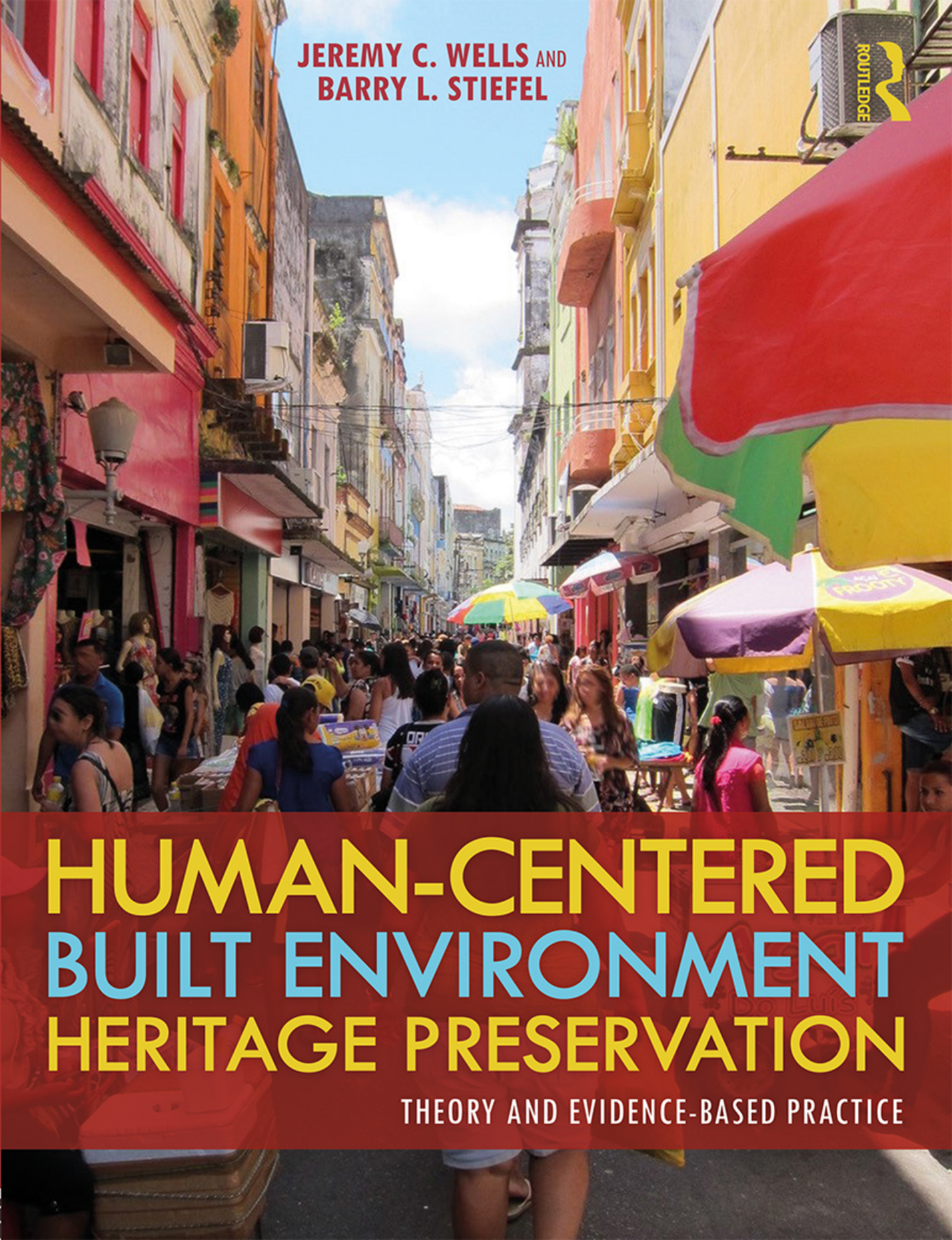




**JEREMY C. WELLS AND
BARRY L. STIEFEL**

ROUTLEDGE

HUMAN-CENTERED BUILT ENVIRONMENT HERITAGE PRESERVATION

THEORY AND EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE

Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation

Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation addresses the question of how a human-centered conservation approach can and should change practice. For the most part, there are few answers to this question because professionals in the heritage conservation field do not use social science research methodologies to manage cultural landscapes, assess historical significance and inform the treatment of building and landscape fabric. With few exceptions, only academic theorists have explored these topics while failing to offer specific, usable guidance on how the social sciences can actually be used by heritage professionals.

In exploring the nature of a human-centered heritage conservation practice, we explicitly seek a middle ground between the academy and practice, theory and application, fabric and meanings, conventional and civil experts, and orthodox and heterodox ideas behind practice and research. We do this by positioning this book in a transdisciplinary space between these dichotomies as a way to give voice (and respect) to multiple perspectives without losing sight of our goal that heritage conservation practice should, fundamentally, benefit all people. We believe that this approach is essential for creating an emancipated built heritage conservation practice that must successfully engage very different ontological and epistemological perspectives.

Jeremy C. Wells is an assistant professor in the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Maryland, College Park and a Fulbright scholar. His research explores ways to make built heritage conservation practice more responsive to people through the use of applied social science research methods from environmental psychology, humanistic geography, anthropology, and community development/public health. Wells is a member of the Environmental Design Research Association's (EDRA's) board and past Chair. At EDRA, he created the Historic Environment Knowledge Network to engage academics and practitioners in addressing the person/place and environment/behavior aspects of heritage conservation. Wells runs the heritagestudies.org website that explores how to evolve heritage conservation practice using critical heritage studies theory to better balance meanings and power between experts and most stakeholders.

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Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation

Theory and Evidence-Based Practice

**Edited by
Jeremy C. Wells and Barry L. Stiefel**

First published 2019
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this title has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-58394-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-58395-5 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-50635-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Minion Pro

by codeMantra

To Vivie and Rosie and their bountiful future...

J.C.W.

...and to Juliet (Juju) too!

Additionally, the gratitude I have for Isaak Katz (1713–1790) and Rewecka (?–1806) of Rauschenberg, Hessen, Germany, who, two centuries before I was born, had the foresight to leave a message as to why a certain place mattered to them—inviting me into a past that became family as well as creating a purpose of motivation.

B.L.S.



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Acknowledgments

There is one person and one organization in particular that we wish to thank in framing the ideas that made *Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation* possible. Without David Lowenthal and his 1985 publication, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, our present publication would simply not exist. In May 2011, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, hosted a conference on “Why Does the Past Matter?: Changing Visions, Media, and Rationales in the 21st Century”. At the conference, David Lowenthal was recognized with a special honor for his distinguished career and gave a lecture titled “Prizing the Past for the Present and the Future.” Not only was the editor, Barry L. Stiefel, in attendance at the conference and for the lecture, but also serendipitously during one of the lunch breaks, found himself sitting next to Lowenthal and enjoying a casual conversation. This personal moment and relaxed discussion provided meaningful insights pertaining to Lowenthal’s philosophies on heritage as well as objectives, which planted a seed of critical thinking pertaining to how heritage preservation, best practices, and education might be reconsidered.

Without the Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA), this book could not have come to fruition. Not only is EDRA widely credited with conceptualizing and promoting the idea of evidence-based design, but it is also one of the only philanthropic organizations dedicated to bringing academics and practitioners together in a trans-disciplinary environment where the topic of practice or research matters more than one’s disciplinary affiliation. This perspective is infused throughout this book and many of the chapter authors are also EDRA members and, like the editor, Jeremy C. Wells, have fully engaged EDRA’s mission “to provide a collaborative, multidisciplinary community to connect theory, research, teaching, and practice to recognize, create and advocate for environments that are responsive to diverse human needs.”



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Foreword

In bringing together these articles for *Human-Centered Built Environment Heritage Preservation*, editors Jeremy C. Wells and Barry L. Stiefel build a bridge between the theory and practice of historic preservation that is critically important for the future of the field. When I wrote the series of essays on *Why Old Places Matter* (savingplaces.org/why-do-old-places-matter) (The essays are forthcoming as a book, Rowman and Littlefield, 2018), I drew on the many fields that study—and often critique—what preservationists do, from environmental psychology to architectural and aesthetic theory, critical heritage studies, and cultural geography. Yet, I noted a chasm between the work of these academic and scholarly fields and practicing preservation professionals. Many scholars analyzed what was protected as heritage, how it was protected, and for and by whom, but did not always suggest solutions to address the issues they so carefully identified and dissected. And while there were exceptions, I found that our underfunded, often embattled, and hardworking preservation professionals had neither the time nor the inclination to read, decipher, and implement the theories in scholarly work.

This volume seeks to bridge that chasm. The articles have been solicited with the express intention of proposing ideas that can be implemented to generate positive change. Coming at a crucial juncture when preservationists have tried to envision the future, this volume will not only be a welcome addition to the literature, but also should influence the practice of historic preservation in the United States, among other places abroad.

In 2017, the National Trust for Historic Preservation issued *Preservation for People: A Vision for the Future*, the culmination of nearly two years of discussions and meetings held throughout the United States in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The *Vision* advocates that preservation “ground its work in human needs and aspirations, and become a prevalent, powerful, and practical force to sustain, improve, and enrich people’s lives.” The *Vision* signals a paradigm shift in thinking about the purposes of historic preservation. Although this idea of shifting to a people-oriented practice may not sound radical, it is a major philosophical change for historic preservation as practiced in the United States.

Moving “from fabric-centered to human-centered practice,” as eloquently expressed by Michelle Jolly, Melinda Milligan, Margaret Purser, and Laura A. Watt in Chapter 14, ““But Where are the People?” Grappling with Teaching New Approaches to Our Relationship with Place and the Past,” will require the re-examination of the existing tools of historic preservation, from the process of nominating properties onto the National Register of Historic Places, to application of the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. In addition, new tools and new skill sets will be required for communities and practitioners, including new ways of engaging people in determining what places matter to them. From the use of genealogy as a gateway drug to historic

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preservation, to borrowing the public engagement tools of the planning profession, to traditional sociological interview tools, to the use of photographs or other visuals, the ideas suggested in this volume begin to chart a path forward to a more people-centered preservation practice.

While the overarching theme of the volume is that preservation practice should be more evidence-based, embedded in these articles is also a debate about the limits of empiricism. How much of the work of historic preservation can be studied scientifically and what can we realistically know about the many elements of people's relationship with old places? While many of the articles advocate for a scientific basis for the work of historic preservation, others note the limits of that work. In particular, the "The Mystery of History and Place: Radical Preservation Revisited," by Jack D. Elliott argues for experiencing the world "in a radically old way" and moving beyond "simply saving bricks and mortar" to evaluating historic places in terms of their symbolic potential. Yet, others lament how little the field has been studied scientifically. While I think both points of view have merit—we need both more scientific study while we must also recognize—and explore—its present-day limits, the voices, and opinions in this volume begin to shape that discussion.

In bridging that chasm between theory and practice, *Human-Centered Built Heritage Conservation* provides an important contribution to the future of historic preservation. The ideas and solutions proposed in this volume hopefully will serve as both concepts and tools to fulfill the vision that historic preservation become a "prevalent, powerful, and practical force to sustain, improve, and enrich *people's* lives."

Thompson M. Mayes, Vice President and Senior Counsel,
National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C. 2017

Preface

The contributions for *Human-Centered Built Heritage Conservation* were largely cultivated from two significant events in 2016, the “Using Applied Social Science Methodologies to Conserve the Historic Environment: Can Evidence Change Practice?” session at the Environmental Design Research Association Conference in Raleigh, North Carolina (May 18) and the Association for Critical Heritage Studies Conference (June 3–8) in Montreal, Quebec; where the theme was “What Does Heritage Change?” Jeremy C. Wells was the organizer for the session in Raleigh, which Barry L. Stiefel and others attended, and Wells and Stiefel both attended the Montreal conference as well. Additional contributions were also recruited from outside of these events. Nonetheless, the presentations and informal conversations that took place at these conferences was the impetuous for this publication because of the desire to document not only what was done, but also to initiate a legacy of how we—all contributors—might make a positive change to the academic field and vocational profession of initiating and using evidence based on the human aspects of heritage conservation to best change practices. Only time will tell if we will have any lasting impact or success, but we hope that the reader will consider what we have done and carry forward what we believe to be a very important undertaking in the improved preservation and maintenance of cultural heritage, material artifacts of all sizes, and social-human needs.



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Introduction

Moving Past Conflicts to Foster an Evidence-Based, Human-Centric Built Heritage Conservation Practice

Jeremy C. Wells and Barry L. Stiefel

This book is about building an emancipated built heritage and cultural landscape conservation practice that moves away from laws, rules, regulations, and doctrine as a basis for its required operation. In doing so, we focus on how to free conventional practice from its reliance on expert rule and disarm its authority through the use of evidence obtained through social science and participatory research methods. While there is no consensus on how this outcome can be achieved, the authors contained in this volume explore how evidence, obtained from applied social science and participatory research methods, might achieve a more democratic and grass-roots-driven conservation practice. In this chapter, we will explore the way in which the conservation of built heritage and cultural landscapes is conflicted and the form in which a human-centered, emancipated conservation practice might take, and the ways in which this goal can be put into practice using evidence. We will then summarize the papers in this book that address this goal from both theoretical and applied perspectives.

The rationale for our endeavor is supported by a growing realization that the orthodox, doctrinal foundations of building conservation have not been empirically substantiated and instead have been taken as a matter of faith (Avrami, Mason, & Torre, 2000, 10; Galindo & Hidalgo, 2005, 25; Mason, 2008, 315). To be sure, this assertion implies the dubious acceptability of conducting research to prove orthodox conservation doctrine “right” even when such work would be tainted with a confirmation bias. Indeed, as John Pendlebury (2009, 222) asserts, most research in built heritage conservation is, in fact, undertaken in this manner, with predefined outcomes. Salvador Muñoz Viñas (2005) refers to research in the field of movable and immovable object conservation as inherently tautological, where the acceptable practice is defined by the practice that came before it, and as such, meanings and values become increasingly ossified through a never-ending positive feedback loop.

In order to defeat this loop, we break a fundamental tenet in orthodox practice by assuming that heritage is in the present, not the past (c.f., Harrison, 2013, 32, 165; Silverman, Waterton, & Watson, 2017, 4, 8; Smith, 2006, 3) and that practice must address the present as well as conceivably the future too. In practical terms, this break means that “significance” is not based primarily on historical facts from an arbitrarily distant past (e.g., the “50-year rule” in the United States; similar rules are elsewhere), but on the contemporary meanings and values of everyday people (not just conventional experts). This also means that the standard practice of archival research to establish a factual past should not drive practice, but rather consulting with everyday people on the meanings and uses of heritage should be fundamental to any built heritage practitioner. (Note that this assertion does not invalidate the need for archival research; instead, we advocate for a balance in methods to inform

practice.) Additionally, we should also consider future implications of how and why we choose, or choose not, to preserve a particular place. These assertions, therefore, provide a space to question (and more radically, dismiss) conventional conservation practice, especially as it addresses the care of old places. Indeed, if we conceptualize the professional standards that undergird built heritage conservation practice as just a manifestation of a particular cultural belief system, as Laurajane Smith (2006) posits, then the lack of empirical evidence is entirely logical because such evidence threatens to invalidate deeply held beliefs. This situation may also help to explain why built heritage conservation practice has largely failed to make the critical turn in the recognition and treatment of heritage.

How, then, should a critical turn in built heritage manifest? This question is unanswerable until “built heritage and cultural landscape conservation practice” is explicitly defined. But even before this question can be answered, it is important to ask if the care of heritage should be a professional endeavor at all. Some approaches to heritage scholarship do at least unintentionally advocate for this position, by engaging in a broad-brush dismissal of all things associated with conventional experts using a colonialist perspective, among other possibilities. To be clear, we do not take this radical position, but rather assert that a better balance needs to be found between professional practice and the needs of everyday people in how the conservation of old places is addressed. Currently, professional practice is too biased towards authority and the dismissal of local/indigenous knowledge and other ways of knowing and understanding heritage. As a field, the interest of heritage conservation is very broad, spanning activities from museums to archives and from buildings to entire landscapes. And, more recently, it has become increasingly interested in the intangible, focusing on cultural practices and marginalized communities of practice. To be clear, this book makes no attempt to broadly critique the field of heritage conservation, as its scope is far too large. It does, however, critique what we refer to as the professional care of old places, which is a less jargon-heavy term and one to which most people can easily relate. The care of old places (and even vehicles) conflates the artificial separation between the conservation of buildings, structures, and landscapes and highlights the place-centric quality of contemporary heritage work. So, in a sense, this book addresses place-centered heritage conservation.

Since this book explicitly addresses practice, it is therefore important to clearly define the specific areas of practice to which we are referring. The following list, gathered from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, encompasses the professional areas of practice that directly address the care of old places, and is therefore the specific focus of our attention:

- Historic preservation planner
- Historic preservation officer
- Cultural resource manager/specialist
- Architectural historian
- Cultural resources program manager
- Historic site director/manager
- Preservation architect
- Historic architect
- Architectural materials conservator

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- Main Street manager
- Heritage tourism specialist
- Inspector of historic buildings and areas
- Conservation officer
- Heritage building surveyor
- Heritage planner
- Heritage policy & projects officer
- Heritage assessment officer.

Note that many of these areas overlap with other, allied interests, such as archaeology, indigenous heritage, and public history, which, although they are important, are not the focus of this book. In sum, this book is for *all* people who are interested in the professional care of old places—practitioners, students, and academics—especially as this work relates to law and policy.

To be sure, a book like this that addresses academic topics, such as empirical evidence and critical approaches, will likely largely appeal to academics and possibly alienate some practitioners. After all, as Seymour Sarason (1993, 132) acknowledges, “too many practitioners do not read what they should be reading” unless they are required to do so, such as with continuing education credit requirements; but none of the professionals who work in the care of old places have continuing education credit requirements unless they are licensed architects or certified planners. The reality is that even if easy-to-digest material on an emancipated conservation practice is made available to practitioners, most will not bother to read it. We cannot control or dictate this outcome and thus make it plain and clear. With this in mind, however, we have attempted—to the greatest extent possible—to include relevant chapters written by practitioners who work in some aspect in the care of old places because we do recognize that some practitioners take a more enlightened perspective on their work. We hope that at least some practitioners—especially policy makers—will find this material useful, and most importantly, practical for changing conservation practice within their sphere of influence.

Lastly, there is no one disciplinary tradition under which the material in the book fits. Although we rely heavily on the work of critical heritage scholars, this is not a “traditional” critical heritage studies book because we have made the bold decision to include the voices of (enlightened) practitioners as equals with scholars from critical heritage studies backgrounds. Nor is this a conventional historic preservation book that focuses on the care of fabric, such as buildings or historic districts, embedded in rules and regulations. It is certainly not a book that neatly fits in cultural resource management, which is even more driven by required rules and regulations. And it certainly is not a book that fits in the objective, factual space of history and art history or in the creative realm of design and architecture. Rather, we view this book as a transdisciplinary tool, carving out a space in between these disciplines, and more, in an effort to bridge between the chasms that separate theory and practice and between academics and practitioners. We, therefore, take the position, “in stakeholders we trust” (Wells, 2015a), which is a vulnerable perspective because of the conflicted state in which heritage conservation practice finds itself, especially in the care of old places that privileges expert rule.

Heritage Conservation as a Practice in Conflict and the Need to Understand and Engage with the “Other”

[T]he cultural process and performance that is heritage is about the negotiation of ... conflicts.

—Laurajane Smith (2006, 82)

As many researchers from critical heritage studies have observed, the meanings of heritage arise from conflict, not consensus (Breglia, 2006, 3; Daly & Chan, 2015, 492; Smith, 2006, 82; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996); indeed, Smith (2006) makes the claim that the goal of conventional heritage conservation practice is to perpetuate the myth that heritage is free of conflict and defined by consensus. Similarly, we argue that the meanings associated with the *practice* of heritage conservation, and specifically built heritage conservation, are also inherently conflicted with the various actors from practice and the academy engaging in mutual distrust and suspicion which leads to a lack of understanding, much less empathy. To wit, Keith Emerick (2014, 169) argues “the role of the [built] heritage specialist is now unclear” with an uncertainty if the practitioner is supposed to be an expert, a community facilitator, or some kind of contextualized hybrid. In order to achieve some level of cooperation from a wider array of heritage conservation actors, there needs to be a greater attempt at understanding the “Other.” For instance, as epitomized by the original version of the Association of Critical Heritage Study’s Manifesto (Campbell & Smith, 2012), heritage conservation practitioners are depicted as objects of study, which, to some degree, denies their humanity and right to be understood on terms equal with the researcher (although this does not imply that their meanings must be accepted—this is a different conversation altogether). Conversely, the nearly total failure of historic preservation in the United States and architectural and urban conservation, internationally, to engage with critical heritage studies implies a similar level of distrust and a lack of understanding of alternative perspectives, especially those that advocate for the practitioner operating primarily as a facilitator.

This conflict is not as simple as the stereotypical divide between the ivory-tower academic and the grounded practitioner; it also exists within the academy with some academics who work on built heritage fully embracing expert rule, conventional doctrine, and colonialist perspectives while other academics have taken an opposite approach, embracing more democratic, non-Western, emancipatory methods based on an ethnographic understanding of heritage that disarms expert rule. As a rule, academics originating from a fabric-based perspective (e.g., historic preservation, architectural conservation, preservation architecture) assume the former perspective while academics from social science and humanities backgrounds (e.g., anthropology, communication studies, folklore) assume the latter perspective, although there are certainly exceptions. There is probably no better example of this situation than in the academic consultants to UNESCO (especially World Heritage) and who participate in ICOMOS’s scientific committees, many of which intentionally or unintentionally enforce expert rule in defense of World Heritage criteria and processes (c.f., Harrison, 2013; Pannekoek, 1998; Silverman, Waterton, & Watson, 2017; Smith, 2006; Smith and Waterton, 2012). In the United States, many academics in historic preservation also embrace and promulgate expert rule, which should not be surprising given that the historic preservation degree was created primarily to provide the staff trained in implementing environmental review laws, rules, and regulations (Tomlan, 1994)—in essence, there was a clear need to produce heritage experts to enforce the law. A difficult challenge for historic preservation and architectural conservation degree programs in the United States and

abroad is what they become if they are divorced from expert rule, which, in essence, appears to invalidate a substantial reason for their existence.

An example of this kind of conflict is epitomized by a conversation that the first author had with a U.S.-based historic preservation academic, who, for the purposes of this narrative, I will refer to by the pseudonym of “John.” John had recently returned from a visiting teaching opportunity located in a critical heritage studies program in the United Kingdom. While appreciative of the experience, he could not wait to return home to the United States, so he could get back to “real preservation work” that had a clear focus on buildings and their fabric. While acknowledging that people were obviously important, John clearly preferred to not have to deal with uncertainty embraced by critical approaches and he very much liked being the expert within his fabric- and design-based domain of expertise. John was adamant that critical heritage studies was *not* his focus because it had very little to do with his own work as a preservation architect. John roundly dismissed critical approaches as irrelevant to historic preservation and had little interest in teaching critical approaches to his students in the historic preservation program in which he taught. In sum, John thought that critical approaches to heritage were akin to “counting the number of angels on the head of a pin” and thus, was a waste of his time.

Before dismissing John’s account as misguided at best and troglodytic at worst, it is important to recognize that his perspective must be taken into account and considered as part of the overall milieu in which many practitioners and academics, especially, those who teach in fabric-centered built heritage programs, exist. Proponents of critical heritage studies need to be more aware of this perspective and its attendant problems of engagement, because as Tim Winter (2013, 533) warns, if these researchers continue on their current path of ignoring (or marginalizing) the voice of the practitioner or fabric-centric professor/instructor, critical heritage studies researchers will further alienate themselves from practitioners and the ability to influence practice. Similarly, Witcomb and Buckley (2013, 569) advocate that critical heritage studies researchers “should ... do everything we can to avoid a form of gesture that alienates a good proportion of the audience we should be engaging with or without losing our faith in the value of critique.” To be sure, this is a difficult directive to actualize, but the critical heritage perspective, which gives power to the ethnographic voice and *emic* understanding/empathy, ought to be setting the example in productively engaging with the “Other,” yet, we argue that there is little evidence that this discourse is occurring.

Practitioners who engage in the care of old places need to be aware, as Keith Emerick (2014, 20) explains, that “if you are trained and immersed in a system that stresses the importance of the expert view and expert values, it is not an easy or simple undertaking to reconsider yourself as just one of many interest groups.” This observation also holds true for many of the academics in historic preservation and architectural conservation education programs whose authority and credibility rests not on the production of original research, which, as Ned Kaufman observes in Chapter 16 of this book, often is not produced by these individuals, but on their work as practitioners embedded in the *status quo*. This reinforces Smith’s (2006) assertion that rather than being grounded in empirical evidence (which is not being generated anyway) the professional practice associated with the care of old places is just another cultural practice, among many, with no clear right to assert its values as the best and “true” way forward. But, let us be clear that the right of the built heritage expert is not just a culturally engrained value system, but one that can often manifest as the rule of law. The ramification of this situation is that where individual property rights are governed by rules and regulations meant to protect historic fabric, the conventional expert will always be in a position of power, which makes negotiation with other stakeholders consistently an inequitable process.

Overall, for this book, we have consciously chosen one of the most difficult spaces for discourse that lies between disparate disciplines and between practitioners and different kinds of academics. These groups lack a common language and come from very different ontological and epistemological perspectives and each attempts to assert its own dominance over heritage discourse; in sum, they do not appear to want to work collaboratively. As Peter Howard (2003, 30) elucidates, “[each] discipline has controlled for very many years the conservation and preservation of the bit of heritage in which it is interested, and it will certainly not welcome your investigation into its stewardship.” We accept this challenge of potentially receiving a hostile reception to our message, realizing that the transdisciplinary approach we advocate will not be welcome or accepted by many who instead advocate for very specific ways of knowing while rejecting other possibilities foreign to their discipline or field of study.

We also acknowledge that some readers will think that the work contained herein is too theoretical or too applied, or that by including the voices of practitioners, we have accepted their dominance in the heritage discourse and thus, reject the critical turn in heritage. To be clear, all authors in this volume are interested in the critical turn in heritage but do not necessarily seek the dominance of one perspective over another. We wish to promote a pluralistic and balanced idea of how a human-centered professional practice of caring for old places can manifest from both theoretical and applied perspectives and from multifarious disciplinary and field vantages. We do not prescribe to the idea that there is only one way of knowing or doing; rather, we wish to learn from as many perspectives as possible, always keeping in mind that we seek social justice from a more democratic and inclusive process of caring for old places.

To be sure, the message here is that some of the ideas explored in this book may be controversial, or too theoretical, or too applied relative to certain perspectives; they may not be easy for some individuals to accept and will represent perspectives that are normal to some disciplines, but quite unusual for others. It is far easier to engage in a discussion with people most like yourself, but the danger of an insular perspective is that it leads to a “tendency for each bit of heritage to fall into the scholarly concern of only one discipline, and therefore its presentation and interpretation to be single-faceted,” as Peter Howard (2003, 140) explains. We, therefore, have undertaken an approach in this book to avoid a singular disciplinary or field perspective, and instead include many voices from many disciplines, while realizing that this approach will definitely generate conflict. And one area in which there is substantial conflict is in an understanding of both the need and the nature of “evidence” that has the ability to drive how professionals care for old places. But, it is precisely this area of study that needs to the most attention to help facilitate built heritage conservation’s critical turn that is necessary to better embrace a human-centered practice.

What Is “Evidence”?

[T]here are no sacred truths; all assumptions must be critically examined; arguments from authority are worthless. ... [W]hatever is inconsistent with the facts must be discarded or revised.

—Carl Sagan (1980, 333)

“Good” evidence is produced where there is “an openness to new ideas, no matter how bizarre or counterintuitive, and the most ruthlessly skeptical scrutiny of all ideas, old and new.”

—Carl Sagan (1997, 304)

Sometime around the year 1650, at the request of a friend, a man visited a “disquieted” house in Bow, England, now a district in the eastern part of greater London. Upon arriving, he greeted the woman of the house, and she explained that the house was “extremely haunted especially above stairs, so that [the family was] forced to keep in the low rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of Stones and Bricks through the Windows and putting all in disorder” (Glanvill, More, & Horneck, 1681, 255). The man, thinking that this was a joke, went upstairs to investigate and was quite disturbed to see windows opening by themselves and bedding, candlesticks, and furniture flinging themselves across the room (256, 257). Realizing that something was “more than ordinary,” the man ran down the stairs to escape and collect his composure. Later, while talking with the family downstairs, he saw “a Tobacco-pipe rise from a side Table ... and fly to the other side of the Room, and break itself against the wall,” further confirming the haunted qualities of the house (257). Due to these disquieting events, the family soon moved and the house remained empty for many years due to its haunted reputation.

Today, we can look back at this account as superstitious nonsense, especially because of its second-hand source (as related by the storyteller). Yet, for the people of the seventeenth century, these experiences were quite real and many of these accounts were believed with an undeserved veracity; in their more extreme forms, it led to the persecution and death of innocent people as witches and sorcerers. Even in the twenty-first century, there are still people who believe in the idea of haunted houses—or, more specifically, that the “spirit” of something can be embedded in the fabric of buildings. Science, so far, has failed to find any credibility to these claims, yet they are quite real for some people in the present. There is even a contemporary field of professional practice that bases its values on these ideas that the spirit or essence of the past can somehow be contained in the fabric of buildings and other structures. It is known variously as historic preservation, built heritage conservation, architectural conservation, or monument conservation, depending on where one is located.¹

Let us unpack this seemingly magical claim through a thought experiment. If we take a brick from Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello and compare it to an identical brick made by the same person at the same time but found in a random field, which brick is more valuable? When presented with this question, most people will say that the brick from Monticello is obviously more important. Logically, this makes little sense because the material of which the brick is made is identical and the bricks look identical. One could even argue, from a scientific perspective, that the specific materials of the bricks are also identical. So, what is so different about these two bricks as to elicit such a strong, confirmatory response? The answer is that the brick from Monticello has acted as a witness to history, and in doing so, “absorbed” some of it. Or, in other words, a specific chapter in “history” that is well known with an established provenance has been imprinted somehow into the brick itself as if it is some kind of spirit, or “essence of the past,” whereas this is not the case for the second brick from the field (Matzko, 2001, 8). But, where is the evidence for the phenomenon of tangible objects endowed with specific spirits of the past?

To answer this question, we need to have a clear understanding of the qualities of evidence. In simplistic terms, “evidence” is a way of substantiating a particular belief. So, the fact that people believe that the past imprints itself on the fabric of buildings is, indeed, a kind of evidence. But, is it “good” evidence? Do we want to base the practice of heritage conservation on people’s feelings? Orthodox conservation practice has clearly answered this question in the negative. To be sure, orthodox practice has ample doctrine, laws, rules, and regulations that do sanction the use of historical facts as a kind of proxy for measuring the essence of history contained in fabric. Treating the built environment in this way is pseudoscience, however—overlaying a positivistic, scientific paradigm

based on the qualities of objects onto what is clearly a social science phenomenon. In reality, there is no essence of the past in objects; instead, people *believe* it is there and base entire cultural practices on this belief, which are readily evident in the treatment of religious relics, for instance. Yet, instead of generating empirical evidence for how people feel about objects of the past, orthodox conservation practice defines its evidence through the objective qualities of fabric and facts of the past (Muñoz Viñas, 2005).

Examples of the dubious numinous evidence upon which orthodox conservation practice is based are numerous. The belief that objects contain the essence of the past is actually an ancient western tradition. During the early centuries of the Common Era, when Christianity was in its infancy, the phenomenon became prevalent through the efforts of Roman Emperor Constantine (272–337 c.e.), his mother Helena Augusta (246–330 c.e.), and mother-in-law Eutropia (d. after 325 c.e.). Most likely, this custom predates the fourth century c.e., considering that much of what Christianity was documenting at this time was often borrowed from other cultures absorbed by the Roman Empire. Helena Augusta became the patron saint of archaeology for on her trip to the Levant between 326 and 328 c.e., she not only miraculously found the True Cross and identified specific sites significant for Christianity, but also initiated the construction of churches in these locations; including the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, and St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai (Ottaway, 1992). These churches instantly became monuments inculcated with the spirit of their respective past biblical events. By modern, scientific standards St. Helena's methodology would be considered problematic, but for the fervently faithful early Christians the process met their spiritual needs, as well as the new economy of pilgrimage tourism. According to contemporary archaeologist Gregory T. Armstrong (1967), these and other churches were symbols that established early Christianity "as an historical, this-worldly religion, a religion founded on events of a specific time and place." Moreover, it became common for churches to contain relics associated with Jesus Christ or one of the saints. The movement of preserving relics spread from the Middle East to Europe, and so forth, and became dogma in 787 c.e. when the Second Council of Nicaea declared that every church dedication should include the placing of relics, thus infusing them with holiness and a connection to a sacred event or person. During the Middle Ages, there was such a demand for relics that they were fabricated if no genuine article was to be had, or if a parish or monastery was unable to afford one. Church decrees have consistently held that what is now considered forgery is not necessarily a problem, thereby accounting for the multiplicity of limbs from the same saint as well as the great number of fragments from the True Cross (Bonser, 1962).

The importance of relic preservation and reverence within Christianity later came to influence western culture's association of ancient materials, artifacts, and sites with historic events and people. This is why a brick from Thomas Jefferson's Monticello is "holier" than another of identical age, material, size, color, and appearance without an established provenance. In a manner of speaking, the graphing of Church reverence for material objects imbedded with the spiritual essence of the past was transferred into heritage conservation's best practices during the nineteenth century, with the early theorists of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin, Camillo Boito, among others. While early preservationists may have disagreed with one another on how to approach the restoration or conservation of a specific building, all revered buildings that were infused with the essence or spirit of a place or past events.

We see this come full circle when considering that Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and St. Catherine's of Mt. Sinai are all a central focus of a UNESCO World Heritage site, a testament to both the long and continued tradition of western society's

memorialization of these places and also the sacredness that the buildings constructed at the sites (from St. Helena's instigation) have acquired since the original biblical events.² Therefore, what we are proposing with this volume is both a reformation of contemporary preservation/conservation best practices as well as the custom that spans back millennia. This is not to say that the belief that objects containing the essence of the past should be completely expunged from western culture—indeed, this extreme action would be antithetical to what we are aiming to achieve. But preservation practitioners need to be made aware of this aspect of the field's heritage and be able to think critically about what may be an appropriate or inappropriate application of this cultural value that they inherited. To be sure, this exploration of the numinous quality of fabric does not necessarily represent the personal belief system of practitioners themselves, but is rather embodied in the doctrines for preservation and conservation and the laws, rules, and regulations that sprang from these doctrines.

A modern example that we will explore is the National Register of Historic Places nomination process for the United States, which fully embraces and perpetuates the idea that history imprints something in the fabric of buildings and places. Many other western countries have their own equivalents, such as the Canadian Register of Historic Places or Spain's Patrimonio Histórico Español, but our familiarity with these registers is not nearly as in-depth. Thus, our evaluation from the American perspective is due to the *weltanschauung* we have inherited. The U.S. National Park Service, who administers the National Register, directs that “[f]or a property to be significant ... the physical structure must have been there to ‘witness’ the event or series of events” (O'Donnell, 1998, 2). Muñoz Viñas (2005) explains that traditional theories of object conservation also embody this idea of fabric needing to absorb the essence of the past and this belief is what separates “real” or “genuine” historical objects from fake ones.

The Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), whose doctrinal premises undergird all Western built heritage conservation practices, makes the assumption that people do not have the ability to differentiate original historic fabric from later additions. There is no empirical evidence for this claim, yet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards (NPS, 1995), which is based on the Venice Charter, makes the same assumption, as does the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1999), Guiding Principles (SPAB), Principles of Repair (English Heritage, 1993), Guide to the Principles of the Conservation of Historic Buildings (British Standards Institution, 1998), and Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada (Parks Canada, 2003). In fact, we do not even understand *how* everyday people “read,” understand, and interpret similarities and differences in age between buildings (Wells, 2015b).

Therefore, what is the nature of the evidence upon which the National Register and the Venice Charter and its derivatives are based? As was the case with early Christianity's interest in relics and holy sites, it is not as if these ideas came from thin air; in fact, they are passed on to us by philosophical European white men, such as John Ruskin, Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, and Camillo Boito. Indeed, preservation/conservation doctrine has much evidence to back up its claims, but this evidence is almost entirely rationalistic in nature, akin to canonized religious dogma. Orthodox preservation/conservation doctrine is not, by any stretch of the imagination, empirical. In other words, preservation/conservation doctrine was created through a deductive instead of an inductive process. Why does this even matter? The answer is that rationalism tends to enforce top-down, hegemonic processes because of its emphasis on certainty. Empiricism, on the other hand, is based on an assumption that we can never know the truth with absolute certainty and therefore must be open to skepticism.

Rationalism is defined as “logical deduction (i.e., through *a priori* reasoning), from first principles to conclusions about the universe [and] eschews experience as a basis for claims to truth” (Davis, 2004, 67). In another sense, as H. Russell Bernard (1994, 3) describes, “if we just prepare our minds adequately, [truth] will become evident to us.” Alternately, empiricism “begins with the study of phenomena, seeking via inductive logic (i.e., through *a posteriori* reasoning) to distill essential truths,” and, as such, bases its premises on experience (Davis, 2004, 67). The Greek philosophers (e.g., Aristotle, Plato, Anaximander) rationalized the nature of the universe and inadvertently made many mistakes. It was not until the scientific method, based on empiricism, arose during the Enlightenment (which followed the Reformation) that we began to understand the truths of the universe. This example is not intended to deny the potential of a rationalistic approach to understanding the world, but it has its limitations, especially when we want to understand the minds of others.

The rationalistic basis of preservation/conservation doctrine is problematic because, as Mark Lichbach (2003, 41) explains, it is based on the “impoverished view of the self” to the exclusion of others and assumes that “[social] actors are machines that robotically calculate how external changes affect their fixed values and cognitions.” A rationalistic perspective on human agency, therefore, assumes a “particularly anemic or thin version of intentionality” (ibid.). In other words, because rationalism demands an examination of reality from a perspective “inside your head,” it denies the possibility of accepting evidence that is derived from the minds of others. An empirical perspective, because of its inductive method, does not presuppose an outcome, but rather theorizes an outcome from the evidence. Rationalism places a theory on the world and looks for evidence that meets this theory via the deductive method, but in the process ignores other possibilities. Rationalism, therefore, lacks a method to revise its theoretical premises based on real-world observations. To the rationalist, those that think differently are “wrong” because of flawed reasoning, not flawed observations or experiences. Thus, those who have power (e.g., the original theorists of rationalistic preservation/conservation theory) created a paradigm in which others cannot use inductive evidence to challenge authority. This characteristic alone is quite sufficient to explain the way in which contemporary preservation/conservation theory has perpetuated meanings that are now more than a century old.

Admittedly, there are many other paradigms that describe contemporary social science theory (e.g., constructivism, positivism, relativism, colonialism) beyond the relatively simplistic dichotomy of rationalism versus empiricism, but this fundamental difference in the nature of reality is essential for understanding the current divide between practice and theory in heritage conservation. The rationalistic basis for orthodox preservation/conservation doctrine means that the meanings and values of conservation are very narrow and can be interpreted as a kind of hegemonic cultural belief system (Waterton, Smith, & Campbell, 2006) based on pseudoscientific ideas (Muñoz Viñas, 2005). Orthodox doctrine is indeed based on the values of aristocratic, European, white men (Wells, 2007); this cultural belief system, therefore, excludes the values of women and people who are not from the dominant, Western cultural group of the past few centuries (Logan, 2012).

It is worth noting that the allied built environment discipline of planning turned against its rationalistic roots in the 1970s, embracing a more pluralistic, empirically guided perspective. Planners found rationalism inadequate because it resulted in the “neglect of the human side of planning,” ignored too many other voices, and was inherently undemocratic (Friedmann & Hudson, 1974, 164). While rationalism still has a place in elements of urban and regional planning, it is now the standard practice in democratic countries across the globe to start a planning process by seeking and then using data from everyday people (i.e., gathering empirical evidence). In the United States, “preservation planning” is supposed to begin with the rationalistic assessment by experts to

determine what are valid historic resources and then seek confirmation for these results from the public (Derry, Jandl, Shull, & Thorman, 1985; White & Roddewig, 1994). The valid evidence in this context is, therefore, the data that can reinforce the predetermined conclusions of the experts. Data from the public that do not meet the objective standards of the experts, as embodied in rules and regulations, are treated as if they do not exist.

Those who practice in the world of heritage conservation too often fail to pause and seriously consider how the rationalistic perspective upon which their practice is based has a negative impact on the diversity and quality of evidence. Practitioners are surrounded by evidence, but not all evidence is “good” evidence. Moreover, just because a rule or regulation requires a certain kind of evidence does not mean that this exemplifies best practice or that this is the best kind of evidence to consider. For instance, medicine has been based on evidence for millennia, but much of this evidence has been debunked in the past couple of centuries, largely because of a shift from a rationalist to an empirical basis for practice (Shryock, 1969). We now know that while leeches can be useful in narrow applications, such as reducing swelling after surgery, their broad-based use until the twentieth century was unjustified. Since the early twentieth century, the idea of sound or “good” evidence being predicated on empirical, scientific, reproducible principles has been well accepted. Yet, it was not until the early 1990s that “evidence-based medicine” introduced the idea that evidence needs to be ranked in terms of quality; evidence-based medicine, therefore, is based on high-quality evidence. And high-quality evidence is equated with the collection of data with methodological (or “scientific”) rigor while low-quality evidence is synonymous with data that establishes its credibility from authority or is anecdotal. Specifically, there are four main areas that define evidence-based medicine (Solomon, 2005, 111– 112):

- 1 Decisions should be based on rigorous, methodologically sound research (qualitative or quantitative).
- 2 It is acceptable to question any existing protocol or doctrine without prejudice, even if it is currently required in practice. Problems should directly dictate the type of required evidence; doctrine or protocols should not be allowed to influence the process.
- 3 Arguments based on authority are not acceptable. (Authority should not dictate what is and is not evidence.)
- 4 There should be a continual process of gathering new empirical evidence, analyzing the data, and then using this information to influence practice; the effectiveness of this process should be monitored.

Usefully, architecture has assumed this evidence-based perspective through the practice of “evidence-based design,” most significantly in healthcare facility design. It adopts the basic elements found in evidence-based medicine in which high-quality evidence informs (but does not necessarily dictate) design decisions. Typically, this evidence is gathered through research methodologies from environmental psychology, anthropology, sociology, or humanistic geography. At the core of evidence-based design is a desire to understand the relationship between people, place, and behavior (Hamilton, 2008). By understanding this relationship qualitatively through meanings or quantitatively via variables and cause/effect relationships, it is theoretically possible to design places that are better for people (Zeisel, 2006). The Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA) is widely recognized as the international authority on evidence-based design and environment/behavior research; the first

author created the Historic Environment Knowledge Network at EDRA in 2008 to help explore how “evidence-based heritage conservation” might manifest. Examples of this network’s activity include the creation of the Palmer House Charter in 2012 in order to define “Principles for Integrating Environmental Design and Behavior Research into Built Heritage Conservation Practice” (refer to Appendix A).

The context of these perspectives from medicine and design, therefore, raises the following query: What kind of evidence does the professional care of old places currently demand? We already know that this evidence is not likely to be empirical in nature, but what does it look like? In order to answer this question, let us use the same four elements that define evidence-based medicine and apply them to how orthodox built heritage conservation is performed. But before proceeding, it is important to further define the activities of “practice” in the care of old places. Because we are not aware of any published literature on the subject, we performed our own research on the type of work performed in this field based on seven months of US-based job postings on the Indeed.com website. Indeed.com is an efficient job aggregator and, therefore, we were guaranteed to receive the vast majority of job postings that use the phrase “historic preservation” posted anywhere in the United States. What we discovered was that three-quarters of all jobs posting during this time were in the area of regulatory compliance. In other words, the activities of the desired employee were almost completely dictated by the following federal heritage compliance laws and their associated rules and regulations from the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966:

- Section 106 (36 CFR Part 800)—“environmental review”,
- Section 101 (36 CFR Part 60)—“National Register of Historic Places Criteria”,
- Section 101 (36 CFR Part 68)—“Secretary of the Interior’s Standards”.

Jobs posted by local municipalities required compliance with design review regulations, which are codified in local preservation ordinances; overwhelmingly these regulations are based on the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards (36 CFR Part 68) (Wells & Lixinski, 2016). This relationship between practice and rules and regulations is particularly important to keep in mind as we progress through our analysis.

Are Built Heritage Conservation Decisions Based on Rigorous, Methodologically Sound Research?

“Research” in the context of regulatory compliance is exclusively defined by the rules and regulations that practitioners are legally required to follow. This consists of gathering historical facts associated with buildings and places using the method of historical positivism (Tainter & Lucas, 1983), and describing the physical characteristics of buildings and places (e.g., measurements, materials lists, architectural style). Considering that the overall methodology employed fails to incorporate *any* significant research developments over the past half-century, such as post-modernism and social science techniques, it would be a far cry to say that built heritage conservation practice uses methodologically sound research. Indeed, critics are increasingly clear that the archaic research methodology used in built heritage conservation has created an environment that fosters colonialism and social oppression through hegemonic discourses and enforcement of expert rule (Green, 1998; Hutchings & La Salle, 2015; Logan, 2012; Smith, 2006; Wells, 2015a). Because of the rampant positivism prevalent in the research used in built heritage conservation, it is incapable of understanding, revealing, and

respecting cultural differences, such as the way various indigenous and non-western peoples perceive, value, and wish to protect their heritage in a manner that is sometimes different from the western tradition (King, 2009; Milholland, 2010).

Built heritage conservation decisions are, therefore, not based on rigorous, methodologically sound research, but rather archaic techniques that are undemocratic and potentially oppressive in their application.

Can Any Existing Protocol or Doctrine in Built Heritage Conservation Be Questioned without Prejudice, Even If It Is Currently Required in Practice? To What Extent Are Arguments Based on Authority?

The rules and regulations that dictate the work of heritage conservation practitioners in the United States are based on rationalistic preservation/conservation doctrine and not empirical evidence (Glass, 1990; Rains & Henderson, 1966; Wells, 2007; Wells & Lixinski, 2016). There is a direct, linear relationship from the rationalism of John Ruskin (1907), William Morris/1877 Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB n.d.), Camillo Boito (1884), Giovanni Carbonara (1976), Paul Philippot (1976), Cesare Brandi (1977), and Umberto Baldini (1996) to the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, and the 1977 Secretary of the Interior's Standards (Wells, 2007, 2015a). The National Park Service was similarly influenced by these authors as well as historical positivism in the development of the National Register criteria (Lee, 1950; Sprinkle, 2014). It is beyond the scope of this article to describe the exact nature of the rationalism of these authors (refer to the individual citation for specific details), but Salvador Muñoz Viñas (2005) presents a very concise summary of their ideas. As such, many of the basic assumptions of built heritage conservation practice cannot be questioned, regardless of the nature of empirical evidence presented. There are two reasons for this: (1) the rationalistic assumptions in doctrine cannot be violated; and (2) violation of doctrine is equivalent to violating the law. Considering that laws such as the National Historic Preservation Act and its subsequent amendments came about due to an "act of Congress," there is much inertia to prevent meaningful change in official government preservation policy.

As is revealed in the contributions in this book, practitioners often have to work in an environment hostile to questioning the *status quo*, including heritage rules and regulations. As Jack Elliott explains in Chapter 4, all too frequently managers tell practitioners, "you are not paid to think." As such, it is abundantly clear that all arguments must be based on authority in built heritage conservation practice, a phenomenon that Laura Jane Smith calls the "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith, 2006).

In the Practice of Built Heritage Conservation Is There a Continual Process of Gathering New Empirical Evidence, Analyzing the Data, and Then Using This Information to Influence Practice?

As the majority of the processes used in the conservation of the built environment are prescribed by rules and regulations, it is not normally possible to integrate new evidence into these systems in an effort to change them. Changing the system of built heritage conservation is instead a political process that requires the creation and modification of laws, rules, and regulations (Wells & Lixinski, 2016). While some conservation doctrines, specifically the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1999), recommend a process in which the effectiveness of conservation is monitored, in practice this is rarely

defined, much less implemented. In a survey of historic preservation plans across the United States, Randall Mason (2009) did not find much evidence for attempts to monitor the effectiveness of plans. Globally, efforts to measure heritage conservation performance are in an inchoate state with few examples (Zancheti & Simila, 2012).

In sum, orthodox built heritage conservation practice is designed to reinforce its rationalist foundations and reject empirical evidence, especially when such evidence contradicts legally mandated rules and regulations. This has resulted in a practice that preferentially focuses on the tangible qualities of fabric and historical facts independently of how people perceive/value/feel about their heritage. But what would a human-centered (as opposed to a fabric-centered) conservation practice look like? To explore the answer to this question, we will now investigate the work of critical heritage studies researchers.

Informing a Human-Centered Conservation Practice Through Civil Experts

[J]udging significance is not just an architectural or archaeological appraisal of fabric, but is also reliant upon incorporating people's experience. How place is valued in conservation terms should not, therefore, be entirely through conventional expert values; although how much this occurs in actual practice, ... is [questionable].

—Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury (2009, 8)

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing interest in understanding heritage at large (natural and cultural) from the perspective of civil as opposed to conventional experts (Fortmann, 2008). This perspective assumes that everyone is an expert in some way about natural and cultural heritage. A civil expert, a term that originates from the tradition of participatory research, is an individual who may not be formally trained, but who, nonetheless, is an expert in local knowledge and is therefore accorded the same respect as any other expert. Conversely, a conventional expert is an individual who achieves authority and recognition through university (or other formal) training and the adoption and use of disciplinary standards. Unlike natural resource conservation, however, most research that seeks to understand cultural heritage meanings from the perspective of the civil expert does not use this term, but rather uses other terms such as the “ethnographic voice” or *emic* or insider meanings (c.f., Geertz, 1973) because of the dominance of anthropology in heritage studies. To be sure, all of these terms describe the same thing: understanding meanings and experience from the perspective of the marginalized insider in an attempt to give power and salience to these meanings in balance with researchers and (sometimes) conventional experts. For the purposes of this book, we prefer the term civil expert to describe this perspective.

Two particular movements in heritage have been influential in helping shift the perspective on the professional care of old places from a fabric-centered to a human-centered space. These are what have become known as “values-based” heritage conservation/historic preservation and critical heritage studies. Of these two movements, we think that the work in critical heritage studies, while sharing many of the perspectives from values-based conservation, makes fewer assumptions in terms of justifying existing professional practice, and as such, is more open to a blank-slate approach that balances power between civil and conventional experts. While it is beyond our scope to do a full

review literature review on values-based conservation/preservation and critical heritage studies, it is important to do a review of the most salient ideas and their related scholars to help position the scholarship in this book within a larger conversation.

Most scholars agree that the origin of values-based preservation originated in the work of Alois Riegl (1903/1996) when he divided the values associated with built heritage into a dichotomy of “historical value” and “age value.” Historical value is the objective, scientific facts associated with monuments while age value is the emotional response to these monuments. Riegl, therefore, framed arguments around the themes of quantitative vs. qualitative, objective vs. subjective, and factual vs. emotional in relation to built heritage. Later in the twentieth century, William Lipe (1984) expanded on these two values, introducing four more: associative/symbolic value, informational value, aesthetic value, and economic value. But, arguably, the most influential work in values-based preservation/conservation originates in the research of Randy Mason, Erica Avrami, and Marta de la Torre (Avrami, Mason, & Torre, 2000; Mason, 2003, 2006; Torre, 2002), which began as a Getty research project exploring “values in heritage conservation.” Mason, Avrami, and Torre’s research promoted the centrality of sociocultural meanings (including economic values) in informing conservation/preservation values as a prelude to planning interventions on built heritage and cultural landscapes. Of note is that much of this research in values-based conservation/preservation is done from the disciplinary perspective of built heritage conservation and does little to disarm expert rule even though, at times, it does emphasize the important role of civil experts in planning processes. As such, there is a potentially valid concern that this work, in part, is intended to justify the *status quo* because it does not sufficiently disarm expert rule in the professional care of old places. Along these lines, Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) question the values-based paradigm altogether, concluding that the treatment of values typologies is based on a cursory, surface level understanding of the meanings of which values are made. It may very well be that a values-based approach to the professional care of old places does little to change practice as it allows practitioners to haphazardly create meaning-thin values that are then used to justify decisions that have already been made.

The rise of critical heritage studies is a more recent phenomenon than values-based conservation/preservation, and, unlike the latter field, it is performed from a largely ethnographic perspective that emphasizes narrative, depth of meaning, and understanding marginalized voices; as such, it is nearly entirely focused on civil experts and disarming conventional heritage conservation practice across all of its sectors of engagement. Because of this focus, the voice of the practitioner—the conventional expert—is usually not considered in an effort to transfer power to civil experts. Significantly, the researchers who inform critical heritage studies do not, for the most part, originate from the discipline of built heritage conservation. Instead, most of these researchers are anthropologists or are associated with allied disciplines, such as archaeology, folklore, and public history, which employ an anthropological approach using ethnographies as their methodology of choice. While some of these researchers have a practice background in cultural resource or heritage resource management (including archaeology) and are familiar with regulatory regimes that dominate and control the conservation of the built environment, many researchers instead are grounded in practice from the field of museology, in which laws, rules, and regulations play an insignificant role in professional practice. The result is that much of the body of scholarship in critical heritage studies fails to look at the impact of the regulatory environment on the recognition and use of heritage (Wells & Lixinski, 2016). Work that overlaps law with critical heritage studies is even more rarified (Lixinski, 2015).

Most scholars place the origin of critical heritage studies at the publication of David Lowenthal’s (1985) book, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, which was one of the first attempts to critique

orthodox heritage conservation practice from the perspective of humanistic geography (Carman & Sørensen, 2009). In particular, it questioned long-established doctrine associated with the conservation of historic monuments and places and placed in doubt the stated reasons that experts engaged in conservation and their aims. Ideas found in *The Past is a Foreign Country* had, however, been extant in post-processual archaeology at least a decade before the book's publication. Like Lowenthal's emphasis on the subjective nature of the past, which can never be known objectively, post-processual theory also deemphasizes the objective, scientific method of conventional (or processual) archaeology, instead framing archaeological practice as a series of acts that are fundamentally interpretive in nature (Hodder & Hutson, 2003). The critical heritage studies field itself only became recognized and called as such sometime after 2009 (Winter & Waterton, 2013), but clearly these critical approaches existed decades before the name was applied to them.

Most research in critical heritage studies is based on qualitative case studies that give emphasis to the *emic* or insider perspective (or the perspective of the civil expert) on how heritage meanings are created and used. Again, this research does not usually focus on the meanings of conventional experts although the results of these case studies can certainly be used to inform practice, which is the argument we make in this book. While it is outside the scope of this brief review to summarize this large body of work, major themes that emerge is that the majority of it is focused on non-Western perspectives, how heritage is used, conflicting meanings, the use and abuse of power, and the way in which meanings survive and are sustained independently of tangible objects. In sum, these themes are very different from areas that typically inform the practice of conventional experts who are engaged in the care of old places.

Several scholars have attempted to use these qualitative case studies to inform the theoretical perspective on the creation and use of heritage, including drawing a counterpoint between civil and expert perspectives in an attempt to disarm conventional practice. This work presents evidence that heritage conservation practice is overly reliant on expert rule, emphasizes positivistic, top-down processes, and advocates for a more people-centered, ground-up approach to practice that empowers more stakeholders by giving voice to civil experts (Harrison, 2013; Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009; Lixinski, 2015; Low, 1994; Silberman, 2016; Smith, 2006; Sørensen & Carman, 2009; Sullivan, 2015; Wells, 2015a; Winter, 2013). This scholarship, however, has had little impact on the day-to-day practice of conserving the historic environment, especially in those aspects that overlap with the regulatory environment. But, more importantly, what do scholars from critical heritage studies have to say about the interface between this field and practice? Should this be the concern of critical heritage studies?

First, because of its origins as an academic pursuit, changing practice has never been the primary focus of critical heritage studies. Even post-processual archaeological theory, which formed a foundation for the field, was never intended to change practice, as academic archaeologists consistently look down upon their non-academic colleagues as second-class citizens. Significantly, in the two decades since its origin, post-processual theory has not changed the professional practice of archaeology, especially as it relates to environmental review. By 2030, will we say the same thing about built heritage conservation and critical heritage studies? If critical heritage scholars fail to engage with practice and practitioners, this outcome seems rather likely.

Second, any such claim that critical heritage studies are not intended to impact the professional practice of heritage conservation is false. Key evidence can be found in the manifesto of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (Campbell & Smith, 2012) which clearly states that the goal of critical heritage studies is to "Increas[e] dialogue and debate between researchers, *practitioners*

and communities” (emphasis added). Scholars are in a unique and privileged position to critique practice, which is epitomized by Tim Winter’s (2013) observation that critical heritage studies “tackl[es] the thorny issues those in the conservation profession are often reluctant to acknowledge”, while Keith Emerick (2014, 5) advocates that the “emerging field of critical heritage studies can offer ... alternative ways of ‘doing’ heritage.” Clearly, Winter and Emerick believe that understanding the problems of practice through critical approaches can lead to possible solutions to change and improve practice. To be sure, focusing on changing practice does not mean that critical heritage scholars need to agree with the practitioner perspective; indeed, as Witcomb and Buckley (2013, 574) clarify, part of the work of this field is to “provoke” the practitioner as well as “engage” with practice. But—and this is very important—such an engagement needs to be productive and not alienate each side. We believe that the onus on avoiding alienation is on the side of the critical heritage studies scholar because he/she is in a unique position to understand the use, distribution, and abuse of power and to employ his/her *emic* perspective to understand and gain empathy for the “Other.” Understanding the “Other” does not require an acceptance of the others’ values, but respect for people as autonomous individuals capable of free, independent thought should be assumed. This perspective does not absolve the practitioner of the same level of respect or attempt to understand critical heritage studies perspectives, but there is no mechanism, organization, or tool that appears to be ready to enable this kind of discussion from the perspective of the practitioner. Simply put, it appears that it is easier for the critical heritage studies researcher to engage the practitioner than *vice versa*.

To be sure, professionals who care for old places need the kind of evidence produced by critical heritage studies scholarship, but are not getting it. For instance, practitioners do not have ready access to the generalizable/transferable knowledge about the psychological, ethnographic, and experiential dimensions of the historic environment that are required to provide a proper context for effective interpretation and communication with stakeholders (Wells, 2015b). Yet, there is no mechanism to deliver this evidence to practitioners; even in institutions of higher education, many students of historic preservation and architectural conservation degree programs do not receive this information, judged by the published courses, syllabi, and materials from these programs.

While values-based conservation/preservation and critical heritage studies provide platforms that could help to change practice, there are other ways of knowing that need to be acknowledged, but are not engaged in research that overlaps heritage studies. These include environmental psychology, humanistic geography, and, to some extent sociology. While ethnographic methods are powerful ways to understand civil experts, other methodologies, such as phenomenology, grounded theory, correlational research, behavioral science, communication theory, and experimental research could provide additional, useful insights into people, place, and heritage that are the core of the work that impacts the care of old places. Mixed-methods and quantitative designs have a significant place as well to help understand correlations and generalizable phenomena. The specific methods that appear to be underutilized include behavioral mapping, photo sorts, measurement of environmental attitudes, spatial cognition, virtual spaces and environmental simulation, content analysis, neuroscience, behavioral science, and advanced statistical methods. None of these observations is intended to mean that an anthropological perspective focused on ethnographies should be replaced; rather the argument is that this perspective needs to be joined by others.

As a result of the inherent conflicts between fabric- and human-centered approaches to conservation and perhaps because of the limited disciplinary perspectives than having borne upon the problem, there is much confusion today about what it is we are really trying to conserve. Both fabric and human-centered approaches emphasize a focus on continuity, but as opposed to the continuity

of fabric, human-centered theorists (Breglia, 2006; Muñoz Viñas, 2005; Smith, 2006; Zancheti & Loretto, 2012) focus on conserving the *meanings* associated with this fabric. Taken to its logical extreme, the fabric of a heritage object can change so long as the sociocultural meanings associated with the object are conserved. A “good” decision then becomes one that conserves the sociocultural meanings of place rather than the fabric of place. It is, therefore, incumbent upon professional caretakers of old places to recognize, gather, interpret, and understand a broad array of stakeholder meanings (especially from civil experts) associated with place.

This shift in the professional care of old places to people-centered approaches means that in the future, the role of the practitioner moves from controlling meanings associated with fabric to facilitating the gathering and interpretation of meanings from many people as well as empowering communities to recognize, treat, and interpret their built heritage and cultural landscapes (Emerick, 2014; Wells, 2015a). Built heritage practitioners will need to collect and interpret these meanings with more depth and consistency than has been happening to date using efficient and pragmatic social science tools that do not currently exist. To this end, we will now examine how a human-centered focus for heritage conservation can and should change practice.

Changing the Professional Care of Old Places

[T]o understand complex issues (or even simple ones), we must try to free our minds of dogma and to guarantee the freedom to publish, to contradict, and to experiment.

—Carl Sagan (1998, 189)

To recap, the purpose of this book is to explore ways to change the professional care of old places to make it more responsive to people and human needs. The perspectives, herein, are from both academics and practitioners in an attempt to bridge the theory/practice divide with an aim of creating an emancipated practice that disarms authority. To date, the editors are not aware of any refereed publication that has attempted this important endeavor, essential for human flourishing and for the sustainability of built heritage conservation, though the cultural resource management (CRM) guru, Thomas King, has proposed some ideas in *Our Unprotected Heritage: Whitewashing the Destruction of Our Cultural and Natural Environment* (2009). Within the preface of the fourth edition of *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, King (2013, xii) also expresses his “hope that we may be on a verge of a paradigm shift in the whole business of CRM”, and by extension, heritage conservation too.

Perhaps one of the best examples of (unpublished) work in this area is in the United States, where the National Trust for Historic Preservation has been taking a leading role in exploring what a “people-centered preservation” practice would look like, starting with the informative blogs of Tom Mayes (2016) on “Why Do Old Places Matter.” At the 2016 annual National Preservation Conference, National Trust staff distributed a draft copy of a “Preservation for People: A Vision for the Future,” which was based on a yearlong series of meetings with practitioners and academics across the United States. The key takeaways from this document are that (1) practitioners need to be more careful about listening to people and “honoring the full diversity of the evolving American story”; (2) heritage conservation “creates and nurtures more equitable, healthy, resilient vibrant and sustainable communities”; and (3) a successful heritage practitioner “collaborates with new and existing partners to address fundamental social issues and make the world better.” This document also calls for changing preservation rules and regulations to make them more responsive to this people-centered approach.

Two themes that emerge from the Trust's work and from the papers in this book are that the laws, rules, and regulations that drive the majority of conservation practice need to change in a way that makes them more responsive to people, communities, and social justice. The second theme is that it must be acceptable for practitioners to be skeptical in their workplace and question the received wisdom of preservation doctrine and the rules and regulations that guide their practice. The field needs to create a safe space where practitioners can disagree with the status quo. The simple truth is that built heritage conservation practice cannot change without the central involvement of practitioners; and, the practitioners need to be able to disagree with authority, doctrine, and laws/rules/regulations and not jeopardize their employment.

It's All About People: Approaches to Fostering a Human-Centered Professional Care of Old Places

In our interactions with the contributing authors to this volume, we have both learned and debated multiple approaches that encourage human-centric heritage preservation/conservation practices involved in the care of old places. For these approaches we encountered four common themes, which are not necessarily exclusive (there are likely other ideas to consider that were simply not purposed from within the group of contributing authors). The underlying themes we encountered were: Defining a Human-centric Built Heritage Conservation Practice; Ways to Gather Evidence; Using Evidence to Change Practice; and The Role of Higher Education in Leading Evidence-based Practice, which form the heading for the four parts of this volume.

We begin our inquiry on Defining a Human-Centric Built Heritage Conservation Practice with the first chapter, "Bridging the Gap between Built Heritage Conservation Practice and Critical Heritage Studies," by Jeremy C. Wells. As has been commented earlier in this introduction, critical heritage studies is a nascent field that takes as its objects of attention the practice of heritage conservation and the practitioners engaged in this activity. This field has an essential role in providing evidence to substantiate conservation practice and many academics and practicing professionals ought to become more familiar with this scholarship. In this chapter, Wells investigates the "critical" stance of practitioners with the critical heritage studies perspective of scholars on the issue that they may both be engaging in the same hegemonic acts that they are simultaneously criticizing and, in the process, alienating those actors who they most need to engage. Ostensibly, there is a goal to improve how heritage conservation is done; yet there is little evidence that critical heritage studies research is actually changing conservation practice. By engaging practitioners as co-researchers, critical heritage studies researchers may find more suitable, pragmatic ways to democratize practices on the conservation of built heritage, places, and landscapes. Wells advocates that the academy needs to change how future practitioners are educated by introducing standard social science components to conservation programs that address the built environment and cultural landscapes through an emancipatory lens, with the goal of balancing human-centered versus fabric-centered approaches to the conservation of heritage.

As mentioned previously, one purpose of this volume is to reflect on the state of current social science research in supporting the practices of heritage conservation, and determine how to improve cultural heritage management goals and objectives with specific, usable tools and practices—no small feat considering the breadth and depth of tangible and intangible resources intertwined with cultural and natural resources around the world. The field of cultural resource management encompasses a multitude of resource types, from tangible archaeological artifacts such as simple pottery

sherds and elegant cave paintings, humble workers' cottages, and soaring masterpieces of design, to intangible resources such as sacred rituals of life passages, festive seasonal traditions, and traditional lifeways unique to the people of a place. Thus, for Suzanne E. Bott's contribution on "The Measurement of Meaning—Psychometrics and Sense of Place" (Chapter 2), she explores the development of different measurement tools for evaluating heritage resources in order to provide resource managers with a formal evidence-based foundation for evaluating management alternatives *with* the involvement of the local populations. The outcomes of the evaluation process, according to Bott, can provide a variety of alternatives for planning and management decision-makers that are logically derived, thorough, and inclusive. Examples are provided from recent research in academe, government, and private practice.

Richard M. Hutchings has also found in his contribution, "Meeting the Shadow: Resource Management and the McDonaldization of Heritage Stewardship" (Chapter 3), that there is strong evidence that our most pressing heritage problems are intractable under current conditions. Hutchings believes that such discourse—deemed "truth-telling" by some and "dark" and "wicked" by others—is excluded in orthodox heritage conservation circles. According to him, not only does this show cultural resource management to be ideological, but also it suggests that practice, and thus society at-large, is ill-equipped to deal with the unfolding global heritage crisis. In the third chapter, Hutchings explores cultural resource management's "shadow" or "dark side," which he contends is a vital, powerful and routinely ignored facet of the practice. Drawing on the principles of McDonaldization—efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control—Hutchings demonstrates how resource management has become a rigid, bureaucratic, elite-driven, state-sanctioned institution and process that foregrounds capitalist interests, using the evaluation of proposed solutions to common heritage problems in Western Canada as a case study. Hutchings argues that no matter how painful, meeting the shadow is necessary because it signifies a coming-to-terms with the problems that plague us today, including the very practice of cultural resource management.

Concluding this first part on defining human-centric heritage conservation practice is Jack Elliott, Jr.'s, Chapter 4, "The Mystery of History and Place Radical Preservation Revisited". Since the historic preservation movement is specifically concerned with the symbolic dimension of historic places that we often casually refer to as their "significance," then, according to Elliott, preservation thought has primarily followed the perspective of disciplines that focus on the world as merely objective and material. These perspectives while valid in their own realms are nevertheless inadequate for dealing with the experiences at the basis of preservation that often manifest as sense of place and the sacred. Following the work of philosopher of history Eric Voegelin, Elliott suggests that symbolic dimensions require a broader understanding of the reality that encompass the interplay within human consciousness between an object on the landscape and its complex associations from which arise the symbolic potentiality of place. Such objects always have a "thing-like" character while also reflecting the mystery of the reality, which encompasses and transcends them and us. According to Elliott, this approach entails a more reflective or philosophical dimension of thought than one typically finds today among preservation professionals and bureaucracies. Additionally, it would also be truer to the mandates of the preservation movement, while recovering the vision of history as a process within which society can exist, formed by which is both concrete and specific while interfused with ambiguity and mystery. Elliott's approach also offers an alternative form of seeing the world that spans the rift between science and religion, reason and faith.

In the second part, *Ways to Gather Evidence*, we begin with You Kyong Ahn's, Chapter 5, "The Perception and Preservation of Vernacular Architectural Features in an Urban Historic District

with Heritage Value: A Case Study from Grand Rapids, Michigan.” Ahn investigates how architectural features should be treated in order to preserve an urban vernacular setting as a community’s heritage symbol. Within her investigation, Ahn questions the larger issue of collective district identity as perceived by a place’s inhabitants regarding vernacular architectural features that have been preserved for its ethnic heritage value. Ahn’s employed a web survey to measure the importance of the features quantitatively. Then, a focus group with community participants was conducted to understand the underlying reasons for the importance and their relations to legitimate treatments for the architectural features. The results of Ahn’s study demonstrate that preservation of an urban historic district should be thought of as a dynamic procedure involving a community’s perception of architectural significance. Yet, it can be documented effectively by means of an empirical study. While Ahn’s case study was conducted in Grand Rapids, Michigan, her approach could have broader applications in other communities across North America and other western countries.

AnnaMarie Bliss conduct’s her case study in Spain, in “Image for the Future of the Historic City: Photoelicitation and Architectural Preservation in Barcelona,” in Chapter 6. Photoelicitation uses images as a means of communication between the researcher and participants in the field. Researcher-led photoelicitation (with investigator-provided images) and participant-led photoelicitation (with participant-provided images) in architecture and design research provide the ability for both parties to engage in a deeper discussion by using relevant visual material to express impressions about the environments portrayed. According to Bliss, only one of the two types of photoelicitation is used in any given project. Her investigation asks how we may combine the two approaches to broaden the discussion between the researcher and the participant. Using data from a completed fieldwork trip to Barcelona, Spain, this project critically examines the usefulness and efficacy of combining researcher-led and participant-led photoelicitation in investigating popular architectural tourism sites. Bliss collected images from participants and participants were also shown historical and present-day reference images over the course of semi-structured interviews about their perceptions and expectations of the architecture of the Palau de la Música Catalana by Lluís Domènech i Montaner. Bliss’s fieldwork assesses the role of photos in environmental design research as a tool for engaging the participant, stimulating relevant responses, and providing the researcher with solid visual evidence for concrete conclusions.

Dana H. Taplin takes a different approach to gathering evidence by simply asking people directly through ethnographic research methods in “Conservation and the People’s Views: Ethnographic Perspectives from Jones Beach State Park, New York” (Chapter 7). The case study of Jones Beach is about a place that serves a diverse public—a longtime white suburban constituency, a cross-section of people of color from the boroughs of New York City, LGBTQ groups, and others. These are self-segregating constituencies, with the white users using the newer, more informal and car accessible parts of the beach, LGBTQ visitors using an area beyond easy reach of any parking lot, and the historic core of the park used increasingly by people of color. Taplin investigates how do “the people” relate to a park that is part of their history, but not everyone’s history, and has hit hard times? What expectations do users have for the resources and management of the park? What do they expect in terms of preserving the park and conserving its history? Given the present use patterns and funding challenges, the newer human-centered approaches in historical conservation have much to offer in reconciling stakeholder interests at Jones Beach. Taplin’s discussion is based on the data gathered in a mixed methods cultural use study of Jones Beach conducted by the Public Research Group (CUNY) in 2012, prior to Hurricane Sandy. Funded by the Alliance for New York State Parks,

the study entailed the collection of 640 surveys for a “demographic assessment” of the park; and four days of participant observation, social activity mapping, and semi-structured interviewing for the “ethnographic assessment,” which was undertaken by an interdisciplinary team of five ethnographers. Taplin’s results from the study underscore how the past is both present and redefined in contemporary, routine use of the park, and how consultation with everyday users provides a valid and useful view of public history that ought to be combined with other “expert” perspectives when undertaking conservation endeavors.

Gathering evidence for the sake of evidence, though, does not bring about change. This is why within the third part the contributors delve deeper into the theme of Using Evidence to Change Practice. Many of these authors are practitioners and are thus ideally positioned to critique their own work and the overall state of practice within their specialization. We believe that this book is one of the very few examples where built heritage practitioners take this kind of critical approach, which is altogether absent in typical historic preservation, architectural conservation, and cultural resource management/heritage management literature. In Chapter 8, “Tours of Critical Geography and Public Deliberation in Texas: Applied Social Sciences as Guide,” Jennifer Minner found that while there is a considerable and growing literature on mid-twentieth century buildings and landscapes, the large modern footprints of the mid-twentieth century remain largely invisible in heritage tours. These places are geographies where federal policy and local ambition converge and were realized in urban renewal and other large-scale public and private actions that massively reshaped urban space. Therefore, Minner explores the potential for community tours, offering two case studies: Austin and San Antonio. In addition to raising awareness of the importance of social history and critical geography in interpreting modernism, Minner argues for the usefulness of applied social sciences, including collaborative action theory, collaborative rationality, and phronetic social sciences, to heritage practice. Minner proposes that heritage tours can re-invigorate and give new meaning as vehicles for deliberation about power relations, urban redevelopment, and displacement, both in for appreciating the past as well as better conceptualizing the present and future planning efforts.

Ted Grevstad-Nordbrock takes a different approach than Minner, in “Understanding Preservation-Fueled Urban Revitalization: Notes from Lincoln Park, Chicago.” Grevstad-Nordbrock’s Chapter 9 contests the view that historic preservation programs in the United States provide an unqualified community good. According to him, conventional argument holds that many preservation programs protect historic buildings and districts from insensitive change or outright demolition, while also providing a catalyst for much-needed revitalization in de-valORIZED neighborhoods. Grevstad-Nordbrock challenges this rhetoric by suggesting that preservation-driven economic revitalization is not always beneficial to a local community and can, perhaps counter intuitively, work against the long-term sustainability of historic preservation efforts. Using Lincoln Park on Chicago’s north side as a case study, Grevstad-Nordbrock has identified a three-stage revitalization process in historic neighborhoods: the first stage, honorific programs like the National Register of Historic Places prime neighborhoods for revitalization by anointing them as historic and therefore “special.” In the second stage, Grevstad-Nordbrock observes that neighborhoods are bolstered by the availability of financial incentives for rehabilitation, and that these neighborhoods’ newfound status helps attract capital reinvestment and new residents that can lead to gentrification and to the displacement of vulnerable residents. In the final stage, physical upgrading occurs that compromises the historic integrity of neighborhoods. Grevstad-Nordbrock has witnessed that historic neighborhoods can become victims of their own success as redevelopment pressures encourage additional physical change, bringing about a gradual degradation of their historic character—the very reason for historic preservation to

begin with! Therefore, Grevstad-Nordbrock recommends that the public framework that supports historic preservation in the United States, while vitally important for protecting irreplaceable cultural heritage, needs to evolve to reflect conditions in American cities today—not those of 1960s and 1970s, when most preservation laws and incentives programs were established. Grevstad-Nordbrock thus argues for a revised framework that incorporates safeguards to minimize the potential for harmful changes in high-demand real estate markets. Moreover, attempts must be made to mitigate the negative consequences of what might be state-led, preservation-fueled gentrification.

In Chapter 10, titled “Urban Preservation: A Community and Economic Development Perspective Case Study from Cleveland,” Stephanie Ryberg-Webster investigates how and why preservationists tout historic preservation’s role in furthering community and economic development goals in cities around the United States. According to Ryberg-Webster, dominant arguments highlight increases in property values resulting from historic designation and positive economic impacts (including job creation and increasing tax revenue) stemming from historic tax credit projects and heritage tourism. She found that a 2011 report completed for the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation begins with the broad claim that “historic preservation has become a fundamental tool for strengthening American communities,” contributing to core economic and community development goals including “small business incubation, affordable housing, sustainable development, neighborhood stabilization, center city revitalization, job creation, promotion of the arts and culture, small town renewal, heritage tourism, economic development, and others” (Rypkema, Cheong, & Mason, 2011). Yet, few studies address perceptions and discourses about preservation that occur external to the preservation field. To fill this void, Ryberg-Webster asks two key questions: How do community and economic development practitioners (1) view/value the historic environment? and (2) perceive the synergies/tensions between their goals and historic preservation? Ryberg-Webster’s case study focuses specifically on Cleveland, Ohio—a city facing uphill economic development challenges in the face of persistent population decline and deindustrialization, while also garnering national recognition in the community development sector. The qualitative study draws on key person interviews with public-sector departments, third-sector umbrella organizations, and non-profit community development corporations. The chapter demonstrates that community and economic development practitioners strongly associate preservation with the built environment and historic fabric and that there remain significant challenges in “making the past less foreign” for community and economic development practitioners.

Kimberli Fitzgerald takes the investigation further on how to use evidence to change practice in Chapter 11, titled “Using Evidence from the Community to Guide a Local Municipality’s Preservation Program: A Case Study of Salem, Oregon.” In her chapter, the municipality’s preservation program was suffering from a lack of community support and ineffectual attempts to designate a new historic district. In this case study, Fitzgerald demonstrates how she and the Historic Landmarks Commission used key tools grounded in communicative planning theory to identify and address problems with the historic preservation program. Through this process, Salem was able to use evidence from the community to guide positive changes to their local preservation code and program, which could have broader applications for other communities.

In Chapter 12, Richard Engelhardt, Heather Peters, and Montira Unakul, who are practitioners, use case studies in Southeast Asia to explore how ethnographic evidence can be used to democratize the traditional top-down, the expert-driven approach that often is associated with UNESCO, the World Heritage nomination and management process, and international conservation doctrines. While not necessarily rejecting these models, the authors do critique their shortcomings and point

out that, internally, UNESCO is becoming more aware of the need to embrace bottom-up approaches driven by a greater proportion of the local community in tandem with conventional experts. While some scholars from more critical approaches would simply call for the abolishment of the World Heritage process in its entirety because of its association with expert rule, Engelhardt, Peters, and Unakul advocate for a more balanced, nuanced approach to move toward what may eventually become an emancipated practice for the care of old places. We think that this approach is important to explore.

Lastly, this section on changing practice is capped by Richard Vidutis' critique on how a social science approach is altogether absent from the world of cultural resource management and regulatory compliance. In "Missed Opportunities-The Absence of Ethnography in America's Cultural Heritage Programs" (Chapter 13), Vidutis, who is a cultural resource management professional, explains how an ethnographic approach to cultural heritage management is needed to change how professionals work with Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), post-disaster reconstruction, and Section 106 in ways that are critical for a more human-centric approach to compliance-based heritage conservation work. Vidutis' case studies, which explore a "humanizing, place-based model" for ethnographic practice, reinforce the larger themes in this book that focus on the need for people and place to be central to heritage conservation practice. This chapter also introduces the need for conventional practice to be informed by the work of folklorists, who have long understood the intimate relationship between intangible heritage and how people value and perceive older places, buildings, and even objects.

An irony that is rarely recognized by many heritage preservation practitioners is that the knowledge and work conducted by people is also a cultural tradition in and of itself. Since cultural knowledge is transmitted through various forms of communication—oral, body, observation of demonstration by an example, and so forth—rather than through genetics, the way we conduct preservation education is an important component to consider in reforming the field. The chapters that comprise the fourth part on *The Role of Higher Education in Leading Evidence-based Practice* investigate both learning between acknowledged expert and pupil, as well as scholarly research on one's own. The emphasis of the research contributed is on higher education, where skill set training is conducted most frequently for those seeking a career path within a heritage-related field, in contrast to primary education where the emphasis is on more basic levels of historical or cultural appreciation. Michelle Jolly, Melinda Milligan, Margaret Purser, and Laura A. Watt take us straight to the point in Chapter 14, "But Where Are the People?" *Grappling with Teaching New Approaches to Our Relationship with Place and the Past*. Jolly, Milligan, Purser, and Watt argue that the transformation of heritage practice into a broader, more human-centered approach requires transformation in thinking. Students and practitioners need to learn not only the logic of social science but also to see it working in practice, in an integrated, interdisciplinary fashion—which, in large part, turns out to rest in changing their "habits of mind." Jolly, Milligan, Purser, and Watt believe that students need to worry less about finding answers and more about asking questions. They define four related components of these habits of mind as particularly relevant to creating a more people-centered heritage practice, which are (1) developing an observational stance that is critical, reflexive, and questioning; (2) employing a narrativist analytical framework; (3) seeing community as a process; and (4) defining practice as collaborative, comparative, and situated. Making these habits of mind explicit and intentional, and inculcating these among themselves, students, and community partners—rather than teaching a suite of fixed methodologies—imbues heritage practice with a social science perspective that allows theory and method alike to continue to evolve.

In Chapter 15, “‘The Places My Granddad Built’: Using Popular Interest in Genealogy as a Pedagogical Segue for Historic Preservation’, Barry L. Stiefel takes a slightly different approach in internalizing the method of inquiry in order to facilitate deeper critical thinking and empathy in professional practice. While teaching historic preservation courses for several years, Stiefel struggled with how to respond to the demographic changes he had been observing among his students, which he attributed to the ever-evolving search in defining collective heritage in the United States. Thus, Stiefel began experimenting with an approach that he has titled, “What is Your Heritage and the State of Its Preservation?” a variation of the self-discovery-based learning pedagogical method. The premise of Stiefel’s approach is that people in general, whether professional practitioners or amateurs, may become better advocates for preservation if they have undergone an experience of investigating and understanding the state of preservation of the heritage they identify with. By having had such an experience, Stiefel claims, a person can have greater empathy for when another’s heritage is in peril because they would not want such negative treatment of their own. According to the projects produced by his students, this approach reflects their interest and values related to the past and contemporary historic built environment, providing an intriguing snapshot each semester of how young adults are defining their collective heritage and the national story vis-à-vis what is portrayed through the general media’s message.

Ned Kaufman (Chapter 16) ends with the role of higher education in leading evidence-based practice with an investigation of “Resistance to Research: Diagnosis and Treatment of a Disciplinary Ailment.” Kaufman posits that higher education does not support research into heritage conservation and has found that resistance to changing the status quo is deeply rooted in the structures of the historic preservation discipline and cannot be overcome except by alleviating three fundamental conditions. First, the highly formalized nature of preservation practice, which requires that nearly everything preservationists do be in conformance with a restricted body of law and precedent. Second, the lack of institutional capacity to absorb new knowledge reflected in the absence of think-tanks or strong university research centers and in the strong emphasis placed by academic preservation departments on teaching a rote curriculum. And third, the lack of a clear sense of purpose across the discipline, which prevents a strong research agenda from coalescing. While all three conditions will need to be addressed, according to Kaufman, the critical step towards a solution lies in the first because changing the laws will change what preservationists are allowed to do, and that will open everything up. Those who seek to generate a robust culture of preservation research should, therefore, focus on changing the laws, policies, programs, and precedents that depend on them.

Taking responsibility for the way in which we preserve and remember the past and heritage is what Lowenthal (1985) was advocating in *The Past is a Foreign Country*, and a burden we—all contributors to this volume—are attempting to undertake and address in appropriate and meaningful ways. According to Lowenthal, in his 2015 revised edition of the *The Past is a Foreign Country*:

The rage to preserve is in part a reaction to anxieties generated by modernist amnesia. We preserve because the pace of change and development has attenuated a legacy integral to our identity and well-being. But we also preserve, I [Lowenthal] suggest, because we are no longer intimate enough with that legacy to rework it creatively. We admire its relics, but they seldom inspire our own acts and works. Past remains survive not to educate or emulate but only to be saved. Precisely because preservation has become a prime end in itself, it tends to preclude other uses of the past.

Lowenthal (2015, 592)

The common thread throughout our work is the emphasis on enhancing the quality of life for people, not the “bricks and mortar” or other physical vestiges of the past *per se*. The act of preserving, conserving, or rehabilitating the historic built environment and other material objects is a secondary agenda in order to reinforce the primary of human social or communal needs. We also want to encourage the reconnecting of an intimate relationship with the legacy of cultural heritage. In the concluding chapter, we also reflect on how the chapter examples in *Human-Centered Built Heritage Conservation* provide a basis for recommendations on future directions practitioners, academics, and those considering a prospective career in the professional care of old places might consider.

Notes

- 1 The activity of identifying the importance, treatment, and interpretation of the older built environment and cultural landscapes goes by many names across the English-speaking world. For the purposes of this book, we will primarily use the generic phrase “heritage conservation,” which can mean the conservation of all heritage, movable and immovable, and tangible and intangible. In a more narrow sense applied to only the built environment, places, and landscapes, we use the phrase “built heritage conservation” and “the conservation of cultural landscapes.” In the United States, the most common phrase for this latter activity is “historic preservation.” In addition to built heritage conservation, other parts of the world use the phrases, “architectural conservation,” “urban conservation,” or simply “heritage conservation.”
- 2 The UNESCO World Heritage sites where these churches can be found are the *Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem* (Palestine); *Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls* (Israel); and *Saint Catherine Area* (Egypt). St. Helena also initiated churches at what is now the *Baptism Site “Bethany Beyond the Jordan” (Al-Maghtas)* in Jordan, though no structures with a link to her period of significance is extant.

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