Conclusion

A Human-Centered Way Forward

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This book, while addressing how to make the professional care of old places more responsive to human needs, has covered a broad range of topics focusing on gathering and using evidence to implement a human-centered built heritage conservation practice. To be sure, higher education has a fundamental role to play in this endeavor, but to date has neglected its responsibility, preferring to treat the professional care of old places as a periphery endeavor to the primary aims of architecture and planning. As Ned Kaufman relates in Chapter 16, none of the content discussed in this book is relevant until higher education begins to promote and facilitate research in human-centered heritage conservation. If staffing these small programs remains difficult, with neither full-time faculty unencumbered by administrative responsibilities, nor access to resources for research, the future remains very dim indeed.

But implementing a human-centered approach to the professional care of old places is not just the responsibility of higher education, it is also the responsibility of practitioners, and arguably, society as a whole. If the meanings and benefits of heritage conservation continue to be defined by those inside the system who already have power, this endeavor will continue to have little relevance to the public. The key concept here is the broad engagement of as many stakeholders and actors as possible, lay and expert, inside the discipline of heritage conservation and outside of it, and including both Western and non-Western perspectives. In the United States, we need to do better than the benchmark of 1966 when academics fed public sentiment through the narrow straw of pedantic aesthetics and art history that established the National Historic Preservation Act (Rains & Henderson, 1966). Indeed, as David Lowenthal argues in *The Past Is a Foreign Country: Revisited* (2015, 421),

> [t]he end result of indiscriminate preservation would be a stultifying museumized world, in which nothing ever made or done was allowed to perish. Failure to winnow is madness. Yet, heritage is such a scared cow that few dare call for its culling. Italy is so stuffed with treasure that only a fraction of it is adequately cared for, let alone accessible. Things are much the same the world over. Everyone knows this, yet no steward publicly affirms it

Therefore, what would the professional care of old places look like if it could more fully encapsulate the meanings and values of the public instead of conservation for the sake of preserving buildings in and of itself? This question is not only new territory but also challenges the power of people who are part of the system of heritage. But, if we accept this challenge there are some potential ways forward.

Several clear themes emerge from the chapters of this book that provide both clues for the essential characteristics of human-centered heritage conservation and ways to move this vision into practice. These themes include the nature of empirical evidence and transcendence, giving practitioners space (and permission) to think, the need for environmental psychology to be part of the discussion, practice frameworks, the "shadow" that prevents change to practice, isolation, and the lack of other voices. We will now attempt to address these themes, especially as they relate to evidence and human-centered conservation.

Can Empiricism Be Reconciled with Transcendence?

Jack Elliot (Chapter 4) made several observations that position empiricism as antithetical to a transcendental experience of heritage, and, on the surface, this seems entirely reasonable. His argument is that empiricism is too reductive and eliminates the depth of meaning, voiding the essential nature of a transcendental experience. Empiricism, as it has been classically presented (see Tainter & Lucas, 1983), requires direct observation via the senses and discards many meanings and feelings because they are not objective and thus definitely qualifies Elliott's argument. If we view empiricism in this way, then the phenomenological experience of being in historic places cannot be understood, much less described, because such an experience cannot be reduced to objective descriptions of color, measurement, or temperature, for instance. But this assumes that there is only one, narrow definition of empiricism rooted in positivism. David Seamon (1982, 123) makes the argument against this positivistic definition of empiricism and claims that phenomenology, which is rooted in transcendental experiences, is instead "radically empirical" and "relies on all kinds of evidence, inner or outer, less or more tangible." Indeed, while phenomenologists clearly reject a positivistic definition of empiricism (Ihde, 2012, 75), they embrace the practice of phenomenology, which is focused on understanding the lived experience, as radically empirical (Ihde, 2012, 16; Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997, ix; Rosenthal & Bourgeois, 1980; Wild, 1942).

But what does it mean for a description of an experience to be "radically" empirical? An anthropological perspective can be useful in answering this question by elucidating the difference between *etic* and *emic* perspectives as used in ethnographies. An *etic* perspective of culture is positivistic and often quantitative while an *emic* perspective is qualitative; or, in a different sense, *etic* descriptions of culture must be objective and reproducible and are from the perspective of an external observer of culture, involving measurement, while *emic* descriptions focus on meanings and nuances that cannot be reduced to numbers, requiring one to become part of, or integrated into a culture to better understand cultural meanings as a member of the culture. Clifford Geertz (1973) provides a well-known example of the differences between the *etic* and *emic* perspectives by describing someone's wink. It is possible to measure the number of winks and the length of time that an eye is closed to produce positivistic data. Or, one could simply ask the winker why she closed one eye to produce qualitative data. Only the *emic* perspective can tell us *why* she winked—perhaps due to an eye irritation or maybe to convey a message to someone. In this sense, the *etic* perspective is empirical in a positivistic way while the *emic* perspective is empirical in a radical way. It is not possible to reduce an *emic* description into known quanta of meaning units divorced from the fundamental nature of the experience; the number of meanings is not important, but rather understanding the meanings is essential. This distinction is the idea behind the concept of "radicalness," which focuses on the fundamental nature of experience that can involve an infinite number of meanings.

Thus, empirical evidence need not be equated with Cartesian science, positivism, or quantification. Instead, it can be qualitative as well with an infinitely profound depth of meaning. The essential argument of this book is that empirical evidence, which is based on observation and experience, is needed to balance the overemphasis of rationalistic theory that is so prevalent in built heritage conservation practice as expressed through doctrine, rules, and regulations. If we make a claim, for instance, as in item 9 of the US-based Secretary of the Interior's Standards, that an intervention shall differentiate the old and the new, it needs to be supported by evidence. Not coincidentally, we do not actually know how people perceive "old" and "new" building fabric nor how people can be convinced that an intervention is "compatible." This example is emblematic of a rationalistic theory that has no (known) evidence to substantiate its use. Rationalistic preservation/conservation theory is rife with such examples that contribute to the isolation of professional heritage conservation practice from normal human experience.

Giving Practitioners a Space (and Permission) to Think

Perhaps, the most provocative element of Jack Elliott's essay (Chapter 4), in this book, is a description of how, when he was working in a state historic preservation office, his manager scolded his efforts to better serve the public's interests with the directive that "Preservationists are not paid to think!" This comment ought to be chilling to every professional charged with the care of old places because it reinforces the fact that there is no real space for these practitioners working in areas of planning and compliance to think about and improve upon their practice. So much of the work of preservation/conservation planning and compliance is dictated by rules and regulations that there are too few opportunities to think outside the box and question the elements of decades-old ordinances, statutes, or regulations. To be sure, this sort of change lies within the realm of politics, but the fact remains that those individuals who are best prepared to address the challenges of preservation/conservation practice in the twenty-first century (practitioners) are also the same people who are muzzled by their employers. This effectively guarantees the ossification of the field.

There are no studies or data regarding the degree to which conservation/preservation practitioners are told to not think or inhibited in some way by their employers, so these accounts are anecdotal. But the increasing frequency of these stories begins to look very much like a pattern. When the first editor served on the board of the National Alliance for Preservation Commissions (NAPC; US-based), he frequently heard of these kinds of accounts from members, who work as preservation planners in local municipalities. When he organized conferences and invited practitioners, they told him that they cannot have their names associated with their government employers. He even had one woman fold her name badge over to hide her employer's identity. These people are genuinely afraid to question compliance-based activities of built heritage conservation, much less offer ways to make the system more responsive to public needs. Where can they speak freely? Where is the safe place to discuss how practice can better serve the public? The answer is that the most logical place for these discussions is with organizations that support the work of practitioners. But, with only one exception, these organizations do not appear to be opening a safe place for practitioners to think. Presently, academia only has the concept of "tenure" within the heritage preservation field as a means of protecting freedom of speech pertaining to criticisms within the profession, and as previously noted, these positions are few and in decline.

The NAPC ought to be able to provide a forum for preservation planners to engage in critical debates and explorations, but in our experience (including serving on the board of the organization), their activities tend to reinforce existing preservation/conservation doctrine and fail to question, in meaningful ways, the elements of preservation ordinances that do not work in the public interest. This is not to deprecate the role of the NAPC, which is essential in helping local historic preservation commissions serve their regulatory role in a way that minimizes the legal liability of municipalities, but there appears to be a reluctance to question or discuss aspects of changing regulatory frameworks that depart from established doctrine. Similarly, the American Cultural Resources Association (ACRA) supports practitioners who work in environmental compliance (e.g., NHPA Section 106, NEPA's EIS) and their annual conference features innovative work in the areas of interpretation involving the public in archaeological work. However, like NAPC, ACRA fails to directly address the rules and regulations upon which the majority of its member's livelihoods are based. Technically, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers (NCSHPO), which supports professionals who work in state historic preservation offices, cannot critically debate the existence of or the implementation of rules and regulations because it runs counter to its mission "as delegates of the Secretary of the Interior pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (NHPA) (16 USC 470)." This contrasts with the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO) where its "overarching purpose is to support the preservation, maintenance and revitalization of the culture and traditions of Native peoples of the United States". While the mission of NATHPO is conducted through the respective tribal bureaucracies of tribal historic preservation offices, there is a more human-centric focus within its purview that includes the "preserv[ing] and rejuvenat[ion[of the unique cultural traditions and practices of their tribal communities" (NATHPO, 2017), in addition to conventional structures and archaeological sites.

The prioritization of material objects over community needs does not seem particularly different in the United Kingdom. The Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO) does not have an annual conference and exists primarily to educate practitioners in established doctrines, rules, and regulations and advocate for "historic environment services." While the Chartered Institute for Archeologists (CIFA) does have an annual conference, like ALGAO, it primarily exists to promote existing standards and encourage the employment of archaeologists. The Institute for Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) primarily focuses on the conservation of building fabric and less on holistic aspects of planning for the conservation of places and landscapes and also shares most of the same operational goals as ALGAO and CIFA; it is also very active in certifying architectural conservators and educational programs. ALGAO, CIFA, and IHBC all provide very useful services to their members, upholding high standards in education and promoting the heritage conservation sector to provide employment and consultancy opportunities. But none of these organizations have taken a critical stance against the orthodox doctrine, rules, and regulations that dictate many of their members' activities.

Canada has the Canadian Association of Heritage Professionals that "represent[s] the interests of professional practitioners in many related fields of heritage conservation." Like NCSHPO, it too fails to take a critical stance on existing doctrine, rules, and regulations because doing so would run counter to its mission to assure that a heritage professional "conforms to accepted technical and ethical standards and works in accordance with the regulations and guidelines of the person's specialty heritage field and the jurisdictions of practice." This analysis is not meant to be exhaustive, but this pattern repeats across Australia and European countries as well with NGOs that represent the interests of practitioners focusing on educational and practice standards that reinforce rather than challenge the status quo. In sum, these organizations appear neither interested nor able to create a safe place where practitioners can "think" and in doing so, challenge existing notions of how the conservation of the built environment and cultural landscapes ought to be achieved, especially, where these activities overlap with the regulatory environment. Perhaps this result should not be so surprising because these organizations also exist to generate employment and consultancy opportunities for their members, and so challenging the very field in which this advocacy occurs could jeopardize this part of their mission. To be sure, organizations that advocate for heritage practitioners will be reluctant to bite the hand (i.e., rules and regulations) that feeds it, so to speak.

Academic conferences, such as the Association for Critical Heritage Studies, and many of the scientific committees of ICOMOS, do provide space for practitioners to think, and more importantly, to speak about their experiences in an environment that is much more open to critical approaches.

(A counter-argument for ICOMOS is that it also tends to reinforce the *status quo* rather than invite alternative perspectives, however.) But, perhaps not so surprisingly, heritage practitioners rarely attend these conferences, and their voice is often not represented, much less heard. Many of these academic conferences take positions against practitioners that can be perceived as less than welcoming, further decreasing the chance of practitioners taking advantage of this venue as a space to think.

This leaves NGOs that are general advocates for heritage conservation. In the United States, the National Trust for Historic Preservation is leading an effort to broadly engage the public and practitioners in defining "people-based preservation," which is contingent on exploring ways that practice can change. This approach was readily apparent at the Trust's conference in Houston, Texas in November of 2016 where many practitioners participated in a roundtable discussion of the future of people-centered preservation. The first author joined this discussion, which produced many useful ideas, although (at least from his perspective), not many addressed the regulatory environment directly. But the consensus from the group was that a people-centered direction was very much a way to move forward and that the regulatory environment often impedes this goal. This is in contrast to the second author, who has worked with the Community Built Association where the approach is on "collaboration[s] between professionals and community volunteers to design, organize and create community projects that reshape public spaces." This includes historic preservation projects, but also "murals, playgrounds, parks, public gardens, [and] sculptures" (Community Built Association, 2017). Therefore, "[c]ommunity-based historic preservation aims to preserve and express local identity and heritage" (Melcher, Stiefel, & Faurest, 2017) in addition to other aspects of the built environment, as needed. In other words, there are NGOs that use evidence to engage in human-centered built environment initiatives for the purpose of improving quality of life, but where historic preservation practice is simply one of the multiple tools utilized, instead of the only or primary. While the editors have not performed an exhaustive survey of all heritage advocacy NGOs across the globe that are addressing practice, it is likely that there are other, similar examples as well.

Whither Environmental Psychology?

A primary aim of this book is to explore ways in which social science-based evidence can be used to influence heritage conservation practice. Evidence for the public perception of heritage and the use of heritage is abundant from the field of critical heritage studies (e.g., Gibson, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Jones, 2009; Milholland, 2010; Pichler, 2012; Ross, 2010; Smith, 2009; Smith & Campbell, 2015; Sommer, 2009; Waterton & Smith, 2010; Watson, 2015), but the vast majority of this scholarship comes primarily from the disciplines of anthropology, public history, and folklore. Environmental psychology is largely absent, with a few exceptions (e.g., Levi, 2005; Lewicka, 2008; Wells & Baldwin, 2012), even though there are many claims for how the conservation of old places is related to the sense of place, identity, and emotional attachment, all of which are areas that this field of research is designed to address. Moreover, while anthropologists readily acknowledge the potential for the applied aspects of their work, such as the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA), there are fewer examples from environmental psychology, although the Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA) does provide an explicitly applied outlet for research conducted by environmental psychologists. The problem is that most environmental psychologists, unlike anthropologists, do not seem to have a particular interest in the conservation of old places.

This book, therefore, is unusual in that it contains studies using methodological approaches from environmental psychology to address heritage conservation practice (You-Kyong Ahn, Chapter 5;

Annamarie Bliss, Chapter 6; Suzanne Bott, Chapter 2) in balance with more traditional, ethnographic approaches (Jolly, Milligan, Purser, and Watt, Chapter 14; Taplin, Scheld and Low, Chapter 7; Stephanie Ryberg-Webster, Chapter 10). The editors believe that environmental psychology needs to play a more prominent role, among the other social science methodological approaches, if we are to better understand the interaction of people with place. There is no reason, however, that other social scientists or practitioners cannot readily adapt methods from environmental psychology, such as photoelicitation, which have proven to be powerful in this way that they can access the way people feel about and perceive places (Harper, 2003; Hughes, 2012).

Critical heritage studies (or any study of old places) need not imply or demand any adherence to a particular discipline or ontological or epistemological frame. The methodologies and methods used to answer research questions, including those that arise from practice, should be chosen based on their ability to answer a research question rather than fealty to a particular discipline. This goal, however, demands that researchers and practitioners who address the conservation of old places need to both be open to, and receive training in, a wider variety of methodological approaches than is done currently. Continuing education incentives should also be considered part of the metaphorical toolbox of techniques to bring about lasting positive change so that scholars and practitioners can be updated on current trends and be engaged in dialogue with one another.

Converting Evidence into Practice: Frameworks for Guidance

Assuming that evidence for conservation practice becomes more abundant in the future, how do we then use this evidence to influence practice? Scholarship on this question is largely silent, although community-based participatory research may offer a model, especially, given that it has been used with community-based archaeology and natural resource conservation (Wells, 2015). Rather than relying on practitioner expertise to guide the heritage conservation process, practitioners become expert facilitators. In this model, the task of the practitioner is to gather and understand the meanings of stakeholders in a way that minimizes power differentials between the participants. Practitioners, therefore, cannot come to the table with *a priori* assumptions but rather need to have an open mind toward considering meanings and values that may differ or conflict with those found in orthodox built heritage conservation practice. The overall process moves from the traditional, expert-driven top-down process to a stakeholder-driven bottom-up approach.

The key concept in the expert as facilitator model is one of the balance between many meanings and values regarding a place or a structure, and a willingness to always consider the context in the overall decision-making process. In some cases, such as where a heritage object is particularly rare and contains significant art/historical value, orthodox conservation values can play a larger role. The value of old places, however, is increasingly viewed as quite ordinary and commonplace (Harrison, 2013), which makes this approach unnecessary in most cases, and the meanings of most stakeholders (especially civil experts), even if they differ from orthodox conservation values, can be allowed to predominate. How this looks in practice, however, greatly needs exploration.

A useful example of how a grassroots approach to the care of old places might work is exemplified in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street program, which was originally created in the late 1970s to revitalize historic downtowns. The Main Street Approach relies, almost exclusively, on the work of tens of volunteers and one paid, "Main Street manager" (essentially, an executive director). These volunteers are community stakeholders and, most importantly, civil experts—typically residents and business owners—who have a long-term vested interest in revitalizing their downtown. Although influenced by orthodox preservation/conservation approaches, evidence indicates that the way in which Main Street volunteers conserve their downtowns often differs dramatically from orthodox doctrine (Wells, 2010). The authors are not aware of a better example of community stakeholders empowering themselves in the preservation/conservation and design aspects of their historic downtown, including the use of grant funds to incentivize the design that adheres to the stakeholders' values and not the values of orthodox conservation doctrine (Wells, 2017).

The "Shadow" Obscuring the Reality of Built Heritage Conservation Practice

Evidence comes in many forms, and while much of this book focuses on the use of the social sciences to gather evidence to influence heritage conservation practice, Richard Hutching's chapter (3) explored the "dark side" of cultural resource management using the perspectives of critical theory and colonialism. The essence of Hutching's argument is that the bureaucracy of the state that controls the meanings of heritage matters more than the actual meanings people have for tangible and intangible heritage. In other words, the system of heritage conservation consumes the rationale for why we engage in conservation in the first place. Instead of real discourse on the meanings and uses of heritage, we have a system that places primacy on efficiency, predictability, calculability/quantification, control, and dehumanization.

Hutching's observations are not entirely novel, but rather originate from several decades of critical approaches to heritage that have revealed:

- The authorized heritage discourse (AHD), which defines heritage conservation as an activity that delegitimizes debates about heritage, ossifies practice, places the convention expert in the role of moral guide, ignores conflict, and gives power to the state (and its actors) while disempowering communities (Smith, 2006).
- The realization that the orthodox doctrines of heritage are a product of Modernism and its attempt to produce a rationalistic way to objectify the meanings associated with buildings, places, and landscapes, at the same time that it rejects any possibility of reviving elements of past traditions and building practices (Semes, 2009).
- Built heritage conservation has traditionally, and in some ways continues to be, an elitist endeavor that overemphasizes discourses from rich, White, males while disempowering people who are already marginalized (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000; Kaufman, 2009; King, 2009; Nanda et al., 2001; Schofield, 2009).
- Unmanaged heritage tourism increasingly is destroying intangible as well as tangible heritage along with indigenous communities (Breglia, 2006).
- Orthodox heritage conservation practice has become "an instrument of top-down social engineering on a global scale" (Silberman, 2016).
- Orthodox doctrine, rules/regulations, and practice all use heritage values and meanings that are not shared or understood by stakeholders or the public at large and ignore the ordinary, everyday places that people value the most (Schofield, 2009, 2014).

- The values of orthodox conservation doctrine and practice rely on pseudoscientific tautologies in which current practice has been justified through past practice (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). Rather than resting on scientific principles, the values of orthodox conservation practitioners are "just another set of cultural values" that are reinforced through expert rule and hegemonic discourses (Waterton, Smith, & Campbell, 2006).
- Heritage is about people, not things (Filippucci, 2009); objects do not have values, people do (Appelbaum, 2007). The separation of heritage into "tangible" and "intangible" elements is artificial: all heritage is intangible because it is "constructed from cultural meanings" (Smith, 2006, 56).
- Authenticity is a sociocultural and experiential construct; there is no such thing as a "truly" or objective authentic state of an object (Cane, 2009). Once the past has happened, there is no possibility of going back and objectively re-establishing the state of an object at some point in time; each attempt at intervening in the life of a building, place, or landscape always creates a new, future reality (Lowenthal, 1985).

These observations are just the tip of the proverbial iceberg as a growing and critical reaction again orthodox heritage conservation practice continually grows on a day-by-day basis.

While realizing that the critique of orthodox conservation practice is both complex and nuanced, the current state of the field is perhaps best compared to the post-modern turn made by many disciplines in the 1970s and 1980s, including planning's communicative turn that moved important elements of practice away from rationalism toward discursive theory (Fischler, 2000). What makes built heritage conservation unique, and continues to delay its transition to a contemporary world, is its overreliance on rules and regulations to achieve its aims, thereby bypassing the need to be more responsive to the public (Hutchings & La Salle, 2015; Wells & Lixinski, 2016). Indeed, on the complete opposite side of the spectrum, as Stiefel explores in Chapter 15, occasionally evidence can be personal and localized, even coming from one's own family history.

The Professional Care of Old Places Is Still an Island

As Stephanie Ryberg-Webster found in Chapter 10, "preservation operates largely in its own silo" independently from other disciplines and fields that address the built environment. Professionals outside of historic preservation believe that the field "narrowly focuses on architecture, strictly adheres to stringent rules, relies on experts to define significant history, and offers limited benefits beyond tax credit financing." The isolation of built heritage conservation practice is arguably due to its overreliance on rules, laws, and regulations to control people's behavior (Wells & Lixinski, 2016). Or, in cruder terms, there are far too many "sticks" and too few "carrots"; we punish people for inappropriate heritage behavior rather than rewarding "good" behavior. (Note that this oversimplification ignores the fact that we need better evidence for what "good" heritage behavior is.) The practitioners of built heritage conservation are too often called heritage or preservation "police" (Emerick, 2009; Fisher, 2007; Holtorf, 2007; Talmage, 2010). This characterization should not be surprising considering that heritage professionals are out of touch with the values of most stakeholders (Hayden, 1995, 47; Hobson, 2004, 13; King, 2009, 78, 100; Lowenthal, 1985; Smith, 2006). This situation is not likely to change anytime soon because the regulatory environment is incapable of accommodating dissenting views (Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009, 9); indeed, from the perspective of the state, heritage is conflict-free (Smith & Waterton, 2012, 166) although there is ample evidence that the meanings of heritage are *born of conflict* (Breglia, 2006). For built heritage conservation practice to be more relevant to a greater part of society, we need a better understanding of how the meanings of heritage form values and the overall process of moving from conflict to consensus. Otherwise, practice will remain in its illusory island of tranquility, isolated from the real world and the relationship of heritage with human flourishing and conflict.

Within higher education, historic preservation and architectural conservation programs are often isolated from other academic programs with few opportunities to collaborate with colleagues within the same school or department, much less across the university (Wells & Stiefel, 2014). This isolation is due in part to the rather unique genesis of practice associated with the care of old places. As a field of practice and study, built heritage conservation was born from the laws created by politicians and the resulting administrative rules created by government bureaucracy. (It shares this origin with the field of environmental or natural resource conservation.) Built heritage conservation practice is, therefore, infused with the perspective of state control, hegemonic discourse, and colonialism (Hutchings & La Salle, 2015) and its practitioners are often taught using this discourse (Wells & Stiefel, 2014). In sum, rather than relying on evidence or even reason to defend the practice, built heritage conservation practice is simply justified through the law. In turn, this law is based on tautological doctrine wherein practice is justified through past practice (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). In this milieu, it can be difficult to engage colleagues from other fields and disciplines in discussions, much less collaboration, because of the restricted nature of discourse. This can change to some extent but built heritage conservation programs in the United States, Canada, and many places in Europe are taught on this traditional platform of tautological doctrines and law.

It is little wonder then, that the field associated with the professional care of old places is very small compared to other areas of research and practice, fragmented, and lacks institutional support for the work of practitioners. (In other words, there is no organization that speaks on behalf of professionals and researchers whose object of attention is old places.) In sum, it is not a particularly attractive or interesting area to explore change or discuss ways that practice can benefit people without separating the practice from the law and orthodox doctrine. With few exceptions, higher education is not leading an effort to expand the contemporary relevance of the professional care of old places to society; instead, this change is coming from the allied fields of archaeology and museum studies largely through the work of people associated with critical heritage studies. With the exception of efforts at ICOMOS (1993) that, as of the writing of this chapter, are more than twenty years old, there has been no attempt to define built heritage conservation curricula through multidisciplinary collaboration that involves a wide variety of stakeholders, including practitioners and the public (Wells & Stiefel, 2014). The efforts to develop conservation curricula are, therefore, very weak or altogether absent and fail to address the relationships between other areas of research and practice. Built heritage conservation/historic preservation programs need to build better bridges with their built environment and especially social science and environmental conservation colleagues.

The separation of built heritage conservation from environmental conservation, especially in the United States and Canada, is further evidence of the way in which heritage conservation practice creates an artificial divide between culture and nature, when in reality they are a continuum (Dyer, 2007). A shift in built heritage conservation practice, moving toward a holistic view of the environment and embracing cultural landscape approaches (Alanen & Melnick, 2000; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Gibson, 2009; Goetcheus, 2008a, 2008b; Longstreth, 2008; Lozny, 2006), is long due. It is also a potential solution to this isolation as is working with colleagues from the social sciences and built environment studies. Heritage conservation needs to learn from work in the social sciences (Stephenson & Mascia, 2009; Stewart, Williams, & Kruger, 2013), arts and humanities, and environment/behavior research (Demsky & Mack, 2008) that seeks a better understanding of the relationship people have with the place and how this information can provide evidence for changing practice. We no longer need islands of practice, but rather should seek to create a continent of collaboration.

The central argument here is that the way in which built heritage conservation is isolated from its peers severely hampers the potential for multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary collaboration, which has the potential to produce evidence that could change practice in a way that better supports human flourishing. The overreliance of law and orthodox doctrine used in conservation practice alienates not only the public but potential collaborators as well. And, perhaps most importantly, we must be open to evidence, produced from this collaboration that invalidates existing rules, laws, and regulations as well as orthodox conservation doctrine.

Where Are the Non-Western and International Perspectives?

The co-editors of this book are very much aware of the voices that have been omitted from this discussion. Significant parts of the globe—specifically, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East—are not present. In addition, while Richard Hutching's chapter (Chapter 3) does explore heritage conservation from an indigenous, North American perspective, most of the voices here are the predominant ones that have always participated in this discussion. This omission is anything but intentional; in the preparation of this book, the co-authors reached out to academics and practitioners in these geographical areas but failed to garner contributions. Perhaps this is a failure in the mode of outreach or there is insufficient interest, or this result could be due to any number of possible factors, including language barriers. This result is not unique; for instance, the field of critical heritage studies also largely features an Australian/European perspective, and its studies are mostly written in English, even though it claims an emancipatory approach to its endeavors.

Thus, the problem of a lack of wider engagement, which is far from unique, is quite evident in this book and it needs to be addressed on multiple levels by multiple actors. For instance, the predominant language—English—in which critical discourse is disseminated needs to be broadened to other languages. Spanish, French, Portuguese, Mandarin, Japanese, and Arabic are examples of languages in which much of this critical discourse appears to be minimal or altogether absent. But the fact remains that, with the exception of English, Spanish and Portuguese, the co-editors of this book have limited faculties for engaging with publications (or people) in these languages. This problem begs the question of how a world congress on human-centered conservation of built heritage and cultural landscapes might manifest. UNESCO would seem to be a logical vehicle for such an endeavor, and indeed, this organization has been quite active in promoting intangible heritage, but often within a Western framework of objective identification, listing, and quantification of benefits. But, let us ask this question from the perspective of global stakeholders: what would a grassroots world congress on human-centered conservation of built heritage and cultural landscapes look like? Are there any examples or models from which we can draw? To date, there are no ready answers to these questions, but they need to be asked with increasing frequency and of more stakeholders.

To be sure, there is an increasing amount of useful scholarship on the intangible heritage of non-Western peoples. Typically, this research exposes the colonialist tendencies to impose

Western conservation doctrine on non-Western peoples (e.g., Andrews & Buggey, 2008; Breglia, 2006; Milholland, 2010; Orbasli, 2007; Ross, 2010; Silva & Chapagain, 2013). While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to perform a complete literature review on this scholarship, there is ample evidence to indicate that the way in which built heritage conservation is practiced in a Western context is often incompatible with different cultural belief systems. To impose a fabric-based practice (as opposed to a human-based one) in this context is unethical and colonialist as Richard Hutching advocates in Chapter 3; as such, practice does indeed destroy cultures. Rather than conserving heritage, orthodox heritage conservation in this example is a destroyer of heritage. The creation of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices in the United States provides an intriguing example of an attempt to foster rather than destroy culture within a country where traditional heritage preservation approaches are more exclusively focused on built environment material culture.

Therefore, we need a better understanding of what the care of old places means in different cultural contexts from both professional and lay perspectives. In some ways, this is easier to conceptualize if we realize that the orthodox, Western, practice of built heritage conservation is an example of a cultural practice itself, reflective of a narrow range of socioeconomic values (Waterton et al., 2006) and is not, in and of itself, objectively "better" than other versions of reality. What if heritage conservation could be re-conceptualized as an activity that does not impose value systems, but rather is a framework for understanding and negotiating meanings and values? The theme, in this book, of social science mediated evidence (including community-participatory-based techniques) to inform practice offers a potential way to actualize this idea.

Conclusion

This book began with the question of how a human-centered focus on the professional care of old places can and should change practice through the gathering and use of evidence. The use of evidence to change practice has a long history of success in both medicine and architectural design, and it certainly can be employed much more extensively in heritage conservation than it has to date. Human-centered conservation implies that the act of conserving must be predicated on understanding people's motivations, behaviors, meanings, and values. Thus, conservation practice becomes centered on the gathering of evidence to understand these factors.

"Evidence" comes in many forms, but again, if we are addressing evidence that intersects with people, there is a strong argument to be made that applied methods from the social sciences are not only useful, but perhaps ought to form a core set of tools for how practitioners engage in their work. We need to overcome conceptual barriers, including a general unfamiliarity with what the social sciences are, among both academics and practitioners who work in the conservation of the historic environment. Contingent on this activity is a new vocabulary that needs to be created around human-centered conservation using words, concepts, and methods that are more easily understood by people who are not social scientists. If the net result of these efforts is to make most people's eyes glaze over when they hear the phrase, "social sciences", then we have failed in our endeavor to make heritage conservation more responsive to people's needs.

But heritage conservation is not alone in this issue. Much can be learned from those working in environmental conservation who use applied social science research methods to understand people's intrinsic motivators and then to base practice on influencing these motivating factors. Global environmental conservation advocates, such as the World Wildlife Foundation and Conservation

International, are trying to bridge the meaning divide between non-Western stakeholders and social scientists in their advocacy efforts. Surely, we can learn something useful from their efforts in how evidence impacts conservation practice.

Those of us who work in built heritage conservation like to say that our work is the "management of change." But, we need to start thinking of a change in terms of our own field as well. The future of the conservation of built heritage and cultural landscapes is, therefore, dependent on *managing how we change our own discipline*. Few would argue that the ultimate aim of conservation should be to arrest the change; in a similar fashion, the actors of heritage conservation need to embrace disciplinary change as an activity central to the practice. In doing so, they might realize that the ultimate aim of our work is to benefit people by adapting, dynamically, to human needs.

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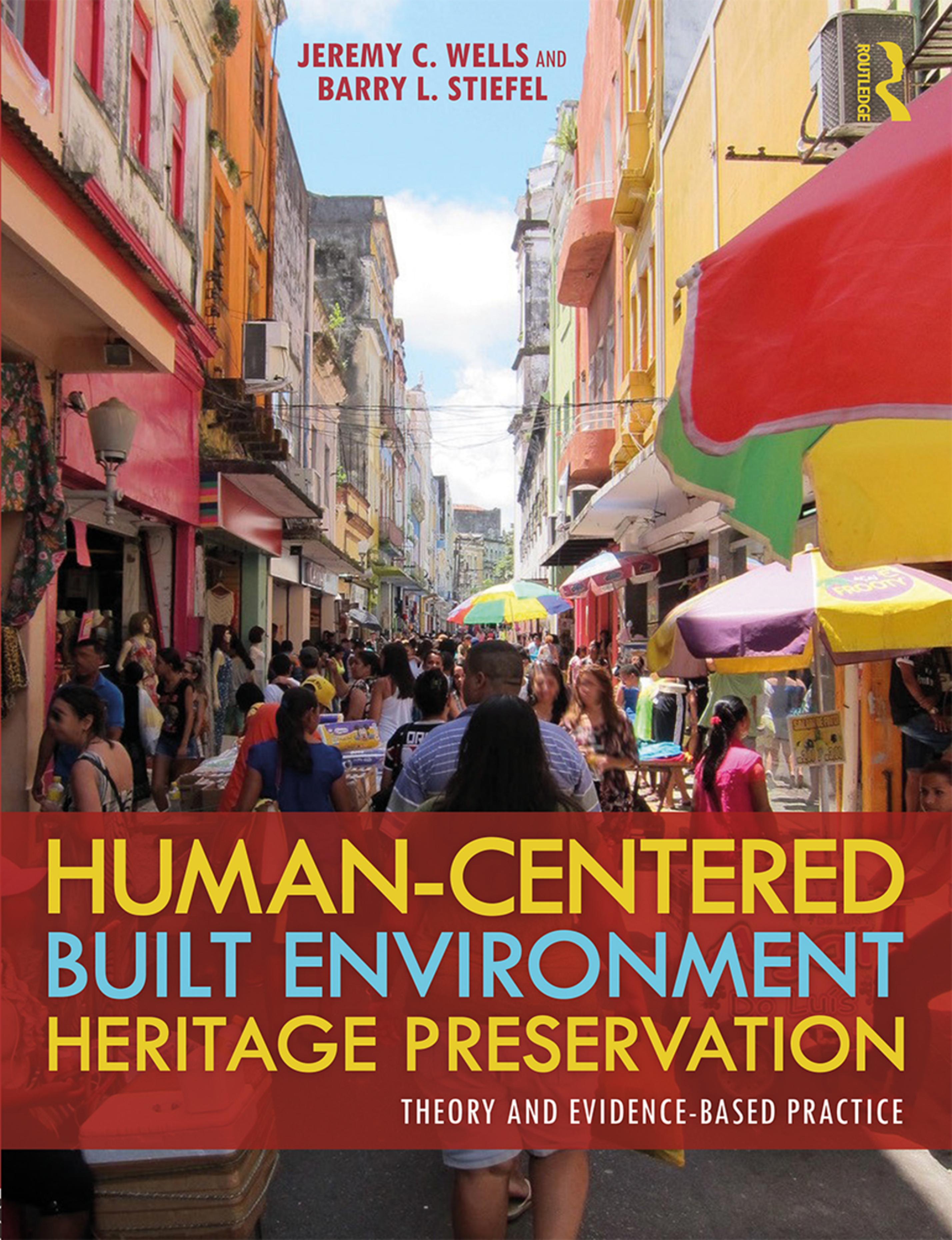

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