Values and Heritage Conservation

Research Report
The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles

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The Getty Conservation Institute works internationally to advance conservation practice in the visual arts—broadly interpreted to include objects, collections, architecture, and sites. The Institute serves the conservation community through four areas of activity: scientific research into the nature, decay, and treatment of materials; education and training; model field projects; and the dissemination of information through traditional publications and electronic means. In all its endeavors, the GCI is committed to addressing unanswered questions and promoting the highest possible standards of conservation.

The Institute is a program of the J. Paul Getty Trust, an international cultural and philanthropic institution devoted to the visual arts and the humanities that includes an art museum as well as programs for education, scholarship, and conservation.

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Preface

Values are the subject of much discussion in contemporary society. In this postmodern, post-ideology, post-nation-state age, the search for values and meaning has become a pressing concern. In the field of cultural heritage conservation, values are critical to deciding what to conserve—what material goods will represent us and our past to future generations—as well as to determining how to conserve. Even brief consideration of a typical conservation decision reveals many different, sometimes divergent values at play: think of the artistic and aesthetic values of an old building, as well as the historical values of its associations, plus the economic values tied up in its use, and so on. In short, values are an important, determining factor in the current practices and future prospects of the conservation field.

This report presents the results of research on the subject of the values and benefits of cultural heritage conservation undertaken by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) through its Agora initiative,[1] as a means of articulating and furthering ideas that have emerged from the conservation field in recent years. This transdisciplinary research, along with a parallel project on the economics of heritage conservation, represents an effort of the GCI to advance understanding of conservation's current role in society, to educate ourselves and the conservation community at large about the potential role of conservation in the future, and, ultimately, to strengthen the capacity of the conservation field to enrich cultural life and the visual arts in societies worldwide.

The overall aim of GCI research on social and economic issues is understanding the processes—specific and general—by which material heritage conservation functions in the context of modern society, with the end of improving conservation practice and policy. By elucidating the ways in which we, as societies, professionals, and citizens, determine what to conserve and how to conserve it, we hope to foster greater understanding of the work that conservators do and of the ways in which other professionals, academics, and community members collaborate in and inform this work—and how they might be more effectively integrated in the future. Such insight can, in turn, make conservation practice more relevant to the societies of which it is a part, inform policy and decision makers about the potential of conservation for fostering civil society, and strengthen the role of conservation as a part of civil society.

In late 1997, the GCI began development of a multiyear inquiry to explore the values and benefits of cultural heritage conservation. The research was launched with a meeting held in Los Angeles and Riverside, California, January 14 to 16, 1998. The meeting involved a multidisciplinary and multinational group of professionals and academics from the conservation and cultural heritage fields and associated disciplines (see Participants section below). Meeting participants were asked to examine the state of knowledge about the multiple definitions, roles, and meanings of cultural heritage and its conservation; to look at the kinds of social and cultural dynamics making the greatest impact on conservation's role in society, presently and in the future; and to consider ideas, concepts, and research themes that warrant further study. Through an online discussion that followed the January 1998 meeting, through correspondence, and through several commissioned essays, these ideas were honed and debated.

The first part of this document, "Report on Research," provides a summary of the ideas and overarching themes that have emerged during the course of our research and meetings, in our ongoing discussions with colleagues at the Getty, elsewhere in the conservation field, in academia, and in literatures from other disciplines that bear on conservation. The second part of the document, "Exploratory Essays," is a compendium of papers on specific topics written by scholars who have participated in this research. These essays explore some core ideas in greater depth and provide different disciplinary perspectives on how broad social dynamics influence our understanding of cultural

heritage conservation. The "Conclusions" synthesize some of these ideas and issues and propose topics for continued exploration. These topics, along with the summary and essays, are meant to provoke further research and creative thinking about the future of conservation. The success of such research depends, in part, on active dialogue among a widening group of collaborators. So please join us in this conversation. We welcome your thoughts and suggestions; email us at GCIValues@getty.edu.

Notes

1. In accordance with the mandate of the J. Paul Getty Trust and the mission of the Getty Conservation Institute, the Agora was established with a focus on material cultural heritage—that is to say, art, objects, artifacts, buildings, monuments, sites, etc. These limits (however artificial they may be) were set because the Institute does not encompass in its conservation work such manifestations of culture as folklore, literature, music, and dance. The exploration of the Agora involved the full spectrum of cultural heritage and the range of tangible and intangible constructs related to the concept of heritage. However, in the strategic development of research and other activities, material heritage and its associated constructs (tangible and intangible) have been emphasized.

Report on Research

Underpinning this research is an assumption that heritage conservation is an integral part of civil society. Cultivating this role should, ideally, be one of the abiding concerns of our field. In some form, conservation of material heritage is a function observable in every modern society. Conservation shapes the society in which it is situated, and in turn, it is shaped by the needs and dynamics of that society.

Yet how conservation is approached and undertaken varies from culture to culture. The term *conservation* itself has varied meanings and connotations. In certain contexts, "conservation" has broad meaning, signifying the entire field or realm of cultural heritage preservation, from academic inquiry and historical research to policy making to planning to technical intervention (this meaning is akin to the American notion of "historic preservation"). At the same time, "conservation" is used to indicate physical intervention or treatment specifically. This definition of conservation refers to the more technically oriented functions of the broader field. But the broader definition refers more widely to conservation as a complex, diverse, and even divergent social practice—and it is this definition that needs to be foregrounded.

It would seem that the latter, more narrow definition of conservation is an element of the former, more expansive definition. However, in practice, the work of intervention or treatment has become somewhat disconnected from this broader field and notion of conservation. Decisions about *what* to conserve and *why* are often taken independently from those dealing with *how* to conserve, and vice versa. This is due, in part, to the relative isolation of different groups or spheres of professionals that engage in the work of conservation (broadly defined).

Professionals working in the broader conservation field are drawn from the sciences, the arts, the social sciences, the humanities, and other areas—reflecting the fact that heritage conservation is truly a *multi*disciplinary endeavor. All the same, in practice, *inter*disciplinary collaboration is not often achieved. If one were to map, simply and generally, the current shape of conservation policy and practice,[1] one would find a rather linear path with different groups of professionals engaged in distinct steps along the way.

As represented in Figure 1 (see page 4), at some initial stage, a product of material culture—be it an object or a place—is recognized as "cultural heritage." This is, in fact, the beginning of a process of heritage *creation* or *production*. Whether through academic discourse, archaeological excavation, a community movement, or political or religious trends, interest is generated about the object or place in question, and momentum builds. The next step entails protection of the "product" through, for example, designation as an historic site or acquisition by a museum. This step often involves individuals or groups, such as curators, heritage commissions, etc., who evaluate the significance of the product. Next, those who own or have responsibility for the product (collections managers, site managers, property owners, etc.) are charged with its overall management. This may (or may not) lead to a program of intervention or treatment to conserve the fabric of the object or place, involving conservators, architects, scientists, etc. And it may also include consultations made with communities and other stakeholders, or decisions made by politicians and investors.

As the diagram suggests, conservation policy and practice follow a sequence of steps that each involves a separate sphere of professionals and players, often with little interplay among the spheres. Intervention, in particular, has become its own, very distinct sphere, focusing mostly on the physical aspects of heritage and often losing sight of the interconnectedness of treatment to the preceding spheres.

In the current climate of globalization, technological advancement, population mobility, and the spread of participatory democracies and market economies, it has become quite clear to the broad conservation community that these and other societal trends are profoundly and rapidly changing

The current shape of conservation policy and practice: in which the different aspects of conservation activity often remain separate and unintegrated, retaining the sense that conservation is insulated from social contexts.
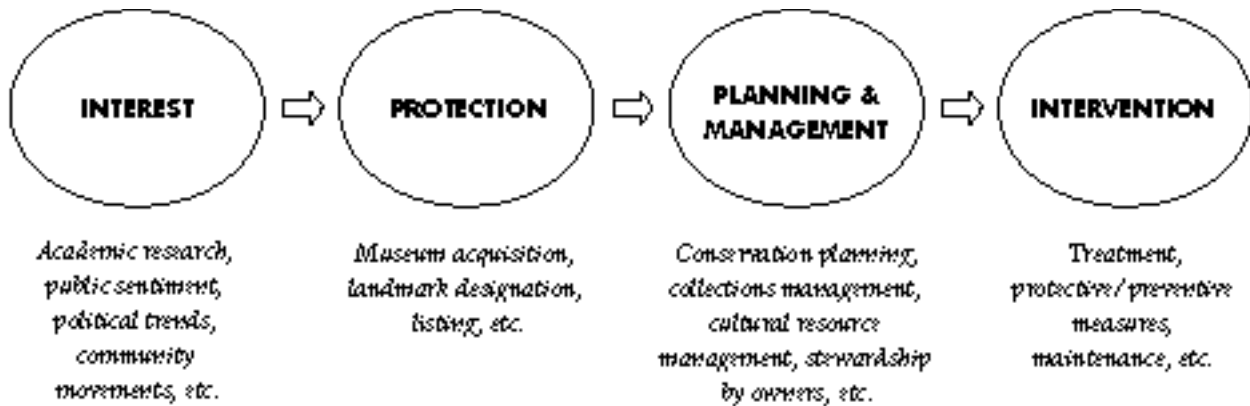
cultures and communities. The future challenges of the conservation field will stem not only from heritage objects and sites themselves but from the *contexts* in which society embeds them. These contexts—the values people draw from them, the functions heritage objects serve for society, the uses to which heritage is put—are the real source of the meaning of heritage, and the raison d'être for conservation in all senses. As society changes, so does the role of conservation and the opportunities for conservation to shape and support civil society. These changed social conditions compel us to think expansively and realistically about the future standing of conservation in the social agenda.

Given these immediate challenges, many conservation professionals and organizations have recognized that greater cohesion, connection, and integration are needed in the conservation field. As suggested by Figure 2 (see page 5), rather than a disjointed sequence, the spheres of conservation ought to be integrated better and embedded within their relevant contexts, so as to ensure that conservation remains responsive to ever-changing cultural conditions.

In the last ten to fifteen years, the field (specifically those involved in the conservation of architecture and archaeological sites) has made significant advances in grappling with these challenges in a holistic way. Through comprehensive planning for conservation management,[2] integrated, interdisciplinary approaches to the preservation of the built environment have developed that address the changed conditions of contemporary society. Australia ICOMOS, the U.S. National Park Service, English Heritage, and many other government and nongovernmental agencies (NGOS) have established policies for integrated conservation management, employing value-driven planning methodologies that attempt to incorporate values more effectively in conservation decision making. Yet despite these advances, widespread integration of the spheres of conservation policy and practice has been slow. This is largely due to the rather fragmented and unbalanced body of knowledge that supports the work of conservation; also to the specialization of work in different disciplines. As a field, we know a great deal about some aspects of conservation (science, documentation, listing); in other, important areas, we know very little (for instance, economics, or the use of heritage as a foil in identity or political struggles).

In the cultural heritage conservation field, we are consistently faced with challenges on three fronts:

- Physical condition: Behavior of materials and structural systems, deterioration causes and mechanisms, possible interventions, long-term efficacy of treatments, etc.

- Management context: Availability and use of resources, including funds, trained personnel, and technology; political and legislative mandates and conditions; land use issues, etc.

- Cultural significance and social values: Why an object or place is meaningful, to whom, for whom it is conserved, the impact of interventions on how it is understood or perceived, etc.

Figure 2

The potential future of conservation policy and practice: in which different aspects of conservation practice, social contexts, and stakeholders are integrated, connected, and coherent.
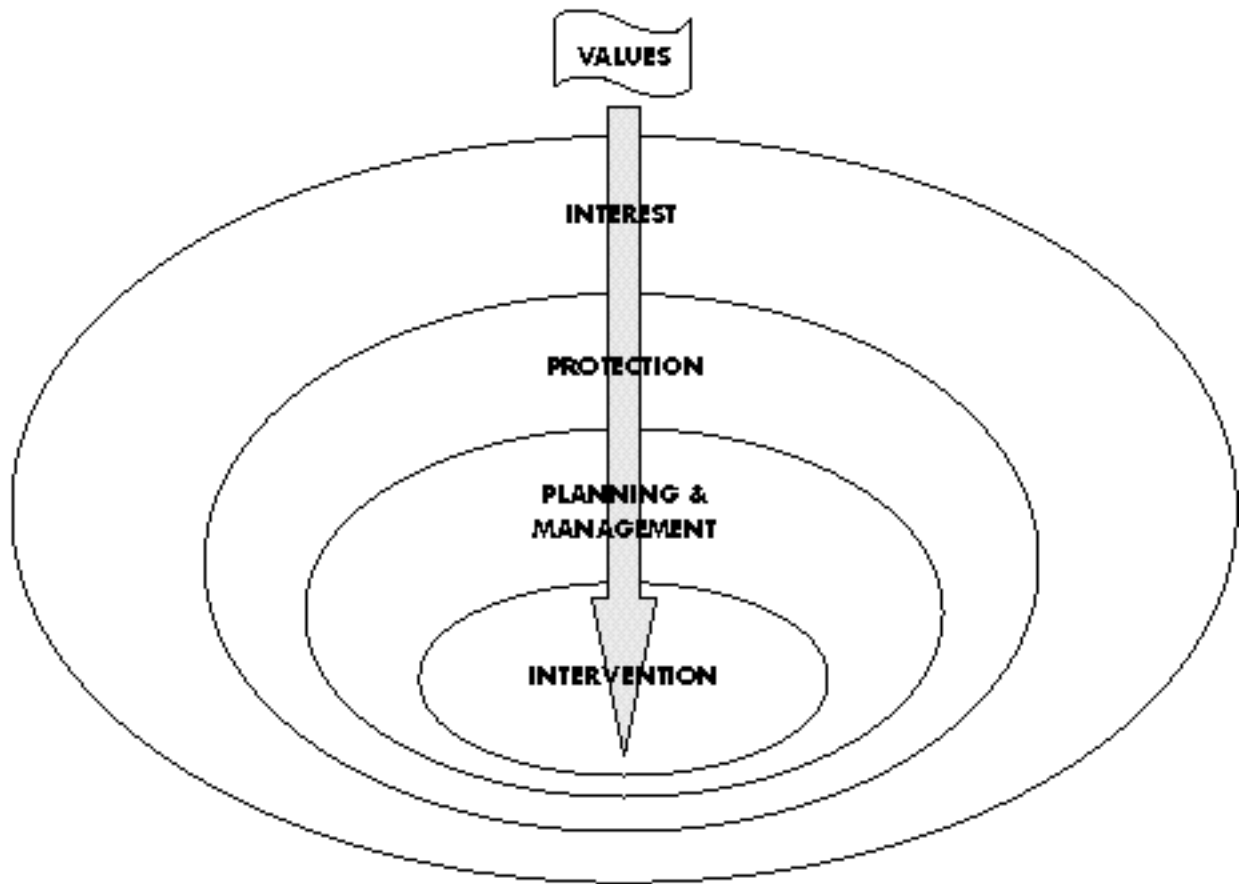
Traditionally, the research efforts of the conservation field have focused on the first front, physical condition. Great strides have been made to understand and arrest material deterioration. As a result, in the area of material science and technical interventions, a considerable body of information, with specific applicability to conservation, has grown through the years.

In the realm of management issues, some conservation-specific discourse has emerged from the law and economics fields. Most of this research, though, has focused on issues of owners' rights and finance, rather than on the complexities of resource management within the field of conservation or on conservation as a "public good" within society.

Likewise, one finds extensive information about canons of art-historical value, personal values, responsibility to future generations, material culture and its societal functions, heritage as embodied in the natural environment, its stewardship, and so on.

However, very little of this literature is applied to or developed in the context of conservation.

Although there is a great deal of information in related disciplines (anthropology, economics, psychology, philosophy, etc.) that can inform the work of conservation, relatively little research has addressed the specifics of cultural heritage conservation or has been undertaken in service of the conservation field. In fact, the greater part of *all* conservation research still focuses on the challenges of physical condition—namely, the deterioration of materials and possible interventions—concentrating on the objects as opposed to their contexts.

Every act of conservation is shaped by how an object or place is valued, its social contexts, available resources, local priorities, and so on. Decisions about treatments and interventions are not based solely on considerations of physical decay; yet the lack of a coherent body of knowledge that addresses and integrates all three fronts makes it very

difficult to assess and incorporate these other, equally important factors in the work of conservation professionals. Likewise, this makes efforts to coalesce and connect the field at large and its multidisciplinary constituency formidable.

As a field, we have come to recognize that conservation cannot unify or advance with any real innovation or vision if we continue to concentrate the bulk of conservation discourse on issues of physical condition. Conservation risks losing ground within the social agenda unless the nontechnical complexities of cultural heritage preservation, the role it plays in modern society, and the social, economic, political, and cultural mechanisms through which conservation works are better understood and articulated.

Thus, the unmet need is for research that explains how conservation is situated in society—how it is shaped by economic, cultural, and social forces and how, in turn, it shapes society. With this type of research, the field can advance in a positive way by embedding the spheres of conservation within their relevant contexts, informing decision-making processes, fostering links with associated disciplines, and enabling conservation professionals and organizations to respond better in the future, through both practice and policy. Such research, coupled with strategic planning for how better to integrate conservation in the social agenda, will ensure that the next generation of conservation professionals will be educated and equipped to deal with conservation broadly and holistically.

Conservation Perspectives

There is tremendous educational and practical potential to be realized by integrating and contextualizing the spheres and work of conservation, not only as a self-contained science or technological endeavor but as a social practice. Conservation is continually changing, mirroring the fact that cultures are constantly in flux from the local to the global scale. As social and cultural change intensifies, greater demands are made to conserve heritage as a brake against unwanted change and even as a means of effecting change. Heritage is one of the mainstays of culture, art, and creativity. In any case, the cultural context dictates that the pressure to conserve, and the stakes in doing so, rise dramatically. This is our current climate.

Insights gleaned from social theory, historical inquiry, and policy-related research about the nature of contemporary society suggest that the conservation field will only keep pace with recent trends if, collectively, we reexamine the core concepts of heritage and conservation. Echoing a great deal of social science and humanities research on culture in the postmodern era, heritage should be considered a very fluid phenomenon, a process as opposed to a static set of objects with fixed meaning. Building on this insight, heritage conservation should be recognized as a bundle of highly politicized social processes, intertwined with myriad other economic, political, and cultural processes.

Historically, cultural heritage—its very existence and its function within a society—has been taken for granted. That societies should save old things has been a matter of tradition, to be accepted and respected, and the reasons are not examined too closely. The norms dictating what things qualified as heritage were very stable—these were notions like "masterpieces," "intrinsic value," and "authenticity." However, in the last generation, cultural consensus and norms have been replaced by an atmosphere of openly contentious and fractious cultural politics. Some of the best scholarship regarding conservation and society presents compelling evidence of precisely the opposite of what was previously held true: that heritage, at its core, is politicized and contested, and thus conservation must not hide behind its traditional philosophical matters of faith. (It should also be noted that the intense recent interest in professional ethics is another part of the development of critical perspectives on conservation. See the bibliography herein for a wide-ranging sample of such scholarship.)

At the heart of contemporary, interdisciplinary, critical research on heritage is the notion that cultural heritage is a social construction; which is to say that it results from social processes specific to time and place. As noted, scholarship on culture in the past generation or so reinforces the notion that culture is a set of processes, not a collection of things. Artifacts are not static embodiments of culture but are, rather, a medium through which identity, power, and society are produced and reproduced. Objects, collections, buildings, and places become recognized as "heritage" through conscious decisions and unspoken values of particular people and institutions—and for reasons that are strongly shaped by social contexts and processes. Thus, the meaning of heritage can no longer be thought of as fixed, as the traditional notions of intrinsic value and authenticity suggest. Museology scholar Susan

Pearce, for instance, suggests that cultural heritage is cognitively constructed and that "the notion of cultural heritage embraces any and every aspect of life that individuals, in their variously scaled social groups, consider explicitly or implicitly to be a part of their self-definition."[3]

All the same, a postmodernist tendency to reduce cultural heritage to simply a social construction runs up against the widely held understanding that heritage is in fact imbued with some universal, intrinsic qualities. Despite the tenor of identity politics and the pull toward cultural relativism, anthropologist Lourdes Arizpe argues the much-debated point that cultural heritage—in addressing the deepest, shared human longings for love and beauty and cooperation—has universal significance, or *etic* meaning, in addition to its more culturally bound *emic* meaning. Philosopher Uffe Jensen also suggests that the need for access to one's culture, one's heritage, crosses all cultures and contributes to human flourishing and happiness in the Aristotelian sense. As related to these values of human happiness and societal peace, there is a universal quality to the notion of cultural heritage that transcends relativistic interpretation but that is equally bound up in specificities of time and place. This is a major axis of debate, and each side suggests a very different approach to determining cultural significance as part of the conservation process.

All sides of the contingent-universal debate agree that heritage and its conservation (traditionally defined) play definite, even essential functions in most, if not all, societies. Yet the concept of conservation is itself paradoxical. As David Lowenthal notes in his essay below, "Heritage is never merely conserved or protected; it is modified—both enhanced and degraded—by each new generation." As with all other social activities, conservation is not objective; it is biased by the values and perspectives of various individuals and interest groups. Architectural historian Daniel Bluestone cautions that change must be understood as part of the richness of heritage and that, in the work of conservation, "understanding change is as important as understanding original intent." Conservation is a complex and continual process that involves determinations about what constitutes heritage, how it is used, cared for, interpreted, and so on, by whom and for whom. The decisions about what to conserve and how to conserve are largely defined by cultural contexts, societal trends, political and economic forces—which themselves continue to change. Cultural

heritage is thus a medium for the ever-evolving values of social groups (be they families, communities residing in certain places, ethnic groups, disciplines or professional groups, entire nations) as well as individuals. Social groups are embedded in certain places and times and, as a matter of routine, use things (including material heritage) to interpret their past and their future. In this sense, conservation is not merely an arresting process but a means of creating and recreating heritage.

Though this perspective on conservation challenges some widely held, traditional notions, we in the conservation field have come to recognize that we must integrate and contextualize our work. Conservation is a process that consistently recreates its product (cultural heritage), accumulating the marks of passing generations. As such, it must be situated in its larger social contexts—as part of the larger cultural sphere; as a basic phenomenon of public discourse; as a social activity constantly reshaped by forces such as globalization, technological developments, the widening influence of market ideology, cultural fusion, and myriad others. This process-centered model of conservation is at the heart of the future relevance of our field. It could serve as a basis for orienting practice, formulating and analyzing policy, understanding economic forces, and generally ensuring that conservation is "significant" for society at large.

Values, Valorization, and Cultural Significance

Values and valuing processes are threaded through the various spheres of conservation and play an enormous role as we endeavor to integrate the field. Whether works of art, buildings, or ethnographic artifacts, the products of material culture have different meanings and uses for different individuals and communities. Values give some things significance over others and thereby transform some objects and places into "heritage." The ultimate aim of conservation is not to conserve material for its own sake but, rather, to maintain (and shape) the values embodied by the heritage—with physical intervention or treatment being one of many means toward that end. To achieve that end, such that the heritage is meaningful to those whom it is intended to benefit (i.e., future generations), it is necessary to examine *why* and *how* heritage is valued, and by whom.

Cultural significance is the term that the conservation community has used to encapsulate the

multiple values ascribed to objects, buildings, or landscapes. From the writings of Riegl to the policies of the Burra Charter, these values have been ordered in categories, such as aesthetic, religious, political, economic, and so on.[4] Through the classification of values of different disciplines, fields of knowledge, or uses, the conservation community (defined broadly) attempts to grapple with the many emotions, meanings, and functions associated with the material goods in its care. This identification and ordering of values serves as a vehicle to inform decisions about how best to preserve these values in the physical conservation of the object or place. Though the typologies of different scholars and disciplines vary, they each represent a reductionist approach to examining the very complex issue of cultural significance.

However, this process of valuing is neither singular nor objective, and it begins even before the object becomes "heritage." With reference to Figure 1, one can see that some fraction of the material culture produced or inherited by society (artistic as well as utilitarian) becomes defined and recognized as heritage through designation. How does this happen? The creation of cultural heritage is largely derived from the way people remember, organize, think about, and wish to use the past and how material culture provides a medium through which to do this. The stories invested in objects, buildings, and landscapes, by individuals or groups, constitute a currency in which the valorizing of cultural heritage is transacted. The subtle distinction between *valuing* (appreciating existing value) and *valorizing* (giving added value) speaks to the interventionist and interpretative aspects of the simple act of identifying something as heritage. Simply labeling something as heritage is a value judgment that distinguishes that object or place from other objects and places for particular reasons, and as such, the labeling adds new meaning and value.

The process of valorizing begins when individuals, institutions, or communities decide that some object or place is worth preserving, that it represents something worth remembering, something about themselves and their past that should be transmitted to future generations. Through donation of an object to a museum or through the designation or listing of a building or site, these individuals or communities (be they political, academic, or so on) actively create heritage. But this is only the beginning of the process of creating and valorizing heritage.

Heritage is valued in a variety of ways, driven by different motivations (economic, political, cultural, spiritual, aesthetic, and others), each of which has correspondingly varied ideals, ethics, and epistemologies. These different ways of valuing in turn lead to different approaches to preserving heritage. For instance, conserving a historic house property according to historical-cultural values would lead one to maximize the capacity for the place to serve the educational function of telling the stories; the primary audiences in this case might be local schoolchildren and the local community, for whom association with this old place and its stories makes a significant contribution to their group identity. By contrast, conserving the same site to maximize economic value might lead to a conservation approach that favors revenue generation and tourist traffic over educational and other cultural values. Thus, parts of the property might be developed for parking, gift shops, and other visitor-support functions, instead of interpreting and conserving historic landscape or archaeological elements of the site; the overall conservation strategy might be driven by creating a popular (marketable) experience, as opposed to creating one that focuses on educational use by a target audience of schoolchildren. Neither option can be viewed as a priori better or more appropriate than the other, as the appropriateness is dependent upon the values prioritized by the community, or "stakeholders" involved (professionals, public, government, etc.), and the context in which the effort is undertaken.

Conservation (narrowly defined) has commonly been viewed as that which follows the act of heritage designation—that is, a technical response after a place or object has already been recognized as having value. The underlying belief has been that preservation treatment should not, and would not, change the meaning of the heritage object, yet the traditional practice of conserving—of preserving the physical fabric of a heritage object—does in fact actively interpret and valorize the object. Every conservation decision—how to clean an object, how to reinforce a structure, what materials to use, and so on—affects how that object or place will be perceived, understood and used, and thus transmitted to the future. Despite such postulated principles as minimum intervention, reversibility, and authenticity, a decision to undertake a certain conservation intervention gives priority to a certain meaning or set of values. For example, decisions in the management of an archaeological site may involve stabilizing one structure but excavating through another to expose an earlier structure below. Each

decision affects how visitors experience the site and how they interpret and value the architectural forms and elements; these decisions likewise reflect how those responsible for care and protection interpret and value the forms and elements. In the realm of objects conservation, the issue of repatriation also captures such competing values. For instance, ethnographic objects associated with Native American groups are often collected in museums. There, the objects are conserved (and stored and/or displayed) to arrest decay, so that they may be viewed and studied by both scholars and the public. This course of action champions the value of the object as a means of providing information about and understanding of a certain Native American culture from outside the culture itself. Yet many Native American groups prefer that these objects be returned, so that they may be reburied in accordance with their spiritual beliefs. These options reflect different sets of values: one gives priority to the use of the object as a means of preserving cultural traditions, the other to its material form.

Values also inform policy decisions. Consider a hypothetical government agency with responsibility for managing the listing of official landmarks and investing public funds in preservation projects. A number of competing interests—competing values—typically vie to be expressed through these decision-making processes. Different culture groups and political factions lobby to have their memories and messages sanctioned by government policy. To add complexity, economic values might trump these competing cultural values—projects are worth investing in, the logic goes, only if they are financially self-supporting.

These examples clearly illustrate that the values of individuals and communities—be they conservators, anthropologists, ethnic groups, politicians, or otherwise—shape all conservation. And in the conservation process, these values, as represented in the object or place, are not simply "preserved" but are, rather, modified. The meaning of the object or place is redefined, and new values are sometimes created.

What is the usefulness of such an insight? Analytically, one can understand what values are at work by analyzing what stories are being told. And analysis of meanings (which is to say, cultural significance) thus provides an important kind of knowledge to complement documentation and analysis of material conditions as the contexts for physical treatment. Yet the assessment of cultural significance is often *not* undertaken when conservation interventions are planned, or when it is, it is frequently limited to the one-time composition of a statement of significance by an archaeologist, historian, or other expert. Why is it that assessment of cultural significance is not more meaningfully integrated in conservation practice? As mentioned previously, with a body of information and a research agenda focused primarily on issues of physical condition, conservation education rarely involves training in how to assess complex meanings and values, whom to involve in such an assessment, and how to negotiate the decision making that follows.

Still largely regarded as a technical rather than a social endeavor, conservation has failed to attract significant input from the social sciences. As mentioned previously, despite emerging policies that promote value-driven planning for conservation management, there is a limited body of knowledge regarding how conservation functions in society—and specifically regarding how cultural significance might best be assessed and reassessed as part of a public and enduring conservation process. Cultural significance for the purposes of conservation decision making can no longer be a purely scholarly construction but, rather, an issue negotiated among the many professionals, academics, and community members who value the object or place—the "stakeholders."

Because of the complexity of contemporary society, it is important to recognize the diversity of potential stakeholders—they include, but are not limited to, the individual, the family, the local community, an academic discipline or professional community, an ethnic or religious group, a region, a nation-state, macrostates (such as the European Community or the North American Free Trade Area), the world. Relations among stakeholders at various levels are both intimate and tense; they sometimes build affiliation and community and other times sow discontent. Motivations for the valorization (or devalorization) of material heritage vary among these stakeholders. Broader cultural conditions and dynamics (for instance, marketization, technological evolution, cultural fusion) influence these interactions. Continuity and change, participation, power, and ownership are all bound up in the ways in which cultures are created and progress.

The effects of these phenomena of cultural change and evolution are manifested clearly in the heritage conservation arena. Rapid transformation in this technological age often has a dramatic effect

on the dual forces of continuity and change, exacerbating political tensions among stakeholders. In conservation, this is manifested, for instance, in the prominent role of the "suburban sprawl" issue in American historic preservation, or the lures and pressures that come with worldwide development of tourism sites and industries. This dilemma can be made worse, since decision makers are having to take actions affecting heritage in shorter and shorter time frames, and the interests of local constituencies (as well as those of future generations) can easily vanish from consideration.

Lourdes Arizpe suggests that, for all conservation decision making, one must look at who is valorizing cultural heritage and why. "Governments value it in one way, elite national groups another, different from local populations, academics, or business people. To know what is the best strategy to preserve cultural heritage, we need to understand what each of these groups thinks and the relationship between these different groups." It is in our best interest, as conservation professionals, to facilitate some sort of agreement or understanding among these different stakeholders about the cultural significance of an object or place as part of common practice. An understanding of stakeholders' values—which define their goals and motivate their actions—provides critical insight for the long-term, strategic management of heritage resources by both the private and the public sectors.

To conserve in a way that is relevant to our own society in our own moment, we must understand how values are negotiated and determine how the process of analyzing and constructing cultural significance can be enhanced. There is also a parallel obligation, beyond preserving what is relevant to our own time—that is, preserving what we believe will be significant to future generations. The prospect of stewarding for future generations the material markers of the past, imbued with the cumulative stories and meanings of the past as well as of the present, is the essence of conservation. With wide acknowledgment that culture is a fluid, changeable, evolving set of processes and values and not a static set of things, the conservation of cultural heritage must embrace the inherent flux but not lose sight of this immutable cross-generational responsibility.

The Need for a Conceptual Framework

To recap some of the main issues addressed herein: The conservation of material heritage plays an important role in modern society. The care and collection of heritage objects and places is a universal, cross-cultural phenomenon, part of every social group's imperative to use things, as well as narratives and performances, to support their collective memory. Yet there is little research to support *why* cultural heritage is important to human and social development and *why* conservation is seemingly a vital function in civil society. The benefits of cultural heritage have been taken as a matter of faith.

Recognizing that the "discipline" of conservation is, in fact, a loose amalgam involving the social sciences, the humanities, the hard sciences, and public policy, but one with a limited body of knowledge about its functions and influences within society at large, the field is attempting to develop with greater cohesion and connectedness. To achieve this, the conservation field needs to know a great deal more about the nature of the role of conservation in society—how it is changing, who participates, and so on. At a more empirical level, we need to know how the values of individuals and communities are constructed with regard to cultural heritage, how these values are represented through an assessment of cultural significance, and how the concept of cultural significance can play out more effectively in conservation policy and practice, through better-negotiated decision making.

Broadly, we lack any conceptual or theoretical overviews for modeling or mapping the interplay of economic, cultural, political, and other social contexts in which conservation is situated. Pragmatically, this kind of synthetic overview or framework would make clear how different disciplines can contribute to conservation research. Likewise, it would provide a context for and help to integrate the varied spheres of conservation work, with the ultimate aim of elucidating how conservation can be made more effective in serving society.

What would this framework do? It would model the social impacts and influences of conservation, just as ecological models create an understanding of the natural environment to inform environmental conservation. What would it consist of? A set of theories, documented patterns, and processes that outline how material cultural heritage and its conservation work within modern society. Taking as its starting point the broad perspective of conservation and its varied spheres of activity, the model would, in effect, present a theory for describing (though not predicting) how heritage is created, how heritage is given meaning, how and why it is contested, and how societies shape heritage and are

shaped by it. It would also create typologies of conservation decisions, responses to these decisions, and the different stakeholders that become involved in conservation decisions. The model would outline the variety of generalizable social processes that combine to give heritage relevance and currency in societies—and sometimes create obstacles to such processes. They would likely include collective memory; nationalism; constructing identity through art, design, and visual media; cultural fusion and other ways of effecting and representing cultural change; market dynamics and commodification of culture; policy making; state politics versus local politics; and so on. Most, if not all, of these processes have been theorized and documented on their own, in separate disciplines, but they have not been brought to bear on material heritage conservation with the express purpose of mapping how the "ecology" of heritage conservation works.

The challenge is how to get an analytical handhold on this complex process without being reductionist. No single theory will fully explain the creation of heritage. Indeed, the goal should not be to erect a unitary theory of heritage creation or to argue that visual culture and cultural heritage are produced in one particular way. This is an important point: a theory that heritage and visual culture are produced in one particular way could imply that there is one particular and best way to conserve it or to reach conservation decisions. Research and professional experience tell us otherwise. In reality, there are many pathways connecting social processes and the work of conservation. Despite the reality of cultural relativism, there is nonetheless a recurrence of themes in the process of heritage creation/ conservation that suggests clear patterning that could be revealed through a combination of conceptual and empirical research.

Research by the GCI and its collaborators has identified some fundamental ideas and concepts that would contribute directly to the development of such a framework:

- To assure the relevance of all conservation work to society, the field should continue efforts to integrate and contextualize the varied spheres of cultural heritage conservation.

- As we relate the varied spheres of conservation, we must continually recognize that objects and places are not, in and of themselves, what is important about cultural heritage; they are

important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to these material goods and the values they represent. These meanings, uses, and values must be understood as part of the larger sphere of sociocultural processes.

- Conservation should be framed as a social activity, not only as a technical one, bound up with and shaped by myriad social processes (the subjects of social sciences and humanities), as are all aspects of culture and the visual arts. This framing is critical to enabling the conservation field to realize the goal of supporting a civil society and educating—with a balanced body of knowledge—the next generation of conservation professionals.

- As a social activity, conservation is an enduring process, a means to an end rather than an end in itself. This process is creative and is motivated and underpinned by the values of individuals, institutions, and communities.

- Heritage is valued in myriad and sometimes conflicting ways. These different means of valuing influence negotiations among various stakeholders and thus shape conservation decision making. Conservation, as a field and as a practice, must integrate the assessment of these values (or cultural significance) in its work and more effectively facilitate such negotiations in order for cultural heritage conservation to play a productive role in civil society.

Notes

1. In this instance, as throughout the report, reference is made to the field of conservation as practiced in the Western world, namely Europe and the Americas.

2. Also known as heritage management, cultural resource management, site management, and so on.

3. This comment was made at the 1998 meeting that launched GCI's research on the values and benefits of cultural heritage conservation; it was quoted in an unpublished internal report of the meeting. Other uncited quotes in this section are from the same source.

4. Typologies for values related to cultural heritage have been put forth in publications by Ashworth, de la Torre, Hutter and Rizzo, Kellert, Lipe, Riegl (for full citations, see the Appendix). These works represent a sampling and are by no means a definitive word on the diversity of values.

Exploratory Essays

Overview

The essays collected here were commissioned by the GCI to explore in greater depth some of the important and promising ideas that have been raised in the course of the Values and Benefits project. The essays are exploratory in nature, reminding us that much work remains to be done along these lines. In keeping with the multidisciplinary nature of this research, each writer was asked to develop ideas related to heritage in light of developments and debates in his or her own specialist field—always with an eye toward building bridges between the practice of heritage conservation and its social milieus.

Common Threads

The instigation behind this research, and behind these essays in particular, is cultural change. In what ways does the nature of contemporary culture shape the practice of, and prospects for, heritage conservation? Each essayist acknowledges that cultural change (and changefulness) on a global level is a reality and that the current generation is dealing with a somewhat novel set of social processes and problems. These changes are spurred by economic globalization, the spread of market ideology into ever more areas of life, demographic shifts, technological change, and identity politics—all of which call for a rethinking of the relationships among past, present, and future.

As these essays argue, there is a great deal to suggest (anecdotally, empirically, and theoretically) that in contemporary society material heritage plays an ever-greater role. The quandaries of postmodern society pose direct challenges to the principles and philosophies underlying the conservation field—a theme that gets to the heart of this conservation research and a theme that is taken up specifically by several essayists. Global and local communities will continue to ask more and more from material culture—and heritage in particular—as they negotiate identities, form communities, and seek a more salutary and prosperous future. The extent to which groups at all scales do this cooperatively or competitively is perhaps the greatest cultural and social question of the next century.

This broad insight about contemporary culture—that the conditions of culture and the nature of cultural processes have drastically changed in the last generation—forms the backdrop for the essays that follow. They proceed from a few other basic assumptions and touch on common themes. These include:

- Material heritage serves important functions within contemporary culture and society; thus, heritage conservation is an essential social function.

- Values and valuing processes are paramount to understanding the importance and fate of cultural heritage as it relates to (1) the societies and social groups that construct it and find meaning in it, and (2) the nature of heritage conservation as an activity that must draw on many disciplines and bodies of knowledge.

- Culture is best framed as a process, not as a set of objects; heritage and other cultural expressions are not static artifacts, therefore, but are created and continually recreated by social relationships, processes, and negotiations involving actors from all parts of a society (not just conservation professionals).

- Negotiation and decision-making processes are key to understanding the role heritage plays in society; we need to study and know more about these processes, and in general, wide social participation in these processes is desirable.

Though each essay is written from the perspective of a certain academic discipline, each acknowledges the need to transcend those boundaries.

Common Approaches and Challenges

Each scholar has been challenged to interpret the importance of heritage in contemporary, postmodern society and for the immediate future. Each essay defines heritage and its conservation as phenomena suspended and supported by a web of social processes. For each writer, however, this task raises different issues: for economist David Throsby, the seeming incommensurability of economic and cultural values and the prospects of integrating them conceptually through the ideas of sustainability and cultural capital; for anthropologist Lourdes Arizpe, articulating the importance of universally valued heritage, given cultural change on a global scale; for philosopher Uffe Jensen, the use of heritage as part of the (informal, intrinsic) education of individuals and the search for meaning; for historian and preservationist Daniel Bluestone, the threats of economic culture and the prospects of recovering heritage to forge strong community bonds.

David Lowenthal's essay on the current status of heritage in society and on the stewardship imperative is thought provoking and rich in new ideas. Evaluating present challenges and tensions with impressive clarity, Lowenthal surfaces some of the most difficult issues for the conservation field. In many ways, his analysis speaks to a crisis facing the conservation field. Identifying a general backlash against the efficacy of conservation efforts heretofore, he sees a number of specific problems lying ahead: the abundance and even oversupply of heritage; the increasing use of heritage as a divisive and partisan rallying point; the downsides of professionalization. All of these problems threaten to marginalize the role that heritage conservation plays in society.

Lowenthal offers several ideas for countering the forces that militate against heritage in contemporary society and renewing the positive role that heritage can and does play in society. In general, we need to examine critically our traditional conservation principles and practices. Decentering participation in heritage conservation, so it is not the domain only of experts, is another key to future success—and perhaps the most difficult one, since it requires admitting that we experts do not, in the end, have all the answers. And in one of his more challenging turns of argument, Lowenthal asks that the conservation field embrace destruction as an integral part of the processes by which societies create and steward heritage.

Economist David Throsby maps one of the most important boundaries in this area of conservation research—the lines between economic and cultural discourse on the value of heritage. Arguing that questions of value lie at the heart of heritage creation and conservation, Throsby proceeds to give a concise genealogy of efforts to conceptualize and assess value within the economics field. These theories of economic value are followed by analysis of theories of cultural value generated outside the economic field. Given the multidimensional nature of values pertaining to cultural goods (whether artworks, performances, or material heritage), several kinds of tools are needed to assess them. Throsby's research probes ways in which economic tools fail to capture the range of cultural values and ways that cultural insights can be woven together with (not necessarily traditional) economic analyses. Finally, as an economist, he warns that the question of value measurement (prices, indicators, and so on) must be engaged at some point.

Building on Garret Hardin's classic evocation of "the tragedy of the commons," anthropologist Lourdes Arizpe articulates the need to cultivate and care for a global "cultural commons" centered on heritage. The urgent need for global as well as local heritage stems from the novel, pressing demands of contemporary culture, in which globalization, telematics, migration, marketization, and other forces produce fundamentally new conditions. Echoing one of the main arguments in the Report on Research (above), she describes cultural heritage—and culture itself—as a social process. Culture is a source of bonding and affiliation, as well as of conflict and divisiveness. Arizpe traces how and why these many facets of cultural change, owing to their specific character, demand that new attention be paid to cultural heritage conservation. As culture becomes global (but, paradoxically, no less local), heritage (at both the local and the global scales) becomes more important to creating new senses of cultural belonging. She calls for serious attention to local, "village" commons *and* to instruments of the global commons—namely, the World Heritage List, which represents "the pride of the many."

Education through heritage, philosopher Uffe Jensen argues, is part of the basic flourishing of human life. Education—rational freedom of thought in the classical sense, the truly liberal educa-

tion—is a value of heritage shared even by groups that contest a particular aspect of heritage. This educational ideal implies that heritage represents "something both universal and particular that characterizes human life" and that education is not only conveyed through formal curricula but woven informally into our everyday life as we encounter material heritage.

Jensen shares many of the same points of departure with the other essayists. Heritage is constructed; heritage qualities are not essential to certain objects; heritage objects can embody both universal and particular values. Heritage objects (he uses the example of bodies recovered from Danish bogs and displayed in museums) are a looking glass that reflects the image we hold of ourselves—our values, our beliefs, our understanding of who we are—as products of a common past. As such, cultural heritage transmits an existential quality of human belonging. There is no final truth about what material culture should be preserved, and there is no fixed way to decide; these are matters of continual negotiation. But given the essential, widespread valuing of heritage as a vital aspect of education, the care and interpretation of material heritage is too important and too widely meaningful to be left as the province of experts working alone.

Sociologist Erik Cohen writes about a contemporary social process he terms cultural fusion, in which new cultural products are created by juxtaposing incongruous elements of diverse cultural origin (for instance, traditional Hmong embroidery used to decorate Western consumer products, such as pillow covers). He describes this specific form of cultural production—intimately tied to economic and other social changes—in theoretical terms and in an empirical way, through convincing cases in the spheres of cuisine, craft production, and the arts. Cohen pegs cultural fusion as emblematic of postmodern culture, exemplified by the purposeful cross-cultural fusions of the tourist industries.

Heritage conservation itself is essentially a process of cultural fusion in that it intentionally, often abruptly, juxtaposes cultures of past and present to create new products and experiences. Conserved heritage is often made to contrast, not blend, with its contexts. Like many of the other contributions collected here, Cohen's work brings to the foreground the role of creativity in understanding and shaping heritage in the future.

Urbanist Mona Serageldin focuses on the challenges of preserving vernacular, as opposed to monumental, cultural heritage in the city centers of countries in transition (less-developed countries, former Soviet states, states in transition from socialist to democratic systems). The myriad pressures faced by these cities—spurred by global economic and demographic shifts, sea changes in national politics and nation-states—tend to deteriorate the historic fabric of housing, shops, squares, and streets. One aspect of this development has been that historic architectural fabric is valued increasingly for its use value, while there is widespread ignorance of its cultural values.

These immovable heritage complexes inspired Serageldin to study economic development, social change, and the role of cultural heritage as an interlocking set of imperatives and needs. Given the character of developmental and social pressures on these cities, she sees an ever-greater need for cultural conservation to counter the erosion of community structures. The conservation field, however, is ill equipped to deal with these city centers: conservation tools and ideas formulated in the context of well-developed, stable cities don't translate well to fast-changing, quickly developing cities; also, conservation privileges monumental heritage and shies from the more complex economic and social issues of heritage that compose the workaday context of a community. She highlights the need for new policies and programs that fold conservation into development and social programs and that are based on the alliance of multinationals, governments, and local partners.

Where does heritage come from? Is it made or found? That heritage is made (constructed) has become a commonplace insight in the conservation field and in many of the academic disciplines allied with it. Apart from launching a critique of traditional conservation philosophies based on intrinsic value, this tells us little to guide everyday work. Museum studies scholar Susan Pearce delves into the process by which societies construct heritage—the "heritage-creation process"—in order to specify parts of the process, operating across a wide range of scales, by which specific objects and places are valued as heritage and thus become the subjects of conservation.

In the final essay, historian and preservationist Daniel Bluestone issues a clear and critical challenge to the conservation field. Given the state

of culture and the increasing needs and calls to preserve heritage, we conservation professionals are challenged to revise, rethink, and strengthen our methods as well as our philosophical underpinnings. Research on questions of values (their importance, their multiplicity, conflicts between them), pursued across disciplinary and professional lines, is essential for this task, Bluestone argues. Drawing on discussions and reports from previous GCI research activities, he calls for the conservation field to expand on its traditional expertise in arresting and preventing material decay and to engage an additional task: systematic research on values and other cultural issues, including case studies, with an emphasis on the interpretation of heritage as a focus for the conservation field's work to construct heritage that is meaningful for contemporary society. Like the other essayists whose work is collected here, Bluestone sees the educational values of heritage as perhaps the most promising direction for the future of the conservation field.

Taken together, the essays collected here are rich in ideas that will help those of us in the conservation field (and those who are allied with it) to think about current and future challenges. The traditional, professional practices of heritage conservation remain at the center. This research puts them into broader contexts by illuminating different aspects of the heritage-creation and heritage-valuing processes.

Stewarding the Past in a Perplexing Present

David Lowenthal

Cultural heritage is much in vogue. It is also in serious trouble. The two conditions are conjoined; the salience of cultural heritage as a concept, as a cause, as a generator of cash and kudos aggravates the difficulties it now faces.

Essential for social identity and collective purpose, heritage enriches us through remembered precursors and prospective heirs. But these enduring benefits blind us to a mounting backlash. Age-old aversion toward husbanding the past today grows more virulent. Nature conservation arouses similar hostility, but animus against heritage is harder to counter. Environmentalists can threaten global extinction; heritage advocates warn merely of lower quality of life. To many that seems a lesser, even a negligible, threat.

I begin by noting modern trends antipathetic to heritage stewardship. It is not my aim to deplore these as evils but to understand them as realities with which we must contend. I conclude by offering some ways of fostering our enterprise that take cognizance of and may help counteract pressures opposed to stewardship.

Current Heritage Critiques

Heritage seen as irrelevant to present urgent crises

Many today fear a future they feel is singularly severed from the past. All of a sudden, previous afflictions and cures seem to shed little light on a host of acute problems—genetic, medical, environmental, economic, social, political, psychological. Ecocide, genocide, and specters of global discord are, of course, not novel, but their present salience comes as a shocking setback. Current woes run contrary to longstanding expectations of scientific progress and to social hopes bred by the collapse of totalitarianism. We inherit not bright promises but baleful dilemmas. Heritage offers neither solace for present angst nor guidance to avoiding future perils. Numbed by today's inexplicable miseries and by tomorrow's incalculable risks, many discount past wisdom as irrelevant and dismiss heritage as an extravagant, regressive frill.

Heritage felt more as a burden than as a benefit

The past prized by manifold inheritors is ever more complex, multivalent, and voluminous. Hardly any shard of artifact or shred of memory is not cherished by some heir; scarcely nothing can be discarded without outraging some presumed legatee. Like jealous siblings, we all squabble over heirlooms, however trifling.

Stewardship so all-embracing drains both material resources and mental and moral effort. Heritage becomes too protean to be properly understood, let alone classified and cared for. It overflows archives and museum storerooms, overwhelms visitors to historic and commemorative sites, exhausts the coffers of agencies charged with its management and conservation.

More and more, heritage has become distressing in character, shaming rather than laudatory, lamentable rather than lovable—what ancient Romans termed *heritas damnosa,* a damnable, crippling legacy heirs were stuck with, like it or not. Heritage now is often laden with sorrow and guilt. The past still awakens pride in origins and precursors, but victimhood occupies center stage. It is often said that history belongs to the victors; heritage is now the special province of the victims. German amends for the Holocaust lead to English apologies for the Irish famine, u.s. regrets for African slavery, global mea culpas for ever-remoter pasts. In Lebanon, Christian penitents ask pardon for the Crusades—a contrition seconded by the Vatican. Heritage regrets are attributed even to the Creator: on the eighth day, God viewed aghast all He had made—and gave the world moth and rust.

Heritage dismays as a cause of partisan strife

The more a heritage is valued, the more its possession and meaning are disputed. Tokens of symbolic

worth are increasingly contested by rival claimants. As differing ways of defining, husbanding, and offering access to heritage seem impossible to reconcile, heritage becomes a byword for acrimony and strife. Agonizing dilemmas over restitution and retention lead combatants to abandon the moral high ground for the swamps of force majeure. The shenanigans of the art and antiquities market, the problematics of aboriginal and tribal legacies, furore over how to remember—or to forget—Vietnam and Hiroshima make heritage a minefield for policy makers, no less than for curators and conservators. No wonder some profess to shun it altogether.

Heritage seen as sufficiently husbanded by professionals

Elite and academic concerns spur widespread heritage consciousness. They also engender high expectations of quality conservation. A dilemma ensues: stewardship becomes an enterprise of technical expertise; the general public, devoid of professional competence, stands aside. Looked after by experts, the heritage seems to demand public acquiescence, not active involvement. In actuality, conservation needs everywhere outrun stewardship resources. But this is rarely perceived, even by a public deluged with media accounts of heritage looting and banditry, neglect, and devastation in lands afflicted by poverty, war, or amnesia. A complacent public sees no need to become actively involved.

Stewardship goals smudged by self-interest

At the same time, the public grows increasingly disillusioned with professional ethics. Incessant heritage conflict generates public perceptions that discredit combatants and their causes alike. Cynics see tribal and aboriginal heritage crusades as partisan ploys to aggrandize power and profits. Museum curators and archaeologists are traduced as elitist and covetous, their lofty aims of greater benefit to their own careers than to the heritage of the general public. Holier-than-thou professional stances exacerbate antipathies. Two decades ago, the academic specialist was perceived as purely selfless. No more (Zimmerman 1998). Tomb robbers retort that "artifacts represent money and power to archaeologists and art historians. That is how they make their upper-class living." Well-heeled collectors join in execrating "archaeologists [who] argue that every shard is a buried treasure and ought to remain in the ground as a nonrenewable resource until it is

discovered—but only by them" (Matsuda 1998:93; Marks 1998:123).

Political leaders and publishers assail scholars for undermining heritage pride. In the conflict over the Smithsonian's *Enola Gay* exhibit, members of congress accused historians of trying to impose their slanted version of the past on patriotic Americans to whom that legacy rightfully belonged (Harwit 1996).

Any defense of heritage is now a potential target of suspicion, fair game to be denigrated as self-seeking or deluded. Whether stewardship is urged by national authorities, mainstream troglodytes, tribal activists, ethnic cleansers, or victimized losers, heritage risks being traduced as backward looking, corrupt, or evil, if in conflict with someone else's viewpoint.

Scientific stewardship exposed as counterproductive

That heritage conservation may do more harm than good, despite or even because of technical expertise, arouses growing concern. Exposés of damage done by depatinating paintings, restoring frescoes, and cleaning the Elgin Marbles highlight faulty science and misguided zeal. Suspicions are not allayed when authorities express aggressive certitude in restoration at any cost. Awareness mounts that once-sacrosanct conservation tenets are impossible to realize. And more and more preservation seems undertaken out of habit or pride or, even worse, because backed by the producer of some untested cleansing agent (Beck and Daley 1996).

Conservation, however careful, may destroy evidence vital to site or artifactual provenance or add taints that subvert authenticity or ambience. Dirt may in fact be an invaluable signature whose removal makes a piece untraceable, "the final stage in the laundering process which transforms looted antiquities into art commodities" (Elia 1995). Dirty, corroded, and broken objects that emerge from conservation labs clean, shiny, and whole encourage looting and faking, by enhancing the value of related antiquities.

The complaints discussed above reinforce an increasingly widespread feeling that heritage stewardship has gone too far. It is criticized for cloaking unsavory practices, for disempowering the lay public, and for failing to address urgent current issues. Though by no means unjustified, these suspicions are commonly exaggerated. And in rendering stewardship suspect, they endanger the entire heritage

enterprise. How should they be countered? Such plaints cannot be addressed by ignoring or traducing them, but only by acknowledging their salience and seeking ways to repair the serious flaws they reveal in stewardship tenets and conservation practices.

Renewing Heritage Approaches

Let me commend a few paths to heritage steward-ship that seem to me consonant with contemporary views of property and possession, nature and human nature.

Accepting flux as inevitable

Time-honored goals of eternity, stability, and perma-nence are nowadays increasingly discarded as unreachable. Cultural guardians who once hoped to husband heritage for all time, like ecologists who envisaged a timeless, changeless nature, are learning to accept that things are in perpetual flux. Just as the stable climax beloved of nature conservers gave way to fragile and temporary equilibria punctuated by episodic perturbations, so are cultural stewards now conscious that no human creation endures forever, that the decay of site and city, artifact and work of art can only be retarded, never prevented. Chemical decomposition, physical disintegration, shifting environmental ambience, perceptual awareness, and symbolic import ceaselessly alter all heritage.

The Getty Conservation Institute's March 1998 conference "Mortality Immortality? The Legacy of 20th-Century Art" showed how necessary—and how hard—it is to come to terms with imperma-nence. Some participants realized that "nothing is sacred, little is safe," reiterating Etienne Gilson's dic-tum that all paintings perish; they found "no alterna-tive to our acceptance of mortality." Yet others noted that "conservation practice still seeks to preserve all vestiges of original material" and that "collective belief in the sense of permanence" left museum curators dismayed about accessioning art not meant to last forever. "To know that everything is changing, is in some way dying," as Ann Temkin put it, is not yet widely welcomed. But that insight can help us when we are also aware that heritage means "we go on creating."[1] Marks of age and decay integral to every object need to be seen not just as losses but as gains. Esteeming evanescence can make us wiser and more caring stewards (Lowenthal 1994).

Recognizing that reversion is impossible

Conservators long preached that nothing should be done that could not be undone, that each valued artifact was entitled to be returned to its previous or "original" condition. "Every method must be reversible," exhorted cultural stewards (Keck 1983). And connoisseurs time and again inveighed against irreversible damage to material and quality done in the name of conservation—Ruskin and Morris vis-à-vis church restoration, defenders of varnish on old master paintings, recent anguish over the fabric of the Sistine Chapel or of Pompeii. Like those who sought to protect divine nature, stewards of sacred cultural relics embargoed any impact unless it could certainly be reversed.

This stance, like Mircea Eliade's myth of the eternal return, is more and more seen to be quixoti-cally unrealistic. The erosions and accretions of memory and history implacably alter every physical object no less than they do each sentient being. All acts, individual and collective, are biologically and historically irreversible (Cramer 1994). However piv-otal or prosaic, heroic or horrific, no deeds can be undone. In most of our affairs, we are resigned to seeing life as a one-way stream. W. W. Jacobs's (1994) cautionary tale "The Monkey's Paw" (written in 1902) limns the futility of yearning, like Shakespeare's Richard II, to "call back yesterday, bid time return." Only diehard conservers continue to dream that nature fully restored or art impeccably preserved might rest exempt from time's arrow.

Within recent decades, practitioners aware that "no treatment is fully reversible have begun to question the whole idea of reversibility"—now shown up as a myth some conservers use to justify their own interventions (Sease 1998:104, 113). In shed-ding claims to omniscience and omnipotence, in admitting that their stewardship can be only partial and temporary, heritage managers gain both self-confidence and public credence. It is not a sign of despair but a mark of maturity to realize that we hand down not some eternal stock of artifacts and sites but, rather, an ever-changing array of evanes-cent relics.

Our successors are better served by inheriting from us not a bundle of canonical artifacts but mem-ories of traditional creative skills, institutions in good working order, and habits of resilience in cop-ing with the vicissitudes of existence.

Seeing destruction as integral to heritage

Codes of conduct enjoined on Western archaeologists, art historians, and other conservators stress the integrity of the object. No collector's greed, scholarly zeal, conquerer's hubris, or market force should take precedence over the intact survival of the precious artifact.

In my view, this priority is futile and mistaken. It fetishizes objects, endowing them with quasi-human, if not divine, sanctity. And it flies in the face both of physical mortality and of alternative norms. Cultural heritage involves replacement as well as retention. Destruction is not simply an atavistic or aberrant kind of pathological behavior to be outgrown; it is deeply embedded in human nature and society, part and parcel of economic and creative life.

Heritage suffers most conspicuous damage in time of war. The world weeps at the burning of Sarajevo's library, the bombing of Mostar's bridge. Global codes would prohibit the looting and sacking of combatants' heritage. They are all in vain. Heritage is destroyed and uprooted precisely *because* it shores up enemy will and self-regard. National and tribal iconoclasts will always transgress global preservation canons.

We are all iconoclasts, and not merely when at war. Heritage is ever jettisoned, whether because it is felt to outlive a present purpose, or to facilitate social transactions, or to engender new creations. "Everything for ceremonial, religious, and ritual purposes that my culture makes," says a Zuni spokesman, "is meant to disintegrate . . . to go back into the ground. Conservation is a disservice to my culture."[2]

As Zunis and Aborigines gain doctorates and become museum curators, archaeologists fondly hope such tribal views may give way to Western appreciation of artifacts' information content and aesthetic value. But these views are hardly less pervasive, if less confessed, in mainstream Western society, where disposability rules in building sites as in supermarkets. So pervasive is the urge to replace that New York City planners recently boasted of tearing down the most monumental old buildings in the world to make way for new ones. Instant evanescence is the stock-in-trade of producers and consumers geared to ever-speedier obsolescence, even of heritage. Princess Diana memorabilia of 1997 was scuttled for 1998's shipwrecked Titanic tat.

**Seeing pride in mixture as
the mark of a healthy heritage**

We mainly value heritage as our own, not anyone else's—and not *like* anyone else's. Lauding our unique legacy, we strive to protect it from contaminants. Old-timers traditionally define themselves by opposition to outlandish newcomers; against alien incursion, the old guard seeks to congeal ancestral purity. But purity is a delusion. Heritage is always mongrel and amalgamated.

Anglo-Saxon Americans first supposed Scots unassimilable, then Germans, then Irish, Slavs, and Jews—now Hispanics and Asians. But these and other aliens ever breach the gate; the treasured heritage is theirs as well as ours and is more nourishing for their additions; indeed, "they" are "us," self-declared Anglo-Saxons like Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley in 1898. "Th' name iv Dooley has been th' proudest name in th' county Roscommon f'r many years"; so too the French and Dago Anglo-Saxons. "Th' Bohemian an' Pole Anglo-Saxons may be a little slow in wakin' up to . . . our common hurtage," but when "th' Afro-Americans an' th' other Anglo-Saxons . . . raise their Anglo-Saxon battle-cry, it'll be all day with th' eight or nine people in th' wurruld that has th' misfortune iv not bein' brought up Anglo-Saxons" (Dunne 1898:55–56).

Heritage stewards exclude outsiders at their peril and to their own detriment. All cultures are motley compages, ever amalgamating reworked fragments of manifold antecedents. None, mainstream or minority, is immune from such infection. The distinctive African-American musical style embodies Biblical and plantation antecedents, European symphonic, White Mountain, and church music (Levine 1996:140, 151–3).

The West Indian Nobel laureate Derek Walcott lauds the process of bricolage that commingled Caribbean legacies once derided as broken. "Break a vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole. It is such a love that reassembles our African and Asiatic fragments, the cracked heirloom whose restoration shows its white scars. This shipwreck of fragments, these echoes, these shards of a huge tribal vocabulary, these partially remembered customs" are living traditions in polyglot Afro-Indo-Euro-American cities like Port of Spain (Walcott 1993:9).

Exclusivity is crucial to identity—and to cherished difference. We must cosset our own heritage,

or we cease to be ourselves. But we can never keep ourselves to ourselves, hold the outside world at bay. No heritage was ever purely native or wholly endemic; today's are utterly scrambled. Purity is a chimera; we are all creoles. Heritage health lies in accepting the medley as a creative advance over what purists would uphold.

The stewarding of heritage by outsiders in tandem with natives

Essentialism is a potent delusion. Each group claims its "own" history and heritage; each insists that only a Native American can know what it was to have been Indian, only an African American to have been black, only a woman to have been female. These mystiques of ancestry determine how legacies are divided, whose histories are privileged, how and to whom heritage is displayed. This may seem politic, but it is all wrong—wrong because we are all mixed, as I have just noted, wrong because collective ancestral pasts cannot actually be possessed. To say, "My ancestors, the Gauls," or "my forebears, the Athenians," or "my people, the Africans," makes a statement not about them but about us; these Gauls, Athenians, Africans are not actual progenitors but emblems of everyone's ancestry.

Ourselves heirs of commingled legacies, we gain more from attachment to many pasts than from exclusive devotion to our "own"—assuming we could indeed decide which past was truly just ours. Not only is no past exclusively ours, no past people are enough like ourselves to justify essentialist claims to a particular history. All pasts are foreign: my grandparents' American world seems to me in many ways more remote than does a contemporary village in Bali or Bengal. Rather than sharing exclusively tribal secrets, our cosmopolite ancestors have things to say to all our cosmopolite selves, never just to some of us.

Moreover, demands for exclusive rights to possession, interpretation, and sustenance are fatal to heritage stewardship. Fractious claimants do not merely debase the value but threaten the survival of heritage that is never theirs alone. Unesco's World Heritage listings suggest the growing importance of outside appreciation, outside concern, outside aid in saving endangered national legacies from banditry, anarchy, and heedless development.

To be sure, global awareness also burdens the fabric and imperils the ambience of heritage. But without heritage tourism, many sites and arti-facts would be less able to fend off development and other pressures. If global renown is inevitable, it must be made desirable. A legacy locked away as mine alone, for fear that others will steal or desecrate or copy it, is tarnished by custodial aloofness. Where outsiders are taught to respect what is local, custodial pride can enhance and help to steward a heritage. Visitors to Ayers Rock, Uluru National Park, Australia, are asked not to climb what Aborigines hold sacred (they are not forbidden); few tourists transgress. Heritage management gains by persuasive inclusion.

Stewards should note how sharing heritage can strengthen it. A few years ago the Methodist chapel where Margaret Thatcher's father once preached was dismantled and shipped from Leicestershire to Kansas. English planning officials were at first aghast. But in England the abandoned chapel was moldering; Kansans restored it to living eloquence. A stained-glass window above the vestibule carries its founder's verse commemorating his daughter:

> *For thou must share if thou wouldst keep*
> *That good thing from above*
> *Ceasing to share we cease to have*
> *Such is the law of love.* (Bone 1996)

A statecraft for sharing calls for love as well as law.

Caring for the past while actively embracing the present

A heritage disjoined from ongoing life cannot enlist popular support. To adore the past is not enough; good caretaking involves continual creation. Heritage is ever revitalized; our legacy is not simply original but includes our forebears' alterations and additions. We treasure that heritage in our own protective *and* transformative fashion, handing it down reshaped in the faith that our heirs will also become creative as well as retentive stewards.

For all its evident benefits, stewardship is not innate but learned; it has to be induced and protected. In modern postindustrial society, stewardship confronts many countervailing pressures. Immediate needs, increasing mobility, responses to urgent crises, corporate unaccountability, the fraying of community ties, the very demands of the democratic process all impose a tyranny of the present that throttles impulses to steward. Deafened by demands to act right now, we lose sight of society's longer-term needs.

Regard for the future is inculcated, above all, by active concern for legacies we do not simply save but refashion. To be valued enough to care for, a heritage must feel truly our own—not something to dispose of as a commodity but integral to our lives. Like our forebears and our heirs, we make it our own by adding to it our own stamp, now creative, now corrosive. Heritage is never merely conserved or protected; it is modified—both enhanced and degraded—by each new generation.

Yet because heritage also requires acts intended to outlast our individual selves, such actions deserve extra effort. Efforts focused on future benefits help us form the habit of lauding, not lamenting, our own creative contributions. When we are keen to praise, we are more apt to take heritage action that we and our successors feel worthy of praise.

Not leaving stewardship to the experts

Heritage atrophies in the absence of public support. Only when it is populist has it vital merit, as distinct from merely mercenary value or arcane antiquarianism. Where heritage is defined and run by a small elite, where too few feel a symbolic stake in it, stewardship remains precarious, beset by conflict, fragmented by rivalry. Wholesale demolition and antiquities looting in Guatemala and Mexico, Turkey and Lebanon reflect not just disparity between prehistoric abundance and current poverty but general public disaffection as well. Legally nationalized, heritage in these lands nonetheless evaporates, because it enlists few participants save for pecuniary gain.

It is essential to breach the walls that divide academe from active life. Effective stewardship demands engagement in the hurly-burly of everyday life, general familiarity with all the processes that make and shape us. Only so armed can we wisely accept or reject, control, and dispose of what we inherit. To become "players, not spectators," in Senator Sam Nunn's phrase, we should remember that "citizenship begins with commitment rather than expertise."[3] It helps to realize that so-called heritage experts are no better equipped than the rest of us—they too are irrational, defensive, and culture bound. The great amateur majority can thereby gain enough confidence to review the work of the recondite specialists in, say, theological exegesis and thermoluminescence needed to gauge the multiple legacies of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Such matters remain socially barren and culturally useless unless shared by the wider community.

The insights I have offered may not lend themselves to instant action. But heeding them may help disarm mounting criticism of timeworn heritage certitudes—the transcendent worth of artifacts and art objects, monuments and memorials, relics, and reverence for dead pasts. Stewardship ought not to succumb to populist or postmodern angst. But it must engage with current views that now accord material remnants and fragments, skills, and collective memories a more nuanced and problematic status in myriad heritages.

Coda: Fantasy and Reality

Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* limns three common modes of engaging the past. The city of Clarice undergoes epochs of successive memory and oblivion. It episodically decays and burgeons, going from squalor to splendor and again to squalor. Survivors of ruin "collect everything and put it in another place to serve a different use: brocade curtains end up as sheets; in marble funerary urns they plant basil; wrought-iron gratings are torn from the harem windows to roast cat meat on fires of inlaid wood." In more joyous times, "from the beggared chrysalis a sumptuous butterfly emerges," whose new settlers treasure "shards of the original splendor, now preserved under glass bells, locked in display cases, set on velvet cushions." A Corinthian capital that "for many years, in a chicken run, supported the basket where the hens laid their eggs" is moved "to the Museum of Capitals." But none are sure of the order of succession. "Perhaps the capitals were in the chicken runs before they were in the temples, the marble urns planted with basil before they were filled with dead bones" (Calvino 1994:106–8). So do we all recycle relics, now for prosaic present use, now for showy but delusive commemoration.

Amnesiac Claricians differ from those in Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in two respects. They ever remake their city through remnants, but lacking records, they know nothing of its history. By contrast, García Márquez's Macondones stave off oblivion with a memory machine, a spinning dictionary that each morning reviews the sum of acquired knowledge. They also mark the names of things and beings: table, chair, clock, door, wall, bed; goat, cow, pig, hen; cassava,

banana. When no one remembers what they are used for, signs explain: "'This is the cow. She must be milked every morning . . .' But the system demands so much vigilance that many prefer the imaginary past read in tarot cards, a mother remembered as the dark woman who wore a gold ring on her left hand, and a birthdate as the last Tuesday on which a lark sang in the laurel tree" (García Márquez 1972:46–50).

Our usual human condition combines Macondo with Clarice. Epochs of archaist restoration and prosaic utility, imperfectly recorded, are fitfully remembered. But archives are ever at risk of arson and erasure, or else utterly impenetrable, like Jorge Luis Borges's labyrinthine library of Babel (Borges 1970:78–86). So we abandon hope of retrieving the actual past, instead seeking solace in chimeras.

Nostalgia for what has been or what might have been is a second mode of retrieval. Some yearn for ancient origins, others for recent eras, even for their own childhood. Calvino's Maurilia invites one "to visit the prosperous and magnificent city and, at the same time, to examine some old postcards that show it as it used to be: a bandstand in the place of the overpass, two young ladies with white parasols in the place of the munitions factory." The traveler "must praise the postcard city and prefer it to the present one" yet not forget that only modern eyes relish the old provincial grace (Calvino 1994:30).

We all tend to exploit beloved memory; those before us are not privy to our vision yet we anachronize what they built. But our interventions require ever more maintenance. To paraphrase Boswell's Johnson, a man who is tired of London must be tired of scaffolding. As on Big Ben, so on the Washington Monument and on Paris's Notre Dame, a carapace of fervent care adorns every heritage site. And like Calvino's Thekla, our stewarded past suffers ceaseless renewal. Stewards actuate Calvino's fear that "once the scaffoldings are removed, the city may begin to crumble and fall to pieces" (Calvino 1994:127).

A third mode stewards heritage by careful alteration. In Calvino's Andria, "every street follows a planet's orbit; buildings and places of community life repeat the order of the constellations and the position of the most luminous stars." The calendric map of urban functions mirrors the firmament, city reflecting sky. But Andrians are not passive; a new river port, a statue of Thales, a toboggan slide ever fructify the city's astral rhythm, "any change in Andria involving some novelty among the stars—the explosion of a nova, the expansion of a nebula, a bend in the Milky Way." Shaping their deeds on the sky, Andrians also shift the sky in their own image. Their virtues are self-confidence and prudence. Since every urban innovation impacts the firmament, "before taking any decision they calculate the risks and advantages for themselves and for the city and for all worlds" (Calvino 1994:150–51).

Self-confidence can move mountains; prudence shows how to move them in the right way, to the right place, in protective harmony. No amount of care ensures the salvage of our heritage, astral or terrestrial. But prudent confidence guides us—at once innovators and stewards—in ever realigning heaven and earth.

Notes

1. Helen Escobedo, James Coddington, Thomas M. Messer, David A. Scott et al., and Ann Temkin, quoted in *Conservation, The GCI Newsletter* 32 (1998), no. 2:6, 13, 15; full statements in Corzo 1999.

2. Edmund Ladd, 1992, quoted in Sease 1998, p. 106.

3. David S. Broder, Civics lessons for Americans: Go out and get involved, *International Herald Tribune,* 29 June 1998, quoting National Commission on Civic Renewal, *A Nation of Spectators* (Pew Charitable Trusts), and National Issues Forum, *Governing America: Our Choices, Our Challenge* (Kettering Foundation).

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Economic and Cultural Value
in the Work of Creative Artists

David Throsby

*I am sorry to say that artists will always be suffi-
ciently jealous of one another, whether you pay
them large or low prices; and as for stimulus to
exertion, believe me, no good work in this world
was ever done for money, nor while the slightest
thought of money affected the painter's mind.
Whatever idea of pecuniary value enters into his
thoughts as he works, will, in proportion to the
distinctness of its presence, shorten his power. A
real painter will work for you exquisitely, if you
give him . . . bread and water and salt; and a bad
painter will work badly and hastily, though you
give him a palace to live in, and a princedom to
live upon. . . . And I say this, not because I despise
the greater painter, but because I honour him;
and I should no more think of adding to his
respectability or happiness by giving him riches,
than, if Shakespeare or Milton were alive, I
should think we added to* their *respectability, or
were likely to get better work from them, by mak-
ing them millionaires.*

John Ruskin,
The Political Economy of Art, 1857.

Over the last ten years or so, a considerable volume
of research has accumulated on the economic cir-
cumstances of individual creative artists. This work,
which spans a number of countries, has shown that
artists' behavior is influenced significantly by their
economic circumstances and that they respond to
economic incentives in ways that are broadly consis-
tent with economic theory (Wassall and Alper 1992;
Throsby 1992; Towse 1993; Jeffri and Greenblatt 1998;
Heikkinen and Koskinen 1998). At the same time,
there are a number of respects in which artists'
actions appear contrary to the predictions of con-
ventional economic models, and these peculiar char-
acteristics require a recasting of those models. One
observation of artists' behavior shows that—unlike
the vast majority of workers—artists generally pre-
fer more (arts) work time to less, and to the extent
that this is true, it requires a reformulation of con-
ventional labor supply models (Throsby 1994). In a
broad sense, much of what artists do in their day-to-
day work—the choices they make, the lines of devel-
opment they pursue—have nothing whatsoever to
do with economics, and these choices may even pre-
sent difficulties of interpretation within any sort of
rational decision-making framework.

Nevertheless, in examining the uses and limi-
tations of economic modeling for representing the
processes of market exchange for cultural goods and
services in general, and the production of artworks
by artists in particular, it is important that the eco-
nomic analyst try to comprehend how "economic"
and "cultural" variables can be defined, as well as
how they interact. Indeed, the very definition of
"cultural goods"—with its implication that such
goods stand apart in some way from ordinary eco-
nomic goods—requires engagement with the con-
cepts and content of culture itself.

This paper intends to argue that questions
of value lie at the heart of this matter. Ever since the
very beginning of economic thought, it has been
recognized that, in some fundamental sense, value is
the origin of economic behavior. Similarly, in a long
history of thought about the nature of culture—
whether in philosophy, aesthetics, anthropology,
sociology, art history, literary criticism, cultural
studies, or elsewhere—ideas of cultural value have
continually been present as a motivating and animat-
ing force. It seems, then, that it might be useful to
speculate more directly about the relationship
between economic and cultural value in the demand
for and supply of cultural commodities. Such a proj-
ect is too broad to be encompassed in a single paper;
I will therefore concentrate primarily on this issue as
it relates to the work of creative artists. I begin by
reviewing the development of theories of value in
economics and, in a more cursory manner, theories
of cultural value, and I consider the ways in which
these theories have been applied in defining and
valuing cultural goods and services. I then suggest
means for conceptualizing the production and con-

sumption of such commodities, based on a specification of economic and cultural value.

Theories of Value and Their Application to Cultural Goods

The impetus for the functioning of an economic system can be said to originate from the value that economic agents place on the goods and services they produce and consume. It is not surprising, then, that theories of value have been fundamental to economic inquiry for more than two centuries. As is well known, Adam Smith recognized the distinction between value in use and value in exchange—though the classical approach to value in fact predates Smith, being discernible in the earlier writings of such scholars as John Locke, William Petty, and others (Aspromourgos 1996). For the classical political economists of the nineteenth century, and especially for Marx, the analysis of exchange value started from the socioeconomic conditions that shaped the class relations of society and led to ideas of value as being inherent in objects and determined by the costs of factors of production used up in their manufacture. Thus, for example, the labor theories of value of Smith and Ricardo propose essentially that an object takes on an objective or substantive value as a result of, and in proportion to, the labor devoted to making it.

The marginalist revolution of the late nineteenth century replaced cost-of-production theories with a model of economic behavior built on individual utilities. Carl Menger, William Stanley Jevons, and others saw individuals and their preferences as the "ultimate atoms" of the exchange process and of market behavior (Dobb 1973:33). They explained exchange value in terms of preference patterns of consumers toward commodities that were capable of satisfying individual wants. From these origins sprang the utility theory which underlies the theory of consumer behavior in modern economics. Individuals are assumed to possess well-behaved preference orderings over commodities, such that they can state unambiguously that they prefer a given quantity of this good over a given quantity of that (or that they are indifferent between the two). Under plausible assumptions as to the nature of these preference orderings—including an assumption that marginal utility diminishes as consumption of a good increases—a theory of demand can be derived that is empirically testable in its own right

and that can be placed alongside a theory of supply to provide a model for price determination in competitive markets. No questions need be asked of people as to the reasons for their preference orderings. The origins of desire—whether they be biological, psychological, cultural, spiritual, or whatever—are of no consequence; all that is required is that preference rankings can be specified in an orderly way.

Despite the self-satisfaction that many economists feel at having arrived at a theory of value that they regard as complete in terms of its universality and elegance, marginal utility analysis has been widely criticized. For our purposes, the most important line of attack has been the argument that value is a socially constructed phenomenon and that the determination of value and hence of prices cannot be isolated from the social context in which these processes occur (Heilbroner 1988; Mirowski 1990; Clark 1995). The elaboration of a social theory of value is associated with economists such as Thorstein Veblen, John R. Commons, and others of the "old" institutionalist school, though the lineage extends further back, to John Bates Clark in the late nineteenth century, and earlier. Criticism of the marginal utility theory of value is directed at the proposition that consumers can formulate orderly preferences based solely on their individual needs, uninfluenced by the institutional environment and the social interactions and processes that govern and regulate exchange. As such, the criticism can be seen as a component of a broader critique of neoclassical economics generally, arising from a number of radical and heterodox positions.

Notwithstanding these critical assaults, neoclassical utility theory has been widely used by cultural economists to explain the formulation of value and price for cultural goods and services within the economic system.[1] We can examine this process of value formation both for private cultural goods, such as tangible art objects, and for public cultural goods, such as the benefits a community might enjoy from the existence of a theater or an art gallery.

Turning first to private goods, we can readily measure what consumers are prepared to give up in order to acquire such goods, and we can construct demand functions for these goods which look much like demand functions for any other commodity. When these demand functions are set alongside supply functions reflecting the marginal costs incurred in producing the goods, a private market might be

seen to reach equilibrium, transforming value into price. However, these processes scarcely conform to the model of a competitive market which ensures the Pareto optimality of equilibrium prices and quantities. On the demand side, the simple, timeless, utility-maximizing consumer with given tastes is replaced in cultural markets by an individual in whom taste is cumulative and hence time dependent. On the supply side, producers are not profit maximizers and indeed may be influenced only remotely by price in making supply decisions. Furthermore, there are likely to be significant externalities. We might conclude, therefore, that price will be only a limited measure of the economic value of tangible cultural goods and services in private market outcomes.

In the case of public goods, again, empirical observation of economic value formation is possible. For example, we can measure consumers' willingness to pay for given quantities of the good, using techniques such as contingent valuation. These estimates can be aggregated across consumers to reach a total demand price that can be compared with the costs of providing various levels of the good in order to determine whether or not supply is warranted and, if so, how much. Again, however, the resulting measure of the value of the good may not necessarily be a reasonable estimate of its true economic value—this time principally because of problems inherent in the contingent valuation methodology.

Moreover, the above considerations must be taken one step further. In most cases, cultural commodities occur as mixed goods, possessing both private-good and public-good characteristics. In such circumstances, the difficulties in arriving at an economic value of the good within the theoretical confines of the neoclassical economic paradigm are compounded. Nevertheless, it has been widely accepted that the economic value of cultural goods and services may, at least in broad terms, be determined by the means described above.

Theories of Cultural Value

It might be thought that the measurement of the value of cultural goods using the sort of economic analysis discussed above could provide a direct evaluation of cultural as well as of economic value. Since the theory makes no assumptions about the source of an individual's preferences, they may just as well arise from a person's internal processes of cultural appraisal, influenced by whatever cultural criteria or norms are regarded as important from the external environment, and assessed according to some consistent cultural value scale. The argument would then run that, if this individual ranks object A more highly in cultural terms than object B, she will be prepared to pay more for object A than for object B, other things being equal. The differential in demand prices could thus be interpreted as a measure of difference in cultural value. In this section, we consider briefly the development of theories of cultural value, in order to assess the validity of this argument.

The origins of value within a cultural discourse lie in the irreducible principle that value represents positive characteristics rather than negative ones, an orientation to what is better rather than to what is worse. It can be aligned with the pleasure principle as a guide to human choices. But a contrast may be drawn between the inculcation of value through a drive to hedonism and a moralistic position that measures the value of culture by exchanging it for some other currency such as "good" or "truth" or "justice" (Connor 1992a). Regardless of the starting point, however, the essential distinction to be drawn here is that between an absolute and a relative view of cultural value formation.

A long tradition in cultural thought, through to cultural modernism, sees the true value of a work of art, for example, as lying in intrinsic qualities of aesthetic, artistic, or broader cultural worth that it possesses. Such a humanist view of cultural value emphases universal, transcendental, objective, and unconditional characteristics of culture and of cultural objects (Etlin 1996). Judgments will differ among individuals, of course, although there may be sufficient consensus on the essential cultural worth of certain items to warrant their elevation into the cultural canon. The assertion of absolute cultural value can be seen as congruent with the ideas of intrinsic or natural value put forward, in a different context, by the classical political economists.

In the postmodern period of the last two or three decades, powerful new methodologies from sociology, linguistics, psychoanalysis, and elsewhere have challenged and displaced the traditional ideals that harmony and regularity are at the core of value, situating these ideas in an expanded, shifting, and heterogeneous interpretation of value in which relativism replaces absolutism (Regan 1992; Storey 1993). Yet it can be suggested that postmodernism, while focusing attention on an expanded view of value,

does not say much about value itself (Connor 1992b:14). Because of the uncertainties thus introduced, many writers today refer to a "crisis of value" in contemporary cultural theory.

Whatever the perspective, however, two observations can be made. First, it is clear that value is multidimensional. So it may be possible to describe an artwork, for example, as providing a range of cultural value characteristics, including:

- aesthetic value: beauty, harmony;

- spiritual value: understanding, enlightenment, insight;

- social value: connection with others, a sense of identity;

- historical value: connection with the past;

- symbolic value: a repository or conveyor of meaning.

Such a range of criteria may be proposed, whether the scales for assessing them are fixed or movable, objective or subjective. Hence, whether the guiding principle is absolute or relative, it would seem that some progress can be made in identifying the broad sweep of the concept of cultural value by disaggregating it in this way, although the problems of evaluation within any single component remain.

Second, a consequence of this multidimensionality is to expose the futility of attempting to reduce cultural value to a single economic measure, as proposed above. It may well be that individual choices within any one of the single value constructs itemized above, or in relation to any other characteristic that might be suggested, might follow some orderly process. But preferences so derived remain conditional upon the value scales used; more importantly, the suggestion that these disparate cultural judgments can be converted to a common denominator expressed in such materialistic terms as the object's price cannot be sustained. As McGuigan notes:

> The notion that a cultural product is as valuable as its price in the marketplace, determined by the choices of the "sovereign consumer" and by the laws of supply and demand, is currently a prevalent notion of cultural value and maybe the most prevalent one, albeit deeply flawed. Its fundamental flaw is the reduction of all value, which is so manifestly various and contestable, to a one-

> dimensional and economistic logic, the logic of "the free market." (McGuigan 1996:31)

These considerations suggest that notions of economic and cultural value must be separated when the valuation of cultural goods and services in the economy and in society is considered. The next section discusses this prospect in the context of the work of artists.

Economic and Cultural Value in the Production of Artistic Goods

Consider an artist who creates an artistic work. It may be a novel, a poem, a musical work, a painting, a sculpture, an installation, a video, a performance. The work exists in an embodied form (as in the case of a painting) or as property rights (as in the case of a piece of music). The work itself, or the rights to it, can be traded. The work can be copyrighted in order to seal its physical or economic worth and to enable its owner (the artist or a subsequent purchaser of the property rights) to capture its economic value. Through market exchange the work will acquire a price, reflecting this economic value.

Simultaneously, the work exists as an idea[2] that can also be exchanged. The idea cannot be copyrighted. The idea generated by the work is exchanged by a continuous process, and in due course, the idea has many owners (although there was only one originator). In this process of exchange, consumers of the idea determine their individual valuation. Since the idea is a pure public good, the aggregation of individual valuations can be thought of as comprising the total valuation of the idea within the sphere of its circulation. This aggregate could be thought of as the cultural value of the idea and hence of the work. Because of the continuous circulation of the idea, individual valuations (and hence the aggregate value) may change over time, and it may take a long time for an "equilibrium" cultural value of a work to be established. Even then, it may not be stable over time.

The essence of these propositions is that there exists both a physical market for artworks and a parallel marketplace for the ideas that are a necessary attribute or product of those works. The physical market determines the work's economic value; the market for ideas determines its cultural value. The fact that the physical work is the vehicle for conveying the idea transforms the work from an ordinary economic good into a cultural good. As such, it pos-

sesses not only economic value (in common with all economic goods) but also cultural value.

Separation of the economic and cultural values of artworks in this way enables us to identify the differences in the processes by which these values are formed. It is immediately clear, however, that despite these differences, the two values are not unrelated. Indeed, it is likely that a significant correlation will exist between them, because consumers' demand functions for artworks are likely to contain some measure of cultural value as a significant element.[3] Even so, whatever criterion of cultural value is considered applicable, counterexamples can be envisaged, where high cultural value is associated with low economic value, and vice versa. For instance, if "high-culture" norms were adopted (conservative, elitist, hegemonic, absolutist), it might be suggested that atonal classical music is an example of a commodity with high cultural but low economic value, and that TV soap operas are an example of a good with a high economic but a low cultural value.[4]

Returning to the work of artists, we might summarize the above speculations as suggesting that artistic work might be interpreted as supplying a dual market. The artist's vision, springing from the complex conjunctions of the creative process, drives the production of ideas; her technical skill enables the realization or embodiment of those ideas into actual works. These works will (hopefully) realize an economic price through market exchange and (also hopefully) a cultural "price" through the reception, processing, transmission, and assessment of the ideas that they convey.

The formidable task then remains of determining how the market for ideas processes the raw material supplied to it by artists into some measure of cultural value or cultural price. The articulation of the constituent elements of value in particular cases, as discussed above, would seem to offer hope for some progress, especially since in the first instance, as noted, this would seem to be an approach that could be taken regardless of the ideological standpoint of the observer. Nevertheless, the question of measurement must eventually be engaged one way or another. Even if it is thought that normative scales lie beyond analytical reach, at least some positive assessment of regularities and consistencies in consensus judgments may be possible. In this respect, the interest for economists lies particularly in clarifying the relationship between cultural and economic value.

Conclusion

The substance of this paper can be drawn together into four main points. First, economists are deluding themselves if they believe that economic measures such as price or willingness to pay can provide an adequate indicator of cultural value. Indeed, it can be argued that economic price does not even do a very good job of capturing the "true" economic value of cultural goods and services.

Second, the separation of economic and cultural value provides an acknowledgment in conceptual terms that the monetary price of a cultural commodity is a transformation of value according to a single materialistic scale and that cultural price requires a different metric. This conceptualization provides a basis for defining cultural goods.

Third, notwithstanding their separate articulation, the constructs of economic and cultural value are likely to be closely related in both theoretical and empirical terms. The relationships between them are an important area for research by economists, not least because significant policy implications are invoked.

Finally, in modeling the process of artistic production, we can suggest that not only do artists allocate their time in a dual labor market (arts/nonarts), they also sell the products of their labor into a dual market (the market for physical goods/the market for ideas), where economic and cultural value provide distinct and separate measures of the success of their efforts.

Notes

1. For the sake of simplicity in categorizing cultural goods and services in this paper, I restrict attention to the arts—for example, to artworks such as paintings or to artistic services such as musical performance—as the framework of reference for such commodities.

2. I use the singular for simplicity, though, of course, most artworks contain and convey multiple ideas.

3. Such a proposition underlies the analysis of demand for artworks contained in chapter 6 of Frey and Pommerehne 1989.

4. By the same standards, it would probably be said that an activity such as amateur theater would have low value on both economic and cultural measures and that Monet's paintings would score high on both counts.

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Cultural Heritage and Globalization

Lourdes Arizpe

Today our perception of cultural heritage is changing amid the rush of sights and images offered by an interactive world. Still anchored in history and ancestry, our perception must now be redefined in the new global cultural commons, in which the web of meanings traditionally offered by different cultures is being rewoven. To understand what is happening, many people are looking toward the site where culture and history intersect—that is, toward cultural heritage. They are finding, however, that the cultural heritage is also in process and flowing with the tide.

To think of cultural heritage was to think of art objects, archaeological sites, historic monuments. Yet the meanings that assign worth to such concrete things and places come from the values that people attach to them. Such values, until recently, were discussed within the circumscribed walls of cultural communities or nations; today, however, these concrete things and places are available to be appreciated by a much wider spectrum of international publics: by a young woman writer on the Internet in New Zealand, by a Copt filmmaker in Egypt, or by a Xhosa youngster watching television in South Africa.

Among them a new global cultural commons is being created. It is multicultural by definition; it is patchy in its interactions; it is like the terra incognita of ancient maps. And people have stakes in it, and in the world cultural sites to which the new stakeholders of the commons may tie strings of recognition. This commons is also a place we must fill up, with "global creativity," a phrase used by Catherine Stimpson and Homi Bhabha, as they refer to the new historical phenomenon, which follows and incorporates older artistic and cultural work yet has an identity of its own.[1]

More and more, the concept of cultural heritage is opening up—to cultural landscapes, popular cultures, oral traditions. The weave of meanings that crystallize into recognition in a given time and place is becoming more and more visible. It is absolutely fascinating to find that, at exactly this time, quantum physics tells us that the world is not made up of objects but is instead made up of states that may change their functioning and appearance according to the way in which they are being observed. An anthropologist today also knows that ethnographic description is but a transitory, fleeting glance at a reality by an observer bound by his or her culture and location in a certain time and a certain place.

If we take the above view, then, the value given to cultural heritage will depend on the meanings that are chosen among those constantly traveling along a web of cultural exchanges and recombinations. At present, as never before, trade globalization, migrations, and tourism, as well as telecommunications and telematics, are rapidly adding more and more exchanges to that web.

More contact and more exchanges may lead to greater creativity, but they also lead to the shielding of cultures through the politics of difference. So the question that should concern us is: How do we enhance the value of cultural heritage to safeguard it and to use it to build cultural understanding instead of cultural trenches?

To answer this question, I will explore the two main perspectives from which value is assigned to cultural heritage: the planetary and the village perspectives. In the context of globalization, I will analyze how cultural groups and nation-states are repositioning themselves today in the global cultural commons. I then propose several lines of analysis and reflection on cultural heritage, so that different cultural groups may find new ways of preserving cultural heritage.

The Planetary Perspective

As the new century begins, we realize that the old maps based on the territorial juxtaposition of nation-states gave us a very different cosmovision from that of actual photographs of our blue planet taken from outer space. Among other things, it makes visible the framework within which we must situate all human-made masterpieces: a single, spa-

tially finite, spherical entity. Neither political borders nor cultural boundaries are visible from space.

The awareness of one world has also been reinforced by the various processes that make up globalization; in relation to culture, a central fact is that one can now communicate instantly all over the world. In fact, on May 18, 1998, a satellite system that circles the world was finally put in place, so that we may speak to anyone, anywhere, anytime around the globe. Telecommunications and audiovisuals have made it possible for people to become familiar with great cultural heritage from distant lands.

The globality, familiarity, and instantaneity that characterize this new planetary perspective are no doubt changing the perception and understanding of the cultural legacies of the past. How can such possibilities of communication be harnessed to help in the work of conservation and restoration of cultural heritage?

A Global Cultural Commons

Strategies to protect and conserve cultural heritage internationally have been successfully developed over the last decades through Unesco and a large number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and foundations. Today such strategies must be expanded and deepened, because global communications and audiovisuals, touching a majority of people in the world, are creating this new global cultural commons. In this new space, human-made cultural creations are beginning to be judged according to an emerging set of global standards. It is not only that, for example, an Akira Kurosawa, Ingmar Bergman, or Woody Allen film speaks to many cosmopolitan people across the world, or that a Hollywood blockbuster speaks to people of very different cultures. It is the way in which these films and images are creating a new language of meaning. They are, in fact, setting up a new metonymy in people's minds. Is this a new language that belongs to the global sphere, or is it a new dimension that will permeate all forms of communication internationally?

These are new themes to explore in terms of the local/global valuing of cultural heritage. Will this new language encourage people to give value to cultural heritage of other cultures? Do they assign relative value to cultural masterpieces according to the cultural distance between their own and other cultures? How important do they consider other cultures to their emotional satisfaction or to their

spiritual or cultural realization? Or one may ask (as the World Bank has already done in a project on Fez in Morocco), in terms of the economics of cultural heritage, how much would you be willing to pay to conserve such heritage? Much more analytical work is needed on how collectivities of different kinds react toward cultural heritage in the context of a global cultural commons.

This knowledge is urgently needed to prevent a replication of the "tragedy of the commons" in relation to the protection of cultural heritage.[2] Some specialists are already concerned that this is the case for a number of sites inscribed in Unesco's World Heritage List. When a site is considered to have "world value," then safeguarding actions may be perceived as everybody's business—and, therefore, as no one's. Alternatively, it may be thought that saving such a site should be the main responsibility of only the rich and powerful, since poor people or nations are unable to give anything toward its safeguarding.

The Village View

If our planetary view (implying unity) comes from outer space, the village view (implying diversity) comes from everyday contact with people speaking other languages, exhibiting different symbols of identity, and wanting to choose all that is meaningful and exciting in today's cultural markets. This contact is leading to very rapid cultural change that is worrying people in many different regional settings, as the U.N. World Commission on Culture and Development discovered in the nine consultations it held in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa.[3] People everywhere are concerned that their traditions are no longer being followed, that young people especially may be choosing cultural symbols from other cultures. Artists are concerned about the difficulties they have found in continuing their local cultural production as foreign investments and cultural goods flow into national markets.

In times of such cultural fluidity, it is to be expected that people want to cling to the meanings that once held their immediate community together. Archaeological sites of historical importance, architectural or artistic masterpieces, the cultural texture of everyday life, including dress codes and gastronomy, all become explicit consensual symbols of historical belonging. In many places, movements explicitly express such concerns: Afro-Americans and Chicanos, Celts and Catalans, Serbs

and Albanokosovars, Chileans and the Mapuche people. Although all such movements have a cultural leitmotiv, they are extremely diverse in political aims, forms of action, and international strategies.

This situation has led to a current climate in which world cultural heritage must be dealt with globally, with unity of aims and strategies (the planetary view) at a time when there is a rising tide of the politics of difference (the village view). In my view, the way to advance in such a situation is to create new concepts to explain the new local/global structuring of the value of cultural heritage, while at the same time supporting pilot projects with this aim in mind.

The Village Is Multicultural

Independent of the historical, cultural affiliation of a given site, monument, or art object, it is most probable that people living in a certain locality, or concerned with its heritage, will belong to multicultural communities. This is important vis-à-vis the valuing of cultural heritage. Thus, the way communities value that heritage will be influenced by the way they had previously defined their own cultural identity. And it is a matter of some urgency that the issue of multiculturalism with reference to cultural heritage be placed on the international agenda.

In recent years, several different situations have arisen as a result of the complexity of multicultural claims to cultural heritage. On the one hand, governments may be claiming, as "national" treasures, ancient masterpieces created many centuries ago by cultures totally different from theirs—or whose descendants may even be considered their cultural opponents. Such is the case of the Hindu government in India, which must protect the Muslim cultural heritage. If the country has a democratic system, appropriate political solutions may be arrived at, as they have been in India. Another kind of situation is that in which cultural minorities are given recognition and support for the management of their own cultural heritage and creativity. This has been the case, for example, in New Zealand, with the Maori people.

This does not happen in cases in which cultural groups suffer ill treatment at the hands of the government. Such is the case in Guatemala, where the Maya heritage is considered a national asset, while the army continues to repress all political and cultural expressions of the Maya-Quiche and Cakchiquel Indians, who are the direct descendants of the builders of the magnificent Maya heritage.

In the most negative situation, "cultural heritage cleansing" may be carried out by opponents in war, as has happened in the protracted war in the former Yugoslavia. In this case, along with "ethnic cleansing," there was a willful destruction of cultural heritage "to obliterate people's cultural roots," as Azzedine Beschaouch has expressed it, when he described the case of the Old Bridge of Mostar, demolished with explosives by Croat extremists during the Bosnian war. To this example one would add the Serb destruction of the Library in Sarajevo, as well as the bombing of Dubrovnik.[4]

With the repositioning of actors in globalization, the more that nation-states and cultural minorities need "distinction" to reposition themselves in the global cultural commons, the more they are apt to rely on the cultural heritage to build internal cohesion and an external image of their culture. Inevitably, then, questions about the historical origins and present control and management of culture heritage will be increasingly raised.[5]

Claims of the right to control cultural heritage will, in all probability, also proliferate for economic reasons. As multimedia and telecommunications open a market for the images of cultural heritage, and as the economic value of cultural heritage is increased through cultural tourism and other services, special interest groups will possibly increase their demands to share in the economic returns related to such heritage.

One example will illustrate the complexity of the issues involved: a Chol-speaking indigenous group in Chiapas, Mexico, is claiming that it should be getting a share of tourist fees for visits to Palenque, the Maya archaeological site. This opens up a Pandora's box of unanswerable questions: Was the site built by the Chol people? If so, are the Chol of today the real descendants of those historical Chol? If so, should only the Chol get this income, to the exclusion of other indigenous groups in the region, since there is not enough historical evidence to ascertain who built Palenque? And what about non-Chol Mexicans, for whom Palenque is part of their cultural heritage?

Counterbalancing such exclusionary claims will require a highly developed knowledge base for world cultural heritage. It will show (as the field of anthropology has recorded for many decades) that the creative process evolves by the slow, direct, and

indirect accumulation of knowledge, skills, and techniques, usually nurtured by exchanges with many other cultures. Along a different but related path, recent art theories now give greater emphasis to this creative process among artists and artistic communities than to the art objects themselves.

Highlighting the creative process in relation to world cultural heritage would, I believe, have several positive effects. First, it would bring in greater historical depth, thereby making visible the different layers of creativity and cultural exchanges that have crystallized in a particular cultural site, object, or landscape; this information would correctly situate cultural claims in a historical context.

Second, when the multicultural history of heritage is made visible, a wider range of today's communities could feel more directly related to a given cultural heritage.

Third, this multicultural history would strengthen the role of governments by eliminating the necessity for them to appear as defenders of a single cultural tradition, while providing them with greater legitimacy as the conveners of their countries' diverse cultural traditions of the past and the present. Of course, as conditions for this, a state must be democratic, open to expressions of different cultures, yet clear in its mandate to protect all the cultural heritage within its borders.

Finally, the multiculturality of the village also applies to the constituency that supports actions to safeguard world cultural heritage. Perhaps the phrase "global cultural stakeholders" could be used to signify people who share in giving value and, therefore, in creating the new meanings for world cultural heritage. Would it be possible to revive the project of creating a civil-society World Cultural Trust—a phrase used in the discussions that led to the Unesco World Heritage Convention? Such a project could contribute to strengthening civil-society initiatives to complement the work already being carried out by governments and international organizations. Their main role would be to act in the cultural commons by promoting awareness of the value of world cultural heritage.

Fostering Creativity about Cultural Heritage

In May 1995, a historic session of the Executive Board of Unesco was held in Fez, Morocco, during which many member states demanded a shift in the culture program of Unesco. They no longer wanted restored historic city centers that became ghost towns, where the bustle of people working, relating, and trading had been lost. Neither could their governments afford to open more and more museums that were not self-financing and that catered to elite publics. The concern was also expressed—and repeated in countless forums, including those of the World Commission on Culture and Development—that young people all over were increasingly uninterested in the cultural heritage of the past while they pursued totally new cultural activities.

Accordingly, Unesco's cultural program added to its successful conservation projects for cultural heritage a new focus on living cultures.[6] The premise for recasting the program was that cultural transformations previously took decades, even centuries; today such changes take only a few years and have unrivaled world coverage through the global cultural commons. Also, emphasis was placed on the enthusiasm of young people everywhere to create new meanings—their own cultural heritage, so to speak—so they can adapt to the unprecedented situations they are destined to live in. It seems to me that those youths who flock to Stonehenge for the summer solstice or to Teotihuacán for the spring equinox want a new freedom to recreate ancient rites so that these ancient stones and places may become new symbols around which to rally and recreate their own sense of place and purpose.

The language in which they are couching their search is that of a new spirituality and cosmology; most probably because they are offered no other language by traditional institutions, which are still caught up in political and social inertia and which mostly limit their activities to the conservation of what already exists.

New languages of expression must be offered to these young people. New, exciting experiences have been successful; for example, popular music concerts have been held in World Heritage sites, such as Nara, Japan, and El Tajin, Mexico. What is needed, in my view, is to instigate artists, writers, scientists, and other creators to renew the meanings that give life to the powerful symbolism of cultural masterpieces—a symbolism that is no longer imprisoned in the past but is instead shaping the future.

Fostering creativity around cultural heritage is valuable not only to mobilize people but also to keep heritage "alive." The best way to save cultural heritage is to encourage new creative outlooks that will renew or add to its web of meanings. An image

to illustrate this is that of the maypole, the origins of which are claimed by so many cultures. The larger the number of people taking the colored ribbons in their hands and the more they dance and intermingle around it, the tighter the mesh of ribbons will be and the more strongly they will be attached to the maypole.

The World Heritage List: Pride of All or Pride of the Few?

In 1972 the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted at the Unesco General Conference.[7] It built on the momentum created by the successful 1959 Unesco campaign to save the Philae and Abu Simbel temples in Egypt from flooding by the Aswan High Dam. After a 1965 White House conference that called for world action on cultural heritage, and after proposals from the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment for the Conservation of Nature (since the Convention also includes natural sites), the Convention was drawn up to protect the masterpieces of human creative genius by establishing the World Heritage List.

Other attempts, for example, to protect folk cultural productions have not been agreed upon internationally, nor have other conventions been ratified by as many countries.[8] In this light, the broad consensus and the widespread popularity of the Convention on World Heritage must be highlighted. This success has demonstrated that governments, spurred by public interest, have been able to agree on a world value on which to base a complex institutional charter and procedure to channel international cooperative actions.[9]

Knowing that it can be done is already a great step forward, but of course, the crucial issue is to what degree the Convention has been successful in actually helping conserve protected cultural monuments, sites, and landscapes. Most specialists agree that it has been successful, although some despair at the decline of many of the places on the list. In spite of such concerns, it is highly significant that—at a time when globalization is pushing people to retrench themselves in particularistic cultural identities—there is one value that people of all cultures seem to agree on.

Why is the Convention so highly respected and almost unanimously agreed upon? On one of my trips to Manila, in December 1995, as assistant director-general for culture at Unesco, I was told why. I had been taken to visit the Baroque churches of Manila on the World Heritage List. The guide showed me around with a special self-satisfaction and pride. So I asked, "And why does having a Unesco plaque of the World Heritage List help you in promoting these places?" He answered, "Because, madam, then we know that they are not only our pride but that of all of humanity, and this makes us even more proud."

It is people with local pride, then, who want to share their pride with others; and once others give this recognition, it adds to the value of the site. So the pride of the few becomes the pride of all. Thus, it is the interaction between local and global valorizing that gives strength and continuity to the World Heritage List.

Is the World Heritage List Representative?

A most interesting aspect of the World Heritage List is that while its main purpose is to ensure the safeguarding of world cultural heritage, it is also being interpreted as an inventory of cultural achievement. The fact, then, that the List is not balanced in terms of geographical and cultural regions has become problematic. In response to this and other similar concerns, a group of experts was commissioned in 1994 to assess how representative the World Heritage List was. This group concluded that there was an overrepresentation of European heritage; of historic cities and religious buildings, especially of the Christian religion; of "elite" architecture (in contrast to more "popular" architecture); and of historic sites (in comparison to prehistoric and twentieth-century sites).

One could already see a background metonymy emerging, which is being given fuller coverage with the new criteria for inclusion in the World Heritage List that have been negotiated. For example, a more flexible notion of "authenticity" now allows the inclusion of cultural heritage buildings that follow ancient designs yet have been rebuilt several times over the centuries, such as the wooden temples in Nara and Kyoto in Japan.

Similarly, the new category of "cultural landscape" was created, which, for example, has allowed for the inclusion of the Philippine rice terraces. Also, twentieth-century heritage is now taken into account; thus Brazil was able to inscribe Brasilia, its novel capital city, on the List.

For the purposes of this essay, however, I would also like to emphasize that the value of the List lies as much in its actual results as in the learning and negotiating process it has unleashed. Slowly, arduously, it is building agreements on the value of world cultural heritage and on the global standards for mechanisms and procedures to safeguard it. The program, however, now has to be recast in the terms of some of the points made in this essay, to give it relevance under the new conditions of globalization.

Summary

We know that the best way to safeguard world cultural heritage is for societies to care enough about it to mobilize to protect it and to support governments and specialized groups in working toward its conservation. Today it should be possible to harness speeded-up cultural interactivity on a world scale for the protection of world cultural heritage.[10]

International programs and actions by governments, NGOS, and foundations have already been successful in broadening the base of appreciation of heritage and of community participation in its protection. Fostering creativity in relation to cultural heritage would further broaden this base of support. Writers, filmmakers, and artists should be encouraged to breathe new life into the symbols and images of heritage through new cultural practices.

The World Heritage Convention could play an emblematic role in consolidating global, convergent actions for cultural heritage, in opposition to the narrow interests driven by competition in some aspects of globalization.

New thinking is needed to open new imaginative avenues in caring for world cultural heritage. The global cultural commons must be explored, mapped, and furnished with global standards. It is crucial that cultural heritage be thought of as a historical process to which many individuals and cultures have always, and will always, contribute. And the increasingly inescapable multiculturality of the village—the consumers and publics for cultural heritage—must change perceptions, so that pride in cultural heritage may be shared by more and more people across cultural differences. Success in conserving the masterpieces of human creative genius will depend on our ability to interact, negotiate, and cultivate heritage as a creative process.

Notes

1. Catherine Stimpson and Homi Bhabha, Global creativity and the arts, *World Culture Report* 1 (June 1998):183–93.

2. Garret Hardin, The tragedy of the commons, *Science* 162 (1968):1243-48.

3. The U.N. World Commission on Culture and Development, chaired by Javier Perez de Cuellar, published its report *Our Creative Diversity* in 1995. Lourdes Arizpe was a member of the Commission and was in charge of the secretariat of the Commission as assistant director-general for culture of Unesco.

4. Azzedine Beschaouch, The destruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar, *World Culture Report* 1 (June 1998):117.

5. This matter is raised without full consideration of the other complex aspects of the question—whether present governments legitimately represent the culture orcultures that created the heritage. This question is especially relevant in countries in which cultural minorities are persecuted while their heritage is claimed as part of the national heritage.

6. Unesco, *Draft Programme and Budget, 1998-1999,* 29 C/5 (1997). Unesco, *Approved Programme and Budget for 1998-1999,* 29 C/5 approved (1998).

7. In this section, for the purposes of discussion, I will refer exclusively to the cultural sites on the World Heritage List, although the list also includes natural sites.

8. Another convention with widespread support is the one for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, otherwise known as The Hague Convention of 1954, which was updated in 1997.

9. For an excellent analysis of how global standards for cultural heritage protection can counter some of the effects of globalization, see Lyndel Prott, International standards for cultural heritage, *World Culture Report* 1 (June 1998):222–36.

10. One suggestion, for example, is to hyperlink Internet sites of popular artists, such as Cesaria Evora, to sites describing the cultural heritage of their places of origin. See Isabelle Vinson, Heritage and cyberculture: What cultural content for what cyberculture? *World Culture Report* 1 (June 1998): 237–49.

Cultural Heritage, Liberal Education, and Human Flourishing

Uffe Juul Jensen

Cultural heritage attracts attention among scientists, politicians, and laypeople. We often consider cultural heritage an end or value in itself. Conversely, cultural heritage also seems to play an important role in people's acquiring the capabilities necessary to develop and flourish as reflective and critical citizens. Cultural heritage must, in other words, be seen from and assessed within an educational perspective. Education itself, however, is a domain characterized by conflicts and struggles. What constitutes an adequate education in a modern or postmodern society with a multiplicity of cultures? As cultural heritage acquires a special significance in educational contexts, the controversies within those contexts necessarily creep into our discussions about cultural heritage.

With this caveat in mind, let me turn now to some characteristics of cultural heritage, as interpreted by the community through its institutions.

Heirs Negotiate Their Own Cultural Heritage

Inheritance is, fundamentally speaking, outside the control of those who inherit. We don't control our biological or genetic inheritance. Inheritance of property is determined by law or by testament or will. So it is not surprising that many have thought of cultural heritage as something objectively given, as something that the culture we are born into hands over or entrusts to new generations. We may manage our heritage irresponsibly or neglect it, but we cannot completely escape it—just as we cannot escape our biological inheritance and just as we have to manage, in one way or another, any property left to us.

Yet the analogy between cultural heritage and heritage in the primary sense of inheritance has its limitations. Heritage is not always something already present in a culture. It is, on the contrary, selected, negotiated, and perhaps even constructed by the heirs.

Such processes of sifting through the past for what is significant are often unconscious. So cultural heritage may, self-deceptively, be attributed the status and authority of something objectively given, like biological inheritance. Groups or nations sometimes claim to continue particular cultural heritages. Often they don't recognize that they and the heritage they refer to are used as means to legitimize the interest or power of a group, community, or nation to which they belong.

Heritage—A Raw Material for Fundamentalist Ideologies?

In that way, cultural heritage becomes something potentially dangerous: a collection of seemingly permanent myths or ideologies embodied in particular groups, communities, or nations. Under peaceful circumstances, these myths or ideologies may play an important role in creating a sense of community. But under other conditions (as, for example, in the former Yugoslavia today), cultural heritage may create tensions, conflicts, or even war. The eminent historian Eric Hobsbawm sees cultural heritage exactly in this light. "As poppies are the raw material of heroin addiction, history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies. Heritage is an essential, perhaps the essential, element in these ideologies," the historian warns us (Hobsbawm 1993:62–64).

We might try to escape the risk of making cultural heritage a dangerous ideological tool embedded in myths and grand national narratives by limiting the scope of cultural heritage. We can do this, for example, by defining cultural heritage as material objects—as artifacts, buildings, and so on created by our predecessors. And, of course, such objects play an important role in any culture. Limiting heritage in this way seems harmless enough. This strategy will not work, however, because selection and presentation of artifacts or objects of the past are never neutral. These processes are always carried out from a standpoint that embodies particular values and ideals. Therefore, there does not seem to be any way to escape the fact

that any culture or community plays an important role in determining, and thereby constructing, its own cultural heritage. It is *we* who bestow on ourselves our own cultural heritage.

Heritage between Fundamentalists and Postmodernist Relativists

It would seem that any argument about cultural heritage is necessarily relativistic and that this is an area where terms such as truth and validity do not apply. If this is the case, cultural heritage necessarily becomes a battlefield where conflicting parties engage in the strife to control it.

Such battles actually do seem to be a typical feature of present-day societies. Traditionalists or elitists praise one version of a culture (the version that has been represented and defended by the most well-educated or the elite of a society). They are confronted by minority groups that might oppose cultural standards or ideals espoused by the elite (articulating, for example, gay perspectives, feminist perspectives, or perspectives of racial minorities).

Is there no common ground between such opposing camps? Is there no possibility of dialogue?

Both of these opposing parties actually share some values or ideals. For both, cultural heritage has an educational role to play. Traditionalists will argue that classical texts (in literature, philosophy, and so on) are necessary to achieve our educational goals. Those criticizing this view claim that there are insights and experiences acquired by oppressed groups (that is, the cultural heritage of such groups) which today are necessary to achieve our educational goals.

In fact, both camps may well agree about what the goal of education is: to provide the pupil with capabilities necessary to take charge of her or his own thought.

Martha Nussbaum has recently argued that diverse forms of cross-cultural studies are important today in order to achieve classical educational goals that will help make us free, critical, and rational citizens (Nussbaum 1997).

Traditionalists such as, say, Allan Bloom have, in Nussbaum's words, warned "that critical scrutiny of one's own traditions will automatically entail a form of cultural relativism that holds all ways of life to be equally good for human beings and thereby weakens the allegiance to one's own" (Nussbaum 1997:33). In Europe many warn that immigration from Islamic countries implies a threat to the Christian-European cultural heritage. In response, it is argued that the educational system and other national institutions of European countries should cultivate and teach canonized ideals and perspectives of their own culture.

This attitude can be questioned in the light of Nussbaum's arguments. She reminds us that such controversies are not at all a modern phenomenon. On the contrary, they have long been part of the classical tradition to which present-day traditionalists appeal when defending their view on cultural heritage. It was a deep fear that led Athenians to charge Socrates with corruption of the young. Nussbaum argues, however, that Socratic scrutiny does not lead to corruption of the young. From the Socratic perspective, we should always be willing to defend our views rationally and perhaps to accept that at the end of a discussion with a person from another background, we might have to change our own views.

Today, both traditionalists and their critics seem to agree that rational freedom is a basic educational goal as a precondition of human flourishing. Traditionalists warn us that the acceptance of a multiplicity of standpoints and perspectives undermines this goal. Their opponents, pleading for a broader understanding of culture, deny that. They claim that a rational scrutiny of views generally accepted and considered sacrosanct in "high" culture presupposes the recognition of other perspectives, experiences, and traditions.

Nussbaum reminds us how the Roman Seneca addressed the problem of education and rational freedom in his famous letter on liberal education. Lucilius, a friend of Seneca, had asked for Seneca's opinion on *studia liberalia,* traditional liberal studies, an education by acculturation to values and practices of the Roman upper classes (grammar, music, poetry, some science and mathematics); this regime later, during the Middle Ages, became the *trivium* and *quadrivium* that formed the curricula of all universities in Europe.

Seneca claimed that the only education that makes pupils free is one that enables them to take charge of their own thought "and to conduct a critical examination of their society's norms and traditions" (Nussbaum 1997:30). This is the very meaning of *liberal* in the term liberal education.

Nussbaum also argues that the old educational ideals—ideals of producing "citizens of the

world"—are best realized today in an educational system that encompasses studies of non-Western cultures, gender, and race. Only in this way can one face one's own limited focus and open oneself up to broader cultural horizons.

Cultural Heritage and Human Flourishing

Nussbaum argues convincingly. But even cultural understanding in the broad sense she discusses is, I shall claim, too narrow to achieve the classical educational goal.

Nussbaum focuses (as we often do when discussing education) on our educational system (schools, universities, and so on) and its curricula. But to ensure the development of critical and free "citizens of the world," education has to be considered in a broader context. Cultural heritage in an extended, worldwide sense has to be taken into consideration.

Much debate on education and learning focuses on what goes on in the classroom or in the auditorium. Curricula and discussion of "great books" becomes a main concern. In general, cultural heritage is reduced to what is embodied in texts and books. But most learning, development, and acquisition of capabilities necessary for human flourishing take place (as shown by anthropologist Jane Lave at the University of California, Berkeley) outside classrooms and auditoriums (Lave 1988). Learning and development occur to a large extent in our daily life. Even the important part of our learning and development that takes place within educational institutions presupposes a high degree of capabilities, skills, and insights acquired outside the formal settings—in our daily life and practice, or during travel to foreign places. Museums, architecture, the life and rhythm of foreign cities, supermarkets, and ordinary marketplaces all embody cultural heritage in different ways.

All that implies that cultural heritage means something broader than a curriculum, than canonized texts or pieces of art as preconditions for learning and thus for human flourishing.

But why then bother at all about our cultural heritage? Human beings live in a concrete setting and have daily practices. Therefore, they will always share with others around them some cultural heritage.

As stressed above, a cultural heritage is not something given, something that has always already been there. It is not just there, as are genes or property collected by our ancestors. Cultural heritage is always constructed, arranged, and negotiated among heirs.

We spend too much time discussing curricula in schools and higher education. We should spend just as much time discussing or debating how heritage consciously or unconsciously is organized, constructed, and presented for approval (that is, given a meaning) in various contexts in daily and public life. There is no final, expert answer to the question of what a heritage should encompass to ensure our educational and social goals. To echo Aristotle, everyone has something to contribute to the truth in such matters.

It is sometimes said that illness and health are too important to be simply turned over to doctors. In the same way, it could be claimed that human development and citizenship are too important to be assigned only to the care of teachers (in the traditional, narrow sense of the term). It should be a public concern, yet experts as diverse as anthropologists, historians, museologists, psychologists, and philosophers should enlighten the public about various viewpoints under the courageous banner that the greater the tolerance of diversity, the greater a civilization may be.

We need to know much more about the role cultural heritage plays in human learning and development. We need more insight into the processes of negotiation and construction of cultural heritage and into what promotes or ensures human flourishing.

Should Cultural Heritage Be Left to the Marketplace?

Some would claim that it is impossible in a secularized postmodern world to achieve any consensus or to formulate any standards for assessing ways of selecting, constructing, or presenting cultural heritage. In a liberal democratic society, should the determination simply be based on consumers in the marketplace deciding what, at a given time, deserves the honorific title of cultural heritage? How else to decide the relative cultural value of Princess Di's dress, Michael Jordan's autograph, a baseball player's hat, a bag of garbage, streetcars of San Francisco, Watts Towers, or Mark McGuire's record-setting home run ball?

There is no final truth about cultural preconditions of human flourishing. We will get different answers at different times and different places. Even in a particular society at a specific time, the question

must be negotiated. But something general can be said about the role cultural heritage can play and should play in educating "citizens of the world" capable of flourishing together with others.

Such an ideal implies that I can communicate with and act in relation to other humans, that there is something we share, even though we recognize that we always speak from particular standpoints (from within local communities, traditions, and so on). Our educational ideals imply, in other words, that there is something both universal and particular that characterizes human life.

Cultural heritage plays a role in human development and flourishing the more it embodies this dialectic or the more it contributes to developing an understanding of the universal and the particular, and of their interrelationship.

One reason why formal teaching has played such a central role in discussions about education, development, and flourishing might be that education according to classical ideals seems to ensure these goals. The universal is never just experienced in concrete practice. It is always embodied in language. So books and texts seem to be most fit for representing human knowledge about universal features of nature or of human life. Good teaching—according to classical ideals—provides, however, more than internalization of textbook knowledge. It also ensures the pupil's ability to apply universal knowledge to particular cases (by performing exercises, and so on).

Our daily life seems in opposition to this ideal by being fragmented, characterized by scattered and very personal experiences. We view and assess the world from particular standpoints embodying local values and experiences. Formal learning, science, and so on seem necessary to overcome the ethnocentric limitations built into everyday life and culture.

How can cultural heritage play a significant role in transcending these standpoints and build the bridge to more universal understanding? To answer, I turn to a poet.

Cultural Heritage: Transcending the Particular and the Local

The Irish poet and Nobel prize winner Seamus Heaney has told of the significance a few objects of cultural heritage have had for him. He has, I think, hereby said something very illuminating about how particular objects may acquire a universal meaning and significance and come to represent something of universal value.

In his childhood, Heaney heard stories about things preserved in the moss, such as caches of bog butter or the bones of a great Irish elk. In 1967 he wrote the poem "Bogland." Heaney's overall concern in this poem is the bog as a locus of preservation. Much later, after having read a book by the Danish archaeologist P. V. Glob and having visited Denmark to see a few famous bog men, he has, in a more philosophical way, I think, articulated a view on bog bodies as exemplars of cultural heritage and implicitly an answer to the question of how objects may acquire the status of representing universal features of a cultural heritage (a term Heaney, however, did not use).

These bodies, according to Heaney, have their "phenomenal potency . . . from the fact that [they] erase the boundary line between culture and nature, between art and life" (Heaney 1996). These bog men or limbs of bog men can now, Heaney claims, be classed as objects to be compared with the clay, bronze, or marble heads that we see in art museums. The bog man we confront in an archaeological museum (such as the Grauballe Man in the Moesgaard Museum in Aarhus) has been removed from its "natural" context in the moor. Here it was preserved through a chemical process; its skin had become leathery. Later it was preserved by archaeologists. The change of the object is continued by other means. And through this process, the object, in a way, undergoes a new qualitative change by the very nature of its presence and function in the context of a museum.

Once upon a time, the limbs that we now look at in our museums "existed in order to embody and express the need and impulses of an individual human life." They were the vehicles of different biographies and compelled singular attention, proclaiming, "I am I." When they were dead, their bodies as corpses still "conserved the vestiges of personal identity."

When the corpse becomes a bog body, it changes, so to speak, its mode of existence. Now it can be compared to a work of art in the following sense. According to Heaney, the object now eludes the biographical and enters the realm of the aesthetic. Instead of "I am I," it now proclaims, "I am you."

By this example we can illuminate the role of cultural heritage in personal development and in educational contexts. It is not just that, by the activi-

ties of experts, the object presented at the museum as an object of cultural heritage acquires or is attributed the status of cultural heritage. The object now in itself plays a role, serves a function by contributing to the ability of Heaney (or of any other who sees the object) to transcend his or her particular or personal standpoint.

He tells beautifully about the first time he saw the head of the Tollund Man and the body of the Grauballe Man in Denmark. What he was experiencing in his "very bones and being was a feeling of reverence. . . . In the case of the Tollund Man, that reverence included a sweet sensation at being in the presence of a human face which seemed related to me in some very intimate way." Heaney here saw the kind of face he had known as a child, as the face of his great-uncle Hugh.

Objects selected, preserved, or constructed as objects of cultural heritage may play such a significant role. They do not just represent some past and often alien foreign culture or another cultural heritage or something of just antiquarian interest. On the contrary, they give us as individuals an understanding of ourselves as belonging to something or as being part of something beyond our own particular existence. Often such objects have (as have the bog men) moved through time. We meet them at a place or location different from our own. And by recognizing something commonly human, we transcend the limitations of time and space.

Simon Rodia, the poor Italian immigrant who used a lifetime to construct the Watts Towers, lived far away from Scandinavia. But the Scandinavian who today in quite a different time experiences the Watts Towers may have the same feeling as Heaney had when he saw the Grauballe Man.

The towers embody Rodia's aspiration to create something great, and most people will be able to recognize something of themselves or of their own culture when they see this extraordinary construction. Rodia was not well educated in a formal sense, but through his work, he has contributed significantly to our educational project.

During the riots in Los Angeles in 1965, many private and public buildings were damaged or destroyed in the neighborhood around the Watts Towers. Yet no one touched the towers (Goldstone and Goldstone 1997). This fact tells us that Rodia's work embodies something of universal worth and so should be valued as contributing to the education of citizens of the world. We should be grateful that the towers have been preserved. And no one can claim that Rodia's work was possessed by an elite and only thereby became part of our cultural heritage. The towers were already recognized as such by the local community.

Particularity as a Function of Cultural Practices

I have stressed that cultural heritage is an important means of promoting human flourishing. I have also stressed that cultural heritage is not something given. It is always constructed, arranged, and negotiated by heirs. There is no final expert answer to the question of what a heritage should encompass to ensure our educational and social goals. There is no final truth about cultural preconditions of human flourishing.

This does not, however, imply an acceptance of postmodernist relativism. There is something both universal and particular that characterizes human life. Objects of cultural heritage embody the dialectics between the particular and the universal. I have illustrated this by telling about Heaney's encounter with the Tollund Man. This story might give the false impression that an object (a site, a building, and so on) achieves status as a part of our cultural heritage only as an embodiment of universal values. My argument, however, does not imply this. If that were the case, why then should we preserve such objects? Philosophers and historians could preserve the values embodied in the objects by articulating and accounting for them in their theoretical treatises. If at all, we would only keep and preserve the objects for pedagogical reasons, to give people who don't read abstract treatises access to universal values.

Objects of cultural heritage are, however, also ascribed value and considered worth preserving because of their particularity—because they are exactly this or that object with its particular history or meaning. Corpses became bog bodies, which we now look at in our museums. Hereby—according to Heaney—they changed their mode of existence, proclaiming "I am you" instead of "I am I." But I, who look at the Tollund Man, relate to a particular being, not just to some bog man. The encounter would be different if the Tollund Man were replaced by another bog man with another history.

The particularity of objects of cultural heritage raises various problems for conservation

practice. Why are some objects, and not others, acknowledged as cultural heritage? What constitutes the individuality, particularity, or uniqueness of an object of cultural heritage, and how is this uniqueness preserved? In the Ruskinian tradition—which is still alive—the particularity and value of an object inhere in the material used by the craftsperson. The particularity of the object in a way reflects the individuality of the artisan. Many objects recognized as cultural heritage from other points of view would not achieve this status in the Ruskinian tradition. And many recent kinds of conservation practice are quite unacceptable from the Ruskinian perspective.

The Ruskinian perspective is an example of an essentialist conception of cultural heritage. Some objects are worth preserving because of specific inner features. Other theoreticians of conservation history, such as Dehio and Riegl, are essentialists too. They just disagree with Ruskin about the essential characteristics of objects worth preserving.

According to essentialists, objects or kinds of objects acquire their identity from their inherent nature. Essentialism is incompatible with the constructivist view defended in this paper. Identity is not an inner kernel in things or kinds of things. Identity is a function of relations. Social relations and practices embodying social relations determine the identity of cultural and social objects (Jensen 1987). The uniqueness that gives an object its value and makes it a part of our cultural heritage is not something always already in the object; it is grounded in a particular social or cultural setting. But as our practices change, the object will only keep its particularity and value if our relations to it are reconstructed.

We should, however, not just spurn the old philosophies of conservation. The role of Ruskinian and other essentialist approaches in conservation practice actually falsifies essentialism and supports the view that cultural heritage is constructed in an ongoing interaction with our past. Traditional, essentialist approaches are by their spokespersons conceived of as valid metaphysical or scientific approaches to conservation. While such claims cannot be justified, essentialist perspectives have themselves played a role in the construction and reconstruction of our cultural heritage. They have influenced not only our choice of objects of heritage but also our ways of treating and presenting those objects (Kirkeby 1998). We should understand essentialist perspectives as ways of reconstructing and perceiving our past. These approaches are them-

selves part of our cultural heritage and embody different value systems. Public knowledge of the various philosophical approaches to conservation will contribute to a more varied public examination of values.

Universal Aspirations in a Multicultural World

Cultural heritage has two faces. It can be—and often is—constructed to support the activities or dominance of powerful groups or nations at the expense of other groups or nations. But cultural heritage can also be constructed with deference to an ideal of human flourishing that has been recognized by various, often opposite, traditions and communities throughout Western history. That ideal also plays an important role in great parts of the world today, among groups and communities outside the Western world who are struggling to ensure self-determination and to become respected members of the world community. Cultural heritage constructed from different positions and standpoints in a multicultural world thus may contribute to the fulfillment of universal human aspirations.

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Cultural Fusion

Erik Cohen

A scene from a flooded *soi* (lane) in Bangkok: A middle-aged *farang* (white foreigner), obviously a tourist, enjoys a meal at a street hawker's stall. Above the table, his body is dressed in a shirt and tie; below, he wears shorts, while his feet are stuck in the foot-deep floodwater. The upper part of the white foreigner is Western middle class; the lower one, Thai slum dweller.

I saw this scene in the 1980s, while doing fieldwork in a Bangkok slum. The incongruence was ridiculous and therefore stuck in my mind. The image, however, is also iconic—showing a fusion of incongruous elements in the interstitial situation of the tourist, which bridges the gap between cultures. In this case, the fusion was probably not deliberate —but tourists, especially younger ones, often intentionally combine in their attire elements of their ordinary dress with others taken from their destination (a headdress, a shoulder bag, or a jacket), thus expressing their partial identifications with the cultures of both their origin and their destination.

Such practices exemplify a general contemporary tendency toward cultural fusion, which finds expression in many domains—including that of material culture. I shall try here to conceptualize cultural fusion as a distinctly contemporary phenomenon and to distinguish it from bordering concepts, as well as from similar phenomena in the past. I shall then deal with phenomena of cultural fusion in three principal domains: the arts, commercialized crafts, and contemporary cuisine, and conclude with a brief reflection on cultural fusion and postmodernity.

The Concept of Cultural Fusion

I define *cultural fusion* as a process of deliberate creation of new cultural products from often incongruent elements of diverse origins, so that the constituent elements preserve, at least to some degree, their separate identities. This process is conceptually and empirically distinct from several other bordering concepts. Cultural fusion differs from assimilation because it does not presuppose a substitution of new for existing cultural elements; it differs from acculturation or diffusion in that it is not an extended, gradual process but a deliberate, abrupt one. It comes close to syncretism and hybridization but is distinguished from those concepts in that the separate identity of the constituent elements is preserved in fusion—it does not dissolve in a new, uniform whole or in an undifferentiated pastiche. Indeed, the aesthetic appeal of contemporary cultural fusions is often in the unresolved tension between these diverse incongruent elements.

Cultural fusion in this sense is a uniquely contemporary phenomenon, even if it has many precedents, which to varying degrees approximate the definition here proposed.

Historical Precedents of Contemporary Cultural Fusion

Processes of integration between cultures and mutual borrowing of cultural elements are as old as human history. They were particularly salient wherever divergent cultures came into close and prolonged contact, whether through conquest or in more peaceful ways, such as trade and intellectual exchange. A good example of the former are the syncretistic religions of Latin America, emerging from the confrontation between the Catholicism of the conquistadores and the native religions of the subjugated peoples. A good example of the latter are the cities of "heterogenetic transformation," such as the great world metropolises, which, according to Redfield and Singer (1969:213), were "place[s] of conflict of different traditions, center[s] of heresy, heterodoxy and dissent, of interruption and destruction of ancient tradition." They were also centers of new cultural syntheses. In neither case, however, was the fusion deliberate, nor was there a conscious striving to preserve the distinct identity of the diverse component cultural elements. Members of syncretistic religions are usually unable to discern the cultural origins of various articles of their faith and practices, just as a traditional Englishman would be hard

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put to explain to a foreign visitor the diverse origins of the ingredients of the quintessentially English high tea.

Cultures of the past may have emerged as confluences of diverse elements, but they created new, integrated wholes that their members imagined to be utterly their own, unique and privileged in comparison to those of others. Contemporary people, however, recognize the validity of the cultures of others and sense the tension between the incongruent, often conflicting attractions of various cultures or cultural elements that processes of globalization bring to their doorsteps.

The process of cultural fusion, in my view, expresses this tension, celebrates it, and ameliorates it; it seeks to overcome it and sometimes possibly also to comment ironically upon the incongruencies of the contemporary human predicament or the hegemonic strivings of global cultural trends.

Cultural Fusion in the Arts

In the modern West, cultural fusion in the contemporary sense was prefigured in the works of writers and artists who turned to non-Western, Asian, or "primitive" cultures in quest of ways to rejuvenate Western art. One of the most prominent early representations of this endeavor is the poet Ezra Pound, who in his *Cantos* practiced (following Fenollosa, his teacher of Chinese) an "ambitious cultural syncretism that enjoyed taking ideas from their context and recontextualizing them" (Kearns 1989:64).

Pound was in fact "fusing" (Kearns 1989:67) diverse linguistic elements into "unstable generic combinations," which were ultimately intended to serve his aim "to reestablish poetry at the center of public discourse: in the agora" (Coyle 1995:36). This aim, in turn, was to serve his ultimate goal of cultural rejuvenation of the West (Coyle 1995:40). But Pound's antisystemic predilections led him to conjoin words and phrases from diverse languages without any attempt at integration. Pound's late *Cantos* are probably the most extreme example of disjointed multilingual fusion in modern poetry, with their mix of languages, alphabets, and numbers, including Chinese ideograms (see Pound 1956).

A more integrative early attempt at fusion between apparently heterogeneous elements is provided by "primitivism" in European Modernist art (Rubin, ed. 1984): the introduction of African and Oceanic motifs and other stylistic elements into modern Western painting. Rubin claims that "the 'discovery' of African art . . . took place when, in terms of contemporary [artistic] developments, it was needed" (Rubin 1984:110), and he stresses the "underlying affinity between tribal and modern art at the level of conceptual form" (Rubin 1984:19). One of his critics, however, offered a countermodel to this interpretation: the readiness of Western artists to turn to African and Oceanic cultures is seen as "comprising no more than a weariness with Western canons of representation and aesthetics" (McEvilley 1996:107)—namely, as another attempt at a rejuvenation of Western art.

The incorporations of non-Western or local ethnic musical elements into the concert music of Western composers such as Dvořák, Stravinsky, or Bartók are similar instances prefiguring the contemporary tendency to cultural fusion in the arts.

However, in the contemporary period, the most prominent examples of fusion in the arts do not come from the global centers but rather from the world's periphery: they represent primarily an attempt at localization of global stylistic trends—the fusion of Western artistic styles or forms with local third- or fourth-world cultural elements. This type of fusion may constitute an attempt to bridge the gap between global styles and local cultures and thus bring modern foreign styles closer to the local audience; but they may also express the desire of local artists to insert a local voice into world art and thus achieve recognition for the artists and the local culture that they represent. The artists thus play an interstitial role, striving to bridge the disparate worlds between which they are suspended, without, however, losing their local voice and identity.

The concept of fusion, in the above sense, has been expressly used in the term fusion jazz, which involves the joining of folk themes—such as, for example, Jewish Oriental religious melodies—with the rhythmic and other stylistic elements of American jazz.

The most numerous examples of contemporary fusion in art come from third- and fourth-world painting; the field here is very wide indeed, and only a few examples must suffice: I am most familiar with fusion in Thai modern, especially surrealist, art, in which Buddhist philosophical and religious motifs and ideas are fused with Western pictorial styles (Poshyananda 1992:141 ff.; Phillips 1992:63–69). Similar examples from other parts of the world abound: Mayan motifs are fused with modern pictorial styles

by Guatemalan painters, and aboriginal mythical themes are represented in Western pictorial form in Australian aboriginal and acrylic paintings (Myers 1995). The tendency can even be found in popular culture: in Christmas cards from tropical countries, the northern figure of Santa Claus is fused with local, southern motifs; thus, in southeast Asia, instead of a sled drawn by reindeer, Santa may be riding a buffalo or an elephant (Cohen, forthcoming).

Cultural fusion in the arts does not necessarily mean that "meanings" are transported from the original into the new, fused artistic creation. Western artists in the past actually disregarded the native meanings of the "primitive" objects on which they modeled their work (Rubin 1984), and Western art critics and museums have been accused of revealing "an ethnocentric subjectivity inflated to co-opt ['primitive'] cultures and their objects" (McEvilley 1996:117) rather than representing them from their own, emic point of view. The native elements in the work of third- and fourth-world artists, such as the acrylic paintings of Australian aborigines, have been represented to the Western public in terms foreign to the culture of their creators (or at least to the representation of that culture by anthropologists) (Myers 1995).

Cultural Fusion in Commercialized Crafts

Cultural fusion is ubiquitous in the commercialized production of third- and fourth-world crafts intended for an "external," primarily Western, public (Graburn 1976; Cohen 1992), reached either through the tourist or the craft export markets.

The process of fusion in commercialized crafts runs in many respects parallel to fusion in third- and fourth-world arts, discussed above, but with one major difference: third- and fourth-world artists have embraced Western artistic styles, though they have localized them; while third- and fourth-world artisans mostly tend to adapt their products to Western tastes under the pressure of market demand, rather than by force of their own acculturation.

The attractiveness of third- and fourth-world crafts to a wider Western public is not different from their attractiveness to individual Western artists at an earlier period: they are refreshingly different, strange, or "exotic." The very strangeness of "authentic" crafts, however, tends to constrain their marketability: it often clashes with the tastes, prefer-

ences, needs, or lifestyles of prospective modern clients. Few foreigners would purchase authentic southeast Asian tribal clothing, however attractive they may find it, since they have no functional or decorative use for it in their home environments; however, adapted in various ways to Western tastes and needs, tribal textile products become more marketable. A principal mode of such adaptation consists in various ways of a fusion of local and Western cultural elements. I shall illustrate these from my own research in Thailand and supplement my examples with some taken from other world areas. The typology of change in craft products by way of fusion is organized below according to the relative predominance of local, as compared to extraneous (mostly Western), cultural elements in the fused commercialized craft products.

Change of form

The attraction of ethnic or tribal crafts to foreigners consists mostly in their motifs, designs, or ornamentation; their customary forms, however, may not suit Western tastes or needs. Thus, the costumes of the Karen, Hmong, or Lisu tribal women of Thailand are decorated with attractive embroidered, appliquéd, or batiked designs, but their cuts are inappropriate or unappealing to Western women. Their decorated garments have therefore been cut for the foreign market in Western forms: Karen blouses have been cut as vests, and the plump Lisu dresses have been remade into long, fashionable Western ones (Cohen 1988: ills. 1, 2, and 6).

A particular variant of this type of fusion is what I termed "secondary elaboration": the refashioning of used and often discarded ethnic or tribal clothing into new kinds of modern-style garments. A leading example is the use of the material of the old, richly batiked and ornamented Blue Hmong women's skirts for the creation of a variety of dresses, skirts, or male and female jackets in Western cuts, by urban Thai seamstresses and designers (Cohen 1988:56). In Israel a similar refashioning of old Bedouin dresses and jewelry into fashionable modern clothing and necklaces has taken place. Similar cases of such secondary elaboration can be found in other parts of the world.

Change of function

In the preceding examples, the general function of the objects was preserved, and only their forms were changed. However, owing to differences in lifestyle

between third- and fourth-world artisans and their new, mostly Western customers, new functions for craft products had to be evolved, in order to make them marketable in significant quantities. In Thailand, such new uses for hill tribe products were mostly introduced by foreign relief organizations and other nongovernmental organizations. Tribal artisans, like Hmong refugee women from Laos in camps in Thailand, thus began to produce a variety of (to them) unfamiliar products, decorated with Hmong designs: bedspreads, table place mats, pot holders, oven mitts, aprons, and handbags were made by people who did not have Western-type beds, tables, or kitchens. Functions were sometimes also generalized: the Thai hill tribes thus produced a variety of semifinished "patches" and squares, which could be used as decorations on Western garments, pillowcases, or other objects.

Similar examples of change of function abound in other world regions. In Fiji, for example, locals use *tapas* (mulberry tree bark paintings), which are several meters long, to decorate the walls of their habitations. Though the ornamentation on the tapas is attractive to Westerners, they could hardly fit such long paintings into their living rooms; tapas made for tourists were thus reduced to sizes resembling those of hill tribe "squares" in Thailand—and used by westerners as "pictures" or wall hangings in their homes.

Change of motif, design, or ornamentation

Third- or fourth-world crafts may attract westerners by virtue of the particular techniques used in their production, regardless of the attractiveness of their designs or ornamentation. Mostly on outsider initiative, these techniques are sometimes applied to the production of objects with motifs, designs, or ornamentation that are completely foreign to the local culture. Thus, potters in Dan Kwien, northeastern Thailand, applied their techniques to produce such objects as ancient Greek amphorae, copied from the catalog of an American museum. And Navaho sand-painters, who used to produce commercialized versions of their mythical motifs, turned to making sandpaintings of cowboys riding broncos, as well as of other motifs unrelated to their own culture (Parezo 1983).

These kind of changes occasionally converge into a trend of "heterogeneization" (Cohen 1993)—a growing inclination of local artisans to relinquish the production of objects related to their own cul-

ture and to apply their habitual techniques to the production and ornamentation of unfamiliar craft objects made according to samples supplied by foreign customers. Such objects are border cases of fusion: they are, in fact, almost complete innovations, only vaguely linked to the local culture by the manner of their production.

Cultural Fusion in Cuisine

Though people have conservative tastes in food, cooking is an area in which immense cross-cultural borrowing has taken place throughout the ages. Our interest here, however, is not in the spread of certain ingredients nor in the borrowing and appropriation of specific dishes, but in a distinctly contemporary phenomenon: the deliberate fusion of diverse culinary elements into new dishes or entire cuisines. Fusion in this domain can be observed on two levels, which in fact resemble, respectively, the realms of the arts and those of commercialized crafts discussed above.

The haute cuisine of fusion—"fusion cooking" (Burros 1997)—parallels the realm of fusion art: chefs, resembling artists, invent new dishes by fusing Western and non-Western (Asian, Amerindian, or aboriginal Australian) elements. According to one expert, in Asia in particular (more than in the West), "there is true fusion, true interfacing and interweaving, where the ingredients complement one another" (Burros 1997). Among the more unusual examples of fusion cuisine is the combination of elements from Amerindian and mainstream American cuisines (Preet 1997) or the introduction of aboriginal ingredients into Western dishes in Australia (Pfieff 1997).

Popular Western dishes, and especially the rapidly spreading fast foods (Watson 1997), frequently take on local flavors, just as commercial crafts are endowed with Western features to suit the taste of new customers. The quintessential American fast food, hamburger, fused with Asian culinary elements, becomes in Korea kimchiburger (Stormont 1992), *pulgogi* (Korean-style barbecued beef) burger, or even teriyaki (Japanese-style marinated and grilled beef) burger (Bak 1997:142). In Thailand some years ago, a fast-food chain offered a pizza with hot topping; in Peru a restaurateur is preparing coca ice cream from the coca leaf that is used to make cocaine (Koop 1998); and in Israel, "crab shwarma" was recently offered at a popular food fair.

In the realm of fast foods, another sort of fusion can also be observed: the emergence of Asian, especially Chinese or Thai, fast foods, in competition with the Western varieties (Watson 1997). The very adaptation of Chinese and other Asian foods to this form of preparation and distribution constitutes a fusion of Asian contents with Western forms and resembles one of the types of fusion in the domain of commercialized crafts discussed above.

Comparison: Cultural Fusion in Three Domains

We have followed parallel processes of fusion in the domains of the arts, the commercialized crafts, and cuisine to demonstrate varieties of the phenomena of cultural fusion in the contemporary world. Further examples could be presented from other domains, such as religion, architecture, and fashion. But enough has been said to establish the ubiquity of the phenomenon. The question arises: To what extent are the processes observed in the three domains basically similar, resembling the concept of cultural fusion as defined at the beginning of this article, and to what extent do they feature systematic differences?

Cultural fusion, as a deliberate counterposition of divergent cultural elements, is most salient in the domain of the arts—where it also serves as a vehicle of aesthetic or social messages—and, to a lesser extent, in the domain of fusion cuisine. In the arts, fusion may express the desire of individual modern Western artists to rejuvenate their culture, or it may express the desire of artists from the global periphery to insert their local voices into world culture, seeking recognition on the international level.

In commercialized crafts and popular foods, fusion is less an expression of the individual strivings of producers and more a response to market demands or competition—mainly in the mode of adaptation of local products to the tastes and needs of new audiences. However, under certain circumstances, such fusion may also provide individual artisans with new means of self-expression. The impression from my own research, however, is that artisans derive less satisfaction or meaning from individual products of fusion; rather, they take pride in their ability to apply their inherited skills to a wide range of novel products unrelated to their cultural traditions. Whether producers of popular fused foods have similar sentiments is doubtful, although this question remains to be investigated.

Cultural Fusion and Material Heritage

Cultural fusion—in the sense of an intentional juxtaposition of contrasting elements—is a distinctly modern phenomenon. It is, therefore, generally absent from the material heritage of historical societies, even though external influences were often adopted and integrated with local traditions to create innovative styles. Even as the reciprocal influences of the "Occident" and the "Orient" have intensified in the more recent historical periods, the major hybridized monumental creations that eventually became part of the material heritage of modern and modernizing societies sought primarily to harmonize the diverse stylistic elements rather than to put them in striking juxtaposition. This aim can be seen in the hybridized architectural edifices that characterize the early phases of the modernization of third-world societies. Thus, for example, the Chakri Throne Hall in the Grand Palace in Bangkok, built between 1876 and 1882 by John Clunish, represents, according to Apinan Poshyananda, a historian of modern Thai art, "a meeting of two opposites (Oriental-Occidental) on a grand scale: arched windows, classical columns, and rustication are mixed with traditional carved gables, gilded decoration and elongated spires. The interior of the Chakri Throne Hall shows further blending elements: marble pilasters support carvings of three-headed elephants: chandeliers are placed adjacent to nine-tiered umbrellas *(Chatra):* the Throne of Audience is positioned at the center of arched columns" (Poshyananda 1992:5). The Throne Hall thus "became the epitome of King Chulalongkorn's Preferred Royal Style" (Poshyananda 1992:6), which was eventually more widely disseminated. The proponents of this style sought to blend, rather than to oppose, "East and West" in the edifices they created.

However, fusion in the historical material heritage can be brought about by an innovative intervention into an inherited historical monument. An excellent example of such an intervention is the glass pyramid at the new entrance to the Louvre, constructed in the 1980s. Though functionally subservient to the purpose of the museum, its modernist appearance made it sufficiently conspicuous for the Michelin guide to Paris to state that "the extravagantly decorated façades [of the museum buildings] overlooking the Cour Napoléon make a majestic backdrop to the sharply contrasting, rigidly geometric form of the glass pyramid at the centre of the courtyard" (Michelin 1996:211). So formulated,

the museum becomes the background to its modernistic entrance.

Cases such as the Louvre seem to be relatively rare, owing to the often rigid, conservative ethos prevalent among policy makers and professionals in the realm of the material heritage. Therefore, rather than in the inherited material culture, fusion should be sought first and foremost in the emerging material heritage of our own times. Architecture, the leading domain of postmodernism in the arts, is also the one in which fusion is most widely practiced. This is the case not only in the avant-garde centers of contemporary Western architecture but also in some more peripheral third-world societies. I am particularly familiar with the striking case of Bangkok, one of the most dynamic third-world cities. In contrast to the integrative tendency of the "preferred royal style" mentioned above, contemporary urban architecture in Thailand manifests an astounding multiplicity of fusion of the most diverse stylistic elements and construction materials. The architectural scene of Bangkok has consequently been perceived by observers as "chaos" (Hoskin 1996), as a "flight of fancy" (Dunfee 1989), or as a "smorgasbord" (Dugast 1988:23). Particularly during the decade of rapid economic growth and affluence preceding the economic crisis of the 1990s, stylistic elements were often indiscriminately borrowed from all over the world and introduced into the ever-bigger, ever-higher, and more monumental edifices built at an accelerated rate in Bangkok; they were often combined and counterpoised on the exterior of the same building. This practice endowed some of the new edifices with the appearance of an "architectural cocktail," which tended to become "even more dizzying when pastiche of design was accentuated by absurd counterposition. The Roman villa might be surrounded by a coconut grove; the Gothic mansion may rear its head amid a jumble of Chinese shop houses" (Hoskin 1996:1). The incongruity occasionally became extreme—as when "an ancient Greek-style temple structure [is built] atop a concrete-and-glass high rise" (Dunfee 1989:35) or when "Doric and Corinthian columns and facades … abound in the lower levels of otherwise modern steel-and-glass office buildings" (Dunfee 1989:36). However, as Hoskin has pointed out, "even otherwise quite ordinary buildings seem unable to resist an Ionic column here or a Gothic window there" (Hoskin 1996:1)—the tendency to fusion thus becoming a widespread fashion among the wealthy, not unlike the royal style of a few generations ago.

This proliferation of architectural fusion in Bangkok raises a question: How much of this will eventually be "canonized" as part of the material heritage of the society? Our examples indicate that the fusion of diverse elements is often done in order to impress by a display of pomposity rather than to elicit an aesthetic shock by the intentional contrast of diverse elements. It is therefore doubtful that many of these architectural innovations in Bangkok (as elsewhere) will be much appreciated in the future and become part of a valued material heritage; rather, most will probably be discarded as commercialized aberrations produced at the behest of some nouveaux riches, during a speculative boom that eventually led to an unprecedented economic and social crisis.

The case of fusion in the architecture of Bangkok, though instructive, is nevertheless only one of many instances in which such fusion is to be found—and it may not be one of the most important ones. It may therefore be the case that works of architectural fusion in cities that I am less familiar with will achieve greater recognition and eventually be incorporated to a greater extent into the material heritage of their respective societies. I do, however, suspect that, as in the case of other commercialized arts, most of these works will eventually be discarded as kitsch or be condemned by some other such depreciative label, even if they remain in place as reminders of an extravagant phase in the history of architecture.

Postmodernity and Cultural Fusion

In this article, I have proceeded on the assumption that culture is generally a fairly distinctive, recognizable (if not necessarily cohesive) entity. Although it is always in a state of flux, it tends toward closure, though its boundaries may often be fuzzy and changing. Cultural fusion is thus a process that takes place between elements of recognizable bounded entities, as my examples have sought to show. Postmodernist views of culture in terms of hybridization and pastiche between heterogeneous elements deny boundedness to culture—and hence probably also reject the concept of cultural fusion as a distinct process of intercultural interaction. While I do not deny the empirical presence of hybridization and similar processes that blur intercultural boundaries as well as the link between culture and place, I have reservations regarding the theoretical conclusions that postmodernists seek to draw from

such processes. In my view, these are transitional and interstitial processes, and not definitive ones; though cultures change constantly as they absorb extraneous influences, they do not become completely blurred—rather, they are in an ongoing process of integration. The contemporary world is one in which identifiable cultures and cultural identities are permanently emerging, but they do not disappear. Cultures also tend to preserve a greater degree of cohesiveness in the global periphery than they do in the world's cosmopolitan centers, which serve as the principal examples for postmodernist arguments. The concept of cultural fusion as here proposed thus differs from such postmodern concepts as hybridization and pastiche, precisely because it stresses the separate cultural identities of the divergent elements fused in the new product, which is thus an intercultural or interstitial, but not a hybridized, phenomenon. Indeed, the tension between the separate constituent elements is the distinguishing quality of fused objects—a quality that often endows them with their aesthetic appeal.

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Preserving the Historic Urban Fabric
in a Context of Fast-Paced Change

Mona Serageldin

This essay addresses the challenge of preserving historic centers in societies experiencing fast-paced change. This situation is commonly encountered in newly independent states, countries undergoing economic restructuring, and nations in difficult political transition.

The cultural heritage in the historic cores of urban settlements is subject to the interplay of two major forces: (1) the dynamics of development and transformation as they affect population movements and real estate markets, and (2) the perceptual and practical links between people and their architectural and cultural heritage.

Rapid economic and institutional transformation subjects the built environment to varying degrees of strain that expose cultural heritage to risk. Concepts of preservation transferred from countries enjoying prolonged stability and growth often prove to be unaffordable and ineffective in preventing the onset of decay in historic cores. National development policies focused on economic issues do not adequately support conservation objectives and may even clash with them, while the dynamics of real estate markets reinforce disparities in valuation between the old and the new. They create situations in which the value of land in accessible sites is depressed by the condition or present uses of historic buildings standing on the land.

Appreciation of the built environment is partially conditioned by the network of interlinked organizations underlying the social order: family and kin groups; ethnic, religious, and political associations; and even occupation and business interests. Rapid transformation causes strains and dislocations in these structures. Restructuring of production opens new fields and opportunities to acquire status and wealth independently of old systems. Reshaping the institutional and legal frameworks within which new and surviving organizations have to function creates new channels for upward mobility, as well as new symbols of achievement and status. The mechanisms of self-improvement and the experience of personal fulfillment are more or less profoundly altered.

Attitudes toward change span the spectrum from enthusiastic acceptance to outright rejection. The greater the turmoil caused by transformation, the greater the need for anchors to culture as a reaffirmation of identity in the face of globalizing and homogenizing influences. There is a rich body of literature on this important topic. This essay is only intended to stimulate further discussion of the factors underlying the coexistence of a vibrant or revived living culture with a progressively deteriorating historic fabric, in danger of being lost through neglect, collapse, and eventual disappearance.

Changing Context of Development in a Globalized Economy

Since the mid-1970s, cities have had to cope with transformation of unprecedented scale and scope. With little control over the market forces driving this fast-paced change, public authorities are unable to capitalize on the opportunities they open up and unable to mitigate their negative impacts. Developing a capacity to engage citizens is a precondition to addressing these challenges.

Economic transition creates a pervasive sense of insecurity. Globalization brings foreign investment and with it volatility of capital flows. It also brings increased geopolitical interdependence, social mobility, and widening income disparities. People find it hard to accept concepts of national development and increased prosperity that do not translate into gains more or less evenly distributed among social strata. Workers used to relationships of allegiance and solidarity are stunned by offers of employment carrying no stability or hope for advancement.

In developing countries, the effects of transition are compounded by the inability of the domestic economy to create jobs for an increasing number of young entrants into the labor force. Rural migrants drift into the cities, where they join the growing ranks of an urban underclass composed of daily

laborers barely earning subsistence wages, hard-core unemployed without hope of finding living-wage jobs, impoverished households, and increasing numbers of homeless and abandoned children.

Between the extremes of affluence and poverty, the backbone of society consists of conservative middle classes struggling to understand the forces that have disrupted their lives. They want to make sense of the present and avoid losing ground. Only the more entrepreneurial welcome change and firmly believe in the promise of a better future made possible by technological innovation. The rest view themselves as the guardians of values and traditions in the face of destabilizing change occurring faster and faster everyday.

Emergence of New Spatial Patterns

The dualism that prevailed in the industrial age—between the new affluent sectors and the older, overdensified fabric housing the poor—is fading away as a complex pattern of interlinked districts takes shape. Physical proximity does not overcome social exclusion, while ambiguous transitional zones blur the edges and offer more porous boundaries that allow population movements to restructure the urban area in accordance with the emerging socio-economic order.

Cities are in a perpetual state of crisis management as they struggle to confront multispeed development, exclusion, and violence. Historic districts, bypassed by development, have come to be major recipient areas for the marginalized. The degradation of their urban fabric results in the loss of a rich architectural and urbanistic heritage. Today, as in the past, neglect and misuse are deplored by intellectual elites sensitive to the intrinsic value of cultural heritage. Design professionals attracted by the aesthetic qualities of vernacular architecture and organic settlement patterns tend to associate with this fabric an ideal community life far removed from the harsh realities of life in these settlements—be they Italian hill towns or Balinese villages. They are dismayed at the lack of appreciation of these inherent qualities, as expressed by residents, local representatives, and public officials in charge of managing this vulnerable heritage.

Comparison with Past Episodes of Culturally Disruptive Change

Parallels have been drawn between the transformations experienced today and the change brought about by the industrial revolution or the traumatizing encounters between East and West in the colonial era. Indeed, in these various situations, technological innovation and the movement of goods and people across districts, regions, and continents led to irreversible changes in the economy and the society (in political and civic organization, in formal and informal institutions), which in turn affected attitudes toward the cultural heritage. Preservation of historic sites spearheaded by foreign and local elites was not devoid of romanticism ungrounded in reality. Policies sought to conserve selected components of the cultural heritage judged to be of particular interest or merit, while devalorizing economically and socially their context.

Having won their independence, the former colonies had to rebuild their nations on visions of a future that stood in sharp contrast to the past. With few exceptions, the symbols and statements shaping these visions embodied references to more glorious historic times. Attention and funds were lavished on those landmarks that stood as symbols of such achievements. Meanwhile, the fabric within which they blended or above which they towered was allowed to decay and disappear, eroded by progressive encroachment or swept away by bulldozers.

Historical precedents offer only superficial parallels to the situation today. The transformation that occurred prior to 1960 permeated society by a slow filtering down of elite-driven cultural expressions and adaptations of imported systems and forms. The transferred models incorporated the spectrum of attitudes ranging from adoption of alien modes and values to continuity of traditional norms and patterns within outer shells having an appearance of change.

Elite attitudes toward the cultural heritage were colored by the outsider's view of the indigenous. Valuation of worth and benefits was unrelated to the perceptions and experiences of the communities interacting daily with this heritage. In historic centers, this perspective led to a focus on monuments and key buildings as well as on archaeological sites, to the detriment of the context: the historic fabric and the underlying family and community life.

Preservation for the tourist and the scholar took precedence over revitalization for the resident.

Attitudes toward the cultural heritage embody a complex mix of emotional and pragmatic needs. With reference to the architectural and urbanistic heritage, a clear distinction is made between landmarks and nonmonumental buildings that form the historic fabric and provide the setting for monuments. The apparent lack of appreciation of the nonmonumental architectural heritage as a determinant of cultural identity in societies experiencing rapid change is often perplexing to the outsider charmed by its quaint character, distinctive features, and warm sense of place. The factors discussed below account for this attitude.

Loss of use value of the nonmonumental fabric

Traditionally, only the monumental was conceived of as a cultural symbol and built to last as a legacy of political power, religious belief, and flourishing civilization. The nonmonumental environment was utilitarian, built to serve its present users and destined to disappear when it became physically or functionally obsolete. The cultural significance given today to the surviving examples of historic fabrics is not intuitively understood by the communities that inhabit them.

The massive movements of labor that have prevailed since the mid-1970s have created complex rural/urban linkages that spill over national boundaries. The new links have channeled capital and introduced models of modernity that drive an unprecedented transformation of the rural habitat, from Mauritania to Mongolia. Worldwide, there is a convergence toward materials that are convenient to use and toward designs that are economical to build and maintain. Traditional house forms and settlement patterns are demolished and replaced by structures built of durable materials which prominently display the signs of improved social status. Where land is accessible and inexpensive, as in areas bordering on wastelands and deserts or in the vast expanses of steppes and mountains, older, compact settlements are often abandoned and new ones built nearby incorporating the desired features of modernity.

The hilltop villages of Yemen; the oasis settlements of Turfan, Siwa, and Gadàmes; the Ksour range of the Atlas Mountains—to name a few unique and strikingly beautiful historic fabrics that blend perfectly with their natural environment—today stand empty, abandoned by the communities that once inhabited them. People and activities have relocated to adjacent "modern" developments, while national and local authorities struggle to arrest the degradation of the historic sites and promote their touristic value. From the community's perspective, there can be no intrinsic value attached to elements of the built environment that have lost their symbolic meaning and their cultural significance. When they no longer have any use value, they are bound to disappear.

Changes in production methods and their social implications

The mechanization of systems of production undermined the economic base of historic cores as well as their built environment. Handcrafted wares disappeared as household items were replaced by cheaper manufactured goods. At the upper end, handicrafts are part of the arts and luxury markets. Lower-end production, particularly in developing countries, has been reoriented to serve the tourist trade and is today partly mechanized so that products can be offered within the marketable price range defined by middlemen, who reap most of the profit. In developing countries, this process started in the early 1950s and expanded rapidly, as machinery and equipment became more accessible.

The historic fabric that traditionally housed workshops can no longer do so without risk of total loss. Transport of materials, equipment, and merchandise is expensive and far exceeds costs at locations more accessible to vehicular traffic. Environmental pollution and vibration arising from the use of chemicals and machines eventually affects the structural soundness of buildings and erodes the quality of the place. High rents in the commercial areas limit the amount of space that can be used for production and storage without profit margins being affected. Progressively displaced by retail, workshops and small production activities gravitate to locations where they can find cheaper and more spacious premises—mostly deteriorating buildings at the edges of residential blocks.

From the viewpoint of preservation of the cultural heritage, the intrusion of workshops in the

residential fabric is unwelcome. The erosion of environmental quality undermines the livability of the neighborhood and accelerates the onset of an irreversible cycle of deterioration and abandonment. Invariably the areas around these smaller manufacturing enterprises become pockets of poverty housing, transient labor, and rural migrants whose needs and living patterns are incompatible with the lifestyle and urbanity of families in adjoining quarters; this development then leads to an exodus of longtime residents. The decay of the physical fabric is compounded by the erosion of the community structure.

When asked what they value most in their neighborhoods, old-time residents in historic centers most often refer to "a way of life" and to "social relations"; these remarks highlight the importance of community to an appreciation of the built environment that transcends direct-use benefits. Erosion of the sense of community leads to disintegration of the sense of place and to loss of the significance attached to elements of the physical setting.

Changing roles of civic leaders and community groups

The state (through central or local authorities) gradually assumed fiscal, administrative, and regulatory functions traditionally discharged by local leaders, community associations, and neighborhood groups. This incursion by the state eroded the institutional structure at the community level. This process, which began in Europe in the eighteenth century, occurred in the developing countries mostly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under colonial rule, or as part of national development policies and modernization processes.

The adoption of "modern" planning and design standards for urban layouts and public facilities precluded the use of historic buildings for many functions that they originally housed. Until the late 1960s, preservation practices did not challenge the building codes and bureaucratic norms preventing the more imaginative designers from exploring innovative, adaptive reuse of existing historic buildings. In most developing countries, these strictures are still in place, partly because of fear that restored buildings will be misused and partly because of an inability to conceive and implement an effective awareness-building program for residents in historic districts.

In the West, the legacy of conflicting social and environmental policies that prevailed until the early 1960s has slowly faded away. Three decades of stability and prosperity have allowed policies for preservation and appropriate valorization of the cultural heritage to take shape. Programs for public-private rehabilitation partnerships in individual countries are now coordinated at the European Union level. In France this evolution is marked by the reorientation of the PACT-ARIM agencies from urban renewal to the rehabilitation of older areas; in recent years, these older areas have accounted for over half of their portfolios of projects.

In countries in transition, conflicting economic, social, and environmental policies prevail and are sustained by legal and institutional frameworks in a state of flux. Their detrimental effect on the historic fabric endures over prolonged periods and can be devastating.

Residential choice, mobility, and the older housing stock

The former centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe present an interesting example of conservation practices and development policies working at cross-purposes. On one side, ill-advised housing policies allocated the older stock, considered to be of lower quality, to poor families, undermining its desirability and tarnishing the image of historic centers as a place to live and work. Decades of urban expansion through the development of suburban housing estates for young families further skewed the demographic and economic characteristics of the population remaining in the older neighborhoods. On the other side, preservation policies extolled the significance of the architectural and urbanistic legacy as a repository of historical memory and a symbol of cultural and ethnic identity. The prohibitive cost of rehabilitating the nonmonumental fabric to the unrealistically high standards mandated by rigid conservation guidelines makes it unaffordable to longtime residents in the absence of significant public assistance. Lacking the necessary resources, local authorities channel the funds they muster into investments to upgrade the public domain while they seek to privatize the residential stock.

Preservation strategies and practices have yet to be adapted to the politics of decentralized planning, the dynamics of real estate markets, the

diversity of institutional actors, and the multitude of individual decisions regarding the refurbishing and use of buildings and spaces. Residents who did not elect to live in the historic centers and do not wish to remain there should be given assistance to relocate.

The rigidity of inherited housing policies and conservation practices is increasingly challenged by a population that views residential choice as an integral component of individual freedom. Many residents perceive that they are denied the opportunity to share in the benefits of growth and affluence and want to move out on that account. An urban fabric that is associated with economic stagnation is bound to lose its attractiveness. Sensitive rehabilitation and revitalization policies could guide the turnover entailed by privatization to reestablish social balance and economic vitality while safeguarding the physical features that give historic environments their special sense of place.

Devalorization of the old urban fabric

The constant exposure to the messages, images, and consumerism of mass culture relayed by the media is powerful enough to affect lifestyles and aspirations everywhere. In developing countries, this exposure has tended to devalorize the historic fabric in the eyes of its inhabitants. Even among those who profess to be traditionalists, varying degrees of ambivalence pervade attitudes, irrespective of political affiliation or level of affluence. Cultural sensitivity can only be inferred from the actual choices and actions of individual households.

Deterred by regulatory controls and the difficulties encountered in penetrating a dense medieval fabric, development since the 1950s has continued to bypass the historic centers. From Lahore to Algiers, the shacks housing the marginalized populations in the older *extramuros* settlements were cleared over time to make way for modern districts and the architectural symbols of a new age. The exodus of local elites, affluent residents, and prosperous businesses to the modern districts deprived historic centers of effective civic leadership and political clout. It also signaled the hopeless obsolescence of the historic fabric and its inability to offer the new generation a desirable living environment able to accommodate their rising aspirations.

The urban middle classes, which constitute the backbone of the population in the historic centers, are the groups most affected by the path and rate of change. The financial hardships they experience during structural adjustment and economic transition are compounded by the restructuring of society and the reallocation of political power that the new order brings. Their ambivalent attitudes toward the cultural heritage reflect a struggle to reconcile the contradictions inherent in acquiring the requisites for participation in the new systems while retaining ties, if not allegiance, to valued aspects of the older order. Caught in a vicious circle of politically legitimized aspirations and frustrated expectations, their disarray is expressed in the search for coherence through ordering principles that simultaneously offer reassurance of cultural continuity, promises of positive change, and hope for self-betterment. Their frustrations are expressed through ethnic, religious, and political extremism, rather than through cultural revival.

Functional obsolescence and unrestrained misuse of the fabric carry a devalorizing message that reinforces the negative image of the old among a youthful population eager to access the conveniences made possible by new technologies—if not to embrace the changes in outlook and lifestyles that new technology could entail. Nor can residents take pride in their civic affiliations when historic quarters remain underserviced and bypassed by development.

Youngsters growing up in the old city quarters find it hard to believe that society at large places a high value on an environment that is allowed to deteriorate through neglect. A schoolboy in Cairo, told of the rich architectural heritage surrounding his house, responded in disbelief: "If these buildings are so important, why are they left in a state of disrepair?" And when he was told that resources were lacking, he remarked, "If there is no money to repair them now, why do people throw garbage around them?" At issue here is the link between obsolescence, neglect, and loss of cultural significance.

This link is underscored by the impact of restoration on perception of the heritage. Polish citizens who take great pride in their cultural heritage invariably refer to Zamocsz as the best exemplar of their historic architectural and urbanistic tradition, rather than to Kraków, a Unesco World Heritage site, or to the less well preserved authentic buildings in their own towns. In Zamocsz, the streetscape with its fully restored façade looks practically new. The preservation work undertaken under the "Revalorization" program in the 1970s and 1980s entailed emptying the fabric of inhabitants and activities, restoring the buildings, and limiting reuse

to civic and commercial functions, a process that deprived the area of its social character and its life. In Kraków, by contrast, the historic core has retained its traditional mix of functions. Preservation efforts begun in the 1990s seek to rehabilitate the fabric without displacement and to safeguard its vitality and special sense of place.

Partnerships in the Rehabilitation of Historic Centers

Since the early 1990s, urban development strategies have sought an appropriate balance between public commitment, private investments, and community initiative. In the historic cores, this balance will have to take into account the responsibility of the state in the preservation of cultural heritage as part of its role in ensuring the stewardship of resources and the sustainability of development. The magnitude of the challenges requires partnerships in action. International organizations can muster the expertise and leverage the resources needed to address critical problems plaguing centers in crisis. Worldwide, there is an expanding role for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the rebuilding of community structure and in the sharpening of awareness of the value and appropriate use of the historic fabric. NGOs have the freedom and flexibility to innovate, and they are well positioned to engage citizens through sustained outreach.

The tendency to denigrate or dismiss the potential contribution of public and private local actors is perplexing. Despite the fact that they lack capacity and funding, elected mayors, local councils, and civic groups are the fundamental building blocks of democratic governance and civil society. Their effective interface is the guarantee of sustainability and continuity of initiatives at the community level, including initiatives for conservation of the cultural heritage.

The inability of authorities in developing countries to prevent misuse and deterioration of the cultural heritage is routinely blamed on the inadequacy of the regulatory and institutional framework. Yet the enactment of legislation and the establishment of public and private agencies only rarely result in anticipated improvements. Layers of bureaucracy and overlapping competences multiply without impacting reality on the ground.

The fundamental causes of the ineffectiveness of conservation measures lie in the stress experienced by communities undergoing rapid change. Change, whether desired or imposed, entails geographic mobility, social dislocation, and new economic systems. The imbalance between the quasi-static view of management adopted by conservation agencies and the dynamics of development in societies experiencing rapid transformation becomes untenable. The widening gap between the behavior required by preservation codes and rational individual economic, social, and cultural behavior produces the seeming disregard for the historic fabric deplored by conservation agencies, historic commissions, NGOs, and civic groups whose mandate or mission is preservation of this cultural heritage.

Strategic Management of Change and Development in Historic Settings

The ability to devise effective strategies for historic districts must be grounded in an understanding of their role as a vital component of a living city. How people perceive their heritage at a time when society is undergoing change is critical to this task. When little in the forms and experiences of the past seems relevant to meeting the challenges of survival and upward mobility, the management of change requires an ability to identify opportunities as well as to avoid pitfalls. Public and private institutions involved in historic centers must develop an in-depth understanding of the urban dynamics affecting the fabric they seek to protect. They must view change as a challenge and learn to handle it as an ingredient of strategy, rather than as a force to be contained. Historic cores must be integrated into the economic and social life of the settlement within which they are embedded.

Historic districts are not only the repositories of a "quaint and distinctive" architectural and urbanistic heritage that must be preserved for its intrinsic value. Strategies based on this premise, if enforceable and enforced, end up safeguarding the form but profoundly affecting the function, as happened in the Vieux Carré in New Orleans. Buildings restored to strict historical standards house a transient population of affluent households and tourists rather than resident families. Pockets of poverty and gentrified enclaves do not resonate with the memory and inherent vibrancy embedded in the historic fabric. Rebuilding communities capable of valuing and protecting their cultural heritage requires balancing diversity and inclusion so that a cohesive mix of

socioeconomic groups can be reestablished, and the cycle of impoverishment and environmental degradation can be reversed, as was successfully achieved in the medina of Tunis.

Interestingly, the resurgence of identity as an issue in the developing world does not necessarily entail a renewed attachment to the historic fabric. Respect for the heritage extends only to monuments that symbolize religion and ethnicity, a position often fraught with ambivalence and lacking sensitivity regarding preservation of the integrity of buildings and conservation of their architectural and decorative elements. Garish renovations are a direct consequence of this attitude, as well as a reaffirmation of the link between physical condition and perceived loss of importance and significance.

Landmarks that have retained their significance stand out as beacons to which citizens gravitate as they seek reassertion of identity or solace in times of political or personal crisis. Leaders who look for recognition find it politically rewarding to ensure the renovation of these landmarks. The strong emotions unleashed by any hint of threat affecting landmarks cherished for their real or symbolic significance testify to the value attributed to meaningful links to cultural roots.

The progressive loss of significance undergone by the nonmonumental historic fabric has trivialized the architectural and urbanistic heritage, thereby impoverishing society at large. Stripped of meaning, the fabric is reduced to a mass of buildings and spaces to which only use value is attached. When abuse, misuse, encroachment, and neglect gradually erode this value, the objects are discarded. The structures are left to fall into ruin, and the spaces are abandoned. Reversing this pernicious trend involves the dual challenges of inclusion and the building of awareness.

If historic districts are to regain their vitality, they cannot constitute the inexpensive housing stock for the urban underclass and the cheap space for marginal production activities. Rehabilitation with social inclusion, and revitalization accommodating a wide array of informal activities, implies that economic growth and preservation of the cultural heritage should proceed as interlinked facets of development strategy at the community level.

The Challenge of New Patterns of Cultural Interaction

Cross-cultural transfers of systems and forms have occurred throughout history. The dominant power provided the models that others strove to emulate. Invading armies brought sudden and traumatic change in the wake of warfare and destruction. Then as now, however, cultural influences mostly traveled alongside trade and commerce. Successive stages and relays involved perforce a degree of reinterpretation, and verbal transmission was not devoid of exaggeration and fantasy. This flexibility offered the space needed to adapt transferred models through creativity and entrepreneurship. Promoting widespread acceptance precluded radical departure from accepted practices. Models could undergo the mutations needed to avoid conflicts with prevailing value systems and to facilitate their integration into a different cultural setting.

The reverse flow was confined to a trickle that filtered through an intellectual minority and fueled fleeting fads among the rich elites of the day. The nineteenth-century European revival of forms and patterns from antiquity and the proliferation of cults and practices of Asian inspiration in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s are examples of the more enduring influences.

Technological innovation has irrevocably altered the patterns of cultural interaction. It has given media an unprecedented capacity to transmit messages in space and time. The changing reach of verbal communication, and particularly of political discourse, following the introduction of the audio-cassette is dwarfed by the dramatic transformation brought about by the ability to carry images across physical obstacles and political frontiers.

Today, images in full color, motion, and real time are the powerful carriers of cultural influences around the world. The visual experience and the speed of transmission are overwhelming. There is hardly any discretion left for interpretation, and there is no time for adaptation. Worldwide, the California ranch house reflects the housing aspirations of young families, no matter how ill adapted it is to climate and lifestyle. The architecture of public buildings is equally affected. Discarding previous adaptations to local building practices, mosques from northwest China to Mali are replicating the forms of the Haram Sharif Mosque in Medina. The constant stream of images displays models and practices asso-

ciated with success and affluence in a globalized economy. The images carry the awesome strength of irrefutable truth, and the models they propagate carry the credibility of demonstrated achievement.

The ability to log on through the Internet to networks capable of transmitting individually generated written and visual information has removed the last obstacle to accessing unfiltered information. Worldwide, the new generation will include a vastly expanded circle of computer-literate citizens able to interact directly with others across space and time. People will have the option to become active participants in exchanges and debates rather than to be recipients of loaded messages beamed at them by political and business interests.

Specialists concerned with the preservation and conservation of the cultural heritage fear that this connectivity may foster the spread of a hegemonic culture marginalizing vulnerable groups in society. This fear may be overstated. After all, the availability of imported goods is more indicative of an economy opening up to the global market than of a society experiencing erosion of its traditional values, and the consumption of these goods reflects improving living standards rather than loss of cultural identity. Inasmuch as interaction can alter perceptions and stimulate cultural ideas, it can be argued that cross-cultural interaction in cyberspace may foster cultural diversity and enrich humanity in the same way that the trade routes did throughout history—but on an entirely unprecedented scope and scale.

Successful conservation efforts have to recognize and reconcile the different viewpoints of groups who have a right to be heard in the matters affecting the historic urban fabric. In a context of fast-paced change, their voices will express divergent value systems and conflicting interests. Appreciation of cultural heritage by outsiders gives a distorted view of reality. Conversely, exclusive reliance on the perspectives of uninformed local residents dangerously narrows the significance of culture and impoverishes it as well.

Conservation specialists play a catalytic and educational role in assisting responsible authorities to preserve and rehabilitate the heritage they hold in trust for their nation and the world. They are instrumental in saving neglected heritage, whether it be archaeological vestiges to which little importance is attached, buildings considered undesirable symbols of foreign domination or undeserving memorials of oppressive regimes, or cultural expressions somehow perceived as harmful to some locally held value or tradition.

An integrative framework for the rehabilitation of historic centers will seek an approach fostering social cohesiveness, economic sustainability, and political backing. To the extent that they are financially able to renovate and refurbish, unguided by development regulations and unconstrained by formal controls, residents in historic centers will alter the urban fabric and the buildings, sometimes inflicting irreversible damage to the original structures and accelerating the deterioration of the built environment. A sustained outreach effort will be required to build awareness, particularly among the young, of the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage around them, as well as of its economic benefits. Residents must be convinced that the objectives of historic preservation and social inclusion can be reconciled and that rehabilitation and conservation plans will not deny them the opportunities available to citizens living outside the historic core.

In a context of fast-paced change, the challenge for conservation specialists is to devise methods by which cultural heritage can be interpreted, valued, and valorized in light of emerging trends, new perceptions, growing diversity, and divergent attitudes. The importance of their role transcends conservation activities per se. They should contribute to shaping the cultural identity of younger generations caught in the turmoil and crosscurrents of transition, by offering interpretations and strategies that avoid the equally damaging extremes of introspective insulation and confused dilution in a globalized world.

The Making of Cultural Heritage

Susan M. Pearce

This paper is meant to contribute to the ongoing debate surrounding the genesis of cultural heritage and perhaps to stimulate responses. In it, I hope to do three things: to reprise (briefly) what cultural heritage is; to analyze the factors that bear upon its creation; and to arrive at some sense of how and where, in the real world, we might look to see new heritage being created before our very eyes.

Genesis of Cultural Heritage

The term *heritage,* a borrowing from legal terminology, may be described as embracing that which can be passed from one generation to the next and following generations, and to which descendants of the original owner(s) have rights deemed worthy of respect. This legal genesis is one of the reasons that landscapes, buildings, and objects loom large in the management of heritage at a practical level, because these are entities that the law recognizes as property and, consequently, as being capable of transmission across generations (for discussion, see Carman 1996). The term also presupposes an intrinsic relationship between those who went before and those who come after, with concomitant notions of responsibility and "holding in trust." Equally—and I write now as someone brought up in the English system—law only exists as a mixed bundle of customs and judgments that run back to the beginning of legal memory in 1086; consequently, law itself, like the heritage it defines, draws its authority from the traditions of the ancestors.

The idea of "cultural" heritage is an extension of the basic concept of heritage. Here, inheritance is extended to encompass ideological elements that, like physical transmissions, enable the inheritors to enter into their rightful state and be their true selves. The separation of ideology—ideas and feelings—from property (in the legal sense of material goods and real estate) is, however, an unreal dichotomy, a wrongful slicing up of the seamless garment of culture. No social idea can exist without its physical manifestation—whether it be land, objects, food,

body use, or performance space; correspondingly, no physical manifestation lacks its ideological information. This physicality is why cultural heritage requires such a large superstructure of operation and maintenance, why it can be directly politically contested, why it can be owned, and why no group can afford to preserve all its heritage in the style that it might wish.

This analysis leads to the next significant point. Cultural heritage is cognitively constructed, as an external expression of identity, operating in a range of ways and levels. It is a social fact, and like all social facts, it is both passive and active. Its passivity rests in its role as an arena of selection: most elements (of whatever kind) do not make it into the heritage zone. Its activeness lies in its influence: once particular elements are established as heritage, they exercise power; they have a life of their own that affects people's minds and that consequently affects their choices. Heritage becomes a representation of beliefs about self and community which nest in with other related belief systems to create a holistic structure that ramifies through all the areas—politics, economics, use of resources—where social life touches us as individuals.

Heritage is the cultural authority of the past, as well as a selective construction of individual and corporate identity. Heritage (in the sense being discussed here) is also part and parcel of that complex of beliefs and actions that it is convenient to call European modernism. It relates to attitudes that emerged and developed in Europe, chiefly northwestern Europe, between about 1500 and 1750, and that engage particular notions of the nature of history, the force of scientific reason, the rights of the individual, and the rule of law, all of which have been shadowed in the foregoing paragraphs. And heritage shares with modernism its dark side: the selection and cultivation of heritage, by definition, draws on distinctions between "ours" and "theirs," "us" and "them," and brings all the nationalistic and fascist horrors that can flow from its misuse. Like most modernistic notions, ideas of heritage have

spread over the world, but we must remember that they are not native to most cultures and are not by any means necessarily the only or the best way of constructing a relationship of identity on the cusp between past and present.

Factors in the Construction of Cultural Heritage

Given this broad context within which cultural heritage operates as construct and practice, it is helpful to seek out ways in which we can analyze, and so begin to understand, how the selective process that results in heritage works—that is, to distinguish the elements involved and the force field created by their modes of interaction (Table 1). The notion of scale is significant here. Each human being lives within a range of nesting scales, all of which are a field for cultural practice. Plainly, the precise definition of these is difficult, but as a working guide—given relative validity by its standard use and in the pragmatic experience of most of us—we can make some suggestions.

As individuals, we all have patterns of thought and action that draw on and help to sustain cultural practice, in the sense that even a person marooned alone on a desert island can be said to be cultured. On the next scale, humans live in family groups, which are carriers and creators of culture; the exact composition of family groups is, of course, a key cultural element. The same considerations apply to the local community and to the self-perceived "ethnic" group, both made up of families and their composing individuals. In the contemporary world, all ethnic groups exist as parts of sovereign states, and the states together make up the world community, which, along with all the other wavelengths of scale, has a certain collective culture expressed through transnational organizations.

The relationship among the different scale levels is both intimate and complex and embodies the ideological tensions that in part arise from and in part are expressed by conflicting cultural traditions, and which create a force field across the system. These may be broken down into a number of interlocking agencies. Utilitarian pressures of population and space; clashes of ideology and religion with, among many other discords, the potential for ethical clashes over perceived "bad" cultures (e.g., those that carry out female circumcision); the media and its "sound bite" agendas; professionalism and its

resistance to change; specific economic pressures (e.g., globally on woodland): all these spring to mind, and others could be distinguished, like conflicts between elite and popular culture, or pressures associated with the speed of communication. All these cultural traditions, of course, have arisen among ourselves, in relation to interactions among the different scales, and with the natural environment as the battlefield.

Across the force field of interscale tension plays a range of generic elements that are implicit in the human condition, and through which, therefore, culture and heritage are habitually constructed. These can be defined in various ways, but key areas do emerge. "History" is plainly important—the term being used here to mean the appropriation of the record as a legitimizing technique. Similarly significant is the way in which Nature is produced as Culture, particularly in the areas of land and food. The symbolic action of material culture is implicit in the ways in which the natural environment is used to create things, which then embody and order social relationships and our expression of ourselves. Notions of "good ordering" or "right relationships" are crucial and are embodied in explicit religions and in political and ideological codes and practices. The operation of all these things gives rise to direct political/economic competitive pressures. Finally, the explicit actions a culture takes to reproduce itself (over and above the reproductive drive implicit in all cultural action) need consideration. These embrace notions of "education" and "stewardship." These elements are appropriated simultaneously by the community at each scale in ways that each finds satisfactory, and each appropriation is a site of conflict with community groups in the surrounding scales. The result is a matrix of cultural production and clash.

An effort to express this has been set out in Table 1. Plainly this is the merest sketch or skeleton of the complexities of cultural dynamic and can never express the fine grain of actual cultural experience. It may, however, help provide a framework that can give some insights into how choices about what constitutes heritage come to be made. Two examples must suffice, and I have chosen the Watts Towers, Los Angeles (Goldstone and Goldstone 1997), and the Tower of London. These have in common their physical presence in the landscape, their important cultural heritage and tourist status, and their definition as towers, but little else.

Table 1

Activities, interactions, and emergent tensions relating to the construction of heritage at various scales of social organization.

Scale \ Activity	Tensions	History	Nature (i.e., view and use of land and its raw materials)	Material culture	Beliefs (religious/ political/ ideological, etc.)	Direct political/ economic pressure	Mode of self-conscious cultural reproduction
Individual	Conflict between Us and Other (racial, cultural, religious)	Desire to pre-serve memories; selective auto-biography	Competition to secure appropriate share	Individual tastes; clothes; posses-sions; souvenirs; psychology of shopping	Personal beliefs	Individual compromises	Chosen attitudes of conformity and rebellion
Family	Human fallibility (greed, voyeurism, callousness, nostalgia, etc.)	Desire to preserve family memories, create family histories	Production and consumption practices seen as "appropriate"	Choice of domestic interiors; clothes; heirlooms; shopping practices	Nature of family tradition	Aspirations to improve status, often seen in tech-nological terms	Mother's knee; father's stories; "learning from Nelly"
Local community	Perceived "econo-mic" pressures of raw material, labor, debt, etc.	Selection of originstories, localaccounts	Chosen construc-tion of nature as land allocation; building; food	Creation of culture through pick a' mix fashion	Mix of local family traditions, which constantly change	Efforts to channel local resentments, resistance to pressure to change	Accredited seniors: religious, "big men" employers, local institutions
Ethnic group	Clash between elite and popular culture; speed of global communi-cation, including electronics, travel, tourists	Creation of originstories; "ancestors'" management of discourses	Creation of narratives about "well-ordered landscape," "good food," "proper work"	Manipulated useof material symbol; creation of relics	Construction of cultural identityas a holistic worldview	Perceived fragility of "traditional ways of life"; threats to craft production	Choice of those vested with cultural reproduc-tion role, associ-ated institutions
Nation/ sovereign state	Media agendas; political and military force; pressures of popu-lation and space	Harnessing of major resources toproduction of selected elite his-torical narratives	Construction of narratives about, e.g., "the rice paddy landscape," "French cuisine"	Creation of icons; effects of mass production; raw-material pressures; "high culture" andart	Chosen attitudes of inclusion and exclusion, and their "real" effect	Creation of stance favoring production over consumption; tax generation; inter-nal suppressions	State education systems; agencies of cultural stew-ardship; roles of these in hierarchy
World	Professionalisms and others	Competition between grand narratives involv-ing concepts like neocolonial, Western, Oriental	Choice of various narratives to bedisputed/ reconciled— e.g., Unesco list of world heritagesites	Creation of world-class icons—e.g., Mona Lisa	Construction of major competing systems— e.g., Christianity/Islam /Judaism; capital-ism/communism	Permitted actions of transnational companies; warfare; terrorism	International agencies; travel and communica-tion; international media; pressure groups; think tanks

The Tower of London (a heavily visited site) emerged as significant on the scale of national sover-eign state, and at this level its constructed significance runs across the generic categories. It is "old," and the state has harnessed major resources to produce a selected elite of historical narratives that dwell on its ancient image of stability spiced with ancient tyranny to make it a bit sexy (but safe sex), on its centrality to the image of London, and on an association with the English resistance to Continental threat. It is, therefore, a major narrative about Englishness. It embraces symbolic material culture icons of potency interwoven with national life in the shape of the crown jewels, the regimental relics of the Royal Scots, and the legendary ravens—turned into material culture by their tamed status and their clipped wings. The Tower is part of the ideology that embraces all these elements, but today it is part of the production of consumption, since its only "real" role is as a state revenue-generating tourist site, and hence it has been incorporated into the national agencies of stewardship.

At the ethnic level, the Tower is exclusive: Scots and Welsh see it as a symbol of oppression. At the local community level, it has little impact. At the family and individual levels, it has an important role as part of family trips to London, which are embalmed in souvenirs, photographs, and memories, all of which feed into personal beliefs, chosen attitudes, and so on. It still features strongly as a narrative of Englishness that is beamed into our living rooms in, for example, the BBC costume dramas featuring stories about Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. The world at large also sees these dramas, but what it makes of the Tower of London images—if anything—is hard to say.

The Watts Towers have emerged into heritage by an entirely different route. Here the focus is upon a single individual. Simon Rodia was born in 1879, into a poor Italian family that lived near Nola, in southern Italy. Rodia emigrated to America about 1894, and in 1921 he moved to 1765 East 107th Street in the city of Watts, then a small town near Los Angeles. In the side garden of the house, over a period of some years, he constructed seventeen sculptures, including three tall spires and several smaller ones, a ship, walls, and a gazebo. All were constructed with scrap steel, wire or wire mesh, and Rodia's own cement mixture. Bits of salvaged ceramic, bottles, tiles, and shells form a mosaic that decorates the surfaces of the structures.

Nola has a famous yearly festival of Saint Paul, its ancient bishop, in which the citizens carry a ship and wooden towers on their shoulders, and it is clear that the design of Rodia's construction embodies personal and family memories and that in building the towers he was making an individual statement about being Italian and Nolan and about his personal attitudes. Here, family, personal, and ethnic/immigrant elements are fused together.

The local community—mostly not of Italian descent but equally poor and dispossessed—took little interest in his work, a circumstance furthered by Rodia's difficult personal disposition. But by 1959 the towers had become unsafe, and suddenly, when demolition was imminent, they began to attract the attention of the Los Angeles artistic and intellectual elite, and they became headline news across the United States. This situation can be seen to have come about because the belief system had now begun to embody notions about "folk art as icon" and about the significance of the bricolage approach to art and life signified by the "found"

nature of Rodia's structures and decoration. Once this change in the belief system had happened, the towers could be constructed into a local, national, and international iconic narrative of self-creation and life as art—with universal resonance. Consequently, they have been designated a city, state, and national landmark.

In the case of these contrasting heritage sites, analysis drawn from the information in Table 1 has been directed toward illuminating what has happened. This tool may provide a framework for improved understanding of the sites within which contemporary cultural production is now taking place. It could help researchers break up the cultural process into useful segments and define research projects that can hone in on particular issues of specific scale, animated by particular versions of the generic cultural production and worked upon by specifically identified pressures, within a specific time and place. A project being investigated could thus be placed within an investigative context aimed at a better understanding of the dynamic. This would illuminate the specific cultural community issues, encourage the development of overarching critical or theoretical perspectives, and provide material (at both levels) for engagement in the actual political process through which change can be brought about on the ground, however difficult this may be.

Cultural Heritage in the Making

We can, without great difficulty, single out some factors in the contemporary world that have global significance and that bear on issues relating to the construction of cultural heritage. One key factor is the breakup of the grand explanatory narrative, keystone of the modernist mind-set, and of its direct political expression, the great empire. The result is an increasing cultural mix within which people everywhere wish to define themselves self-consciously, in terms of what they see as their own cultural style. This produces very complex societies with many tapering and intersecting layers, where the notion of scale is a particularly important mode of understanding what happens. In these complex societies, interactions of many possible kinds among the entities will evoke ideas of brokerage and negotiation as significant players in the cultural game. From this condition arise notions of cultural fission and fusion which give us a perspective on hybrid or creole forms

and on notions of pastiche and appropriation—now perceived as creative and significant in their own right. This state of affairs is the postmodern context, where today's "lifestyle" is being transmuted into tomorrow's "cultural heritage," and it prompts the identification of a number of interesting themes that are potential sites for the invention of new heritage. These are presented below in Table 2. The "sites" and "parameters" should be taken only as suggestions drawn from a large range of possibilities.

Table 2

Potential Sites for the invention of heritage.

	Theme	Sites	Parameters
When cultures collide	How multicultural, or creole, culture is created from a hybrid mix, or clash of traditions.	• Newly or recently discovered tribal communities in, e.g., Brazil and New Guinea and how they interact with outside culture. • Relationship between minority and dominant culture, e.g., the Indian Gujarati community in contemporary Britain. • Eclectic fashion, e.g., Pacific Rimcuisine.	• Nature of small-scale groups as cultural entities, role of economic pressures and of ideas of "preservation not fossilization." • Identification of "heritage" sites, monuments, material culture, and practices as they emerge. • Role of international media.
Parents and children	How culture is transformed across thegenerations, how it is not, how itis changed, and why.	Selected communities and the relationship among grandparents/parents/children.	• How individual passions create significance. • How "ancestor" narratives work. • How families construct memories and autobiographies.
Catalytic significance of world-class icons	How the life and (sudden or mysterious) death of icon figures create "instant" heritage as materialculture, places, customs; how this bears on the notion of popular culture.	Selected individuals and culture that focuses upon them (i.e., John Lennon, President Kennedy, Elvis, Marilyn Monroe, Malcolm X, President Mandella, and Princess Diana).	• The nature of "relic" and "icon." • The manipulation of symbols. • The psychology of grief and self-identification; "recreationalmourning."
Workplaces	How we are, or were, at work until very recently (is anybody preserving aseventies/early eighties typing pool office?).	Selected modes of working in offices, farms, workshops, etc.	• Relationship between community and workplace (mine, steel mill, textile factory, etc.) and what happens to work traditions when workplaces close. • Industrial community narratives of origin and identity.
Consuming passions	How shopping constructs its sites.	Shopping malls, mail-order operations, car boot (garage) sales.	• Feminist ideology and its bearing on consumption. • National and international companies in operation. • Obstinate nature of personalchoice. • What are "quality goods" and"rubbish"?

These are the merest suggestions from an enormous possible range. They are, however, interesting areas in which, a few years or decades on, legitimated heritage sites will have emerged.

Final Suggestions

The forward path to an improved understanding of the nature and construction of heritage clearly lies in the articulation of properly constructed and managed research projects geared to illuminate this aspect of ourselves. Such projects will inform the debate by enhancing theoretical perspectives (an urgent task) and by broadening the scope of the field in ways that bring it closer to the issues that concern real individuals and communities.

Deciding upon research topics that will develop the theoretical base while illuminating particular areas or issues is a difficult art—and one that the cultural heritage studies grid roughed out here in Table 1 is intended to facilitate through the focusing on salient topics and tensions. The next step must be the implementation of research.

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Challenges for Heritage Conservation and the Role of Research on Values

Daniel Bluestone

Conservation professionals, in the ordinary unfolding of their day-to-day work, do not often have the opportunity for thoughtful discussion and scholarship concerning the broader implications of their work. Their time and effort run toward a nexus of physical material and treatments in projects whose significance is established quite apart from the technical work itself. Conservators tend to arrive on the scene after judgments of value are, it appears, already established.

Preservation and conservation work often unfolds amid unstated or undertheorized assumptions about the importance of conserving things. In major conservation projects, a curatorial model of high art has often held the center and bounded the edges of the work. More often than not, we conserve and preserve things that are judged to be beautiful, or rare, or testaments to creativity and cultivated artistic endeavor. Current conservation tends to valorize artistic value. This suggests that material culture be preserved in a way that protects or restores original stylistic and formal integrity. Here the value of material heritage is often assumed to be intrinsic—a matter mediated not so much by culture or politics as by aesthetic properties and sensory perception. The GCI's efforts to research the values and other social contexts of conservation highlight the broader resonances of cultural heritage—which transcend the aesthetic model and reflect the myriad ways in which people invest meaning in and come to understand the buildings, landscapes, places, and objects around them.

The pressure on the conservation field today undoubtedly derives from the open challenges to the established canonical ordering of cultural production. The assertion that singular artifacts can represent entire cultures, past or present, is now untenable in the face of our understanding of diversity within cultures and, as David Maybury-Lewis argued in a previous GCI meeting, the projection of an identity-based politics. The GCI's research has framed some important new ways of looking at the field, in surprising and quite helpful cross-discipli-

nary ways. It also can inspire the scholarly research that we need to do in order to develop education and interpretative strategies capable of ensuring that cultural heritage assumes a more vital role in the development of society. In the face of conservation science's far-flung technical accomplishment, we need to develop a similarly rigorous approach to articulating the value and benefits of cultural heritage; the arguments have simply not been sufficiently considered or articulated.

One of the most useful research themes regarding the role of values in conservation is the characterization of cultural heritage as a dynamic process. Aspects of every culture are often being transformed, defined and redefined, valued and devalued. In an earlier GCI meeting, for instance, Suad Amiry insisted that cultural heritage is "never static but always changing." Erik Cohen declared that cultural heritage can be "destroyed or impacted, but new cultural forms reappear. Along with the process of disappearance of culture, there is the production of culture."

These insights are quite useful, but we have yet to apply them toward an understanding of the material aspects of heritage conservation. We need to be less abstract to contribute usefully to the policies and decisions made by conservators and cultural administrators. Given that culture is a process, then, why should conservators intervene in its dynamic operations? Why shouldn't we accept change with its destructive forces and simply greet new forms with enthusiasm rather than engaging in the conservative practice of holding onto older and more traditional forms of material culture? If this is about culture and a culture doesn't value its old stuff, why should conservation and cultural professionals step in and derail the second law of thermodynamics? A report summarizing an earlier GCI meeting on the values and benefits of conservation stated that "change can violate traditions, create a sense of loss, and disempower people. It can cause a recombining of fragments, such that cultures develop a new sense of themselves from what had existed before." What is a poor con-

servator to do? Why should conservators try to stabilize a structure in the face of dynamic cultural change? Why not simply encourage the appropriation of fragments as the keystone of memory? Why should a culture, or a group of professional conservators, privilege certain meanings by conserving and restoring artifacts associated with them?

Many would agree that contemporary culture presents a significantly changed set of circumstances. It may well be that certain rates of change are too rapid, destabilizing, and destructive. If cultural heritage contributes to "human flourishing" and promotes "human happiness and societal peace," then we might argue that we cannot stand by and watch the disintegration of resources for promoting human well-being. Still, there is an open question about whether the new cultural forms that Cohen and Amiry see developing are any less able to accomplish the task of promoting human well-being. Who determines what well-being is in this context anyway? A series of case studies should be developed that will let us more rigorously explore the connections among cultural heritage, cultural change, and social and cultural well-being.

Case studies might well improve our understanding of the relationship between the work that a conservator does to stabilize material culture in a particular way and our notions of culture as a dynamic and changing process. I imagine that most conservators think they are setting the form and the meaning of a place when they conserve and restore it in a certain way, to a certain period, usually to its original form. In the face of our notions of dynamic cultural processes, I wouldn't blame conservators as a group if they retreated into the comforts of material certainty—this site was structured in this way one thousand years ago, and we'll fix it as best we can to conform to our understanding of that date. The realm of the value and benefits of cultural heritage is considerably less firm than the strategies for arresting mortar-joint or wood-sill deterioration.

Beyond a series of case studies, the attention and resources of the field need to be devoted to the interpretation of cultural heritage. Interpretation needs to be pursued as part of, but also over and beyond, the work of conserving, preserving, and restoring the material itself. Interpretation will speak most directly to the values-and-benefits part of conservation. It opens a world of meaning beyond the simple commitment to a materialist conservation and curatorial strategy pursued apart from any pre-cise sense of social value or benefit. This is what I take away from Brian Fagan's notion of our need to view cultural heritage as part of an educational system. His posting to the Values and Benefits project online discussion stated, "Without an awareness triggered by education, no society can provide a context for understanding, cherishing, and sensing the concrete in cultural heritage."

Buildings, landscapes, and material culture do not have an intrinsic value apart from culture; similarly, material heritage is not understood and valued apart from an act of education and interpretation. Buildings, landscapes, and artifacts are relatively mute—they don't speak for themselves. We need to focus our inquiry on the various ways in which different cultures deal with historic memory and the ways in which place and artifact become meaningful aspects of everyday life. There will obviously be historical and cultural variations in the strength of connections made among people, places, and memory. Conservation and preservation work would be tremendously enriched if it could recognize, draw upon, and promote a variety of public engagements with cultural heritage. Case studies could help clarify the avenues through which people could avail themselves of the resources represented by cultural heritage. Keith Basso's anthropological work on the Western Apache, for instance, develops an alluring portrait of the ways in which place becomes meaningful through nomenclature and storytelling (Basso 1996). The work explores the deep resonance of place for one society and both challenges and illuminates the less narrative, more materialist approaches embraced by contemporary conservators and preservationists. There are many other approaches to place and heritage that could usefully be surveyed, explored, and brought to the attention of the field.

Another important direction for research might be to chronicle strategies used to come to terms successfully with the meaning and importance of place and cultural heritage. Conservation is on its weakest, least articulated ground when it comes to discussing the relationships between things (buildings, landscapes, and artifacts), conserved in one way or another, and the social and economic meaning that a culture derives from those things. Conservation should devote itself at a very fundamental level to making places and social connections rather than to simply preserving and making a fetish of things. There are any number of buildings or places where the cultural meaning has changed

tremendously—take, for example, a medieval cathedral before and after the Reformation: the form is relatively constant; the meaning and understanding are completely transformed. Or think of the changed meaning of a royal seat appropriated in the course of revolution. How do conservators provide a framework for interpreting such changes? The physical sacking of seats of power amid civil unrest or revolution may well be a much more powerful and culturally important wielding of heritage than the meticulous preservation of place in the face of pervasive neglect or apathy.

Getting at the meaning of places should not reside with professionals alone but with the people who use and visit and construct their own meanings out of places. We need a system for taking measure of and working with the reception side of cultural heritage. Here conservators can take an active role; however, they also need to be open to the possibility that the places they conserve for one purpose may take on very different meanings over time. For example, battlefields of the u.s. Civil War loom large in landscape preservation in the United States. Many battlefields were initially preserved as focal points for memory and commemoration of soldiers killed and wounded. They were also, at times, analyzed as case studies in military strategy by people training to be soldiers. More recently, their memorial function, at places like Manassas, Virginia, has been elevated in connection with broader debates about development and suburban sprawl. Among administrators and historians at individual sites, there is great expertise about what happened from day to day during single critical weeks in the early 1860s. There is, unfortunately, much less understanding of how that narrative promotes civic life, builds community, or transcends a somewhat nostalgic antiquarianism. Figuring out the overarching significance of particular sites can help conservators and preservationists arrive at technical strategies that can promote a broader interpretative and civic purpose. We need to have a commitment of expertise to issues of interpretation and education that can match the accomplishments of our technical work on cultural heritage sites.

References

Basso, K. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Conclusions

Over the past several decades, we have seen changes in society that have affected how we view and create cultural heritage. From a restricted, canonical perspective of masterpieces and historical monuments, the concept of heritage has expanded to include materials such as vernacular architecture, ensembles of buildings, natural and cultural landscapes, and other objects that are significant to specific groups of society. The meanings and functions of these artifacts and places are contested. The field of conservation itself is undergoing fundamental transformations—in some instances, as a direct result of these societal changes. Some of the changes in the field are generated by technical advances that concern the "first front" of conservation research (see "The Spheres and Challenges of Conservation" in the Report on Research, above), the physical condition of the heritage. Greater understanding of the deterioration processes of materials and the development of new techniques have increased the possibilities of treatments and interventions that extend the life of materials. Yet the understanding of when, where, and why to apply this new technical knowledge has been less of a concern and has only recently been a subject for research.

As we in the conservation field acknowledge the importance of social and economic values along with the traditional notions of conservation value (such as age, aesthetics, and historical significance), we find ourselves in a much larger arena of decision making. In earlier times, conservation was a relatively autonomous, closed field composed of specialists and experts. These experts, together with art historians and archaeologists, decided what was significant and thus needed special attention and care—and how to best render that attention and care. The right of these specialists to make decisions was tacitly recognized by those who funded the work (for the most part, government authorities), and there was a consensus among those with the power to act regarding the values to be conserved.

In the twentieth century, the conservation community and the heritage field have undergone an extraordinary expansion. There still are specialists—who are certainly needed—but new groups have become involved in the creation and care of heritage. These groups of citizens (some are professionals from such fields as tourism and economics, others are advocating the interests of their communities) arrive with their own criteria and opinions on how to establish significance, on what merits conservation, and on how it should happen. As such, heritage, and the right to make decisions about it, are sometimes the subject of confrontation and acrimonious debate between different groups in society.

All the same, democratization is a desirable development, and it has changed the heritage field: the old canons are questioned; the opinions of the specialists are not taken as articles of faith; and heritage decisions are recognized as complex negotiations to which diverse stakeholders bring their own values. Today heritage is seen as the source of important benefits to society, including stability, understanding, tolerance, recognition of and respect for cultural differences, and economic development.

This report has proposed a new definition of conservation: it should be understood as a social process, one that includes the work of many individuals and groups, not just conservation professionals. Traditional conservation remains the core of the field's activity and its raison d'être, but, as argued throughout this report, the conservation process is best seen more inclusively, encompassing the creation of heritage, interpretation and education, the many efforts of individuals and social groups to be stewards of heritage, and shifting economic and political tides, as well as the traditional practices of conservators, preservationists, curators, and other professionals. This report advocates acceptance of this broader definition—we see it as imperative to the future success of the conservation field in responding to the demands of contemporary society.

This expanded notion of conservation reflects trends that have been developing throughout the world in the past several decades. In order to conserve heritage in ways most resonant with these real-

ities, we must make larger sense of the forces behind heritage. But how to do so? The dynamics of this expanded notion of conservation—as well as the expanded purview of the conservation field—can be better understood through a conceptual framework for the heritage-creation process (as outlined above in "The Need for a Conceptual Framework"). Such a framework would not only foster understanding but also serve as a tool for informed decision making about the effective management of cultural heritage. As already mentioned, value-driven planning methodologies are being advocated more and more in the field of conservation; yet the mechanisms for applying these methodologies are inadequately documented and underdeveloped. In order for conservation planning processes to center on, and take into deeper consideration, the multitude of social values, we need to develop better tools and methods for the assessment of cultural significance, so that it can be effectively integrated into conservation practice. If the concept of heritage creation can be articulated and mapped as a social process through the development of a conceptual framework, we can create a common ground for the exchange of ideas among the many professionals, academics, and other citizens who can contribute to the increasingly public and interdisciplinary work of conservation.

Unless this critical link is forged, the conservation of cultural heritage risks being marginalized in the social agenda. Thus, in the development of this framework, we should aim to arrive at strategic options for how conservation might better function in society, rather than simply to document and theorize about how it currently operates.

To build on the development of such an explanatory framework, as well as to strengthen the work of conservation professionals in supporting the broader goals of society, research on the following topics is suggested.

Stakeholders in the Negotiation Process

As argued elsewhere in this report, our research suggests that understanding conservation in social contexts means looking at the entwined processes of valuing, valorizing, and decision making. Valuing and determinations of cultural significance have already been discussed. With regard to decision making, there are at least two kinds of conservation decisions: The first kind is *how* to conserve—this has been the traditional focus and strength of conserva-tion professionals. The second kind of decision is *what* to conserve and, following on the heels of this, who plays what role and who pays. *What* to conserve has often been left to chance, or rather, the lead has been taken by public officials, legislators, and other policy makers.

Instead of focusing on the objects of conservation—the things and the methods of dealing with them—this research would center on subjects and would involve an investigation of the different actors and institutions and their motivations, habits, and other mediating factors.

The Notion of Universality in Cultural Heritage and Its Conservation

Universality—the assumption that some heritage is meaningful to all of mankind—is one of the basic assumptions and matters of faith underlying conservation practice and one assumption that emphasizes the positive role of heritage in promoting unity and understanding.

The notion of universality remains one of the most important and pressing questions regarding conservation. Universality assumes that certain aspects of heritage are meaningful to all people, regardless of cultural, social, political, and economic differences—a notion that seems untenable if any of the assertions about postmodern culture are on target. Under the guise of the "intrinsic" value of art or of multinational conventions and declarations regarding the protection of heritage, universality has long been assumed to exist as a quality of heritage objects and to form the rationale for global diligence with regard to conservation. It is, for instance, the rationale behind Unesco's World Heritage List.

But universality warrants closer critical attention. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that local, place- and community-bound values (i.e., those not, by definition, universally valued) are a more important impulse behind conservation. Cultural relativism (and, more generally, the postmodern questioning of canons in every corner of culture and society) demands that the conservation field explore what universality is, why it is so influential, and what role it should play in conservation decisions—in particular, through determinations of cultural significance. Just such a critical dialogue already exists throughout the conservation community in informal ways, and formally addressing it through this topic could advance the dialogue significantly.

The Significance of Scale in Shaping the Valuing and Conservation of Heritage

Is geographical scale in itself a relevant factor vis-à-vis heritage conservation? Is it more or less effective to conserve heritage (or design conservation policy) at a local scale, versus a national or global scale? In reality, conservation is practiced at several scales—personal, family, community, city, region, nation, nation-state, continent, global. But what are the articulations among these scales of practice? Do they nest perfectly? Do they conflict?

Cultural Heritage Conservation within the Current Social Climate: "Different, Plausible Futures"

This topic calls for an investigation of the trends shaping the possible futures of cultural heritage conservation, given the forces affecting society today. The topic would deal explicitly with the externalities generated by larger social dynamics—which frame the conditions in which the conservation field works. Global trends certainly have an impact on the valuing and valorization of heritage (identity politics, democracy movements, privatization, market economics, and so on)—but how great an impact? Are these impacts different from those brought to bear by regional conflicts or local disputes? Where and how does conservation find a place in the constellation of public policy issues? Scenario building, a strategic-planning tool for envisioning several possible futures given today's complexity of driving forces, would be an excellent tool for addressing this question.

In the end, those concerned with the future of conservation are left with many questions, which undoubtedly will be the subject of continuing debates and research. Heritage is valued in myriad ways, for myriad reasons: to construct and negotiate identity; to build bonds within a social group, like a nation or a neighborhood; to turn an economic profit; to send a political message, and more. How do these complex dynamics concerning values and benefits affect the prospects, meaning, and reputation of the conservation field? As Lourdes Arizpe asks in her essay, will heritage conservation efforts in the future serve as bridges between cultures or as trenches separating them? Research and discussions will help us construct answers to such questions, by broadening our sense of purpose and by clarifying the challenges that lay before us.

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Lourdes Arizpe is a professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México's Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias. An anthropologist trained at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico and the London School of Economics, she has published on topics including ethnicity, migration, and the relationships between global change and culture. She received Fulbright-Hays and John R. Guggenheim scholarships. A former assistant director-general for culture at Unesco, she was a member of the World Commission on Culture and Development which produced *Our Creative Diversity* (1996), Director of Research of the *World Culture Report: Culture, Creativity and Markets* (1998), and is currently Chair of the Scientific Committee for the World Culture Report.

Erica Avrami studied architecture and conservation at Columbia University, where she received her undergraduate and graduate degrees. She is currently a project specialist at the Getty Conservation Institute.

Daniel Bluestone is a professor of architectural history and director of the historic preservation program at the University of Virginia. Educated at Harvard College and the University of Chicago, Professor Bluestone specializes in American architectural and urban history. He promotes community historic preservation and the cultivation of place as part of broader strategies of sustainability. He also writes on the history and politics of historic preservation. His book *Constructing Chicago* (1991) was awarded the American Institute of Architects International Book Award and the Historic Preservation Book Prize.

Erik Cohen is a professor of sociology and anthropology at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he received his undergraduate and graduate degrees. With a current focus on the effects of tourism on Thai society and crafts, Dr. Cohen has authored over 130 publications on subjects including the sociology of Israeli and Asian cultures, expatriate communities, and tourism and tourist craft.

Uffe Juul Jensen is a professor of philosophy at the Institute of Philosophy and director of the Centre for Health, Humanities and Culture at the University of Aarhus in Denmark. Educated at the University of Aarhus, his areas of specialty are epistemology, the philosophy of science, and the philosophy of culture with emphasis on the medical and health sciences. He has lectured or been a research fellow at universities in Scandinavia, England, Australia, and the United States. He has published on materialism and philosophical anthropology; the epistemology, ethics and values of modern medical and health care; and the philosophy of evolution.

David Lowenthal is professor emeritus of geography at University College London. He was educated at Harvard, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Wisconsin. He is author of the seminal text *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1996), and numerous other studies. Dr. Lowenthal's many distinctions include the Historic Preservation Book Prize, and awards and fellowships granted by the Fulbright, Guggenheim and Rockefeller foundations, the Institute of Race Relations, the Royal Geographical Society, and Unesco.

Randall Mason studied geography, history, and planning and earned a doctorate at Columbia University, concerning the history and theory of historic preservation. He is currently senior project specialist at the Getty Conservation Institute.

Susan M. Pearce studied history and archaeology at Oxford University and then worked on the curatorial staff of the National Museums on Merseyside and Exeter City Museum. She joined the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester in 1984, and was appointed director of museum studies in 1989, professor of museum studies in 1992 and dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1996. She is also a past president of the Museums Association of Great Britain. She has published extensively in the museum studies field, and is particularly interested in the study of collecting.

Mona Serageldin is an adjunct professor of urban planning at the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University, and associate director of its Unit for Housing and Urbanization. A graduate of Cairo and Harvard Universities, she has been involved in numerous studies and programs around the world sponsored by the World Bank, u.s. Agency for International Development (USAID), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Centre for Human Settlements/Habitat (UNCHS/Habitat). Her ongoing research deals with issues of land management, strategic planning, and community-based approaches to urban housing and economic development.

David Throsby is a professor of economics at Macquarie University. A graduate of the London School of Economics, his work has explored the economics of the arts—with an emphasis on the performance arts, the economics of the lives of artists, and the interaction of the economic and cultural sectors. Dr. Throsby is immediate past president of the Association for Cultural Economics International and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Cultural Economics.*

Marta de la Torre is group director at the Getty Conservation Institute, and has directed the Institute's research on values from its inception. She studied art history at George Washington University and management at American University.

Appendix: Values Bibliography

This annotated bibliography is an information resource assembled in support of GCI's research on the values and benefits of heritage conservation. All the works included here reflect on the issue of values and the way valuing shapes conservation of the visual arts. Each work sheds light on the relationship between heritage conservation and its social contexts. This is not a survey of the conservation field per se, but rather a foray into fields and disciplines that shape conservation thought and practice and illuminate the role of heritage conservation within contemporary society. Reflecting the need to reach into many fields of knowledge, the works included here are drawn from many disciplines and fields allied with conservation—anthropology, sociology, history, economics, art history, architecture, philosophy, environmental studies, policy and law. The works thus represent some significantly different philosophical approaches to the valuing of heritage. (Not included in this bibliography, however, are broad, foundational works regarding philosophy and the role of values in Western, modern society—for instance, works by Adam Smith, Marx, Heidegger, Bergson, Kant, and so on.)

The specific objective of this bibliography is collecting and disseminating information about scholarly work concerning the social contexts of heritage conservation. It endeavors to be inclusive, rather than exhaustive. Nearly 200 works are included in this initial version of the bibliography—subsequent, expanded versions will be posted on the GCI's web site.

By design, this bibliography is a work in progress, an exploration of some of the boundaries of conservation research. We are certain that many useful additions will come from our collaborators and readers, broadening and deepening the information collected here, and we welcome your comments and suggestions. Please contact us by email at GCIValues@getty.edu.

Abrams, James F. "Lost Frames of Reference: Sightings of History and Memory in Pennsylvania's Documentary Landscape." In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage,* edited by Mary Hufford. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Abrams' study takes a critical look at the cultural politics of preserving the heritage of a declining coal-mining region. His thesis is that the government uses "heritage" to ameliorate and mask the dislocations brought to such communities by massive economic restructuring. The involvement of the state fundamentally alters the ways and the goals for which heritage is valued in these communities—making people, in effect, "spectators to their own history." The public sphere is "radically plural," he asserts, and heritage conservation should account for this instead of presenting a single, dominant, idealized story. The professional context of this chapter is folklore studies and economic development-driven heritage planning.

Keywords: heritage; heritage planning; policy; folklore; economic restructuring; United States; Pennsylvania.

Allison, Gerald, Susan Ball, Paul Cheshire, Alan Evans, and Mike Stabler. *The Value of Conservation? A Literature Review of the Economic and Social Value of the Cultural Built Heritage.* London: English Heritage, 1996.

This research report covers economic issues relevant to conservation of the built environment, and of particular concern to building owners. A collaboration among English Heritage, the U.K.'s Department of National Heritage, and the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, this research effort aims to bolster the belief that conservation contributes to economic well-being, by providing a base of information and academic work. The report conveys a succinct overview of economic methods for appraising the multiple social values of built heritage (contingent valuation, hedonic pricing, travel-cost method, and so on). This is followed by a lengthy, annotated bibliography of published works and reports concerning economic analysis of heritage, the role of heritage in economic development, and case studies supporting both these themes.

Keywords: economics; values; conservation.

Altman, Irwin and Setha Low, editors. *Place Attachment (Human Behavior and Environment, Advances in Theory and Research, Volume 12).* New York: Plenum Press, 1992.

This volume is a collection of environmental psychology research on issues surrounding individuals' attachment to physical surroundings and the cultural meanings generated by group affiliation with "places." Although "place" in this collection is not conceived of historically (i.e., not heritage places per se) this work does represent a strong cross-section of environmental psychology research.

Keywords: environmental psychology; place.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1991.

Anderson writes that the nation is an imaginative, cultural creation—essentially a political process. Empirically his focus is Southeast Asia, but not exclusively. He traces several influences on nationalism, such as religion and capitalism, and does not foreground the role of material heritage. However, he begins his narrative with a discussion of monuments and tombs, perhaps suggesting the ineluctable role of material objects in any analysis of cultural formations and change.

One chapter is devoted to powerful "institutions" through which nations are implemented—census, map, museums, archaeology—which have great power to shape imagination, and give objects and heritage a central role.

Keywords: nationalism; anthropology; Indonesia.

Appadurai, Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

This collection of essays explores the relationship between culture and commodification. *The Social Life of Things* is the result of a year-long dialogue between historians and anthropologists on the topic of commodities and the politics of value, considering the subject from various historical, ethnographical, and sociological perspectives.

Keywords: culture; anthropology; commodification.

Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Bachelard writes about the significance of space as a philosophical essential and as the basis for poetic imagination. He writes of the possibilities of transcending time and rationality to make individual connection with particular spaces. While difficult to classify, *The Poetics of Space* is an individual-centered, phenomenological approach to the significance of space, and by extension to the "spaces," forms and symbolic meanings of material heritage.

Keywords: philosophy; space.

Barthel, Diane. *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Barthel is a sociologist, and approaches architectural preservation and public history in order to understand the social forces behind them. The book is a comparative study of Great Britain and the U.S., and explores analytical themes such as utopianism, cultural change in post-industrial culture, consumerism, and the religious resonances as seen through the lens of what she terms the broad "preservation project." She portrays the preservation project as both evidence of, and a means of, social change in modern society.

Keywords: historic preservation; sociology; United States; Great Britain.

Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Style.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Baxandall's essays explore the social and artistic conditions that led to the production of value in 15th-century Italian painting. (They originated as a series of lectures given at the University of London.) Each illustrates how social conditions influence the development of distinctive visual skills and habits, the development of taste, artistic perception, and cultural value.

Keywords: art history; painting; Italy.

Beatley, Timothy and Kristy Manning. *The Ecology of Place: Planning for Economy, Environment and Community.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997.

This study, written within the discipline of land-use and environmental planning, is part of the increasingly influential discourse on sustainability. Like many works on this subject, Beatley and Manning's text is very progressive in insisting on the connections between economic, ecological and political spheres of society, and emphasizing a future-oriented view. Typically, though, it largely ignores culture and lacks a sense of history. It deals with "environment," "community," and "place" as comprehensive categories, yet culture (and material culture in particular) are scarcely mentioned.

Keywords: environment; environmental planning; ecology; sustainability.

Beaumont, Constance Epton. *Smart States, Better Communities: How State Governments Can Help Citizens Preserve Their Communities.* Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1996.

This book documents recent successes of state and local preservation policies (especially significant in the U.S., given the absence of strong federal efforts). Beaumont presents a series of case studies related to preservation legislation, regulations and economic incentives in the United States. The success stories chosen reflect the current trend to posit historic preservation as a planning and economic development policy, and less as a cultural practice. In this context, heritage is valued more for its utilitarian and economic values and less for its cultural meanings.

Keywords: policy; historic preservation; growth management; United States.

Becker, Howard. *Art Worlds.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Becker explores "art worlds" sociologically, as a network of people who produce, display, consume, and validate art through their cooperative activity (i.e., create cultural and artistic value). Each chapter addresses different sectors and functions within art worlds, explaining how they come into existence and persist, how they effect the form and content of individual artworks, and how artworks influence analyses of the arts and the way they are interpreted and valued.

Keywords: art; art history; sociology.

Bendix, Regina. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

The definition of some aspects of a culture as "authentic" (and thus other parts as inauthentic) is a compelling force in many modern cultures, and authenticity is a powerful force in valuing heritage. Because authenticity is a sublimated and influential way of valuing cultures, Bendix argues, the ways authenticity is defined and deployed warrant a full-length study. Bendix explores the central role of the notion of "authenticity" using folklore as a disciplinary case study of the larger cultural/anthropological issue. She explores ideas of imitation versus authenticity, and other dualities that

define modernity's approach to constructing and inventing culture. This study is equally relevant to questions concerning material and immaterial cultural heritage. The Introduction and Part I are overview in nature; the rest of the book focuses on the folklore field.

Keywords: folklore; heritage; authenticity.

Benedikt, Michael, editor. *Center 10/Value.* Austin: Center for Architecture and Design, School of Architecture, University of Texas, 1997.

This excellent interdisciplinary collection of essays frontally addresses the varied notions of value as seen from many different disciplines (from economics to sociology to philosophy, from individual to social scales), and brings these approaches to bear on the question of how issues of value affect the practice of architecture and the character of urban space. Contributors include leading economists, philosophers, architects, and other scholars.

Keywords: values; economics; architecture; philosophy.

Benson, Susan Porter, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, editors. *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

This collection of essays on public history (mainly by social historians) takes a critical approach, attempting to reveal the power relations embedded in traditional means of presenting history to public audiences. The collection also includes descriptions of several progressive models for presenting public history. The subjects of various chapters include museums, the construction of archives, oral history projects, literature, films, and community-based projects.

Keywords: public history; social history; historic preservation; museums.

Berger, Jonathan and John W. Sinton. *Water, Earth and Fire: Land Use and Environmental Planning in the New Jersey Pine Barrens.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

In describing the culture of a very distinctive area of eastern North America, this book speaks to the everyday use of heritage as a living system of people and land. It highlights the continuities of material and immaterial culture, people and land, and their development over time. To those who live in the Pine Barrens, heritage is the way of life—what academics would call vernacular. This is the opposite, in many senses, of the traditional preservation "landmark." Taken along with Mary Hufford's book (see below), the two books comprise an exhaustively documented case study. Hufford's book is an ethnographic case study, including some aspects of material culture; Berger and Sinton study the use of the land, from both the private- and public-sector sides.

Keywords: folklore; heritage; environmental planning; United States; New Jersey.

Bok, Sissela. *Common Values (Paul Anthony Brick Lectures).* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995.

This slim volume is a philosophical and moral investigation into the nature of cultural values. The author, in a collec-

tion of essays from 1988 to 1994, considers the question of what moral values, if any, might be shared across national, ethnic, religious, and cultural boundaries.

Keywords: philosophy; values; morality; culture.

Boniface, Priscilla, and Peter J. Fowler. *Heritage and Tourism in 'the Global Village.'* London: Routledge, 1993.

This study interprets heritage tourism as one of the most important and interesting lenses on the issue of how cultures are changing (as part of "globalization"), and the role that place and heritage play in this change. Boniface and Fowler also broach questions regarding how museums and conservation efforts can mediate the effects of tourism on cultures and material heritage. In keeping with the "global" ambitions of the title, they draw on examples from around the world. Though one of the authors is an archaeologist and the other a conservation professional, the work reads as informed cultural criticism.

Keywords: heritage; culture; tourism.

Bourassa, Stephen C. *The Aesthetics of Landscape.* London: Belhaven Press, 1991.

Bourassa argues for a cultural determination of aesthetic values and theories. Addressing landscape as an aesthetic object, the author sets forth a theory concerning the biological, cultural, and personal modes of aesthetic experience, as well as the biological laws, cultural rules, and personal strategies governing this experience. This work is built on a critique of Jay Appleton's *The Experience of Landscape,* which broke new ground by making general insights about the value of landscapes.

Keywords: landscape; aesthetics; art history.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Bourdieu's important work on the sociology of culture investigates acts and processes of cultural "valuation." He argues that art and cultural consumption are predisposed—consciously and deliberately or not—to fulfill the social function of legitimizing social and class differences, or "distinctions."

Keywords: sociology; culture.

———. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature.* Edited and introduced by Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

This critical study of cultural practices is a collection of Bourdieu's major essays on art, literature and culture, written between 1968 and 1987. They address, directly or indirectly, such issues as aesthetic value and canon formation, the relationship between cultural practices and broader social processes, the social position and role of intellectuals and artists, and the relationship between high and low culture. This is an important theoretical contribution to understanding the relationship between systems of thought, social institutions, and different forms of material

and symbolic power (i.e., value systems). His work includes the theory of distinctions, i.e., that "systems of domination" and power are expressed in virtually every aspect of culture. For deeper insight into the significance of Bourdieu's research, see Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Keywords: sociology; culture; art.

Boyer, M. Christine. "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport." In *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space,* edited by Michael Sorkin. New York: Noonday Press, 1992.

In this essay, the urban and architectural historian Boyer documents the use of urban heritage (architectural and narrative) in the commercial redevelopment of a Manhattan waterfront district. Her critical perspective focuses on the simulacrum quality of the history presented/marketed to the public, as the heritage of the site and the celebratory story of its contemporary preservation is woven into the real-estate development and commercial development dynamics that are the impetus of change as well as preservation.

Keywords: heritage; heritage development; urbanism; United States; New York.

———. *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994.

Boyer's dense treatise is an historical and theoretical exploration of the role of historical memory in the architecture of modern cities. She emphasizes a way of interpreting and reading buildings, cities and other displays (museums, panoramas, theaters) as a series of symbols, signs and texts. The work is informed by architectural theory, post-structural theory, and especially the work of Benjamin.

Keywords: history; memory; urbanism.

Brett, David. *The Construction of Heritage.* Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1996.

Brett's study is impressive in scope, and falls along the lines of David Lowenthal's wide-ranging inquiries into the uses of the past, both material and immaterial. Brett strongly emphasizes the visual, within the broader category of "representations of the past"; most of his examples are drawn from Ireland. Although he is an art historian, Brett's references draw as much from contemporary social theory as from art theory. Despite its specific focuses on aesthetics and Ireland, this study is extremely useful as an overview of the issues attending the cultural construction of heritage in the broadest sense.

Keywords: art history; social theory; heritage; Ireland.

Bruner, Jerome. *Acts of Meaning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Bruner is a psychologist whose lament is the separation of psychological inquiry from the broader fields concerned with the human condition. He argues for reinvigorating cul-

tural psychology—a field which studies collective, social processes as a factor in psychology. Specifically, Bruner focuses on "the meaning-making process" as the means of cultural shaping of individual psychology.

Keywords: culture; psychology.

Casey, Edward S. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Casey's basic belief is that "place" is important and indeed inescapable to humans. *The Fate of Place* is a history of philosophical thinking about space and place, and his aim is to bring the idea of place out of its "dormant" state in Western philosophy and into "the daylight of philosophical discourse." Casey follows his subject through a chronology of epochs in the history of the West: from the ancient Greeks to a brief section on medieval and Renaissance thinking, then a series of chapters on modern conceptions of space, culminating in the recent past by tracing Heidegger and various postmodernists. Casey builds a dense, detailed, and persuasive argument.

Keywords: philosophy; place.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Translated by Steven F. Randall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

De Certeau's theory of everyday life holds that individuals constantly remake and re-value their lives, cultures, and surroundings within broad socio-economic constraints. He investigates both the subtle, "ordinary" aspects of life, as well as the systems—individual and social—which make up a culture. For example, the act of reading is described not as passive, but as a creative act—an act of production. The explicitly spatial parts of his analysis (chapters on walking in the city, riding railroads, and the spatial qualities of stories) relate implicitly to cultural heritage by speaking to the different ways that space is an important part of consciousness. Vis-à-vis the process of constructing heritage, this would suggest that this creative process resides in individuals as well as social bodies and institutions.

Keywords: philosophy; place.

Cocclosis, Harry, and Peter Nijkamp, editors. *Planning for Our Cultural Heritage.* Aldershot, U.K.: Avebury, 1995.

The approach of this collection is deliberate and practical, seen mostly from the perspective of the economist-planner. Specifically, Cocclosis, Nijkamp and other contributors deal with (1) the built environment aspects of cultural heritage and (2) planning and policy related issues. The collection's underlying premise is that issues of defining and planning for "heritage" have a central role to play in determining "social policies" of the European Community. Among other foundational questions, the editors pose the question of whether "heritage" is confined to the unique and the outstanding, or whether it includes the ordinary. The chapters illustrate and discuss different approaches to studying and evaluating cultural-architectural heritage (through economic analysis, operational concerns, evaluation of community impacts, and so on). The editors use Kevin Lynch's norma-

tive theory idea from *Good City Form* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984) as a jumping-off point—a good environment begets a healthy society, and preserved heritage is part of this environment. Several case studies demonstrate different methods of economic evaluation and analysis applied to places where heritage tourism and sustainability are at issue.

Keywords: heritage planning; economics; tourism; urbanism; sustainability; Europe.

Commonwealth Department of Communications and the Arts. *Mapping Culture: A Guide for Cultural and Economic Development in Communities.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995.

This Australian government report documents an effort to establish a methodology for community-centered identification and conservation of heritage. The goals are very akin to the efforts of the English organization Common Ground, though the approach here is somewhat more rigorous and regularized, as the Australian government intends for this model to be replicable in any number of communities. Also, the projects are envisioned as leading directly to plans ensuring the ongoing economic as well as cultural health of a community. The result is an articulate guide to the planning of, and rationales behind, community-driven inventories, heritage planning, and conservation.

Keywords: heritage; community planning; policy; Australia.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

This book is an excellent overview of the subject of collective/social memory, though it is not strongly focused on material objects. Connerton's survey is a thoughtful review of material and immaterial ways of organizing social memory. The central question is, "How is the memory of groups conveyed and sustained?" The author proposes that the organization of collective memory—through several means, including bodily practices—is a dimension of (and a lever on) political power.

Keywords: sociology; collective memory.

Connor, Steven. *Theory and Cultural Value.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992.

Connor's philosophical work begins with the position that, in the realm of philosophy and literature, values are inescapable. He attempts to transcend the traditional polarization between absolute values and relative values, denying that an either/or determination can be reached, and creates instead a framework for thinking about absolutism and relativism of values as co-existent and even irresolvable. The existence of both relative and absolute attitudes toward values is a built-in paradox, he reasons, and therefore both should be embraced instead of seeing them as either/or. To understand this "unabatable paradox of value," Connor analyzes the handling of value questions in the work of leading philosophers, literary critics and social scientists contributing to the debates surrounding critical theory.

Keywords: philosophy; values; social theory.

Cosgrove, Denis. "Should We Take It All So Seriously? Culture, Conservation, and Meaning in the Contemporary World." In *The Dahlem Workshop on Durability and Change: The Science, Responsibility, and Cost of Sustaining Cultural Heritage,* edited by W. E. Krumbein, P. Brimblecombe, D. E. Cosgrove, and S. Stanforth. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994.

Cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove argues that recent cultural criticism and scholarship (he cites Ricoeur, Baudrillard and Harvey) suggests that traditional, object-centered heritage conservation not be taken "as seriously" as it is. He questions canonical approaches to heritage conservation, especially the role of objects, and argues instead for an appreciation of culture's fluidity, its plurality, its contestation. Cosgrove asserts that cultural knowledge and power determine the value of heritage—not use or exchange value—thus suggesting a very different way of allocating resources for conservation. He debunks the purist, authenticity-focused approach to object conservation in favor of foregrounding the representation of culture as a process. "Rather than imprisoning cultural heritage within the ideological straightjacket of 'authenticity,' why should conservation and preservation not seek to liberate the fluidity of meaning inherent [in culture and art]?"

Keywords: conservation; culture; social theory; geography.

Cronon, William, editor. *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996.

The essays in this collection argue, from a variety of perspectives, that "nature" and "the environment" are in fact highly cultured constructs. The scholars here represent a very wide range of disciplines (from humanities, social sciences, and design). Together, they suggest that the natural environment should be illuminated by the same kinds of inquiries—sociological, anthropological, historical, geographical—that are often used to understand monuments, other cultural resources, and the built environment generally.

Keywords: history; environment.

Dixon, John A. and John B. Sherman. *Economics of Protected Areas: A New Look at Benefits and Costs.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1990.

This volume is an excellent overview of how natural areas are analyzed through the lens of ecological economics. Although it concerns the economics of protected natural areas, the clear and detailed discussions of conflicting values, measurement of benefits, and varying costs are closely associated with cultural conservation. More than two-thirds of the book is devoted to detailed analyses of case-study "applications" of these ideas in natural areas and parks around the world.

Keywords: economics; environmental conservation.

Droste, Bernd von, Harald Plachter, and Mechtild Rössler, editors. *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy.* Jena, Ger.: G. Fischer Verlag in cooperation with Unesco, 1995.

This book was occasioned by the inclusion of "cultural landscape" as a category on Unesco's World Heritage List. It is extremely useful as a discussion of the variety of novel and important issues raised by the prospect of conserving cultural landscapes, including the relationships between natural and cultural aspects of the landscape, cross-cultural differences, and the difficulties of measuring values and qualities. It addresses the questions of how to conceive of cultural landscapes; how to recognize them and document the experience of various governments/groups in protecting them; and how to build strategies for protection. Contributors include professionals from around the world, academics, planners and designers, and the case studies have a correspondingly global reach. The focus on cultural landscapes is an attempt to recognize non-monumental, working/productive places—where nature and culture are a seamless whole—as a legitimate category of heritage. The "Conceptual Framework" section outlines the underlying assumptions informing the rest of the book—including the existence of landscapes of universal value—followed by an investigation into cultural landscapes as part of a global world heritage strategy. "Value" is taken to be a monolithic entity beyond critical reproach. There is little consideration of what constitutes "universal value"—especially in light of the "landscape's" qualities as inherently local, changeful, contextual phenomenon—nor what generates and maintains value for this kind of heritage in general.

Keywords: cultural landscape; heritage; policy; place.

Duerksen, Christopher J. *A Handbook on Historic Preservation Law.* Washington, D.C.: Conservation Foundation/National Center for Preservation Law, 1983.

This collection, now somewhat dated, is a comprehensive review of preservation law in the United States. It is well-interpreted for non-lawyers, and covers state, local, and federal legislation and programs. An update is reportedly in process.

Keywords: historic preservation; law; policy; United States.

Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic.* London: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

In this philosophical history, Eagleton examines the category of the aesthetic as a gateway to understanding a wide range of social, political, and ethical issues from the late 18th through the early 20th centuries. Such insight is crucial, he maintains, to an understanding of the mechanisms by which political hegemony—and its attendant value systems—are acquired and maintained. Philosophers discussed range from Shaftesbury, Hume and Burke to Kant, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Benjamin, and the Frankfurt School.

Keywords: philosophy; aesthetics.

Edson, Gary, editor. *Museum Ethics.* London: Routledge, 1997.

This collection treats ethics as an underlying force in all kinds of museum practice, from interpretation to operations. Engaging theoretical and practical issues, the volume discusses a number of important contemporary problems, such as collecting policies and rights of indigenous peoples, as well as basic operational issues of importance to any museum, such as exhibitions, conservation practices and training. This volume is part of a series published by Routledge—"The Heritage: Care-Preservation-Management."

Keywords: museums; policy; ethics.

Elliot, Robert. *Faking Nature: The Ethics of Environmental Restoration.* London: Routledge, 1997.

This work falls in the realm of philosophy and environmental ethics. It is an interesting example of an analysis that builds on the notion—now widely held—that the meaning and value of nature or culture is radically contingent. Though Elliot's subject is the restoration of nature and ecological systems, the analogy to culture and cultural heritage is clear and quite relevant. He makes a nuanced appeal for a version of the intrinsic value argument in favor of conservation—"wild nature has intrinsic value, which gives rise to obligations to preserve it and to restore it" (p.1).

Keywords: philosophy; ethics; environmental conservation.

English Heritage. *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future (an English Heritage Discussion Document).* London: English Heritage, 1997.

This brief discussion paper outlines a progressive approach to conservation, centered on issues of values and sustainability. The definition of sustainability used here relates very strongly to social issues such as the questions of who participates in conservation decisions and whose voices are represented in conserved heritage. The paper thus constitutes a unique, heritage-specific take on the notion of sustainability. Also discussed are the multiplicity of values that shape conservation decisions, the need for wider participation (beyond experts) in conservation, and several efforts in England to implement such a de-centered approach.

Keywords: values; conservation; England; community planning.

Etlin, Richard A. *In Defense of Humanism: Value in the Arts and Letters.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Etlin offers a defense of the stability and existence of meaning in and of art, against the radical contingency of meaning and value argued by poststructuralists. There are, in other words, some essential values to art, and Etlin builds some unifying themes to bolster the existence of meaning and value. The first part of the book presents his thoughts about categories of value and meaning in various fields of art; the second part directly engages and refutes leading poststructuralists (several works of which are included in this bibliography) and their attacks on humanist belief in the values of art.

Keywords: art history; philosophy; values.

European Task Force on Culture and Development. *In From the Margins: A Contribution to the Debate on Culture and Development in Europe.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1997.

In this report developed by the Council of Europe, "culture" encompasses the arts, media and heritage, although arts and media are discussed far more. Focus is placed on policy-making and policy analysis concerning culture. There are also sections on statistical indicators, the social transitions Europe is undergoing, and the cultural implications thereof.

Keywords: heritage; policy; Europe.

Fekete, John, editor. *Life After Postmodernism: Essays on Value and Culture.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

This collection concerns the question of value in the postmodern philosophical scene. The writers are mainly philosophers and literary critics. Given that questions of value have been eclipsed by the "death of the subject" and the denial of value in post-structural theory, this collection of essays attempts to put the value debate back on the intellectual agenda. The essays address questions of value and valuation in contemporary politics, aesthetics, and society.

Keywords: culture; philosophy; values.

Ferry, Luc. *Homo Aestheticus: The Invention of Taste in the Democratic Age.* Translated by Robert de Loiaza. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

This book is a philosophical treatise on the history of democratic individualism and modern subjectivity. Ferry provides an historical perspective on the emergence of taste (i.e. aesthetic value), in the late 18th through 20th centuries by retracing some of its great conceptual moments in the work of Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, and the postmodern theorists.

Keywords: philosophy; aesthetics.

Fitch, James Marston. *Historic Preservation: The Curatorial Management of the Built World.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Fitch's book is the standard English-language text describing and codifying historic preservation as a "curatorial" practice, treating buildings as objects of stable meaning and fixed value. In range, it gives a fairly comprehensive account of the different aspects of the preservation field, though no emphasis is placed on critical evaluation of methods or ideas behind preservation.

Keywords: historic preservation.

Foote, Kenneth E., Peter J. Hugill, Kent Mathewson, and Jonathan M. Smith, editors. *Re-Reading Cultural Geography.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.

This collection gathers a wide range of perspectives on culture and landscape—how they are produced and structured, how they are interpreted, what they mean as academic objects of study and as lived-in, vernacular environments— as evidenced by the work of generations of cultural geographers. Older essays, stretching back to the work of Carl Sauer in the 1920s, are reprinted alongside newer, critical contributions. This volume was envisioned as a successor to a 1962 collection, *Readings in Cultural Geography.*

Keywords: culture; landscape; geography.

Foster, John, editor. *Valuing Nature? Economics, Ethics and the Environment.* London: Routledge, 1997.

From the perspective of the economics field, Foster's edited volume speaks to environmental conservation as a matter of social process and competing values. The collection's critique is centered on the neoclassical economic model, but focuses strongly on the question of the multiple social values of nature and the inability of economics to analyze and evaluate them. In superb detail, the chapters of this book (authors include economists, philosophers and sociologists) engage these multiple values, how they relate to one another and to broader social formations, and how greater knowledge and debate about values must inform policy and decision-making. This collection is quite relevant to the heritage field in simultaneously taking on the questions about the values underpinning conservation decisions, and the way that experts and policy reflect values.

Keywords: economics; philosophy; values; environment.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.* Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Foucault's analysis is an important contribution to theories of history and how the past comes to be valued. Arguing against traditional forms of history that emphasize a homogeneous, consistent, and monolithic account of the past (the "grand historical narratives"), this book theorizes about discontinuities, ruptures, and transformative moments as they shape historical consciousness. He dwells on the relationship of language to knowledge and action, uncovering in the process the hidden assumptions that govern the way we view our past. This is an important theoretical reading for understanding value formation.

Keywords: philosophy; history.

Frey, Bruno S. "The Evaluation of Cultural Heritage: Some Critical Issues." In *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage,* edited by Michael Hutter and Ilde Rizzo. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Frey evaluates the "willingness-to-pay" method as one particular example of contingent valuation methods. Given the difficulties and uncertainties associated with this type of economic analysis, he proposes popular referenda as an alternative means of gauging the (multiple) values of cultural heritage and making conservation decisions.

Keywords: economics; heritage; policy.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* New York: Basic Books, 1973.

In this collection, the anthropologist Geertz presents his vision, based on extensive empirical studies, of what culture is, what role it plays in social life, and how it ought to be

studied. These essays address his interpretive theory of culture ("thick description"), the growth of culture and the evolution of human societies and consciousness, religion and ideology as cultural systems, ritual and social change, and the politics of meaning. Geertz is a valuable resource for understanding how individual and social values, their formation, definition, and maintenance, are culturally conditioned and determined.

Keywords: culture; anthropology.

Ginsburgh, Victor A. *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays.* Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996.

Ginsburgh analyzes the economics of art markets. His collection of fourteen essays covers a large number of issues, ranging from auction anomalies, the management of museums, and the excess supply of labor in the performing arts, to the economic analysis of law, investment and theft of artworks, the history of collecting, and prices of originals versus their copies. It illuminates creation and maintenance of cultural/artistic value in a market-driven climate.

Keywords: economics; art.

Glover, Jonathan. *I: The Philosophy and Psychology of Personal Identity.* Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1988.

Glover's interdisciplinary study of identity and personhood draws on work in psychology, neurology, and philosophy. This book concerns the ways people think about themselves, and how they use these ideas in shaping their own distinctive characteristics, and, by extension, their relationship to other people and the rest of the world. Particularly relevant for a discussion of values is part two of the book, entitled "Self-Creation," as it addresses how frameworks of belief come into being and how they affect human action and interaction.

Keywords: psychology; culture.

Grampp, William. *Pricing the Priceless: Arts, Artists, and Economics.* New York: Basic Books, 1989.

This book looks at the arts from the viewpoint of neo-classical economic theory—how art is made (supply), how it passes from the artist to those who value it (exchange), and what determines the value they place on it (demand). Issues addressed range from the interrelation of the arts and economics, focusing specifically on questions of value and price, to the acquisition of art, art patronage, art as an economic good, income and taste, the market power of artists, the art market in general, art museums, and the role and function of the government in arts funding.

Keywords: economics; policy; art.

Greenbie, Barrie. *Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981.

Greenbie considers the landscape as a human habitat—an environment in which people act and to which they react according to their individual psycho-social make-up and belief systems. The author draws heavily on theories from the social and natural sciences, particularly ethology, to explore how the relationship between social behavior and space originated.

Keywords: sociology; landscape; space.

Greeves, Tom, for Common Ground. *Parish Maps: Celebrating and Looking After Your Place.* London: Common Ground, 1987.

This small pamphlet from the English group Common Ground presents the idea of "Parish Maps" and guides communities in undertaking a parish mapping project. Briefly, a parish mapping project is an effort undertaken by a community collectively to identify all that is meaningful in their "place"—monuments, common buildings, spatial patterns, everyday practices, traditions, habits, and anything else interpreted locally as being distinctive. Once identified, the community creates a way to represent this heritage (some kind of "map"; they take many different forms), and takes on the conscious task of recognizing, commemorating and conserving what they themselves have deemed most treasured. The premise is that identifying heritage is the first step in conserving it. The approach of Common Ground is very decentered (community centered) as opposed to the normal means of identifying heritage, that is, relying on the expert judgements of government officials and consultants.

Keywords: public history; community planning; England.

Greffe, Xavier. *La Valeur Economique du Patrimoine: La Demande et l'Offre de Monuments.* Paris: Anthropos, 1990.

The economist Greffe explores the ground between understanding heritage as monuments with simply symbolic value and understanding heritage as having primarily economic value. Heritage, clearly, has both kinds of value. General chapters discuss broad issues of supply and demand of heritage, economic regulations, and politics of conservation, and are followed by several chapters weighing specific methods of valuation and economic analysis.

Keywords: economics; heritage; France.

Groth, Paul and Todd Bressi, editors. *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

This anthology is an excellent reader on cultural landscape studies, which is one distinct way of valuing whole environments and everyday material culture as embodiments of heritage with all the attendant values. This volume is mostly, but not exclusively, the work of geographers, and stemmed from a conference on the subject of how and whether to take landscape study beyond the work of pioneer J. B. Jackson. It concludes with a superb bibliographic essay.

Keywords: landscape; geography.

Guerrier, Yvonne, editor. *Values and the Environment: A Social Science Perspective.* Chichester, U.K.: John Wiley & Sons, 1995.

This collection presents thinking about the natural environment, conceptual understanding of values, and policy analysis. The essays here concern the different interpretations of environmental issues and policies, as refracted through the issue of values. This book is valuable in funda-

mentally rethinking how the environment is valued (by various experts, and by typical citizens), matched with some very empirical studies of how such insights might be applied. One of the assumptions underlying these essays is that the diversity of legitimate values (individual and social) prevents the creation of (or, agreement on) a normative set of values regarding the natural environment. This presents barriers to popular understanding and action on environmental issues.

Keywords: policy; environment; sociology.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory.* Translated by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper, 1980.

Halbwachs, a sociologist, was one of the primary theorists of collective memory as an essential social phenomenon. His work maintains that human memory exists and takes shape in collective frameworks, as part of the life of social groups. As corollaries, he argues that every social group has its corresponding collective memory, which is continually reshaped; and that space is a constant referent in the process of collective remembering. His major works on the subject were originally published in French—*Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* and *La Mémoire Collective.* (See the collection edited by Lewis Coser for an overview.)

Keywords: sociology; collective memory.

———. *On Collective Memory.* Edited, translated, and introduced by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

This is a compilation of work on collective memory by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, translated into English and accompanied by an excellent introduction detailing his life and influence. Halbwachs pioneered the study of memory as a social phenomenon, and part of his research was directed toward the central role of spaces and forms in the process of collective remembering. His insight therefore provides some essential theoretical groundwork for understanding why social groups value and use material heritage. This volume draws on two of Halbwachs' major works—*Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* and *La Topographie Légendaire et des Evangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de Mémoire Collective*—though not from his other, more comprehensive work on the subject, *The Collective Memory.*

Keywords: sociology; collective memory.

Hardin, Garrett. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162 (1968): 1243-48.

Hardin is a biologist, but is better known for his ethical-philosophical work. This essay argues that when resources are treated as a commons, the normal course of events will lead to exhausting the resources. Thus Hardin sees a clear need for collective action to regulate resources or, what he calls "mutual coercion mutually agreed upon." The literal subject of the essay is population control, but cultural heritage would fit this notion of resources.

Keywords: environment; ethics; philosophy.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Harvey is one of the leading human geographers working today. This book is his interpretation of the enormous economic, political and cultural shifts of the so-called postmodern era. Advancing a strong neomarxist stance, he would argue that the valuing of heritage—along with many other cultural phenomena—flows quite directly out of the needs of capital, and obeys the periodic restructuring that capitalism necessarily undergoes. The book argues, essentially, that "postmodernity" is nothing new, apart from a new manifestation of modernity, under which the structuring power of market capitalism continues to dominate culture and society, albeit using novel and different cultural forms (i.e., renewed interest in historic preservation).

Keywords: culture; economics; geography.

Haskell, Francis. *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980.

This is a classic work on issues of taste, fashion, and collecting in the history of art. Haskell examines the fluctuations of taste in England and France between 1780 and 1880, focusing on the influence of art markets, dealers, museums, financial speculation, contemporary trends in scholarship and collecting habits, as well as social and political contexts. Many different factors—aesthetic, religious, technical, political, economic, psychological and social—are seen as influencing and determining this history of aesthetic valuing.

Keywords: art history; Europe.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.

Hayden's book is both a theoretical contribution on the social roles of heritage, and a chronicle of the work of a collaborative group she directed in creating public history/art projects in Los Angeles. Drawing on the work of Lefebvre, Hayden's theory begins from the insight that space equals power and has potential political value. The definition of urban space as "heritage," she believes, enables marginalized groups to reclaim urban space.

Keywords: public history; heritage; social theory.

Heilbrun, James and Charles M. Gray. *The Economics of Art and Culture: An American Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Heilbrun and Gray survey the economics of the fine and performing arts in the United States, as well as public policy toward the arts, in light of the realities and demands of a market-driven society. Divided into five parts, the book first offers an overview of the arts sector and its historical growth; second, an examination of production and consumption of the live performing arts; third, an analysis of the financial challenges facing museums and performing arts organizations; fourth, an overview of current public

policy; and, finally, an outlook on the future of art and culture in the United States.

Keywords: economics; art; policy; United States.

Herbert, David T., editor. *Heritage, Tourism and Society.* London: Mansell, 1995.

This collection focuses on the development of heritage places and attractions, primarily as economic entities but also as places of social and cultural significance. The book begins with the premise that heritage tourism/heritage development is "an alternative form of [economic] enterprise" in the post-industrial world. The editor notes potential conflicts between preservation and tourism or other economic uses of heritage. Regarding authenticity, he recognizes the development of new, less-authentic kinds of heritage places, but questions whether they might not be appropriate to certain kinds of audience to be provided for (i.e., some places are for mass consumers, some places are for scholars). Overall, this is a good sampling of different perspectives on the use of heritage; different authors develop the notion of heritage as, variously, historical reality, literary place, national identity, planned and conserved resource, informal education, formal education, a business, and design.

Keywords: heritage; heritage planning; tourism.

Herchenröder, Christian. *Die Neuen Kunstmärkte: Analyse, Bilanz, Ausblick.* Düsseldorf: Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1990.

This study is a comprehensive analysis of contemporary art markets in Europe, focusing in particular on: tastes in collecting as they evolve over time; prices and their relation to changing economic climates; and regional, national, and global market dynamics.

Keywords: art history; sociology.

Hester, Randolph. "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Sustainable Happiness." *Places* 9, no. 3 (1993): 4-17.

Hester, a landscape architect and planner, provides a rich definition of sustainability, one that includes cultural patterns as an intrinsic element of the systems that need to be sustained. The discourse here is about ethics and culture as much as ecology. He discusses examples in which local cultural and ecological patterns form the basis for community planning and design efforts. For a how-to approach to Hester's ideas, see his *Community Design Primer* (Mendocino, CA: Ridge Times Press, 1990).

Keywords: community planning; heritage; sustainability; United States.

Hewison, Robert. *The Heritage Industry.* London: Methuen, 1987.

Hewison levels a critique at the numerical proliferation of museums, historic sites, and other heritage operations, a phenomenon observable in England (and elsewhere) in the early 1980s. In describing the malleability of heritage, Hewison stresses the destructive ends to which the commodification of heritage leads—in other words, the

increasing economic value of heritage leads to its cultural devaluation.

Keywords: heritage; heritage development; commodification; England.

Hides, Shaun. "The Genealogy of Material Culture and Cultural Identity." In *Cultural Identity and Archaeology,* edited by Paul Graves-Brown, Sian Jones, and Clive Gamble. Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG). London: Routledge, 1996.

In the overview chapter of this intriguing collection of essays, Hides argues that the link between material objects and identity—the keystone to much anthropological theory—may be intrinsic, but it is not unchanging. Hides' chapter explores the epistemological roots and changing nature of this connection as it has been modeled and understood, especially within archaeology and its associated fields. His aim is to question the longstanding assumption that presumes a stable, objective link between artifacts and identity. His argument is that this link is constructed out of social and historical circumstances—not essential, universal functions—as are scholars' ways of theorizing these changing links.

Keywords: archaeology; anthropology; material culture; social theory.

Hiss, Tony. *The Experience of Place.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

Hiss is a journalist, and his survey is intended to inform the general reader about the importance and power of the notion of "place," by reporting on interesting projects being directed by a wide range of experts. In addition to this reporting function, Hiss builds an argument that place attachment and the visual, experiential qualities of everyday environments are significant values for ordinary citizens and should be so recognized.

Keywords: place; environmental psychology; place attachment.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, editors. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

This collection of historical essays explores how fragments of the past have been appropriated as "heritage" and how heritage has been used for various political, nationalistic, economic, and identity-constructing ends. In deconstructing the myth of Scottish kilts, for example, this volume provides memorable evidence of the malleability of the past through material culture. In general, the book explores how traditions, i.e., a set of ritualized cultural practices, are invented, constructed, and formally instituted to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior.

Keywords: collective memory; history.

Hough, Michael. *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.

Written by a landscape architect, this book takes a broad view of what constitutes a "sense of place." It addresses how forces of human and non-human nature have, in the past, created characteristic and identifiable landscapes as a

source of individual and communal identity and cultural enrichment. The author addresses how human values—for instance, society's indifference to the diversity inherent in ecological systems and human communities—shape our physical environment and hence our ability to mold identities in relation to it. Drawing on international case studies, Hough addresses native landscapes, the imperative of recognizing regional distinctiveness, and the threatened identities and perceptions woven through these issues.

Keywords: place; landscape; environment; identity.

Howell, Benita J. "Linking Culture and Natural Conservation in National Park Service Policies and Programs." In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage,* edited by Mary Hufford. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Howell addresses the separation of cultural and natural resources in the context of American federal policy making, and also as a philosophical matter.

Keywords: heritage; environmental conservation; policy; United States.

Hubbard, Philip. "The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of Behavioural Research." *Town Planning Review* 64, no. 4 (1993): 359-73.

Hubbard, writing as a planner, reviews behavioral research on the issue of how people experience and give meaning to historic places and environments. The essay concludes that heritage at the scale of townscapes is an important contributor to cultural identities, and that contemporary conservation philosophy fails to realize this value fully by interpreting the value of heritage as narrowly architectural and aesthetic. Hubbard argues for an understanding of heritage as key to bolstering communities, and thus calls for broader study of conservation as a social phenomenon and a central aspect of planning and urbanism.

Keywords: conservation; architecture; planning; environmental psychology; England.

Hufford, Mary, editor. *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

This collection is an excellent sampling of critical perspectives on conservation and culture that go beyond the traditional monument-preservation model. Many of the contributors are folklorists. (See the individual chapters cited in this bibliography, by Abrams, Howell, Hufford, and Low).

Keywords: culture; heritage; folklife.

———. *One Space, Many Places: Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve.* Washington, D.C.: American Folklife Center, 1986.

This report of folklore fieldwork weaves together ethnographic study and an engagement with environmental planning and historic preservation in the actual communities of a distinctive cultural and ecological region in eastern North America. Hufford's account is a vivid example of

defining "heritage" as the fabric, artifacts and practices of everyday, traditional life.

Keywords: folklife; ethnography; heritage; United States; New Jersey.

Hutter, Michael and Ilde Rizzo, editors. *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

This volume compiles work presented at a conference of academics and practitioners in the field of cultural economics. It includes several excellent chapters representing the wide range of ways that economists construct the value of material cultural heritage. The case studies center on Italy but include other countries as well. Hutter's introduction succinctly lays out some of the different methods of pricing cultural heritage, including contingent valuation, and the difficulty (in general) of pricing "public goods" such as heritage artifacts and sites. He also notes major themes in the cultural economics subfield, which include, in addition to pricing methods, the effect of different regulatory regimes, issues of public and private use, and the universal problem of defining "heritage." As an aside, Hutter notes the parallels between cultural and natural resources, and how they are approached and "constructed" through intellectual and policy lenses.

Keywords: economics; heritage; policy.

Huxtable, Ada Louise. *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion.* New York: New Press, 1997.

Unreal America is a broad, journalistic cultural critique of the "faked" history of places such as Historic Williamsburg and Los Angeles' City Walk. Huxtable laments the misuse of heritage—or what is presented as heritage—as an architectural strategy and a marketing ploy. She decries the high value of such places of illusion in contemporary society, and the consequent devaluing of "real" places. This dynamic is partly ascribed to the destructive power of tourism, and partly to the success of the historic preservation movement and its constant "editing" of history. The heritage field, in her estimation, has reduced the diversity of culture, both high and low.

Keywords: heritage; urbanism.

Hyde, Lewis. *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property.* New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Hyde inquires into the role of creativity in a market-oriented culture. He explores the nature of the creative act, arguing that a work of art is a gift, not a commodity. The book ranges across different disciplines—anthropology, literature, economics, and psychology—to show how "the commerce of the creative spirit" functions in the lives of artists and culture as a whole.

Keywords: culture; philosophy; art.

Ingarden, Roman. *Man and Value.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1983.

Ingarden inquires into the philosophical nature of values. Assigning values a central role in human affairs, and stress-

ing their relativity, the author seeks to understand the essence of values, the material in which values are realized and manifested, and the manner in which this manifestation is accomplished.

Keywords: philosophy.

Ingerson, Alice, editor. *Managing Land As Ecosystem and Economy.* Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1995.

This slim symposium report rests on the premise that economic and ecological perspectives on land can be woven together, instead of opposed. In arguing this, the book suggests that the distinctly different values inherent in land—and by extension the different values inherent in material heritage—are not necessarily in conflict. Most of the participants in the symposium were policy- or practice-focused, giving the discussion a strong grounding in practical problems.

Keywords: environment; economics; policy.

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). *Nara Document, Nara Conference on Authenticity.* Paris: Unesco, 1995.

The Nara document is the result of a major international conference of heritage professionals and institutions. It is the product of an extensive process aiming to reach consensus on the meaning and use of the notion of "authenticity," which has been one of the benchmarks for judging and establishing the significance of cultural and historic resources in bureaucratic contexts.

Keywords: heritage; conservation; policy; authenticity.

International Symposium on World Heritage Towns. *Preserving Our Heritage: Catalog of Charters and Other Guides.* Quebec: ICOMOS Canada, 1990.

This booklet collects in one place several of the major charters and other international documents concerning heritage conservation, beginning with the Athens Charter of 1931 and concluding with the 1990 ICOMOS charter on archaeological heritage management. It also includes a few country-specific documents such as the U.S. Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Most of the documents are printed in English and French.

Keywords: heritage; policy.

Isar, Yudhishthir Raj. *The Challenge to Our Cultural Heritage: Why Preserve the Past?* Washington, D.C./Paris: Smithsonian Institution Press/Unesco, 1986.

This book is the proceedings of a conference co-sponsored by the Smithsonian, Unesco, US/ICOMOS and the U.S. National Trust for Historic Preservation. It contains a cross-section of the conservation-preservation field as of the mid-1980s. Subjects include: scientific and technological issues; the challenges posed by modernization; the state of preservation efforts in several different countries; and illicit traffic in cultural property. The subjects and presenters are international in scope.

Keywords: conservation.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

Jackson is an important figure as an interpreter of the meaning of cultural landscapes. In some of his work, he directly addresses the role of heritage and historic forms and patterns. His body of work and wide influence are perhaps more important than any single essay. His work consists mostly of brief essays and suggests that the ordinary landscape is as much a part of our culture's heritage as museums, intentional monuments, and other totems of official culture. In the essay "The Necessity for Ruins," Jackson argues that the physical degradation of places and things is a necessary precursor to our valuing it as heritage. His essays appear in a number of collections, most recently *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997) and *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996).

Keywords: landscape; culture; place; geography.

Jameson, Fredric. "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism." *New Left Review* 146 (1984): 53-92.

In this touchstone essay for cultural criticism and postmodernism, Jameson argues that postmodernity is characterized by a fundamentally different relation between culture and economy than that under modernity. One of the signal differences, he posits, lies in the disappearance of culture's "critical distance" from economics. Consequently, he sees the need for new "maps" to find a way for culture to thrive in the new economic landscape.

Keywords: culture; sociology; philosophy; social theory.

Johnston, Chris. *What Is Social Value?: A Discussion Paper.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992.

This brief report commissioned by the Australian government examines the notion of social value in general, as well as its applications to the preservation of cultural heritage. It raises key questions as to the social purpose of conserving heritage places, the problems of assessing social values, and the problematic notion of conserving them. Especially useful are the bibliographical references, sources, and suggested readings.

Keywords: heritage; policy.

Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999.

Jokilehto's history is a comprehensive account of the dominant tradition in architectural conservation—it documents chronologically the Western/European tradition of conservation, as developed from the Enlightenment, through 19th-century Romanticism, and into the 20th century. It is a thorough treatment of the way Western European conservation has established modes of interpreting the past and negotiating different values through the material treatment of monuments. The final sections document the spread of this conservation canon to other parts of the world, though does not emphasize non-Western approaches. The volume

is usefully illustrated with many examples, and is supported by extensive references.

Keywords: architecture; conservation; history; Europe.

Kain, Roger, editor. *Planning for Conservation.* London: Mansell, 1981.

This collection of essays gives some historical depth to the differences in conservation approach that have developed in a few western countries (in Western Europe and North America). "Conservation" in this volume pertains to both cultural and natural environments. The opening chapter (by the editor Kain) is a useful, short introduction to the developing idea of modern conservation.

Keywords: conservation; history.

Kammen, Michael. *In the Past Lane: Historical Perspectives on American Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

In this collection of essays on public history, the American historian Kammen supposes that the malleability of collective memory is not due solely to its politicization. That is, he takes a purposely less cynical view: that collective memory is reshaped for innocuous or even salutary reasons, and not for just the objectionable reasons implied by the dominant notions of heritage study such as "the invention of tradition" and "the heritage industry." The shaping of memory—frequently using material heritage—is often, he argues, part of a positive search for common values.

Keywords: public history; heritage; United States.

———. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

This book is an encyclopedic chronicle of the construction of heritage and public history in America. Kammen discusses forms of commemoration ranging from the built environment to public celebrations to art and literature.

Keywords: heritage; public history; United States.

Kaplan, Flora E. S., editor. *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity.* London: Leicester University Press, 1994.

The contributions to this volume were written mostly by anthropologists, whose common focus is museology. Cases and chapters draw on examples from around the world, focusing on those "outside western centers" (including Africa, Pacific, Latin America, as well as Native Americans). The premise is that museums are "purveyors of ideology" and agents of social change. Museums and their collections—the publicly held, official "cultural heritage" legitimated by inclusion within museum walls—are "a potent force in forging self consciousness" as well as political consciousness of nation-states and the nations within (and across) them. The value of heritage foregrounded here lies in its usefulness in constructing national identity and promoting national agendas.

Keywords: heritage; museums; nationalism; anthropology.

Karp, Ivan, Christine Muellen Kreamer, and Steven Lavine. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

This collection of work was first presented at a conference on "Museums and Communities" at the International Center of the Smithsonian Institution in 1990. The essays focus on how contemporary museums relate to the changing demographic configuration of the communities that surround them. Many of the contributions demonstrate how the contested terrain of cultural representation both brings together and separates museums and communities.

Keywords: museums; culture.

Karp, Ivan, and Steven Lavine, editors. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

This collection of essays was first presented at a conference on "The Poetics and Politics of Representation," held at the International Center of the Smithsonian Institution in 1988. The essays consider, from a variety of perspectives (many driven by critical theory), questions about the interpretation and presentation of cultural diversity in contemporary museums. In exploring how cultural diversity is (or is not) collected, exhibited, and managed, the book argues that museums are political arenas in which definitions of identity and culture—and by extension, values—are asserted and negotiated.

Keywords: museums; culture.

Kaufman, Ned. "Heritage and the Cultural Politics of Preservation." *Places* 11, no. 3 (1998): 58-65.

Kaufman begins this brief essay with the assertion that heritage is an inherently conservative, exclusive notion, often used to create social unity (or its appearance). Can historic preservation, he asks, be genuinely plural and inclusive? Citing examples of recent controversies involving the preservation of African-American-related historic sites in New York City, Kaufman speculates about the prospects for a kind of cultural preservation and landmarking that truly breaks out of the canons of public history, and about the role of preservation vis-à-vis the larger project of effecting social change.

Keywords: heritage; public history; New York City.

Kellert, Stephen R. *The Value of Life: Biological Diversity and Human Society.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1996.

Biologist Stephen Kellert tackles the question of how and why the natural world is valued by humans. In complexity, his question closely parallels the basic question of how cultural heritage is valued. He offers a framework of nine basic values found in flora and fauna (utilitarian, naturalistic, ecologistic-scientific, aesthetic, symbolic, humanistic, moralistic, dominionistic, and negativistic) and connects these to human evolutionary development. These are the basic values deemed to be important to human functioning, and to be most threatened in the current biodiversity crisis. Kellert considers the effects of demography and cross-cultural dif-

ference on these values. He examines value differences in American society and among Eastern and Western societies, and concludes by considering the applications of his analysis of values to policy and resource management.

Keywords: philosophy; environment; biology.

Kemal, Salim, and Ivan Gaskell, editors. *Explanation and Value in the Arts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

This book consists of studies by art historians, literary theorists, and philosophers, on issues central to interpreting literature and painting. The first chapters look at the intimate relation between aesthetic and other cultural values. Others examine the construction of value through the study of the arts, including considerations of the nature of creativity and the principles of interpretation. The final section addresses issues of ideology and the determining role of power relations.

Keywords: art history; culture.

Kermode, Frank. *History and Value.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

These essays address the questions of literary evaluation, permanence, and the distortions of historical context. Part II of the book addresses "History and Value," considering from different angles the problem of value in art works belonging to a period earlier than one's own. The Marxist critique is used as an example of available strategies to deal with this problem. The final chapter concentrates on postmodernism as the most recent attempt to come to terms with these issues.

Keywords: value; literary criticism; philosophy.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett uses a conception of heritage that is strongly visual and has a very important performative dimension. Displays and exhibits of heritage are thus at the center of her analysis, which examines how tourism creates competition and new, dynamic modes of cultural production aimed at producing new meanings and new identities. The essays are eclectic, engaging, and focus on examples from many specific places and cultures (from ethnography and Jewish culture to Plimouth Plantation).

Keywords: museums; tourism; heritage; cultural studies.

Klamer, Arjo, editor. *The Value of Culture: On The Relationship Between Economics and Arts.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996.

Klamer and his contributors investigate, through a series of essays and conversations, the tensions and interrelationships between culture and economics. The focus of "culture" here is the art world, but not exclusively so. The book breaks new ground by engaging economic thinkers in the question of culture's non-economic values. The collection addresses general theories and philosophies of value—both cultural and economic—and specific issues, including: pub-

lic art; artists' earnings; the value of play; artistic conscience and production value; the value of citizenship; national identity; and the value of making art in general. The contributors combine philosophical, cultural, and aesthetic ideas with established economic models to address essential economic questions about the value of fine arts. Of particular interest are the following chapters: Arjo Klamer's introductory essay, framing the basic tension between measurable and immeasurable values of culture, and noting the failure of economists to recognize and respond to this problem; and philosopher Antoon Van den Braembussche's chapter deconstructing the notion of "the value of culture," and suggesting that the measurement of such value is pointless in the face of art's truly original, "sublime" quality.

Keywords: economics; art; philosophy.

Koboldt, Christian. "Optimizing the Use of Cultural Heritage." In *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage,* edited by Michael Hutter and Ilde Rizzo. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Koboldt writes from the point of view of a conservative economist, one with faith in the ability of rigorous econometric analysis and objective methods to measure all values. The most useful section is entitled "The Benefits and Costs for the Use of Cultural Heritage," which presents a typology describing the "scientific" end of the spectrum of cultural economics.

Keywords: economics; heritage.

Koerner, Joseph Leo and Lisbet Koerner. "Value." In *Critical Terms for Art History,* edited by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

This essay is an excellent and erudite overview of the history of valuing material heritage. It is focused on art—as the primary lens through which the notion of value has been understood and debated in western culture—but is more widely applicable to cultural heritage. The authors summarize the philosophy and intellectual history underpinning the ultimate relativism of valuing. Their discussions range across Kant, Descartes, Marx, Freud, Saussure, Bourdieu, and others.

Keywords: art history; philosophy.

Kroeber, Alfred. *Anthropology: Cultural Patterns and Processes.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948.

This volume is a selection of chapters reprinted from Kroeber's classic work *Anthropology,* dealing specifically with cultural processes, the nature of language and culture, and patterns of cultural change. Of particular interest is the chapter on the nature of culture, which contains observations on ethics, morals, and values as they influence and define cultural evolution and growth.

Keywords: anthropology; culture.

Kuttner, Robert. *Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Kuttner's book is a journalistic but learned account of the large and expanding role of market ideology in contempo-

rary policy and governance. An insightful critic of the creep of market ideology, he offers theoretical arguments, ties theory to politics and the making of public policy, refutes common arguments about the virtue of markets, and uses case studies in areas such as medicine and labor markets. Though heritage is not one of his explicit subjects, Kuttner's argument clearly speaks to the implications (in any public, social realm) of the increasing allegiance to markets as not only generators, but judges, of value.

Keywords: economics.

Lavrijsen, Ria. *Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Art, Art Policies, and the Facelift of Europe.* Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1993.

These are the proceedings of an international conference on "Cultural Diversity in the Arts" held in Amsterdam. It outlines a variety of views espoused by artists, critics, scholars, and administrators concerning art, art policies, and their relation to current social and political changes in Europe. Of particular relevance to issues of value are workshops on Art Policy in a Multicultural Policy, Defining Qualities as Opposed to Quality, and Defining Quality in the Arts.

Keywords: art; policy; Europe.

Lee, Antoinette. *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments.* Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press and National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992.

This collection serves as a "state-of-the-field" for contemporary historic preservation in the United States. Emphasis is placed on expanding the canon of which histories are being preserved (e.g., to include more representations of African-American heritage), on economic development, and debates about "livable communities."

Keywords: historic preservation; United States.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

Lefebvre's theorization of the links between society and "space" in metaphorical and real senses was path-breaking in the 1960s, and led the way for a generation of geographers and sociologists—working from a neomarxist framework—to explore the relationship between society and space. Lefebvre argues that space "matters"—that the structure and course of society hinges in certain ways on the character and, more important, the process of producing space.

Keywords: sociology; space.

Leniaud, Jean-Michel. *L'Utopie Française: Essai sur le Patrimoine.* Paris: Menges, 1992.

Leniaud analyzes the valuing of heritage in France. He describes the process of creating heritage and argues that heritage is not an *a priori* category. He sets out a framework of the different, contingent values ascribed to heritage: market/economic value; (social) scientific value as an object of study; and communication/semiologic value. Tracing change in the objects and status of the heritage field in France, Leniaud reflects on the changing role of the

state and of heritage professionals in valuing and managing heritage in France.

Keywords: heritage; conservation; sociology; France.

Leon, Warren, and Roy Rosenzweig, editors. *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

The essays in this collection survey the conservation, use, interpretation, and development in the U.S. of various forms of material heritage. Subjects include several specific types of museums (urban history, historic houses, outdoor), battlefields and efforts to expand the canon of histories presented in history museums (e.g., women's history, African-American history, labor history).

Keywords: public history; museums; history; United States.

Lewis, Justin. *Art, Culture, and Enterprise: The Politics of Art and the Cultural Industries.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Lewis addresses the issue of cultural and artistic value in contemporary Britain, seeking to define the relationship between those values and a free market society.

Keywords: art; economics; Great Britain.

Lewis, Peirce F. "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays,* edited by D. W. Meinig. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Lewis is a cultural geographer who, in this essay, codifies some of the "ways of seeing" built environments, natural areas, buildings and other artifacts that form one of the main insights of cultural geography. Building on the interpretive tradition of J.B. Jackson, Lewis articulates specific ways of understanding the meaning, values and other cultural patterns that reside in observable environmental and architectural patterns. Though this method privileges pattern over process, it remains an important way of interpreting everyday environments—not only museum collections and designated landmarks—as part of the cultural heritage.

Keywords: landscape; geography.

Lipe, William D. "Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources." In *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resources Management Systems,* edited by Henry Cleere. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Lipe outlines a comprehensive framework describing the several ways "cultural resources" are valued by different factions of society. This essay comprises a good overview of heritage values alongside the cited works from Koerner and Koerner, and Riegl.

Keywords: archaeology; anthropology; heritage.

Low, Setha. "Cultural Conservation of Place." In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage,* edited by Mary Hufford. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Anthropologist Setha Low interprets cultural conservation as a matter of contemporary political and community concern—as distinct from many other approaches interpreting cultural conservation simply as the way to recover and interpret information about the past. In this chapter, her primary focus is understanding the need for "cultural conservation" at the neighborhood level—respecting and protecting the plurality of existing, primarily urban, communities—and advancing this as a planning and design strategy.

Keywords: anthropology; place; culture; community planning.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

This is a classic study of the highly varied, highly politicized construction of heritage. Lowenthal explores historically how the past is used to create patterns of meaning in the present. Drawing from examples in the arts, the humanities, the social sciences, and popular culture, the author argues that the past (and the tangible and intangible remnants thereof) is manipulated to meet specific social, cultural, and political needs of contemporary and historic societies. His history focuses on the English-speaking world but ranges widely.

Keywords: heritage; history.

———. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* New York: Free Press, 1996.

In this free-ranging critique of the role of heritage in society, Lowenthal directly asks the question "what makes heritage so crucial?" for contemporary society. He draws a clear distinction between history as study of the past (knowledge creation of whatever objective and subjective quality) and heritage as use of the past for presentist purposes. In other words, heritage is by definition "partisan," a politically charged concept. The book aims at answering three questions: why is heritage such a growth industry, and what are the implications of such popularity?; what do we expect from history and heritage?; why does possessive rivalry over heritage cripple cooperation?

Keywords: heritage; history; politics.

Lubar, Steven and W. David Kingery. *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

This collection engages a broad and basic question: how meanings, beliefs and stories (specifically, about the past) can be gleaned from material culture. The volume gathers examples of different ways to "read" culture in things, which range in scale from individual artifacts (a vase, an axe) to cultural landscapes as large as an entire town. In focusing on "material culture" this volume attempts to thread together several academic traditions that use material culture as a source of information to interpret the past—archaeologists, anthropologists, folklorists, geographers, conservators, historians of art and technology, and so on.

Keywords: material culture; anthropology.

Lurz, Meinhold. *Werturteile in Der Kunstkritik: Die Begründung Ästhetischer Werturteile Durch Die Sprachanalytische Philosophie.* Hamburg: Dr. Kovac, 1995.

This work is a theoretical treatise on the nature and functions of aesthetic judgement in the history of art. Lurz examines the conditions and nature of aesthetic valuation (are aesthetic values subjective, objective, or intersubjective?), the ontological foundations of taste, and the role of language in the formation and communication of aesthetic norms.

Keywords: art history; aesthetics.

Lynch, Kevin. *What Time Is This Place?* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972.

In this study, the urban planner and designer Lynch argues that conservation of past environments is an important design and social consideration because it supports a sense of identity in the present. His work draws on environmental psychology, community studies and urban design. Also see Lynch's far-reaching treatise on community design, *Good City Form* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984.).

Keywords: urbanism; environmental psychology.

Marquis-Kyle, Peter and Meredith Walker. *The Illustrated Burra Charter.* Sydney: Australia ICOMOS/Australian Heritage Commission, 1992.

This document is an expanded and interpreted edition of the innovative Burra Charter, which seeks to guide conservation decision-making while valuing the plurality of cultures contributing to the Australian past. The Burra Charter adapts the Venice Charter's focus on monuments to a new focus on "places." The evaluation and designation of heritage rests on the loosely defined "cultural significance" of a place in question.

Keywords: heritage; policy; Australia.

Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies.* Translated by Ian Cunnison. London: Cohen & West, 1966.

In this classic work of anthropology, Mauss posits objects as the true, most authentic source of information about a culture. This book is a comparative anthropological study on the forms and functions of gifts in the archaic societies of Polynesia, Melanesia, and North-West America. A student of Durkheim, Mauss described gifts as a highly regimented form of value exchange (or currency) which he seeks to analyze contextually as economic, juridical, moral, aesthetic, religious, mythological, and sociological phenomena.

Keywords: anthropology; aesthetics.

Melnick, R. Z. "Changing Views, Missing Linkages: The Enduring Dynamic of Landscape, Environment, and Cultural Heritage." In *The Dahlem Workshop on Durability and Change: The Science, Responsibility, and Cost of Sustaining Cultural Heritage,* edited by W. E. Krumbein, P. Brimblecombe, D. E. Cosgrove, and S. Stanforth. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994.

Landscape architect Robert Melnick surveys the challenges tied up in the notion of conserving cultural landscapes—one of the leading edges of conservation philosophy and practice. As opposed to conservation's traditional tools and concepts for dealing with artifacts and buildings, the idea of dealing with landscapes—which are by definition changeful and impossible to dissociate from context—presents a number of problems. Melnick emphasizes the opportunity presented by landscape conservation: finding new ways of merging the approaches of environmental and cultural conservation fields, which usually are kept separate.

Keywords: cultural landscape; environment; conservation.

Messenger, Phyllis Mauch. *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

In this collection of essays, archaeologists and philosophers explore the cultural, social, political, philosophical, and economic values at stake in conflicts over cultural property. Significant discussion is also devoted to how these conflicts might be resolved. This dialog raises important questions about the conflicting ways of valuing material heritage in contemporary society, and brings to the fore the additional challenges posed by the diversity of cultural values associated with the preservation of heritage in different parts of the world.

Keywords: heritage; policy; ethics; cultural property.

Meynell, Hugo Anthony. *The Nature of Aesthetic Value.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986.

Meynell examines principles of aesthetic judgement as part of a broader philosophy of value. He ties matters of aesthetic value to an artwork's ability to give satisfaction, explores the nature of this satisfaction (as an extension of consciousness), and weighs different critical arguments presented for literature, the visual arts, and music.

Keywords: philosophy; aesthetics.

Mohr, E., and J. Schmidt. "Aspects of Economic Valuation of Cultural Heritage." In *Saving Our Architectural Heritage: The Conservation of Historic Stone Structures,* edited by N. S. Baer, and R. Snethlage. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997.

The authors reach into the "economic toolbox" to show the application of various economic methods to the valuation of cultural heritage. They remain confident that such applications, as they become more refined, will aid directly in rational policy-making for cultural heritage protection.

Keywords: economics; heritage.

Morland, Joanna, for Common Ground. *New Milestones: Sculpture, Community and the Land.* London: Common Ground, 1988.

This pamphlet documents some of the projects sponsored by the English group Common Ground. Common Ground uses heritage conservation and public art to cultivate local identity, local distinctiveness and place attachment. In effect, they create or magnify heritage by commissioning public art projects rooted in local culture, history, and landscape. Many of their projects are conceived and realized by whole communities (for example, their parish mapping efforts); others are executed by individual artists (including Andy Goldsworthy) with the sponsorship of Common Ground.

Keywords: public history; community planning; art.

Nora, Pierre. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past.* Edited and introduced by Lawrence D. Kritzman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998.

Nora's enormous project inventories and interprets the many "sites of memory" that comprise the heritage of France (including monuments, commemorations, cuisine, and dozens of other aspects of culture). The scope of the project is impressive, and only parts have been translated—the French original consisted of seven volumes *(Les Lieux de Mémoire.* Paris: Editions Gallímard, 1984-92.) Dozens of analytical essays, written by leading French intellectuals, trace themes that arise from this massive reflection on the French past, national identity, and the cultural heritage that makes it such a powerful presence in French culture.

Keywords: heritage; history; France.

Norkunas, Martha. *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Norkunas uses a detailed case study to explicate the social construction of heritage and the conscious development of a heritage tourism economy in one California community. Her detailed analysis of the presentation of public history in the Monterey area is prefaced by an excellent survey of critical theory relevant to the study of heritage.

Keywords: heritage; tourism; anthropology; California.

Ohmann, Richard, editor, with Averill Gage, Michael Curtin, David Shumway, and Elizabeth G. Traube. *Making & Selling Culture.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England and Wesleyan University Press, 1996.

Though not explicitly about heritage, this volume explores the critical and poorly understood cultural question of what role the audience plays in the creation of culture (in this case, the culture of mass consumer products). Scholars face formidable barriers when trying to gauge the influence of those "receiving" culture, as opposed to the corporations, governments, experts or scholars who literally produce it. The participants use case studies, a series of interviews with media and corporate executives, and analytical essays, which would be classified as part of the cultural studies/media studies field.

Keywords: anthropology; commodification.

Peacock, Alan, and Ilde Rizzo, editors. *Cultural Economics and Cultural Policies.* Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994.

The editors and their collaborators aim to shed light on how state institutions contribute to the creation of cultural value in free-market systems. They offer a guide to cultural economics by providing definitions and clarifications of methodological issues concerning public policy toward the visual and performing arts. They go beyond the subject of strictly economic policy, also dealing with artistic products in terms of property rights, issues of regulation, and funding of the arts.

Keywords: economics; policy.

Pearce, Susan M., editor. *Interpreting Objects and Collections.* London: Routledge, 1994.

In this volume interpretation is defined as a museum's (or other heritage site's) intentional effort to impart meaning and embody social values. The wide-ranging collection of short essays covers the philosophy, politics, and cultural implications of museum collecting and museum interpretation. Several of the contributions explicitly deal with question of the values underlying the interpretation of museum collections and other museum actions and policies.

Keywords: museums; material culture.

———. *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1992.

Pearce's study embraces the historical context of museums, their collections, and the objects that form them. The author explores the ideological relationship between museums and their collections, as well as the intellectual and social relationships of museums to the public. She shows that museums have, over time, operated with a range of agendas and these have been inherited by contemporary practitioners.

Keywords: anthropology; material culture; museums.

———. *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition.* London: Routledge, 1995.

The premise of this volume is that collecting takes place both inside and outside of museums, and is a microcosm of how people understand, relate to, use, and value objects. Through the lens of the practice of collecting objects, Pearce presents a detailed investigation of the history, sociology and politics of relations (in the western tradition) between people and things. By foregrounding the process of collecting as a multi-dimensional cultural, political process, Pearce's analysis directly raises and illuminates issues surrounding how objects (often old objects) are valued, used to negotiate identity, etc.

Keywords: anthropology; material culture.

Peréz de Cuéllar, Javier. *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development.* Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1995.

The World Commission on Culture and Development was established by Unesco as a parallel to the Brundtland Commission, whose report on ecologically sustainable development has been influential. This report outlines various dimensions of cultural heritage and its relation to development (as defined in the World Bank sense). It also articulates a number of ethical, philosophical, and political principles behind Unesco's approach to reconfiguring the global paradigm of development toward a model that enriches and strengthens the role of culture.

Keywords: heritage; culture; development.

Potter, Parker B. Jr. *Public Archaeology in Annapolis: A Critical Approach to History in Maryland's Ancient City.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

Representing recent work in the field of historical archaeology, this book presents an excellent summary of the relevance of recent critical theory to archaeology, especially the role of archaeology as a specific methodology for constructing meaning out of the artifactual past for public audiences. Much of Potter's book is devoted to one case—Annapolis, Maryland—which provides a full exploration of these theories and his model for archaeology-in-public.

Keywords: public history; archaeology; social theory; United States; Maryland.

President's Council on Sustainable Development. *Sustainable America: A New Consensus for the Future.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1995.

The major report of this Presidential Commission demonstrates the range of thinking grouped under the rubric of "sustainability." It represents the work of a very distinguished commission, who created an ambitious set of goals, supported with a persuasive analysis. Culture and heritage are virtually ignored, though, as an aspect of sustainable development. Greatest emphasis is placed on concern for the natural environment, energy policy, civic engagement, and more effective educational efforts.

Keywords: environment; policy; sustainability.

Price, Nicholas Stanley, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, editors. *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage.* Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996.

This anthology of essays outlines the historical and intellectual development, mainly within the field of art history, of ideas underpinning material conservation efforts. Focusing heavily on connoisseurship, the collection includes many touchstones in the history of art philosophy and conservation theory, including Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, and Morris, as well as art historians Wölfflin, Panofsky, and Riegl. In large part, these essays are limited to artworks, though some are relevant to the full range of scales. Some of them directly relate to the issues of valuing heritage, for instance Riegl's

essay on the several kinds of value possible in a work of art or "monument."

Keywords: art history; heritage.

Proshansky, Harold M., William H. Ittelson, and Leanne G. Rivlin, editors. *Environmental Psychology: People and Their Physical Settings.* 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

This collection of classic works is a good overview of environmental psychology, giving a sense of the breadth of the field and its varied interest in how people and their surroundings interact. Few works focus on historic environments or heritage per se though this volume does include David Lowenthal's "American Scene" essay as well as Garret Hardin's classic of environmental philosophy, "The Tragedy of the Commons."

Keywords: environmental psychology.

Prott, Lyndel V. and P. J. O'Keefe. *Law and Cultural Heritage.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

This three-volume compendium of legal material regarding heritage is international in scope and very detailed—it is apparently meant mostly as a resource for lawyers. Volume 1 concerns archaeology and the recovery of material heritage. Volume 2 deals with other "movable" heritage (i.e., art objects). Volume 3 concerns laws regulating the movement of cultural heritage. It includes an appendix on Unesco and other international law-related documents.

Keywords: heritage; law; policy.

Rapoport, Amos. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990.

Rapoport is a leading figure in the investigation of the meaning of the built environment. His background is in anthropology and his work routinely includes some empirical method such as surveys, interviews, or morphological analysis of buildings. This particular book raises basic questions of environmental psychology (such as: what is the mechanism by which people interpret environments? what role, alongside language, does the built environment play in communication?). Rapoport surveys anthropological and other literatures and details the non-verbal means (using the environment and also the body) by which people communicate. This kind of theoretical work establishes the linkage between things/objects/spaces and the ways in which humans construct meaning and communicate ideas (e.g., values).

Keywords: material culture; anthropology.

Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin." Translated by Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo. *Oppositions* 25 (1982): 21-51.

Riegl's article is a pioneering work in art history (first published in 1903), concerning the different types of value ascribed to buildings and works of art. Going beyond mere aesthetic value, Riegl's typology engaged symbolic values drawing on the age and historicity of "monuments" (widely defined) and attempted to structure how these varied, simultaneous values—newness value, age value, historical value, as well as aesthetic value—can be analyzed.

Keywords: art history; heritage.

Rossi, Aldo. *The Architecture of the City.* Translated by Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman. New York: Opposition Books, 1982.

In this book, architect and architectural theorist Rossi advocates architecture's return (following modernism and functionalism) to the complexity and collective past embodied in the fabric of cities. Architectural design, in a sense, should be constructed out of its own past. In so doing, Rossi helps re-value architectural heritage—the common fabric, more than the monumental. Rossi occupies one place in a now-broad tradition of valuing new works of architecture and design as works of heritage—that is, conscious and conscientious uses and reinterpretations of the past.

Keywords: urbanism; heritage.

Rotenberg, Robert and Gary McDonogh, editors. *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space.* Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey, 1993.

This collection of anthropologists' work documents different theoretical and empirical (case-study) approaches to studying how cultures construct and give meaning to urban space. Many of these chapters are attempts to understand the construction of meaning from the perspective of the users themselves. Some of the studies concern specific kinds of space, such as plazas and housing projects; others are framed by more general questions about the anthropology of place attachment, privacy, and neighborhoods.

Keywords: anthropology; space; place attachment.

Roth, Michael S. with Claire Lyons and Charles Merewether. *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed.* Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997.

This catalog, produced in concert with a Getty Research Institute exhibition, features three essays and a number of illustrations concerning the meaning of ruins, their role in art and literature, and the process of material decay in artistic culture.

Keywords: art history; collective memory.

Rüsen, Jörn. "Some Theoretical Approaches to Intercultural Comparative Historiography." *History and Theory* 35, no. 4 (1996): 5-22.

Rüsen presents a detailed theoretical argument positing the transcendent role of historical consciousness in human culture. He represents the essentialist view of the use of history—that is, the construction of "heritage" (creation of a usable past) is an essential element of modern culture. Though he draws on historiography to support his ideas, his

arguments could quite clearly be extended to encompass cultural heritage as an essential element of every culture.

Keywords: philosophy; history; heritage.

Ruskin, John. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* New York: Dover Publications, 1989.

Ruskin is one of the essential voices in the western tradition of conserving cultural heritage. Along with William Morris, Ruskin advocated the "anti-scrape" approach to saving old (medieval, ecclesiastical) buildings, and in so doing formed one of the foundations of modern conservation thinking. As eloquent literature and as impassioned conservation philosophy, Ruskin pays continual re-reading. (See in particular "The Lamp of Memory.")

Keywords: philosophy; conservation.

Rypkema, Donovan D. *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide.* Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994.

The intent of this slim, how-to book is giving public officials the tools with which to argue that historic preservation makes economic sense, that it is a sound investment of public and private funds. The book proceeds from the belief that historic preservation will be successful only if it can make a case for preserved historic buildings as economic assets. Rypkema uses dozens of examples and quotes to support his argument. Apart from the other values ascribed to heritage, the assumption here is that without privileging the economic value there will be little left to value otherwise.

Keywords: economics; historic preservation.

Santos, José Manuel L. *The Economic Valuation of Landscape Change: Theory and Policies for Land Use and Conservation.* Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1998.

This detailed economic study employs contingent valuation methods to evaluate conservation measures for addressing the disappearance of countryside and agricultural land in England. The book includes theoretical discussions of issues surrounding contingent valuation and cost-benefit analysis, as well as several case-study applications. Santos' work does not explore a wide range of methodologies, but it is a sophisticated example of the application of this leading type of economic valuation method to a cultural policy issue closely related to those of material heritage.

Keywords: economics; environment; England.

Schmidt, Peter R. and Thomas C. Patterson, editors. *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings.* Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1995.

This collection includes papers from a seminar of the School of American Research on the subject of recuperating the histories of peoples that have been subjected to colonialism. The contributions come mainly from archaeologists, and center on the role of archaeology in recovering the heritage of disenfranchised groups. On the whole, the collection is informed by post-colonial and post-structural

theory, and grounded in empirical archaeological and anthropological work done on disenfranchised cultures worldwide. Scholars and cases are drawn from around the world, and from both industrialized and developing nations.

Keywords: archaeology; identity; social theory.

Schuster, J. Mark, John de Monchaux, and Charles A. Reilly II, editors. *Preserving the Built Heritage: Tools for Implementation.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997.

These conference proceedings pertain mostly to the implementation of historic preservation policies and tools. Specific subjects include regulatory models, market mechanisms and other partnerships. These are symptomatic of the move toward partnership-building and deal-making as a conservation strategy, as opposed to better refined regulations and scientific techniques. This volume is frequently cited, suggesting that it is regarded as a statement of advanced methods in cultural-heritage protection.

Keywords: heritage; policy; urbanism.

Schuyler, David. "The Sanctified Landscape: The Hudson River Valley, 1820 to 1850." In *Landscape in America,* edited by George F. Thompson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Schuyler is a cultural historian and American Studies scholar. He relates the history of a particular landscape—the Hudson River Valley—through the work of the painter Thomas Cole, the landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing and other important, mid-century cultural figures. In so doing, Schuyler documents and analyzes the great significance of the marriage of nature and culture as dual sources of usable, workable "heritage" in the United States.

Keywords: history; environment; culture; art; United States.

Sibley, David. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Sibley analyzes the relationship between dominant social values and their physical manifestations in time and space. Drawing from a wide range of ideas from social anthropology, sociology, geography, feminist theory, and psychoanalysis, the book explores how Western cultures over time have marginalized and excluded minority groups. In particular, he identifies forms of social and spatial exclusion that are indicative of prevailing value systems (exhibiting racism, sexism, and class prejudice). This exemplifies, in broad terms, the use of space and other material forms and patterns in representing and maintaining social patterns and dynamics.

Keywords: space; social theory; geography.

Smith, Barbara Herrnstein. *Contingencies of Value: Alternative Perspectives for Critical Theory.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Smith examines the relationship between value and meaning, evaluation and interpretation, in literary theory. The book is a detailed investigation of axiology and value-judgement-making in the realm of literary criticism. She strenuously argues for the radical contingency of all terms and categories surrounding (literary) art and aesthetics. Values,

thus, are neither a fixed attribute nor an inherent property but rather an effect of multiple, continuously changing and interacting variables, and social systems. This work is important for the depth and complexity of the contingency argument she makes at ontological, epistemological and social levels. Chapter 3, "Contingencies of Value," is most relevant to axiologies of heritage.

Keywords: philosophy; literary criticism.

Smith, Charles Saumarez. "Museums, Artifacts, and Meanings." In *The New Museology,* edited by Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

This chapter summarizes, in the language of postmodern critique, the changes in meaning set in motion when an artifact is brought into a museum collection. Focusing on the far greater changeability of artifact meaning in contemporary society, he notes the problematic nature of conservation because it "freezes" objects. He calls for museums to be more aware of the "epistemological status" of their artifacts, which is to say the values underpinning their collection, use, and interpretation.

Keywords: museums; anthropology; philosophy.

Smith, Charles W. *Auctions: The Social Construction of Value.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

The focus of this book is auction markets and the economic, political, social, moral, and ideological dynamics which they involve. Smith argues that auctions serve as processes for establishing socially acceptable definitions of value, provenance, ownership, and allocation of objects.

Keywords: economics; art; sociology.

Sorenson, Colin. "Theme Parks and Time Machines." In *The New Museology.* edited by Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

Sorenson argues in this piece that the recent, resurgent public interest in the past is focused on old things, not on "history" (which he defines as knowledge about process, cause and effect, and so on). As evidence he uses the proliferation of historical theme parks and outdoor museums. He questions the recent turn in museums, public history and collecting in general, of valuing seemingly everything—and everyone's—heritage, and wonders at the unsustainable nature of such a strategy for creating and conserving heritage.

Keywords: heritage; anthropology; heritage planning.

Stecker, Robert. *Artworks: Definition, Meaning, Value.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.

Stecker addresses art works as part of a general value inquiry, focusing on three principle questions: what is art? (definition); what is it to understand artworks? (meaning); what is the value of art? (value).

Keywords: art; art history.

Stokes, Samuel A., Elizabeth Watson, and Shelly Mastran. *Saving America's Countryside: A Guide to Rural Conservation.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

This how-to guide to local, rural projects is a best-practices compendium limited to the u.s. The examples cited highlight the intertwining of natural resource conservation and cultural conservation in the last generation.

Keywords: historic preservation; environment; policy; United States.

Tainter, Joseph A., and John G. Lucas. "Epistemology of the Significance Concept." *American Antiquity* 48, no. 4 (1983): 707-19.

This article traces the provenance and development of the concept of "significance," which has dominated Western thinking about valuing material heritage, especially as institutionalized in government policies and professional and educational practice. It is an excellent critical treatment of conservation principles.

Keywords: conservation; philosophy.

Taylor, Paul W. *Respect For Nature: A Theory of Environmental Ethics.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Taylor explores the moral relationships between humans and the natural world as part of a larger theory of environmental ethics. He addresses the correlation between environmental and human ethics; the attitude of respect for nature with particular reference to the concepts of inherent worth and 'goodness' of a being or thing; the biocentric outlook on nature as an overarching teleological theme; basic components of ethical systems; the legal and moral rights of plants and animals; and the competing claims and priority principles at work in the negotiation between human civilization and nature.

Keywords: environment; ethics.

Throsby, David. "Culture, Economics and Sustainability." *Journal of Cultural Economics* 19 (1995): 199-206.

This brief article summarizes some conceptual issues bridging economic analysis and questions of cultural value—specifically, the idea of sustainability and sustainable development, and the closely associated concept of cultural capital. One of the essential difficulties in economic analysis of culture is the incommensurability of social values and price as a means of measuring value. Using the notion of cultural capital (as applied, for instance, to material heritage), Throsby suggests that cultural values and economic values can be brought into a single framework for analysis and decision-making.

Keywords: economics; sustainability.

———. "Seven Questions in the Economics of Cultural Heritage." In *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage,* edit-

ed by Michael Hutter and Ilde Rizzo. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Throsby surveys economic issues relating to economists' perspectives on "immovable cultural heritage"—not only methods of valuation, but instruments of regulation, analyses of who benefits and who pays, and so on. Beginning with the problem that there are several kinds of value to be considered even by economists—market value, bequest value, option value—he suggests "contingent valuation methods" as a way of gauging extra-market values. He also introduces the notion of sustainability in order to account for the future, trans-generational value of cultural heritage.

Keywords: economics; heritage.

Tilghman, B. R. *But Is It Art? The Value of Art and the Temptation of Theory.* New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Tilghman addresses the question of how we identify, describe, and evaluate works of art and the possibilities (and impossibilities) of constructing a proper theory of art. This work explores, among others topics, the aim and structure of traditional theory, art worlds and the uses/functions of 'Art,' as well as the aesthetics and complexities of perception in the search for artistic value.

Keywords: art; art history.

Torre, Marta de la, editor. *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region: An International Conference Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, May 1995.* Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1997.

This conference was organized to promote the conservation of archaeological heritage in the Mediterranean region. To forward this, managers, policy makers, and conservation professionals from around the region were gathered to discuss model approaches and issues of common interest, and visit sites around the region (Piazza Armerina in Sicily, Knossos in Crete, and Ephesus in Turkey; each is the subject of an extensive case report in the book, which also includes articles on planning models, reconstruction, and interpretation of sites). The main issues raised and discussed in the conference related to the management of archaeological sites, and the role of different values—social, artistic, economic, and so on—in shaping conservation strategies and actions.

Keywords: archaeology; planning; management; values.

Towse, Ruth, editor. *Cultural Economics: The Arts, the Heritage, and the Media Industries. (International Library of Critical Writings in Economics.)* Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1997.

This book is comprised of two volumes of collected papers from the preceding generation of work in the specialty field of cultural economics. The collection draws together economists of varying backgrounds—there is not just one ideological framework presented. Different sections are devoted to different analytical themes in cultural economics (e.g., "cost disease" in the performing arts, policy and sub-

sidy issues, non-profit organizations and impact studies). Towse's introduction is a good overview and guide.

Keywords: economics; policy; art; heritage.

Towse, Ruth, and Abdul Khakee, editors. *Cultural Economics.* Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1992.

This collection of essays, from a 1990 conference of cultural economists, addresses a wide range of economic topics. The book contains the work of economists from fifteen countries and covers a host of theoretical, practical, and policy issues, dealing with the performing arts, art markets and museums. Collectively, the book represents an attempt to expand the reach of the cultural economics subfield and to understand culture and the arts as an economic phenomenon—studying issues such as pricing, subsidies, and trade. The volume ends with six "country studies" analyzing specific issues in specific places.

Keywords: economics; policy; art; heritage.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Tuan is a geographer, known for his innovative, cross-disciplinary writing on the meaning of built environments and other issues that bind philosophy and geography. His work, in general, is an intriguing mixture of environmental design, perception, and spirituality. In *Topophilia,* he explores the relationship between the environment and human perception (i.e., the nature of environmental attitudes and values) in order to better focus the fight to protect the natural wealth of the earth. He discusses sense perception, cultural psychology, ego- and ethno-centrism, cross-cultural environmental attitudes, and other topics. In this and other works, Tuan often uses cases drawn from China as well as the west. In *Topophilia,* see especially Chapter 8. His other works of note are *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990) and the more personal account in *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature, and Culture* (New York: Kodansha America, 1995).

Keywords: environmental psychology; philosophy; geography.

Tunbridge, J. E. and G. J. Ashworth. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past As a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester, U.K./New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

This excellent study takes a critical look at the role of heritage in contemporary societies, through the lens of planning for heritage conservation and development. Writing from the planning field, Tunbridge and Ashworth highlight what they see as the essentially conflicted nature of heritage—all heritage is "dissonant" in some respects. Dissonance stems from questions of "whose heritage is it?" Inevitably, some groups are disinherited in the process of answering this. Their model of the heritage-creation

process is essentially an economic one, in which heritage is created because markets exist for it.

Keywords: heritage; heritage planning.

Unesco. *World Culture Report: Culture, Creativity and Markets.* Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998.

This report extends the work of the World Commission on Culture and Development, whose report *Our Creative Diversity* (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1995) identified a number of issues regarding the role of culture in human life and development increasingly dominated by globalization. *World Culture Report* was compiled along the model of other Unesco documents on the status of the environment (which stemmed from the Brundtland Commission). It collects the work of scholars from all over the world to assess the status and role of culture in a world increasingly dominated by markets; it also sets out important questions to be researched and debated. Specific themes in the report include culture and economic development, global sociocultural processes, creativity and markets, and cultural indicators. Unlike many documents and research efforts focused on globalization and sustainability, the *World Culture Report* remains centered on culture as a positive force in individual and social life. A few sections discuss material heritage directly; the second *World Culture Report,* currently being planned, will focus on heritage as one of its main themes.

Keywords: cultural heritage; economic development; material heritage.

Urry, John. *Consuming Places.* London: Routledge, 1995.

Noting the absence of such work, Urry's analysis is devoted to understanding the complicated social theory that underlies the seemingly simple concept of "place"—how to model the complex, subtle relations between a society and its physical environment. Considerable research has been done on the production of places; little on how, from a sociologist's perspective (as opposed to an artist's or art historian's), they are experienced or "consumed." (His focus on a particular social process keeps the discussion at a fairly abstract, highly theoretical level.) Urry is particularly concerned with heritage places and the rise and influence of tourism—a particular kind of consumption, growing out of the recent, vast economic restructurings.

Keywords: place; tourism; commodification; sociology.

———. "How Societies Remember the Past." In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World,* edited by Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers and Sociological Review, 1996.

In this piece, Urry argues that social theory has failed to include "how societies remember the past" among its concerns. This includes a failure to conceptualize heritage as a social phenomenon that involves a complex of economic, cultural, and social processes. His larger research agenda is to understand this phenomenon as seen in the specific practices of travel, tourism, and the proliferation of tourism industries and practices—which in turn are part of the larger shift to post-industrial society. He advocates a focus not so much on heritage and memory (things), as on tourism and remembering (processes).

Keywords: sociology; collective memory; tourism.

Vergo, Peter, editor. *The New Museology.* London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

This volume is a strong collection of critical essays by museum professionals (from England) analyzing the difficulties raised by contemporary changes in museum practices and the role of museums in society.

Keywords: museums; cultural studies; England.

Wallace, Mike. *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

Wallace is a radical historian whose interest lies in contentious public history debates. He describes in sometimes florid terms the politicization of public history, focusing on cases such as Smithsonian exhibits, other history museum issues, and proposals for the Disney's America historical theme park. One of the implications of his account of public history battles is that heritage remains an important and meaningful issue for the contemporary public.

Keywords: public history; heritage.

Walsh, Kevin. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World.* London: Routledge, 1992.

This book takes an historical approach to understanding the anthropology of heritage, specifically as it has been institutionalized in modern, western culture. The basic premise is: as heritage has increasingly been commodified, its social meaning (its relevance to individuals, small groups and localities) has been diminished. The process behind this is modernization in its many facets: not only commodification and changes in production, but travel, communication, and so on. It is particularly useful that Walsh focuses on the institutions that have arisen and transformed to effect these changes in the relation between heritage and meaning—museums and the conservation and preservation fields in particular. He ends by recommending "ecomuseums" and their holistic approach as a remedy to the alienating dynamic he describes.

Keywords: heritage; anthropology; museums.

Walter, E. V. *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Walter is a philosopher writing about human beings' attachment to places as a trans-historic phenomenon. Using the notion of "topistics" and "sense of place," he argues that our understanding of the experience of place has been fragmented among disciplines. His account endeavors to reverse this, making a "holistic," even overarching, basis for understanding the role of places (and by extension, other elements of cultural heritage) in our psychic and social lives. He calls this field of inquiry "topistics... the study of placeways."

Keywords: philosophy; place attachment.

Weber, Raymond, editor. *European Heritage.* Vol. 3. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Cultural Heritage Division, 1995.

This journal issue gives an excellent overview of the social and political issues facing the cultural heritage field. It consists of a dozen short articles by senior figures in the heritage field. While many of the articles focus on a particular country, taken together they comprise a very informative glimpse of the overall situation of heritage in Europe.

Keywords: heritage; policy; Europe.

Weil, Stephen E. *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Inquiries into Museums and Their Prospects.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

Weil's essays concern the place of museums in society (American society in particular). Covering a wide range of topics—from operational issues to conceptual and philosophical questions—he focuses on museums' central role as collectors of movable, tangible heritage. The essays are tied together by this theme: the changing uses, functions and issues concerning all kinds of museums are changing along with the society that they serve and reflect (a society which is changing technologically, demographically, economically, and so on). True to its title, Weil's varied collection of essays probes the present and future challenges of museums of many kinds.

Keywords: museums; material culture.

White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

White explores the relation between narrative and historical discourse, arguing that narrative is not merely a neutral act but, instead, entails choices with distinct ideological and political implications. To conceive of narrative and history writing in this way allows the author to account for the interest that dominant social groups have in controlling what will pass for the authoritative myths of a given cultural formation—or its dominant value-systems. Interpretation of material heritage is one arena in which such history writing is performed.

Keywords: literary criticism; philosophy; history.

Whitley, David S., editor. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches.* London: Routledge, 1998.

This collection of recent, critical work in archaeology maps the introduction of values into the field of archaeology through the various turns of post-structural and post-modern theory. The contributors, many of them leaders in the field, explain their varied approaches to interpreting the meaning and significance of archaeological data about the past—all of which are conscious attempts to go beyond the objective, scientific claims of traditional, "processual" archaeology.

Keywords: archaeology; social theory.

Wilson, Alexander. *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape From Disney to the Exxon Valdez.* Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1992.

Wilson's argument expands on the widely held belief that, in North America especially, the connection between people and the land is an important aspect of culture and material heritage. He goes on to develop, through a number of themes, the notion that nature, far from being a knowable object with stable and transcendent meaning, is as contingent and contested as any cultural object (i.e., buildings, art, parking lots, theme parks).

Keywords: environment; history; North America.

Zube, Ervin and Gary Moore, editors. *Advances in Environment, Behavior and Design, Vols. 1-3.* New York: Plenum Press in cooperation with the Environmental Design Research Association, 1987-1991.

The volumes in this series are compilations of review articles written by scholars from the broad range of fields falling under the rubric of "environmental design" (which cuts across psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, historians, and design). As a collection they deal broadly with the issues of environment, environmental meaning, and behavior, though not specifically with historic environments or heritage. Each chapter is very succinct, detailed, and useful for delving into the details of specialized topics (which include, for example: environments for children, vernacular architecture, design theory, and approaches to studying the meaning of particular environments).

Keywords: environmental psychology; urbanism.

Zukin, Sharon. *The Cultures of Cities.* Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1995.

Zukin, a sociologist and cultural geographer, writes about the interweaving of market ideology and culture in various material forms—museums, art, public spaces, ethnic expressions. She documents the development of new symbolic economies capitalizing on these cultures, contentious debates about the formation of public culture and the complicated power struggles attending it. Her case studies include the redevelopment of Bryant Park in New York City, the creation of a new modern art museum in western Massachusetts, and the shifting geography and business culture of ethnic enclaves.

Keywords: sociology; geography; commodification; United States.