbles to a global level. Reinforcement of national pride. National significance. Acropolis as a national and ‘sacred’ symbol (national and symbolic value of Acropolis Hill)
Socialist (then) Greek government party (PASOK)	NMA	Reinforcement of political power / status (political value)
Melina Merkouri Foundation	Acropolis Hill and Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of the Parthenon Marbles. (national, symbolic and aesthetic value of Acropolis Hill)
Parthenon Committee 2004 for the repatriation of Parthenon Marbles.	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, and Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles
Australian Committee	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles (archaeological /aesthetic value)
British Committee	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles (archaeological /aesthetic value)
Canadian Committee	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles (archaeological /aesthetic value)
Belgian Committee	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles (archaeological /aesthetic value)
US committee	Acropolis Hill, its monuments, Parthenon Marbles.	Repatriation of Parthenon Marbles (archaeological /aesthetic value)
Inhabitants of Makriyianni (whose houses will not be expropriated)	The Museum.	They will benefit economically from tourism



↑ ↑

Greek opposing conservative political party (Nea Demokratia) (current Greek government)	The archaeological site of Makryianni plot and Acropolis Hill.	Destruction of archaeological remains used as a means to oppose the NMA and reinforce their political profile with the public (political value)
Association of Architects	Historic landscape and its aesthetics/ the neoclassical buildings of the Makryianni plot.	Aesthetic value of landscape / association of aesthetics with 'sacredness'. They wished, feverishly, their involvement in the project.
Citizens' Movement	Archaeological site and the landscape.	Against commodification, tourism, and environmental pollution . Since this movement consisted mainly of intellectuals, their concerns referred mainly to preserving the 'aesthetics' and 'sacredness' of the Acropolis landscape, which was 'profaned' by the association of cultural heritage with tourism.
Society of the Friends of the Museum of the Hellenic Medicine	The Weiler Building which used to be the first military hospital, located on the Makryianni plot.	Historic significance: The main incentive of this society was to convert the Weiler building into a museum for medical history.
Archaeologists	Archaeological site	Archaeological / scientific importance: The aim of those archaeologists, who do not work in the Makryianni area, was to prevent the destruction of the archaeological remains, or additionally to question the reputation of those archaeologists involved in the project (since archaeology in Greece is very competitive)
British Museum	Parthenon Marbles and the British Museum.	Refusal to loan or return Parthenon Marbles.
British government	British Museum.	Refusal to loan or return Parthenon Marbles
Inhabitants whose houses are expropriated.	Archaeological Makryianni site and their houses.	Destruction of archaeological remains used as a means to oppose the expropriation of their houses required for the construction of the NMA.
Religious community	The Church of Agioi Aargiroti (located on the Makryianni site)	Construction of the NMA opposed in case demolition of church is required (finally it was removed). The main objective of the local religious community and the 'Orthodox Church of Greece' was to prevent the demolition of the small church of Agioi Anargiroti (which was eventually removed and reconstructed elsewhere).

Very high power
 High power
 Limited power
 Little power

FIGURE 2: STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NMA AND THE DEGREE OF THEIR POWER

Identification of the stakeholders and assessment of their power, goals and interests

The conflicting values and interests relating to the construction of the NMA on the Makryianni plot are depicted in Figure 2.

The figure is divided into two sub-tables of which the upper table presents the values and interests of the supporters of the construction of the museum, while the bottom table presents the values and interests of the opponents of the museum's construction. It also shows the levels of power held by each of the stakeholders. Figure 2 also presents the multiple and diverse values

with which the museum construction has been attributed by several stakeholders at national and international level. The most powerful stakeholder, has been the local community who collaborated with the Association of Greek Architects and the Citizen's Movement. Although each of these groups had its own interests (economic, emotional, aesthetic and environmental/archaeological interest respectively), their common interest was the interruption of museum construction on the Makryianni plot. Their power was also reinforced through the use of media and the judicial appeals that delayed the implementation of the museum project and increased its cost extremely. As a result, the NMA was transformed from a symbol of the repatriation of

the Parthenon Marbles and revivalism to an arena of conflicts and debates.

Identification of the common interests and development of alternative offers

After having analysed and assessed the various values, goals and interests of the actual or potential stakeholders, the next step is the identification of possible common interests between the leading organisation and the involved parties. Common interests can constitute the basis on which an offer can be suggested in order to find a final agreement.

The analysis of the first step highlighted that some common concerns and interests between the OANMA/Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Association of Greek Architects, archaeologists and local inhabitants existed. For instance, a common interest between the museum organisation and the Association of Greek Architects was the preservation of the ‘aesthetics’ of the Makriyianni area as defined by the presence of the Weiler building and the historic landscape surrounding the Acropolis Hill. Although architects’ reactions were also motivated by other reasons (see Figure 2), this desire could have constituted a starting point for negotiation and discussion. In view of

this, OANMA should have discussed with the Association of Greek Architects an alternative location for the museum building, or should have endeavoured to persuade them of the appropriateness of the Makriyianni site by emphasising the significance of the museum as a means of reinforcing the cultural significance of the landscape, as it was aiming to host and unify the Parthenon Marbles in their original context.

Furthermore, for both the OANMA and the local inhabitants, a common concern and interest was the avoidance of wasting time and money. Expropriation is a time-consuming procedure and a costly one. In addition to the social impact, expropriations could have been avoided. But even if it was a definite decision, then OANMA could have invited the local inhabitants for discussion, explaining the situation and exploring their perceptions about possible alternatives. These might, for example, have included better compensations or provision of new flats in the centre of Athens. Finally, regarding archaeologists’ and citizens’ reactions against the destruction of the site, again OANMA could have involved academics in the process, explaining the museum plans for preserving *in situ* a part of the site and discussing with them other potential solutions. Constant discussion with the conflicting parties from the early stage of the process onwards facilitates the

	A1: no expropriations	A2: expropriations with compensations	A3: offer of higher compensations	A4: exchange of the houses with new flats
B1: accept the offer	OANMA does not enhance the surroundings of the museum (-1) but avoids the risk of wasting time and money caused by potential reactions from inhabitants. Inhabitants keep their houses (+1)	OANMA loses money (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum (+1). The inhabitants lose their houses (economic and emotional loss) (-2) but they avoid any waste of time caused by judicial appeals (+1)	OANMA has economic losses (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum (+1). The inhabitants might earn more money (+1) but they might have a significant emotional loss (-1)	OANMA has a big economic loss (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum. The inhabitants might get better flats (+1) but have emotional loss (-1).
B2: make judicial appeals	OANMA does not enhance the surroundings of the museum (-1) Inhabitants will waste time and money (-1)	OANMA wastes money and time (-2) but enhances the surroundings of the museum (+1) while inhabitants lose money and time (-2) but get the chance to retain their homes (+2)	OANMA has economic losses (-1) and wastes time (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum (+1). The inhabitants lose money and time (-2) but get the chance to retain their homes (+2)	OANMA has economic losses (-1) and time-losses (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum while inhabitants lose their money and time if they follow judicial process (-2)
B3: defame the project through the media	OANMA does not enhance the surroundings of the museum (-1) and inhabitants keep their houses (+1). If they use the media against the NMA then they waste time (-1)	OANMA loses money and time (-2) but enhances the surroundings of the museum (+1). The inhabitants lose time (-1) but get the chance to retain their flats (+2)	OANMA has economic losses (-1) and time-losses (-1) but enhances the surrounding of the houses (+1). The inhabitants lose time (-1) but get the chance to retain their homes (+2) or get more money	OANMA has economic losses (-1) but enhances the surroundings of the museum. The inhabitants may waste their time (-1) if they use the media.

TABLE 2: MATRIX DEPICTING THE STRATEGIES AND THE ‘PAYOFFS’ FOR EACH PLAYER

determination of common interests and resistance points, as well as the identification of differences, and is, therefore, a crucial step in the conflict management process.

Assessing losses and benefits and developing alternative offers

The next step is the creation of a matrix of the ‘payoffs’ (losses or benefits/gains) that result for each party when following a specific strategy. Usually, ‘game theorists’ attribute a numerical value to the ‘payoffs’ and then endeavour to determine the optimal strategy for the decision-maker through a mathematical analysis. This paper, however, will focus on the systematic analysis of the ‘payoffs’ rather than on the mathematical resolution of the model. The following table/matrix depicts the strategies of the NMA and the inhabitants and their resulting ‘payoffs’.

A ‘game theorist’ would attribute numerical values and would endeavour to solve the problem through a mathematical analysis trying to define the optimal strategy for each player.

Table 3 depicts the ‘payoffs’ for OANMA (A) and the inhabitants expressed in numerical values, as ‘game theorists’ would do. Each ‘payoff’ takes a conventional numerical value (+1, if it is a gain or -1 if it is a loss). The ‘payoffs’ for OANMA are located on the right side and those of inhabitants on the left. Attributing conventional numerical values may provide an initial, general idea of a conflict situation and can be used for guiding heritage managers to select the optimal strategy. Table 3 shows that the maximum value for OANMA (A) derives from strategy A1 (no expropriations) or A2 (expropriations with compensations). On the contrary, the maximum loss for OANMA (-2) derives from the selection of the other strategies. For the inhabitants (B), the maximum gain (+2) results from strategy B1 (acceptance of the decision of OANMA not to expropriate the blocks of flats) or from B3 (defame the project through the media).

In detail, the resulting losses for the local inhabitants if they had accepted OANMA’s offer (which might have been high compensations or provision of new flats) are

mainly economic (in case the value of their flats increases after the construction of the museum) and emotional (feeling of dislocation, emotional ties with the area). The possible benefits might be the provision of new flats in a less air-polluted area of Athens and the avoidance of getting involved in costly and time-consuming judicial procedures. OANMA’s losses are mainly economic (expropriations and high compensations require a great amount of money), while its main benefit might have been the avoidance of conflicts and delays allowing the completion of the museum before the Olympic Games in 2004 and, possibly, the repatriation of the Parthenon Marbles. However, this presupposes that the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, responsible for the compensations, would have dealt with the compensations promptly and that OANMA could have managed to persuade the local inhabitants that it was worthwhile for them to move to another place. The local inhabitants considered as their best alternative to use the power of the media in order to defame the project by publishing photos of the partial destruction of the archaeological site on the web and in Greek and British newspapers. The question arising out of this is whether this behaviour and reaction could possibly have been predicted, and, if so, how it could consequently have been prevented. Constant discussion with the inhabitants and/or the development of a special educational programme for the local community, aimed at informing them about the significance of the site and OANMA’s innovative plan to integrate the site into the museum building, could have proved useful.

Conclusion

Identifying the stakeholders, assessing their power and their values, generating alternative offers and assessing the losses and benefits derived from each offer, are only some of the basic steps of any negotiation process. Since negotiation is basically a communication process, its effectiveness requires a series of skills including communication and psychological skills, which allow exploration of the perceptions of the involved parties, and the ability to alter the perceptions of those parties. Therefore, problem-solving negotiation is not an easy task. It requires time, patience, and constant assessment of the perceptions of the other party. However, if

	<i>A1: no expropriations</i>	<i>A2: expropriations with compensations</i>	<i>A3: offer of higher compensations</i>	<i>A4: exchange of the houses with new flats</i>
<i>B1: accept the offer</i>	0,+2	0,-1	0,+1	0,0
<i>B2: make judicial appeals</i>	-1,-1	-1,-1	-1,0	-1,-1
B3: defame the project through the media	-1,-1	-2,+1	-2,+1	-2,+1

TABLE 3: MATRIX OF THE ‘PAYOFFS’ FOR OANMA (A) AND LOCAL INHABITANTS (B)

heritage managers are ‘equipped’ through seminars and training with communication and negotiation skills, then conflict resolution will move from theoretical discourse to practical action. It is hoped that negotiation studies, which have been developed and constitute an integral part of economic and social studies, will soon be incorporated into heritage management theory and practice.

References

- Boudon, R. (1986) *Theories of Social Change: A Critical Appraisal*. Cambridge: Polity.
- The British Museum (2004) ‘The sculptures from the Parthenon: a statement from the British Museum’, <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/gr/debate.html>. Page consulted 20.12.2005.
- To Bήμα*: Greek daily newspaper.
- Demas, M. (2002) ‘Planning for conservation and management of archaeological sites: a value-based approach’ in J.M. Teutonico and G. Palumbo (eds.), *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites: An International Workshop Organized by the Getty Conservation*, 27-56. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Ελευθεροτυπία*: Greek daily newspaper.
- The Guardian*: British daily newspaper.
- Hellenic Ministry of Culture (1990) *The New Acropolis Museum: An International Competition*. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture.
- Lewicki, R. J., Saunders, D. M. and Minton, J. W. (1999). *Negotiation*. 3rd edition. London, Chicago: Irwin.
- Lyles, M. A. and Thomas, H. (1988) ‘Strategic problem formulation: Biases and assumptions embedded in alternative decision-making models’, *Journal of Management Studies*, 25 (2), 131-145.
- Μπαμιατζής, Γ. (1996) ‘Σύνταγμα Μακρυγιάννη’ [my own translation: Makrygianni Gendarme’s Barracks], *Ιστορία Εικονογραφημένη*, Sept.1996, 114-119.
- ΟΑΝΜΑ (Organisation for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum) (2001) *The New Acropolis Museum: The International Competition*. Athens: Organisation for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum.
- Osborne, M. J. (2002) *A Course in Game Theory*. Cambridge, London, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Παπαχρήστος, Ν. (2004) ‘Η περίπτωση του Νέου Μουσείου Ακρόπολης’ [my own translation: The case of the New Acropolis Museum], in Ε. Τροβά (ed.), *Η Πολιτιστική Κληρονομιά και το Δίκαιο [Cultural heritage and the law]*, 437-449. Athens –Thessaloniki: Sakkoula.
- Τα Νέα*: Greek daily newspaper.
- The Times*: British daily newspaper.
- Yalouri, E. (2001) *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local claim*. Oxford: Berg.