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Does intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship address the exigent issues of practice? Exploring the character and impact of preservation knowledge production in relation to critical heritage studies, equity, and social justice

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to understand the relationship, in historic preservation, between equity/social justice and the field's intra-disciplinary scholarship by using a critical heritage studies lens. Intra-disciplinary scholarship is defined as the scholarly literature produced by the 58 tenured and tenure-track faculty associated with historic preservation degree programmes in the United States through the end of 2018. A content analysis of this literature shows a general lack of engagement by authors on issues related to the public's needs, including topics related to justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion. A citation analysis of this literature reveals meagre faculty productivity and low impact for intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship. In order for the field to sustain itself, it needs to reconsider its anti-intellectual tendencies, increase its socially relevant scholarly publications, and embrace more critical, people-centred approaches.

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Introduction

In the United States, historic preservation has existed as a formal area of academic inquiry and professional practice since at least the 1960s. Today, the field is multibillion-dollar enterprise that is an accepted – and often legally mandated – part of planning and development in the United States at the federal, state, and local levels (Gilderbloom, Hanka, and Ambrosius 2009). Since the turn of the current century, the field has struggled with the best way to reorient professional practice away from its traditional, expert-driven, top-down focus on the material culture of rich, white men, towards something more egalitarian and diverse. However, as this paper demonstrates, this is an external dialogue, largely led by voices from disciplines other than historic preservation. Some authors recognise this problem while asserting that the structural framework of the field is inherently sound (e.g., Bucuvalas 2019; Byrne 2012; Sánchez and Angélica 2013; Torp 2016), but a dominant discourse from planning, archaeology, anthropology, and public history is that historic preservation's structural inequalities stem from a top-down, colonial discourse that has ossified in the absence of critical and reflexive practice and scholarship, thereby engendering persistent social justice issues (e.g., Breglia 2006; La Salle and Hutchings 2018; Labrador and Silberman 2018; Pannekoek 1998; Silberman 2016; Spennemann 2006; Sully 2015). Because the breadth and scope of historic preservation scholarship is ambiguous (Wells and Stiefel 2014), it is difficult to know which epistemological perspectives are valid or useful in examining the relationship between these practice-based issues in context with the field's theory. Thus, this paper seeks an epistemological

resolution to the open-ended question about the relationship between the problems of the field and its intra-disciplinary scholarship.

Why is it important to have a better understanding of the relationship between preservation scholarship and the field's equity and justice issues? The answer is that every individual and organisation involved in the preservation enterprise has a stake in the sustainability of the field, which appears to be increasingly compromised for six compelling reasons. The first of which is that long established and respected leaders in historic preservation, such as W. Brown Morton (2011)¹ and Antoinette Lee (2002, 21),² claim that the field has become too 'ossified, standardized, and predictable'. Or, in another sense, the field has stopped evolving, changing, and responding to the public's needs and wants, an observation that Stephanie Meeks (2017, 259), recent past president of the US National Trust for Historic Preservation, makes.

Second, enrolment in historic preservation degree programmes at the graduate and undergraduate levels have been declining for many years. Some programmes, such as at the University of Delaware, have been shuttered. Low enrolment is a perennial concern at meetings convened by the National Council for Preservation Education (NCPE), an NGO that represents these programmes. Third, historic preservation is not adequately addressing issues of social justice, equity, diversity and inclusion. While there have been more recent efforts to recognise marginalised peoples both through their historical contributions and their essential role as civil experts in community-engaged practice, historic preservation's original focus on the buildings and places associated with rich, white men remain a significant problem (Gibson, Hendricks, and Wells 2019; Kaufman 2009); the field's 'white gaze' underpins its education and practice, which is sustained through doctrine and rules and regulations (Roberts 2019). In addition, there is an associated, chronic lack of diversity in historic preservation degree programmes both in terms of students and faculty, while more women than men are enrolled in these programmes, minorities are largely absent or seriously under-represented.

Forth, the national leader for historic preservation advocacy, the US National Trust for Historic Preservation, has experienced consistent declines in its membership-based revenue in the past 15 years, which serves as a proxy for general, public support of the field.³ Fifth, preservation scholars – those individuals who have tenure-track appointments to these educational programmes – need to be held accountable for advancing the state of the field of historic preservation in relationship to continually changing public needs and wants. An allied responsibility is for these scholars to engage in the broader debate on heritage engendered by critical heritage studies scholarship. Finally, there is little to no guidance in evaluating the scholarship of faculty in historic preservation programmes, especially in association with tenure and promotion. For instance, what is a 'productive' scholar in this context?

In sum, the field of historic preservation appears to be in decline and needs to change, adapt, and, as Erica Avrami (2016) advocates, become more 'sustainable' by focusing on dynamic sociocultural and environmental processes. Thus, this paper is an attempt to holistically analyse intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship through an analytical lens influenced by critical heritage studies. Although I am not aware of any work remotely similar to this study in which the historic preservation field is addressed, I am influenced by a similar study performed by Thomas Sanchez (2017) that analysed the scholarship of planning professors.

Three primary questions, informed by the issues stated previously, guided this inquiry:

- (1) What is intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship?
- (2) Is this scholarship reflexive and/or critical of existing scholarship within the context of the exigent issues of practice?
 - (a) How is this literature influenced by the dynamism of the public's changing needs and wants?
 - (b) How are social science and community engagement research reflected in this literature?

- (c) Are there scholars employing critical approaches in response to the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006)? How are they advancing the field with a specific focus on social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion?
- (3) What is the overall impact and influence of this scholarship?

This paper first defines the preservation enterprise and intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship. I then describe the overall method used to answer these questions followed by a content analysis of preservation scholarship and the influence of this literature in terms of citation metrics. Overall, the paper argues that intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship is thin and lacks meaningful impact, especially in terms of addressing equity and justice issues in the field.

Defining historic preservation practice: the preservation enterprise

In the United States, the phrase, ‘historic preservation’ has, since the nineteenth century, been uniquely synonymous with work that addresses monumental ‘historic’ buildings; in the twentieth century, the focus increased to collections of buildings in districts, and later to vernacular landscapes. The closest parallels in international practice would be ‘architectural conservation’ (for single buildings) and ‘urban conservation’ (for groups of buildings/districts) – historic preservation encapsulates both concepts. Since the establishment of a national preservation law framework in the 1960s (the *National Historic Preservation Act*, 1966), historic preservation has been interchangeable with its mandate to implement rules and regulations in the areas of listing buildings, controlling interventions in the fabric of buildings, and administering financial incentives for preservation.

About 70% of historic preservation jobs exist to fulfil regulatory requirements around environmental review (Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, focused on identifying properties on, or eligible for listing on, the National Register of Historic Places) and local design review (approval of changes to historic buildings by property owners, largely based on the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards) (Wells 2018). About 11% of preservation jobs are associated with architectural (design) firms and scientific materials conservation, 9% with historic site administration and interpretation, 6% with advocacy, and 4% with downtown revitalization/regeneration (Wells 2018). Collectively, this scope of these professional endeavours will be referred to as the ‘preservation enterprise’ in this paper.

What is intra-disciplinary-based historic preservation scholarship?

As Becher and Trowler (2001, 23) explain, a discipline’s epistemology is formed through an ‘academic culture that [has the power to define] the “actual” form and focus of knowledge within a discipline’. Academics, whose collective identity is rooted in a specific discipline, negotiate what knowledge to include and what knowledge to exclude from their discipline through the scholarly literature they produce (Becher and Trowler 2001, 23). Thus, ‘insiders’ from a discipline have the power to participate in defining their discipline’s knowledge, while ‘outsiders’ (those academics and others whose identity is not primarily affiliated with this specific discipline) do not. In this sense, the accepted academic members of a specific discipline serve as gatekeepers of their discipline’s episteme through the production of intra-disciplinary scholarship.

The academe sanctions a discipline by creating organisational structures around it (Becher and Trowler 2001, 41). In the case of historic preservation, this organisational structure, as with most disciplines, is the department and/or degree programme in which ‘knowledge communities’, comprised of the professors in these departments/programmes, engage in an academic discourse within their discipline (Becher and Trowler 2001, 41). Within the academy, it is the tenured and tenure-track faculty who have the most power to engage in their discipline’s academic discourse. Contingent faculty are part of this discourse, but their contribution is, as Bowden and Gonzalez (2012) argue, minimal; overall, more than 80% of contingent faculty have no publications, of any

kind, scholarly or not (Bowden and Gonzalez 2012). Contingent faculty are thus not likely to be a significant factor in the production of intra-disciplinary scholarship. But, most importantly, even though this situation raises significant ethical issues in how the academy treats contingent faculty, the key characteristic is that these individuals lack the power to participate as equals in an academic discourse.

The National Council for Preservation Education (NCPE) is the official advocacy and support body for degree and certificate programmes in the United States and also is the only organisation that promotes the field's interests from the perspective of an academic discipline. While this NGO is not an accrediting body, it imposes membership requirements in order to accept a degree or certificate-granting programme as an official NCPE member (NCPE n.d.). Conveniently for this study, nearly all historic preservation degree programmes in the United States are members of NCPE. Thus, from a disciplinary standpoint, the tenured and tenure-track faculty associated with these programmes and/or departments are, collectively, the gatekeepers of intra-disciplinary scholarship within historic preservation. By gathering the collective scholarship of these faculty members, it becomes practical to assemble this body of literature. Because of the small size of this group, this task is eminently achievable compared to much larger discipline such as architecture or planning. For the remainder of this paper, the phrase 'preservation scholarship' will stand as a proxy for this intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship, which is the collective work of all full time, tenured or tenure-track faculty whose primary teaching appointment is to an historic preservation degree programme in the US.

Method

The study was based on the analysis of paper, book, and edited book publications that have been produced by intra-disciplinary preservation scholars. The four primary objectives were to: 1) identify the authors of this group; 2) define what a 'scholarly' publication is – only these publications were allowed to form the corpus of 'preservation scholarship'; 3) collect every single 'scholarly' publication produced by these authors; 4) perform a content analysis on this preservation scholarship, dividing it into salient categories and themes, and 5) generate citation metrics for every single publication that was collected. This last step provided key data to establish the overall impact of these publications.

In order to identify the authors of preservation scholarship, faculty were selected from NCPE member degree programmes who were full time and on the tenure-track or already tenured with a 50% or more teaching appointment in an historic preservation degree programme (undergraduate or graduate) through 31 December 2018. These individuals, therefore, consist of the intra-disciplinary gatekeepers of historic preservation based on the definition in the previous section. Programme web sites, emails, and phone calls to departments were used to identify full time, tenure-track and tenured faculty with a 50% or more teaching appointment to an historic preservation programme. Where departments did not share details on the distribution of faculty teaching responsibilities, the relevant college or university course schedule listing was consulted to identify which courses each preservation faculty member taught across several semesters. Programmes housed in institutions that do not use the tenure system, such as Boston Architectural College, Pratt, and Savannah College of Art and Design, were not included.

The definition of a 'scholarly publication' means that the publisher of a piece of scholarship employs a peer-review process to vet and approve the publication of this work. Even though the *Forum Journal*, *CRM Magazine*, and publications by the Getty and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) are not consistently peer-reviewed, scholarship published in these venues was, however, included as an exception. The reason is that these venues are frequently cited by preservation scholars and, as such, are often considered to represent quality scholarship; this assessment was therefore respected for this study. Only scholarship in English that was

published up until 31 December 2018 was included. Lastly, these additional criteria were used to categorically *exclude* publications:

- the publication was published by a predatory or vanity press⁴;
- encyclopaedia entries;
- student textbooks;
- opinion pieces, editorials, book and conference reviews; exhibition reviews; awards, obituaries, and eulogies;
- professional reports (i.e., grey literature);
- coffee table books (i.e., books that focus on visual rather than written content);
- book prefaces;
- books or other publications only held by one library (usually the home institution of the scholar).

The following methods were used to find preservation scholarship literature:

- curricula vitarum (CV), when available through the Internet; there were many errors in these documents, however, such as listing publications that were never published, or incorrect publication titles and publication years. In no situation were CVs relied upon alone without cross-referencing other sources;
- public citation tracking databases: Google scholar, Web of Science, and Scopus;
- library subscription databases: Academic Search Complete, Art Abstracts, Avery Index, RIBA Catalogue, Art and Archaeology Technical Abstracts (AATA) Online, Anthropological Index Online, Bibliographic Database of the Conservation Information Network (BCIN), Bibliography of the History of Art, Google Books, JSTOR, Project Muse, ProQuest Central, and WorldCat;
- academia.edu and researchgate.net accounts of preservation scholars, when present.

I prepared and used a codebook to categorise the content in each publication. The only codes that were prepared in advance related to answering questions 2 and 3; these codes were 1) community engagement, 2) critical approaches in analysing preservation practice and 3) social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion. The development of other codes was informed by dividing preservation practice into its four primary areas: regulatory and planning work, materials-based (architecture, materials conservation) documentation and intervention, site interpretation, and advocacy (Wells 2018). I used a process in which I reviewed the totality of the scholarship and created initial codes that were particularly salient, where multiple themes overlapped, I selected a single code that was most relevant, based on the publication's content. I then started coding each publication, altering the codebook as necessary, based on the inter-related themes in the scholarship. I repeated this process several times until a clear pattern emerged among a specific group of themes. An intercoder reliability check confirmed that the pattern was consistent (Singleton and Straits 2005, 94–97).

Lastly, I used the 'Publish or Perish' software available at Harzing.com to generate citation metrics for each individual preservation scholar and to produce metrics for the reputation of the top journals in the field.

Demographics of intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholars

In colleges and universities in the United States, as of 31 December 2018, 58 full time, tenure-track and tenured faculty who had a teaching appointment of at least 50% to an historic preservation degree programme (undergraduate or graduate) were identified as potential authors of preservation scholarship. As of 2016, there were 517,091 full-time faculty at the full, associate, and assistant professor levels in the United States (Snyder and Dillow 2019, 493), which means that equivalent

historic preservation faculty only represent 0.01% of the professoriate. In comparison, in 2018 there were 2,402 full-time faculty at the full, associate, or assistant professor in degree-granting architectural programmes in the United States (NAAB 2019), representing 0.5% of the professoriate, which is 42 times larger than historic preservation programmes. Compared to other academic disciplines, there are therefore relatively few authors who contribute to intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship.

Overall, preservation faculty are not diverse (the majority are white males) and males are substantially overrepresented at the full professor level. In relation to minority and gender representation, overall, 31% of preservation faculty are women and two faculty members self-identify as part of a minority group. In terms of positions, faculty are evenly divided across the three common ranks in preservation programmes: 31% of faculty are assistant professors; 36% are associate professors; and 33% are full professors. Of note is that only two full professors are female (11%); the remainder are male. For reference, across all disciplines, women at the full, associate, and assistant levels represent 43% of the professoriate, and, regardless of gender, 27% of faculty are non-white (Snyder and Dillow 2019, 493).

In terms of education, 71% of preservation faculty have a terminal degree at the doctoral level. Overall, the most common major associated with the terminal degree is history or architectural history (38%), followed by planning (19%), historic preservation (17%), and architecture (14%). Two faculty (3%) have a social science major (i.e., anthropology) as part of their terminal degree, 35% of the faculty have a preservation degree of some kind. A significant number of faculty (21%) received their terminal degrees from the urban planning programme at Cornell University, the historic preservation programme at Columbia University, and the architectural history programme at the University of California, Berkeley.

A content analysis of historic preservation scholarship

Note: This section summarises the themes found in the literature that were analysed. Refer to <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/26335> (University of Maryland, College Park data depository; a permanent DOI) for a detailed description of each individual paper, chapter, or book that was part of this analysis, including full citations.

In total, the process described in the method section resulted in the collection of 530 publications that define the corpus of 'intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship'. The coding process was originally informed by the second research question ('Is this scholarship reflexive and/or critical of existing scholarship within the context of the exigent issues of practice?') and its sub-questions. Through the iterative coding process, three themes emerged, following by several sub-themes, which were as follows:

- (1) Topics that inform the preservation enterprise (TIPE): These are publications that might inform some aspect of historic preservation practice, but are not unique to the preservation enterprise; they are instead likely to be central to other disciplines. An example is an historical research paper on the biography of a doctor that *could* potentially inform why a place is historically significant, but could be equally applicable to a broad array of other fields, practices, or disciplines, such as medicine, chemistry, or museum studies.
- (2) Topics about the preservation enterprise (TAPE): These are publications that define, explore, and/or advocate for the orthodox scope, theory/philosophy, practice, or pedagogical approaches that are *unique* to the historic preservation field. Scholarship in this thematic area accepts and builds upon the dominant, orthodox approaches in the field, and as such, does not directly challenge the *status quo*. This topical area can be further subdivided into five additional sub-categories:
 - (a) Characterisation of the historic preservation field, including history and education;

- (b) Planning and policy, especially as they implemented through existing rules and regulations;
 - (c) Materials conservation and preservation technology;
 - (d) Orthodox preservation theory and philosophy that builds on centuries-old tradition;
 - (e) Site management and interpretation.
- (3) Topics critical of the preservation enterprise (TCPE): These are publications that critically examine orthodox practice, including its doctrinal and regulatory assumptions. This scholarship is typically reflexive and most closely represents critical heritage studies in its overall approach.
- (a) Critical and reflective approaches;
 - (b) Community engagement;
 - (c) Social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion.

Refer to [Figure 1](#) for a distribution of preservation scholarship categorised by these codes.

Topics that inform the preservation enterprise (TIPE)

Almost half (40.4%) of the refereed publications are TIPE literature; about three-quarters of these publications can be accurately characterised as positivistic history (i.e., a focus on objective facts and a singular interpretation that then emerges from these facts; conceptualising history as broad patterns within a context of linear causation). Themes that appear most frequently include local history research in Montana, Tennessee, New York, Chicago, and the southeast; and contexts that address mining, political and labour history, transportation, class and gender, religious practice, colonial history, and urban transformation.

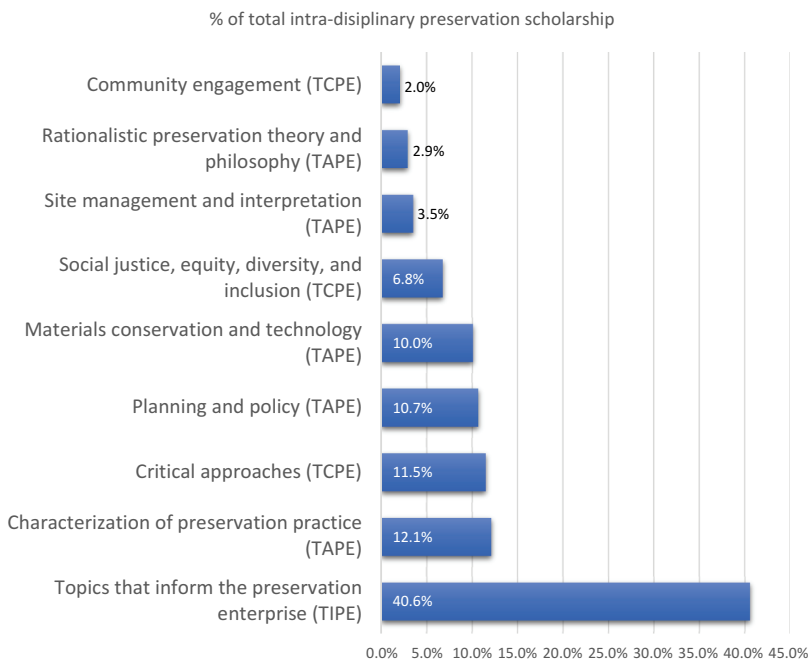


Figure 1. Overall distribution of intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship based on codes developed through content analysis, through 31 December 2018. Total number of publications represented is 488 (530 total publications minus 42 publications that have no relationship to historic preservation; see text). TIPE = Topics that Inform the Preservation Enterprise; TAPE = Topics About the Preservation Enterprise; TCPE = Topics Critical of the Preservation Enterprise; see text for details.

Other TIPE literature focuses more specifically on social and cultural history, such as protests and political and labour movements, including the Vietnam and Civil Rights era; the Great strike of 1877, progressive era healthcare, and antebellum political movements. Class, gender, and work in the nineteenth century is well represented. The historical, but not contemporary, social and cultural practice of Protestants and Jewish people are a dominant theme in TIPE literature. While TIPE literature helps adds diversity to understanding historical significance, it fails to inform contemporary people's relationship to their heritage. Other authors focus on the broader history of social, cultural, and design dimensions of urban transformation, with more specific foci on food markets, museums, courthouses, customhouses, state capitols, university campuses, and libraries. TIPE literature also includes scholarship on material culture and processual archaeology with a focus on Native American cultural practices, colonial-era artefacts, various crafts (especially basketmaking), and manufacturing.

Architectural history topics include the design and construction of skyscrapers, housing, re-interpretations of the City Beautiful movement, southern plantation landscapes, neoclassicism, and the re-interpretation of ornament. A smaller number of publications represent vernacular architecture, such as American porches, buildings and landscapes associated with hop farming, barns, ranches, company towns, and bicycle factories.

Publications on cultural landscapes include landscapes of prostitution, roads, canals, and railroad and bike corridors. Landscapes in which natural elements predominate are also a focus as are broad geographical areas defined by a singular theme, such as the Roosevelt's New Deal.

TIPE scholarship on the history of construction materials, systems, and methods include the analysis of Spanish colonial building materials and techniques, such as vaulting and dome building and the use of mortars in fortifications. Other, defined areas focus on discrete building units and finishes, such as sandstone, brick, plain and decorative surface finishes, regional painting traditions, shotcrete, and hollow clay tile.

TIPE scholarship focuses very little on the history of women and minorities (such as African Americans). There is much emphasis in this literature on white male architects, white male architectural critics, white male planners, and white male developers and business entrepreneurs. The historical contributions of white women are limited to Rebecca Dickinson, Anne Frank, and Betsy Ross.

Topics about the preservation enterprise (TAPE)

Materials conservation and preservation technology

In TAPE literature, there are three main areas of research that directly address historic fabric in some fashion: documentation/recording, materials conservation, and preservation technology. The documentation/recording of the physical fabric of buildings involves metric survey, photography, and instrumental analyses. The conservation of architectural materials applies scientific methods from materials science and chemistry towards the analysis, repair/consolidation, and loss compensation of building fabric with an emphasis on authenticity. Lastly, preservation technology focuses on contemporary interventions to sustain the physical integrity of building fabric.

Planning and policy

Policy, as it applies to the preservation enterprise is broad, encompassing planning, law, economics, sustainability, and disaster planning. While this area of TAPE scholarship may advocate for change, the context for these arguments are framed in a way that supports, rather than challenges, orthodox expert rule and top-down methods. For example, a significant number of publications explore ways to increase the number of buildings and places listed on the NR and how cities and countries could more fully participate in World Heritage processes; these authors, however, do not consider the possibility that the foundational criteria and policies around the NR and World Heritage may, in themselves, be a significant factor in excluding many buildings and places for inclusion in these lists.

Preservation planning, on the local level, is well represented in TAPE literature with an emphasis on how preservation relates to economic development, place-making, and low-income housing. Other themes include preservation economics, preservation law, and disaster preparedness, and sustainability.

Site management and interpretation

Literature on site interpretation focuses on museums in general, house museums, religious sites, archaeological sites, botanical gardens, and large, culturally defined areas in the American south-east; other publications explore more general concepts related to interpretation and tourism. Within most of these publications, there is an exploration of whether interpretation should emphasise facts or experiences and the appropriate use of technology. The literature in this area also focuses more explicitly on management practices, including those related to 'toxic' sites, college campuses, Hadrian's Wall, and Port Arthur. (These latter two sites are related to work performed for the Getty, which focuses predominately on international locations.)

Orthodox preservation theory and philosophy that builds on centuries-old tradition

Orthodox preservation theory is an analysis of the conceptual basis for how and why practice is performed in a certain way and is grounded in long-established concepts in the field that have, in some cases, existed for many decades, if not centuries. Preservation philosophy is a broader search for generalisable principles across practice, but which still sanctions its ideas through orthodox theory. In both cases, these investigations are dependent on rationalistic (deductive, *a priori*) rather than empirical (inductive, *a posteriori*) reasoning. Literature in this area consists of descriptive, historical explorations of orthodox preservation theories in order to normalise their use in practice. Specific themes include authenticity, loss compensation, and interpreting design intent. Some of this literature seeks normalisation within a framework of ethics.

Characterisation of the historic preservation field, including history and education

Literature that describes contemporary practice in the historic preservation field and its historical genesis also includes publications that address historic preservation education, primarily at the post-secondary level and in non-vocational contexts. Scholarship on these topics that take a critical, as opposed to a descriptive, approach are described under the TCPE category. Preservation education scholarship focuses on the need for students to gain real-world experience, such as through service learning and field-based experiences. Specific pedagogical techniques in teaching sustainability, stakeholder empathy, vocational trades, planning, archival research, and social science-based theses are represented in the literature as well.

Topics critical of the preservation enterprise (TCPE)

Critical approaches that challenge orthodox historic preservation theory and practice

Scholarship in this area can be broadly divided into rationalistic and empirical approaches. Some authors in this category accept the authenticity premise of orthodox preservation doctrine, and use a rationalistic perspective to reject the implicit modernist design principles that buttress the supposed need to differentiate 'new' from 'old' building fabric. Other authors use a rationalistic approach to provoke orthodox practice through 'experimental preservation' or 'preservation art'.

Preservation scholarship that uses empirically based analyses to challenge orthodoxy is closely aligned to critical heritage studies, a relatively recent field of research that adopts critical theory, critical realism, constructivism, post-colonialism, and post-structuralism to characterise built heritage conservation practice through the AHD in attempts to destabilise this discourse. Thus, this scholarship typically uses methods from anthropology, sociology, communication studies, environmental psychology, and urban planning to critique orthodox practice, especially in its emphasis on positivism and expert, top-down rule. A 'values-based' approach to preservation

practice, which usually does not reference critical heritage studies literature, yet often shares its critical aims, has been present in preservation scholarship since 2000.

Literature in this area also investigates heritage discourses and the development and destruction of rhetoric around built heritage, often incorporating extra-Western perspectives and employing the dualism of conventional experts/orthodox doctrine versus laypeople/situated knowledge. Other researchers address the cultural and psychological dimension of authenticity and its implications for practice, especially as it relates to design review.

Community engagement

Preservation scholarship that specifically addresses applied community engagement is limited. Literature in this area discusses not only the need for this kind of grass-roots engagement but also details on-the-ground methods to identify specific kinds/types of community groups based on their identity, affiliation, or some other kind of socio-cultural characteristic. Community engagement scholarship also looks at ways data from this kind of research can or already has influenced grass-roots practice in some fashion. Most of the publications in this category detail public archaeology projects, with a focus on interactions with municipal (local) governments. More general community engagement research focuses on crowdsourcing, community art, design review, and the involvement of citizens in survey projects.

Social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion

The majority of scholarship in this category explores the history of marginalised groups, usually in context with the built environment; with few exceptions, this literature does not directly address contemporary people's relationship with the heritage being examined, nor does it discuss preservation practice in relation to these groups. Examples include African American history, the history of Latinx peoples, Native American history, the history of women (especially African American women), Jewish social and architectural history in relation to the built environment, and the recognition and interpretation of 'difficult sites' (also referred to as 'sites of conscience'). Literature on social justice and equity, in relation to people living today, is largely absent except for three papers on the subject.

Scholarship that has no clear relevance to preservation

A significant amount of scholarship produced by intra-disciplinary preservation scholars has little or no direct relationship to historic preservation and therefore was not included in the distribution analysis of 'preservation scholarship' represented in [Figure 1](#). This represents 42 publications on topics such as faculty involvement in higher education, electronic classrooms, postmodern architectural design, and historical atlases.

An outside perspective: extra-disciplinary-based historic preservation scholarship

As with other disciplines, scholars who address historic preservation are not always considered to be part of the discipline, nor do they have to be. To be sure, authors associated with disciplines as disparate as law, economics, and history have long contributed to literature in the field. Thus, while these extra-disciplinary authors are not the epistemological gatekeepers of historic preservation, they most certainly contribute to the overall discussion and debate in the field. In some areas, as explored below, these external voices are indeed the most abundant and loudest.

The scholarly context that is covered here is mostly focused on extra-disciplinary TCPE literature because of its relevancy to the original questions posited in this study, which are related to critical approaches. Because of the broad disciplinary basis of its topics, extra-disciplinary TIPE literature is vast and beyond the scope of this article; my purpose in mentioning this literature,

however, is that TIPE literature is most fully represented by extra-disciplinary scholars. I refer the reader to the specific disciplines represented in TIPE literature to explore these topics more fully.

For a significant amount of TAPE topics, extra-disciplinary authors provide most of the scholarly literature available in the field. This observation is particularly true for materials conservation, law, and economics. In the discipline of materials conservation, which is most often affiliated with art and object conservation, important literature covers intervention ethics, the science of conservation, causes of deterioration, condition survey, analytical techniques, and treatment methods that inform the conservation of buildings, structures, and built landscape elements. Legal scholars inform the core of orthodox historic preservation practice, much of which is based on rules of regulations. And, lastly, economics has long been critical for substantiating the preservation enterprise; scholars from this discipline provide empirical evidence for how historic preservation impacts economies, job creation, and real estate values.

However, it is extra-disciplinary TCPE literature that is most relevant to the inquiry here, and, most specifically, how this literature relates to the intellectual environment centred around critical and reflective approaches, community engagement, and social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion. Intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship, as a whole, lacks significant and meaningful discussions around these topics. It is, therefore, extra-disciplinary scholars who are the largest contributors to this aspect of historic preservation practice.

Scholars who align themselves with critical heritage studies contribute the most to critical and reflective analyses of practices that impact the historic environment in some way. The majority of these authors originate in the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, and history and are located in Europe and Australia; there are also few voices in this area from North America (see in particular Hutchings and La Salle 2017; La Salle and Hutchings 2018). Two fundamental concepts that critical heritage studies have contributed to historic preservation practice is the heuristic concept of the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006) and characterising built heritage conservation (and heritage conservation in general) as a cultural practice and not a scientifically grounded and objective endeavour (Smith 2006; Waterton, Smith, and Campbell 2006). The latter perspective, along with earlier work by Tainter and Lucas (1983), helps to reposition historic preservation away from its positivistic roots towards a more critical and reflexive turn.

Critical heritage studies also provide an alternative to the orthodox, fabric-based theory in the field. This theory helps to reorient historic preservation practice away from fabric and 'historical facts' towards contemporary peoples, especially by focusing on sociocultural practices, values, and meanings (e.g., Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011; Labrador and Silberman 2018; Smith 2009); person-place relationships (e.g., Jones 2009; Schofield, Kiddey, and Lashua 2012; Swensen and Saeter 2011); and place attachment (e.g., Ram, Björk, and Weidenfeld 2016; Shamsuddin and Ujang 2008; Wells 2017). Thus, critical heritage studies introduce a social science component to understanding, critiquing, and reflecting on historic preservation practice. This literature also covers action research methods and exploring how to make historic preservation practice less top-down and driven by experts and rules and regulations (Lixinski 2015; Wells and Lixinski 2016, 2017). As Rodney Harrison (2013, 5) relates, there is a goal to '[break] down the bureaucratic divide between laypersons and experts, suggesting new models for heritage-decision-making processes in the future'. This concept fundamentally challenges historic preservation doctrine and practice by assuming that everyone is a heritage expert (Schofield 2014) and that the heritage of communities of practice is best understood and controlled by these individuals and not by outside experts who have little connection with this situated knowledge (Waterton and Smith 2010).

Excluding critical heritage studies literature, there is very little scholarship that overlaps a focus on the preservation enterprise with civic engagement, shared decision-making, or ground-up citizen control of what and how to preserve, especially in the United States (Avrami 2020b). Examples, however, do exist in European contexts. For instance, Madgin et al. (2018) describe a successful grass-roots effort, led by young skateboarders, to save a heritage skate park; many useful techniques that could be more broadly adopted are explored. And, although not peer

reviewed, the report on ‘How Should Heritage Decisions Be Made?’, in which 23 researchers and practitioners participated, offers a wealth of bottom-up, community-led techniques, which significantly borrow from critical heritage studies to help understand basic questions about what heritage is, how it should be recognised, and how it should be treated; many heritage objects are addressed, including buildings and places (Bashforth et al. 2015). In addition, Van Balen and Vandesande (2015) edited book on the subject of community engagement in heritage planning, is also framed in the literature on critical heritage studies. Lastly, there are hundreds of studies on community participation, too numerous to list here, that address civic participation within the context of World Heritage.

Literature on critical and reflexive perspectives on diversity in historic preservation is largely not being created by intra-disciplinary preservation scholars; the majority of this critical work, which is happening in the related, but external, disciplinary spheres of planning, archaeology, public history, and folklore, is thus directed *against* preservation practice, its practitioners, and its researchers. These authors are therefore self-aware that their voices are outside of the normal discourse within the field. Two significant authors who helped to bring the basic social justice issues of preservation’s disregard of the history of minorities are Dolores Hayden (1995) and Ned Kaufman (2009). In the decades since, many additional perspectives have built upon their work. Today, however, the field remains fundamentally white in its practitioners, professors, and students, little changed from the past. This persistent issue, as Erica Avrami (2020b) observes, might be because ‘an increase in narrative diversity is being conflated with participatory diversity’ by the field’s proponents.

This reflexive literature looks at the inherent social justice issues in the requirement for ‘historical integrity’ (material authenticity) in order to list a building on the US National Register of Historic Places (Michael 2018; Ryberg-Webster 2020; Taylor 2015; Wellman 2002). Places associated with wealthy white people and high-style buildings typically undergo many fewer changes over time than vernacular landscapes associated with minority groups; the result is that it is usually much easier to make an argument for sufficient historical integrity for high-style, monumental buildings as opposed to vernacular buildings. Similarly, the tendency of historic preservation practitioners to deprecate oral history as a valid documentation method, in deference to the more ‘objective’ written record, also privileges the history of those individuals and events most often associated with rich, white men (Taylor 2015). Andrea Roberts (2020) refers to these combined social justice issues of historical integrity and oral history as a kind of ‘preservation apartheid’. Because historic preservation practice enshrines a positivistic ontological and a Western epistemological perspective, Native American groups continually find that they have little control over how their own heritage is recognised, defined, and treated (Milholland 2010). There are similar experiences in Latinx communities in El Paso, where preservation practitioners defaulted to the dominant, white historical narrative because it was too difficult to articulate a more accurate, but dissonant and pluralistic perspective; narratives supporting white dominance thus made it easier for historic preservation to be equated with economic development goals than would telling a more inclusive story (Campbell 2005).

This reflexive literature also reveals that the practice of historic preservation has, systematically, long ignored, and in some cases, tried to erase local histories related to African American, Latinx, Asian American, and Native American peoples (Campbell 2005; King 2009; Magalong and Mabalon 2016; Rotenstein 2018; Ryberg-Webster 2020); consultation, as required under federal law when there is a federal undertaking, privileges developers and expedient, check the box processes (King 2009; Rotenstein 2018). To be sure, as Emma Osore (2020, 146) calls attention, a fundamental reason why historic preservation practice engenders social justice issues is because it fails to engage with the contemporary people who live in context with their heritage. Or, in another sense, orthodox historic preservation assumes that all significance must remain in the past, and in doing so, ignores the people here, today.

What is the influence and impact of intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship? What the citation metrics indicate

Note: Additional data and tables are available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/26335> (University of Maryland, College Park data depository; a permanent DOI).

The citation statistics referenced in this study are h index, g index, hc index, and hI index, which are widely recognised as standard measures of faculty productivity (especially the h index). Although these indices are not defined in this article, definitions and scholarly references for these measures can be found at <https://harzing.com/pophelp/metrics.htm>.

Figure 2, 3 and 4 show the distribution of citations, h index scores, and number of publications, respectively, for all the authors of preservation scholarship. Table 1 presents a summary of descriptive statistics for the number of citations, h index scores, and total number of publications for the top 20% of tenured authors, for comparison.

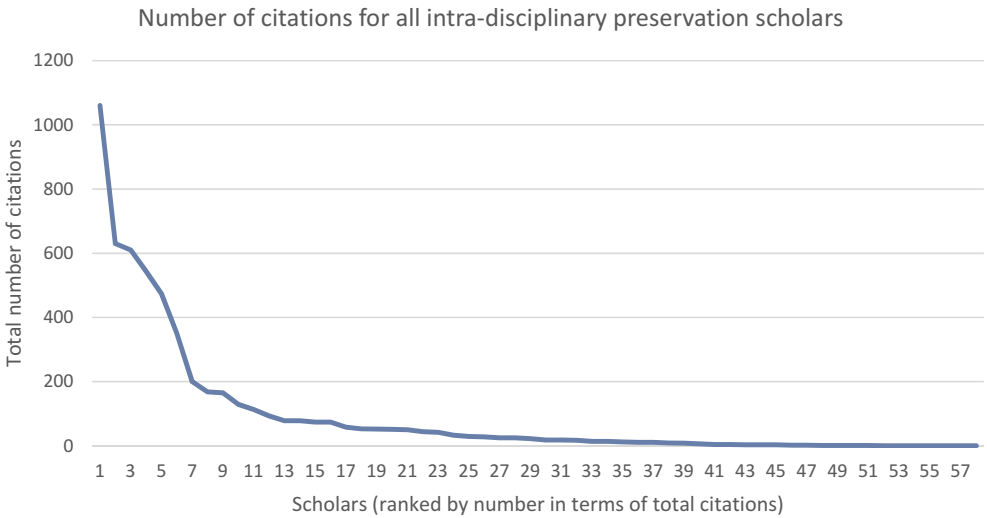


Figure 2. Distribution of paper citations for all preservation scholars, through 31 December 2018. (n = 58).

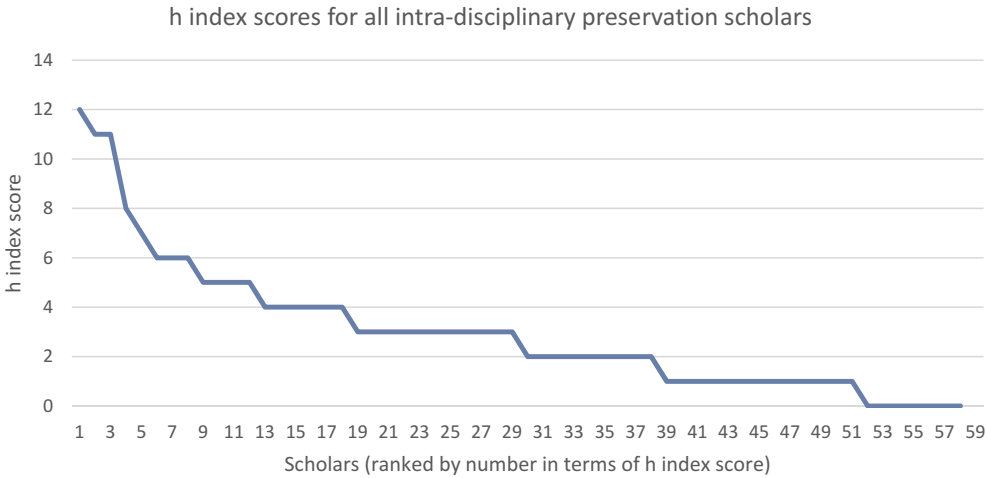


Figure 3. Distribution of h index scores for all preservation scholars, through 31 December 2018. (n = 58).

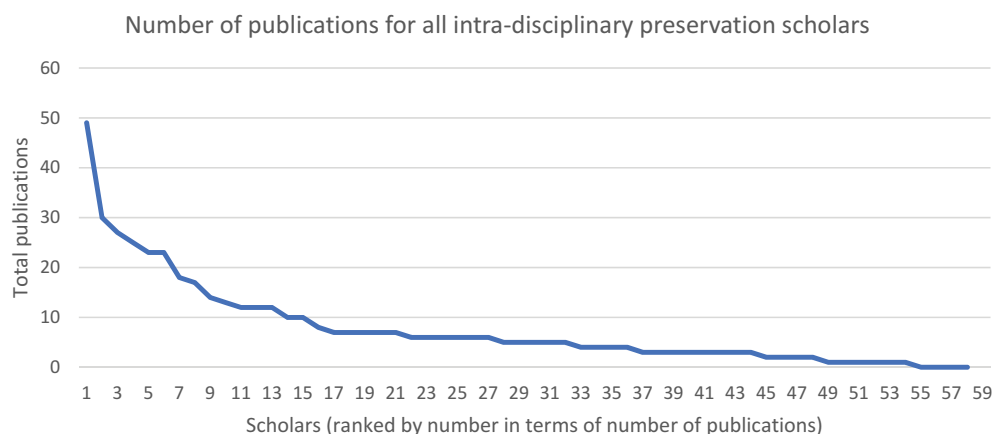


Figure 4. Distribution of number of publications for all preservation scholars, through 31 December 2018. (n = 58).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the top 20% of preservation scholars, as of 31 December 2018. (n = 12).

	Tenured and junior faculty (n = 12)	Tenured faculty (n = 8)	Junior faculty (n = 4)
# of citations – mean	378.1	439.6	245.0
# of citations – median	275.5	412.5	148.5
h index – mean	7.3	8.1	5.25
h index – median	6.0	7.0	5.0
# of publications – mean	21.9	24.4	17.0
# of publications – median	20.5	23	14.5

Most publications produced by authors of preservation scholarship are journal articles (53%), followed by book chapters (33%), monographs (10%), and edited books (4%). 71.2% of all publications are single authored; 23.9% are authored by two to three people; and 4.9% are authored by more than three people.

Regardless of academic rank, 53.5% of all authors have 5 scholarly publications or less (n = 31); of this group, 48.3% are tenured (n = 15). Tenured faculty in this group have an h index citation score of 3 or less (mean 1.6, median 2). Four authors have no scholarly publications, regardless of academic rank. In terms of the relationship between faculty productivity and institution type, of the top 20% of faculty by number of publications, 83% (n = 10) are from Carnegie classification, 'Doctoral Universities: Very High Research Activity'. Of the bottom, 20% of faculty by number of publications, 50% (n = 6) are from 'Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Programs' or 'Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools'.

In terms of the relationship between tenure and publications, six authors who have achieved tenure at Carnegie classification 'Doctoral Universities: Very High Research Activity' have five scholarly publications or less. Twenty-one authors at this Carnegie classification are tenured (associate or full professor); as a group, these authors have a mean of 11.5 (median of 7) scholarly publications, a mean of 181 (median of 52) citations, and a mean h index of 4.8 (median of 3).

Of the publications produced by the authors of preservation scholarship, 43% (n = 227) have not been cited by others (citation count of 0), and 31% (n = 163) have five or fewer citations. In total, about three-quarters of all preservation scholarship produced since 1978 has five citations or less. Most of these publications relate to local history or are descriptive (i.e., non-critical/non-reflexive), in some fashion, of orthodox historic preservation practice.

Lastly, the top refereed book publisher represented in preservation scholarship is Routledge (n = 24). Other top refereed publishers, in order, are: University Press of New England (n = 10, now defunct), Springer (n = 8), University of Tennessee Press (n = 6), University of Massachusetts Press (n = 6), Cambridge University Press (n = 5), Palgrave Macmillan (n = 5), and W.W. Norton (n = 5). The top

refereed journal represented in preservation scholarship is *The Association for Preservation Technology (APT) Bulletin*. For statistics on the top eight refereed journal publishers, refer to [Table 2](#).

Conclusion

Nearly half of all intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholarship represents TIPE literature; while clearly useful to historic preservation practice, *these publications are not about the historic preservation enterprise*, and as such, do not help to advance the field or address its exigent issues. Much of the remaining scholarship serves to reinforce the field's *status quo*. Critically, as Ned Kaufman (2019, 309) explains, intra-disciplinary scholarship largely fails to address 'the policies beneath the preservation enterprise, the assumptions that drive them, the forces that shape them, their impact on the world'. Kaufman's observation is fundamentally about reorienting historic preservation practice away from the past and into the present, with a focus on people.

Yet, the fact that the majority of preservation scholarship focuses on the past, and not the present, means that many intra-disciplinary preservation scholars are not engaging with questions related to the public's changing needs and wants in relation to the older built environment and cultural landscapes. Preservation scholarship also has a clear bias for buildings, fabric, and architectural design in deference to contemporary people and their relationship with place.

A kind of myopia might be at work in the preservation field that could explain these factors. Some authors have argued that the preservation field's emphasis on just 'getting the work' done manifests as an anti-intellectual bias within the discipline (King and Lyneis 1978, 889; Otero-Pailos 2007, viii; Smith 2000, 314). As Robert Russell (2014), a preservation educator, discerns, the historic preservation field has 'produced ... an atmosphere at best indifferent to thinking and at times overtly hostile to intellectual activity'. This bias also exists in historic preservation degree programmes, where pragmatic, vocational 'job training' is elevated above 'education', the latter of which is sometimes assumed to be too far removed from practice (Russell 2014). Likewise, NCPE's tenure guidelines, which are intended by institutions of higher education to assess advancement for their preservation faculty, emphasise vocational, as opposed to scholarly activities (Tomlan et al. 2003).

Critical, empirically based investigations of historic preservation practice and explorations of social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion represent a rather small proportion of intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship. For example, the AHD, which is central to historic preservation practice, is almost entirely absent – in any sense, by name or concept – from this literature. And, more research on how contemporary minorities engage with their own heritage is needed because most preservation scholarship centred on issues of diversity fails to engage with the present in meaningful ways.

The gaps in preservation scholarship can be explained, in part, by the fact that, as a group, intra-disciplinary historic preservation scholars do not produce many peer-reviewed publications and the work that is published is not cited very often. For comparison, individual faculty in planning programmes that are members of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning have mean citations between 388.6 and 3,519.5 and a median citations between 359.5 and 1,472.5 (Sanchez 2017). This is between 4.4 and 39.5 times more than the mean and between 20.0 and 81.8 times more than the median for preservation scholars. Of the top preservation journals in the field, only the *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* has what one could consider 'good' citation metrics. Articles in the other top journals in the field are infrequently cited and their impact, therefore, is likely minimal.

Based on this paucity of citations, the possibility that, as a whole, intra-disciplinary preservation scholarship has little influence on other scholars, regardless of discipline, is difficult to ignore. In addition, the lack of a culture for innovative preservation practice ideas appears to be sustained by the entrenched anti-intellectual bias described previously. When other evidence is added, such as

Table 2. Top eight refereed journals in the field of historic preservation, based on publications by tenure-track or tenured professors from historic preservation programmes in the United States, as of 31 December 2018.

Rank	Journal	# papers	General topical area	Publisher	Impact factor (2018)	Cite-Score (2018)	SJR (2018)	SNIP (2018)	H index (as of Oct 2019)	h5 index (as of Oct 2019)	Years of publication
1	<i>APT Bulletin</i>	25	Materials conservation/preservation technology	Association for Preservation Technology/Mt. Ida Press					23*	5	1986-present
2	<i>Change Over Time</i>	11	Preservation theory and philosophy	University of Pennsylvania Press	0.12	0.20	0.125	0.125	5		2011-present
3	<i>Montana: The Magazine of Western History</i>	9	History	Montana Historical Society		0.04	0.1	1.000	4	2	1951-present
4	<i>Preservation Education and Research</i>	9	Historic preservation	National Council on Preservation Education					5*		2008-present
5	<i>Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites</i>	8	Materials conservation/archaeology	Maney Publishing	0.48	0.57	0.314	0.725	9	7	2007-present
6	<i>Journal of the American Institute for Conservation</i>	8	Materials conservation	American Institute for Conservation	0.61	0.49	0.273	0.733	15	7	1962-present
7	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</i>	6	Architectural history	University of California Press	0.13	0.20	0.176	0.727	14	5	1941-present
8	<i>CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship</i>	6	Cultural resource management	National Park Service					11*		2003–2008
	Average				0.33	0.30	0.20	0.66	10.75	5.20	
	Median				0.30	0.20	0.18	0.73	10.00	5.00	

Sources: Impact factor from Resurchify (resurchify.com); CiteScore, SJR, SNIP from Scopus (scopus.com); H index (except where noted) from scimagojr.com (scimagojr.com); h5 index and h5 median from Google Scholar (scholar.google.com). Empty cells means that no data were available. *None of the standard journal reputation sites had any data on this journal; the H index was manually generated by mining data from Google Scholar using Harzing's Publish or Perish software (harzing.com).

declining student enrolments in historic preservation programmes, these are symptoms of an ailing field, whose continued relevance and sustainability in the future is far from assured.

There are, however, some bright spots to consider. Critical heritage studies have offered the preservation field not only a critique of the latter's problems but also a glimpse of its promise, such as the innovative manual produced for 'heritage facilitators' by Kate Clark (2019). Clark uses her expertise both in practice *and* critical heritage studies theory to create a grounded set of exercises that can be used in various heritage management contexts. Critical race theory provides a useful way to understand how to manage difficult places and monuments and challenge white supremacist historical narratives that are associated with some aspects of preservation practice (Burgard and Michael Boucher 2018; Milholland 2010). And, similarly, Andrea Roberts (2019) elucidates the 'white gaze' in reference to historic preservation practice and helps us understand that such practice is not a race-neutral endeavour, even in the twenty-first century.

Within the discipline of historic preservation, the scholarship of some younger and junior faculty, such as Erica Avrami, Trinidad Rico, Barry Stiefel, and the author, demonstrate how research that directly addresses the preservation enterprise might manifest. Avrami, Leo, and Sanchez (2018) present the first example of an intradisciplinary policy analysis and even though Erica Avrami's (2020a) edited book on *Preservation and Social Exclusion* was not included in the content analysis, this latter work clearly points the way in terms of leadership based around social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion in historic preservation. Similarly, Stiefel's (2016, 2017) scholarship on the intersection of Jewish culture and place presents intriguing opportunities for how the field interprets historical significance. Rico (e.g., 2015, 2017b, 2017a) is an example of a preservation scholar who combines both critical heritage studies and historic preservation practice within an international context. And the author's (e.g., Wells et al. 2020; Wells and Baldwin 2012) basic research in the psychology of heritage places and community engagement tools provide the kind of empirical evidence needed to guide the field in the twenty-first century. In sum, these examples of research show that intradisciplinary preservation scholarship is notable not for what it *is*, but for what *it could become*.

Notes

1. W. Brown Morton, III is the primary author of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, which he wrote in 1977 to provide objective guidance for federal historic preservation tax credit projects. Since then, nearly every local, state, and federal agency uses these guidelines to prescriptively control interventions in 'historic' building fabric.
2. Antoinette J. Lee worked for the US National Park Service (NPS) for 23 years. During her tenure, she helped author the World Heritage nomination for Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and the University of Virginia. She also helped create the NPS's Cultural Resources Diversity Program and made significant contributions to the Historical Documentation Programs at the NPS.
3. Based on IRS 990 filings from 2003 to 2018. In defence of the US National Trust, the organisation is among the most innovative in the United States, advancing new, 'people-centered' approaches to preservation practice, including a strong focus on diversity and equity issues in the field.
4. There are several reputable services on the Internet that identify predatory publishers, such as <https://beallslist.net/>, <https://www2.cabells.com/blacklist>, and <https://predatoryjournals.com/>.

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Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/26335> (University of Maryland, College Park data depository; a permanent DOI).

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