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## **Locating heritage values**

### **1. Introduction**

This chapter is based on work currently taking place as part of the European Network on Heritage Values (H@V), a European project funded by the JPI Pilot Programming on Cultural Heritage and Global Change ([www.heritagevalues.net](http://www.heritagevalues.net)). One of the central aims of this project is to unfold the transnational and trans-disciplinary meanings of the rather ambiguous but extensively used concept of heritage values.

Within the framework of this project, the chapter aims to explore where heritage values reside in the heritage management field. It will do this by mapping the epistemological geographies of heritage values i.e. how heritage values are understood, defined and used across different disciplines. The chapter argues that heritage values constitute an ambiguous concept in heritage management and that this ambiguity leads to misunderstandings, miscommunications and, consequently, mismanagement. It is thus imperative to deconstruct the concept of heritage values in a critical manner that will inform both heritage theory and practice.

In detail, the chapter will first examine where heritage values reside in the disciplines of environmental studies and resource management, heritage studies and heritage management/conservation and cultural economics. These disciplines were chosen not only because they relate to heritage but also because they have influenced each other in relation to heritage research. The chapter will then proceed with corroborating the findings of the brief literature review with preliminary findings derived from an anonymous, online survey that was conducted as part of the H@V project. This survey aimed to investigate what the key questions and needs of heritage professionals and academics are in relation to heritage values.

The chapter will unveil the diversity of meanings that often leads to confusion, miscommunication and mismanagement of heritage (Reser and Bentrupperbäumer 2005:125) or anger and frustration among members of interdisciplinary teams (Dillon et al. 2014; Bell et al. 2014). It will be argued that the ambiguity of the concept of heritage values and its impact on the management of heritage can be partly explained by the dominant influence of some disciplines and the distinct boundaries they intend to create (Becher and Trowler 2001) and partly by the working ethos of heritage management agencies. The language adopted by such agencies influences inevitably the development of heritage

legislation, codes of ethics and other documents that underpin the way of managing heritage (see, for instance, Smith 2006).

In the case of heritage values, there are three levels of conceptual complexity that need to be taken into consideration. The first level relates to the term heritage itself (see, for instance, Harrison 2013) which is often viewed as a social construct and interchangeably used with culture and tradition although there is no agreed definition of heritage (e.g. Lowenthal 1985). The second level relates to the term values which refers 'to fundamentally different phenomena, from individual human emotional response or judgment to shared convictions of how things should be, to a reading or calibration on a measuring instrument or scale' (Reser and Bentrupperbäumer 2005:127). The third level derives from the combined use of the terms heritage and values. Indeed, by locating heritage in front of values the meanings and references of the term values will change. More importantly, by locating the term heritage in front of values ultimately it is implied that values must reside in heritage. It is this third level that the chapter will focus on.

## **2. Where do heritage values reside epistemologically and in heritage practice?**

Framing the consideration of values as an issue that needs to be located is in itself problematic (Reser and Bentrupperbäumer 2005:140) since this immediately connotes that values are a tangible entity that 'can indeed have a locus' (ibid). The tangibility of values is in contrast to the growing emphasis on values as a fluid, dynamic process and socio-political construct (Gibson and Pendlebury 2009). However, despite the drawback of adopting such a *locational approach*, this question can 'force a critical and reflective consideration of current uses and meanings and can also 'address the apparent reality' according to which heritage management values are 'ostensibly and routinely identified, located and measured impacted and protected' (Reser and Bentrupperbäumer 2005:140).

An examination of how heritage values are discussed in cultural economics, environmental studies and heritage literature can reveal the multiplicity of the meanings with which the concept is interlinked. Within cultural economics heritage is viewed as a public good (see for instance, Sable and Kling 2001) and thus values are directly referring to the benefits derived for the public. Often values are distinguished into private, market and social, non-market values (including aesthetic, cultural, option, bequest, and existence) (Sable and Kling 2001: 77) and thus they are often identified as the social, public benefits (Sable and Kling 2001: 78). Another common division is that of use and non-use values (i.e. option, bequest, existence) (Throsby 2010). The assessment of values in cultural economics is synonymous with valuation and numerical measuring of the use or non-use, market and non-market economic and cultural values. Values are assigned a numerical value, they are classified into distinct types or are listed as criteria of significance (Throsby 2010). The preferred term is 'cultural' rather than 'heritage' values which is separated from the purely economic ones.

Within the environmental literature, heritage values are defined as the natural history, information storage, habitat for rare, archaeological uses and current human uses (Smardon 2006). Occasionally, the term 'heritage value' is used interchangeably with use (Smardon 2006). Another interesting distinction is that of 'held' and 'assigned' values (Seymour et al. 2010) which connotes the long-lasting philosophical debate on whether there is such a thing as 'intrinsic' value (Zimmerman 2010). Values in environmental studies in the recent years

tend to focus on 'human values' and thus emphasis is given on values as social perspective, ecological perspective, psychological perspective etc (Seymour et al. 2010: 142). Other scholars in the field tend to understand values as the socio-cultural and economic benefits derived from heritage and are obviously influenced by cultural economists (e.g. Alberini and London 2009).

Within the heritage literature there is a gradual transition from the initially interchangeable use of cultural and heritage values (Powell 2000) and division between intrinsic and extrinsic values (Carter and Bramley 2002) to the adoption of values as intangible processes which question the usefulness of compiling lists of criteria of significance (Smith 2015). Values are also growingly defined as narratives (Walter 2014). However interestingly in urban heritage the distinction between tangible and intangible values seems still to be relevant (McClelland et al. 2013).

Thus values mean different 'things' to different professionals, depending largely on the discipline represented but also on the wider context within which 'values' are used. The recent call for funding, for instance, of the Arts and Humanities Research Council on cultural values is a dedicated attempt to provide a focal point of investigation on cultural values that are clearly distinguished from the economic (but not necessarily from the heritage values) ([www.ahrc.ac.uk](http://www.ahrc.ac.uk)). This call also reflects governmental requirements from organisations such as English Heritage to provide evidence that prove the 'value' of heritage and participation in heritage with an emphasis on the impact of heritage participation on well-being. Thus values can be understood as benefits, impact, outputs, outcomes, meanings, significance, narratives or all of these at the same time. With such a plurality of meanings it is inevitable that misunderstandings and miscommunications can occur. The following section will examine the plurality of meanings attributed to heritage values mainly among heritage professionals from different countries based on data collected from the online, anonymous survey of the H@V project.

### **3. Methodology**

An online, anonymous survey was carried out as part of the H@V project in order to gain an overview of how heritage professionals from different disciplines and countries conceptualise heritage values and what their attitudes are towards the use of value typologies and qualitative or quantitative methods for assessing them.

This short survey informed the design of an in-depth, more widely circulated survey that is currently in progress. Due to the limited available resources and the geographical disparity of the target audience an online survey was viewed as the most suitable method. Based on previous experience (Dillon et al 2014), the fact that the survey targeted heritage specialists reassured a bigger sample of complete questionnaires in a short period.

The questionnaire comprised open-ended and scale questions followed by open-boxes for elaboration. The length of the survey was determined on the basis of the limited time that heritage professionals usually have time to fill in surveys. It is also well known that the longer the survey the less likely for respondents to complete it (Lauer et al. 2013: 338).

The survey was translated in Spanish, Catalanian, Greek and English. This chapter will focus on the analysis of the findings derived from the English survey for which 108 responses were received. The questionnaire was distributed to relevant professional

networks covering a wide range of disciplines including museums, heritage sites, heritage management, conservators, archaeologists (such as International Council of Museums-Committee for Conservation, International Council on Monuments and Sites, Association for Critical Heritage Studies and relevant email lists). One of the main drawbacks of the survey is that the sampling of the respondents is random and thus it is impossible to generate a representative sample of all the stakeholders (Bethlehem 2009). Thus the conclusions drawn in this chapter will only apply to the 'frame population' - that is the respondents who were contacted and ultimately responded- rather than the full target population (Bethlehem 2009: 27). In addition, given that online questionnaires constitute a self-selected process that cannot be controlled by the researcher selection errors are inevitable (Bethlehem 2009: 278). However, as mentioned above, for the purposes of this particular project a self-selection survey that relies on the frame population proved to suit best the aims of this project and the available resources.

The collected data were analysed following the classification of disciplines proposed by Becher and Trowler in their seminal study 'Academic Tribes and Territories' (2001). Their study showed through the analysis of 221 interviews with academics from a diverse range of disciplines<sup>1</sup> that 'the ways in which academics engage with their subject matter and the narratives they develop are important structural factors in the formulation of disciplinary cultures' (Becher and Trowler 2001: 24). By 'disciplinary cultures' they refer to the set of values, attitudes and ways of behaving which are articulated by a group of academics that represent a particular discipline (Becher and Trowler 2001: 23).

Their sociological study informed the development of a classification of disciplines based on the cultural and social characteristics of each discipline. Despite the disadvantages of the proposed classification, as explained below, their classification system provides a useful tool for interpreting the data of the online survey. The authors classified the disciplines into four main groups including: a) soft-applied b) hard-applied c) soft-pure and d) hard pure disciplines although they point out that the boundaries between the hard/soft, pure/ applied cannot be located with much precision (Becher and Trowler 2001:39). Hard-pure disciplines refer to pure sciences (e.g. physics) and are concerned with universals, quantities and simplification that result in discovery and explanation (Becher and Trowler 2001:36). Soft-pure disciplines connote humanities (e.g. history) and pure social sciences (e.g. anthropology) and are concerned with particulars, qualities and complication that result in understanding and interpretation (Becher and Trowler 2001:36). Hard-applied disciplines refer to technologies (e.g. mechanical engineering) and use both qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to develop products and techniques (Becher and Trowler 2001:36). Finally, soft-applied disciplines refer to applied social science (e.g. education, law) and are concerned with enhancement of professional practice through the use of case studies resulting in protocols/procedures (Becher and Trowler 2001:39).

The classification of disciplines into hard-pure, hard-applied, soft-pure, soft-applied is based mainly on the 'cognitive characteristics' of each discipline i.e. methods they use, questions they pose, theories they propose. In addition to the 'cognitive classification', the

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<sup>1</sup> Biology, chemistry, economics, geography, history, law, mathematics, mechanical engineering, modern languages: French, German, Spanish and Italian, pharmacy, physics, sociology. Most of the aforementioned disciplines (including chemistry, economics, geography, history, mechanical engineering, physics and sociology) are included in the survey.

authors attempted to classify the disciplines on the basis of their social characteristics into convergent and divergent and into urban or rural. Convergent disciplines tend to maintain uniform standards and procedures while divergent disciplines tend to tolerate ‘a greater measure of intellectual deviance’ (Becher and Trowler 2001:185). The rural/urban dimension (which is used metaphorically by the authors) is determined on the basis of the people-to-problem ratio – that is the number of researchers engaged at any one time on a particular problem (Becher and Trowler 2001:185). Urban researchers are inclined towards a limited number of discrete research topics while rural researchers cover a broader research area acknowledging that the solution to research problems is a lengthy process (Becher and Trowler 2001:185).

#### 4. Survey findings

##### 4.1. Approaches to heritage values

A diverse range of disciplines were represented among the respondents (Figure 1) which is indicative of the interdisciplinary nature of heritage studies, conservation and management. This interdisciplinary nature of the heritage field further reinforces the need to deconstruct ambiguous concepts that are largely used in heritage practice and theory – such as the concept of heritage values.

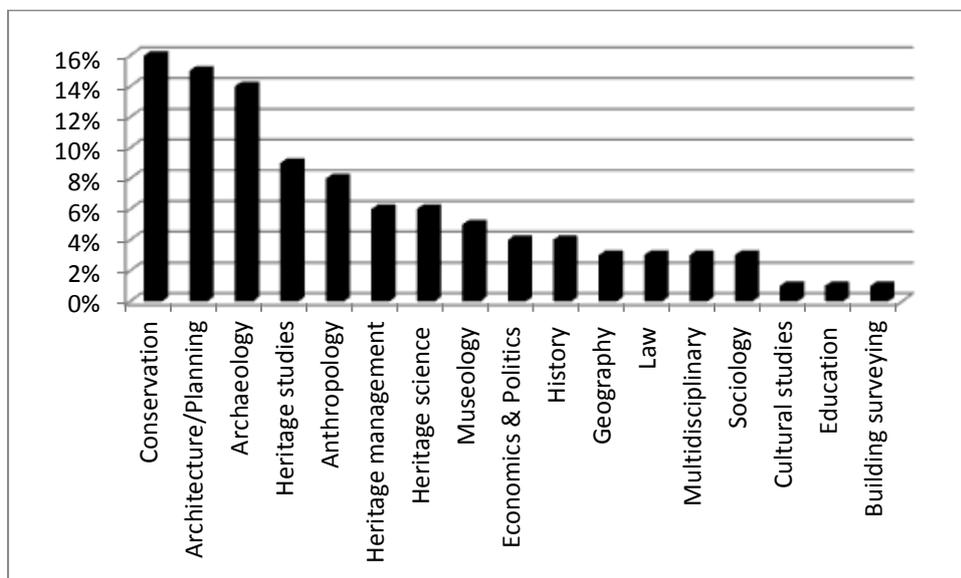


Figure 1: Disciplines represented in the online survey (Number of responses =80)

The disciplines were classified following Becher’s and Trowler’s classification system and analysis taking into consideration that the classificatory boundaries are not always clearly distinct (Table 1).

Discipline	Hard / Soft	Pure/Applied	Convergent/Divergent	Urban/Rural
Chemistry	Hard	Pure	Intermediate (closer to divergent)	Rural
History	Soft	Pure	Convergent	Rural
Geography	In between	Pure	Divergent	Rural
Sociology	Soft	Pure or Applied	Divergent	Rural
Law	Soft	Applied	Intermediate	Rural
Economics	In between	Pure or Applied	Convergent	Rural
Anthropology	Soft	Pure	Convergent	Rural
Archaeology	Soft	Applied	Divergent	Rural
Architecture	Soft	Applied	Intermediate	Rural
Heritage Science	Hard	Pure	Divergent	Rural
Heritage Management	Soft	Applied	Divergent	Rural
Heritage Studies	Soft	Pure	Divergent	Rural
Museum Studies	Soft	Applied	Divergent	Rural
Education	Soft	Applied	Divergent	Rural
Ethnology	Soft	Pure	Intermediate	Rural

Table 1: Disciplines represented in the survey classified following Becher's and Trowler's classification and analysis

The respondents are residing across different parts of the world with the majority living in Northern Europe (especially in the UK) (Figure 2).

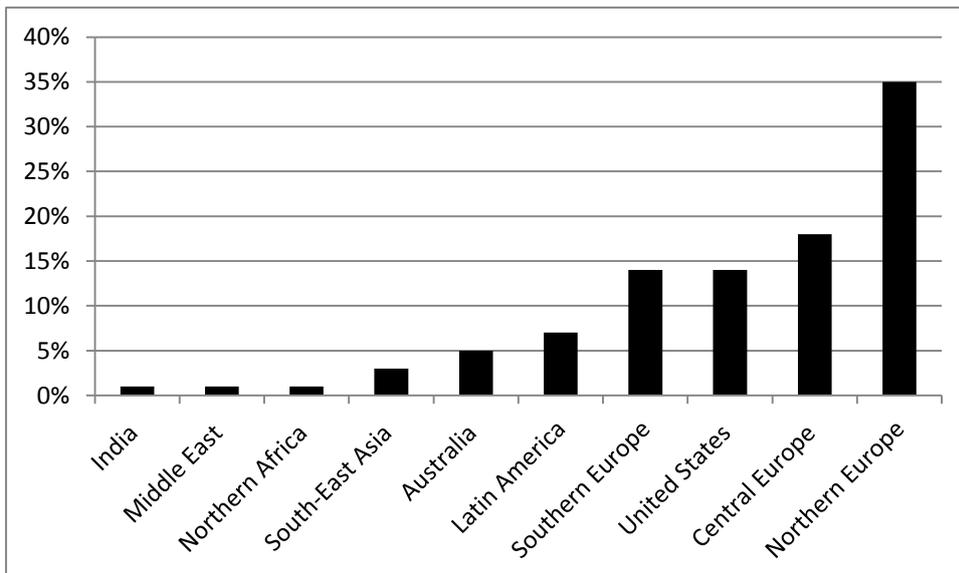


Figure 2: Countries represented in the survey (Number of respondents = 77)

The first question of the online questionnaire prompted the participants to provide their own definition of heritage values. The responses were coded into the following categories/ approaches towards to heritage values (Figure 3).

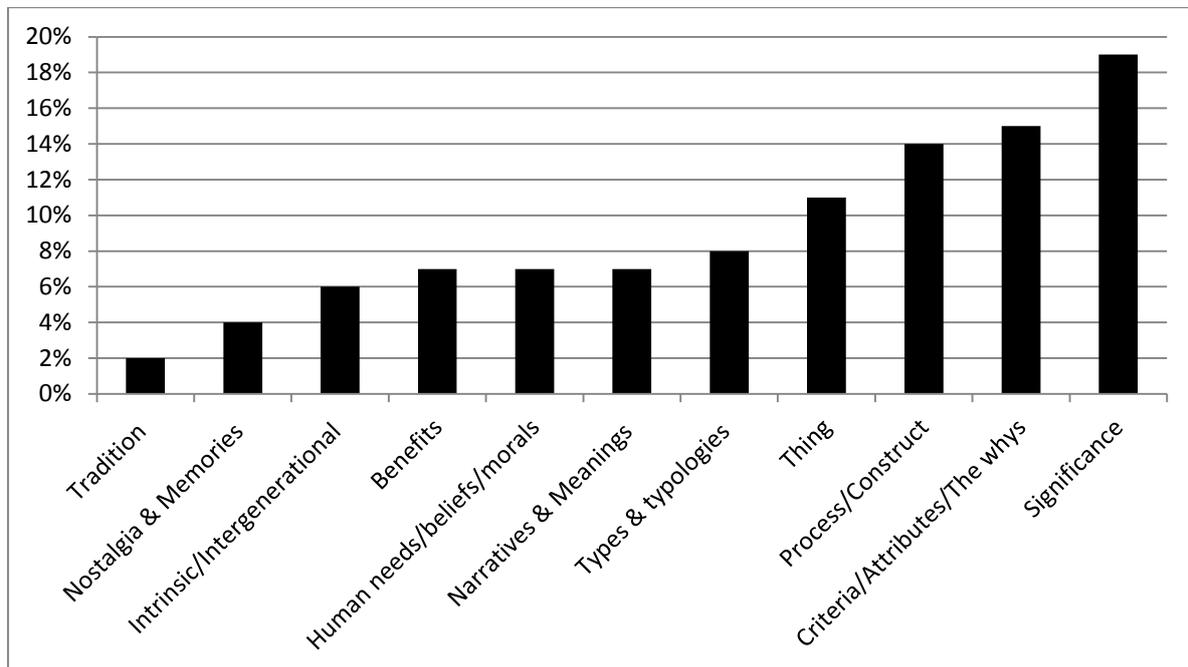


Figure 3: Groups of approaches towards heritage values (Number of respondents = 85)

Possibly not surprisingly, the majority of the respondents (19%) defined values as the *significance* or *importance* assigned to heritage that justifies its preservation. For a respondent, for instance, heritage values are ‘the key to why heritage is important to those who admire and live around it and why it needs to be protected and enhanced’ (Architectural Conservation and Planning, UK) and for another values are synonymous to the ‘the significance placed on aspects of the past both tangible and intangible by communities which may or may not be recognised through legislation’ (Archaeologist, UK). Significance and values are thus used interchangeably as the justifier for preserving heritage.

The second most frequent response (15%) is closely related to the first and associates values as the ‘criteria’ or ‘attributes’ of significance or the ‘whys’ that justify heritage preservation. As one participant put it, ‘for me heritage values mean the attributes that we as human beings associate with heritage that give heritage worth, meaning and importance and that make its understanding and preservation important’ (Heritage Science and Chemistry, UK). Another respondent defined values as a ‘set of chosen characteristics that are used to define what is worth protecting and preserving’ or ‘the series of reason why a specific heritage site or object is important to different stakeholders’ (Conservation Science, Mexico).

14% of the respondents defined values as a dynamic socio-cultural and political construct or process with particular emphasis on identity construction. For instance, a respondent noted that values are ‘what transforms ordinary object, place, beliefs, cultural practices or past events in actual and real heritage’ (Archaeologist, Argentina) and another

defined values as 'the aspirations we associate with heritage, such as the importance of heritage for identity, or the importance of heritage for social and political cohesion' (Law, Brazil).

11% of the respondents provided specific examples of heritage under their definition of values such as 'historical buildings, the built environment, rural landscapes (which have also been built), cultural foods, traditions and practices' (Sociologist, Canada). Thus their definition of heritage encompasses mainly the 'what people value about heritage' more than the 'how' and 'why'.

8% of the respondents consciously or unconsciously defined values as distinct types or typologies. For instance, a respondent stated that heritage values are 'different kind of values (ethical, economic, social, political, etc.) attributed to a 'heritage object (material or immaterial)' by a group of actors (local community, academics from different disciplines, politician, etc.) (Political economist, France) For another, a holistic approach was taken by identifying values as 'symbolic, historical, cultural, social, economical values' while an interesting classification focusing on 'information' 'aesthetics' and 'economics' was proposed by another respondent.

Heritage values were defined by fewer respondents as narratives and meanings, human needs and morals, or tradition. A respondent, for instance, stated that heritage values is 'a confusing term that I am not sure means the 'value' of material and/or immaterial heritage, or human values passed on by people as part of their cultural heritage' (Communication and Cultural Studies, UK). On the same line, another respondent defined values as 'customs and beliefs that I have been brought up with that differ from what someone else has been brought up with' (Discipline not known). The intrinsic value or ethical obligation to transmit for future generations has also been emphasised by some respondents and thus values are the medium to achieve this transmission e.g. 'values that attached to tangible or intangible material held by certain community that passed on from generation to generation' (Discipline now known). For others, values are of 'tangible' nature and connote the socio-cultural or economic benefits that can emerge from the protection of heritage. Thus values are defined as the values 'that heritage brings to and offers cultures, societies, communities and individuals in the broadest sense, rather than just in the economic sense' (Museum Studies, UK) or the ways in which 'heritage can help us to create a better understanding of our common future' (Conservation, Netherlands) and to contribute to 'contemporary life and future development' (Architecture-Urbanism, Croatia). For a few, heritage values are about feeling nostalgic and remembering or keeping connections to past cultural contexts' (Heritage Studies, Canada). Finally, 7% of the respondents defined values as the narratives and meanings assigned by a wide range of groups with an emphasis on 'who' values rather than on 'what' and 'why' is valued. For instance, a participant stressed that heritage values are 'what local people mean when they say "this is our heritage." It depends on local values about what heritage constitutes. It has a wide range of meanings that can only be gleaned by asking local people what they think it means. However, it does include both intangible and tangible aspects' (Anthropology, United States).

In sum, it becomes obvious that heritage values are viewed in different ways by different professionals which can be potentially problematic from a communication and collaboration point of view. For some heritage professionals and academics, heritage values constitute a tangible concept, a 'thing' or a 'benefit' that can be described, measured,

classified and assessed. For others, heritage values are mostly related with the ‘why’ is heritage preserved and ‘how’ its preservation contributes to memory, identity and decision-making for present and future generations. A smaller percentage of respondents is concerned with the ‘who’ assigns heritage values and the associated meanings. The following section will identify differences and correlations between disciplines and conceptualisations of heritage values.

#### 4.2. Locating approaches to heritage values across disciplines

A cross-tabulation between the various disciplines and different approaches to heritage values revealed that applied disciplines are more likely to define values as a ‘process’ or a socio-political construct highlighting also the importance for establishing criteria or attributes of significance (Figure 4). Applied disciplines also were more likely to make reference to value typologies and define values as benefits (Figure 4). On the contrary, pure disciplines tended to define values as meanings and narratives (Figure 4). Thus, it could be argued that there is a fundamental difference between the ‘tangibility’ describable, measurable nature of values adopted by applied disciplines and the intangible, narrated nature of values adopted by pure disciplines.

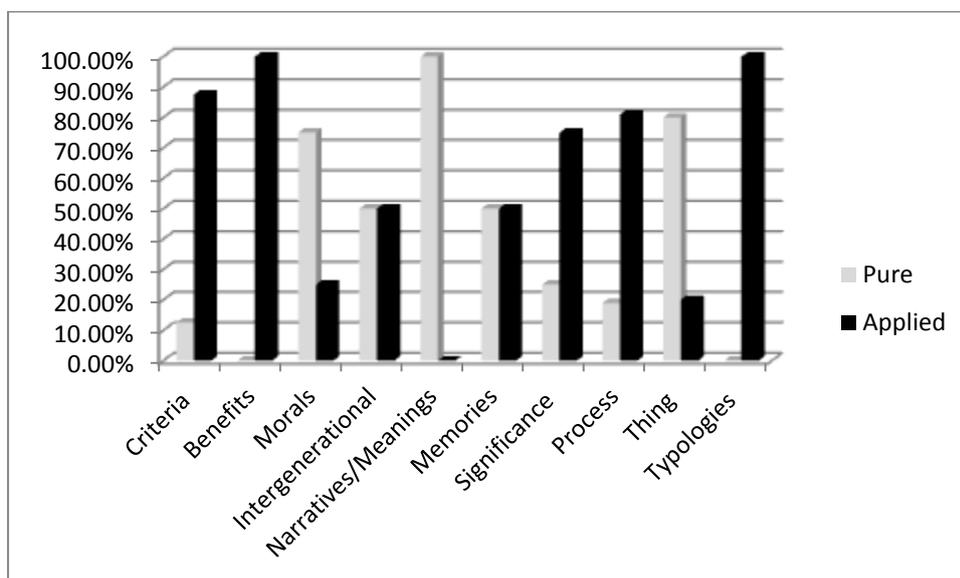


Figure 4: Cross-tabulation of pure and applied disciplines with approaches to heritage values (Number of responses = 78)

A cross-tabulation of hard and soft disciplines with approaches to heritage values showed that hard disciplines were more likely to focus on values as ‘criteria of significance’ or as ‘typologies’ and much less on other definitions. Due to the small percentage of hard disciplines represented in the sample the differences displayed in the chart cannot be perceived as statistically significant but the tendencies observed are worth further exploration.

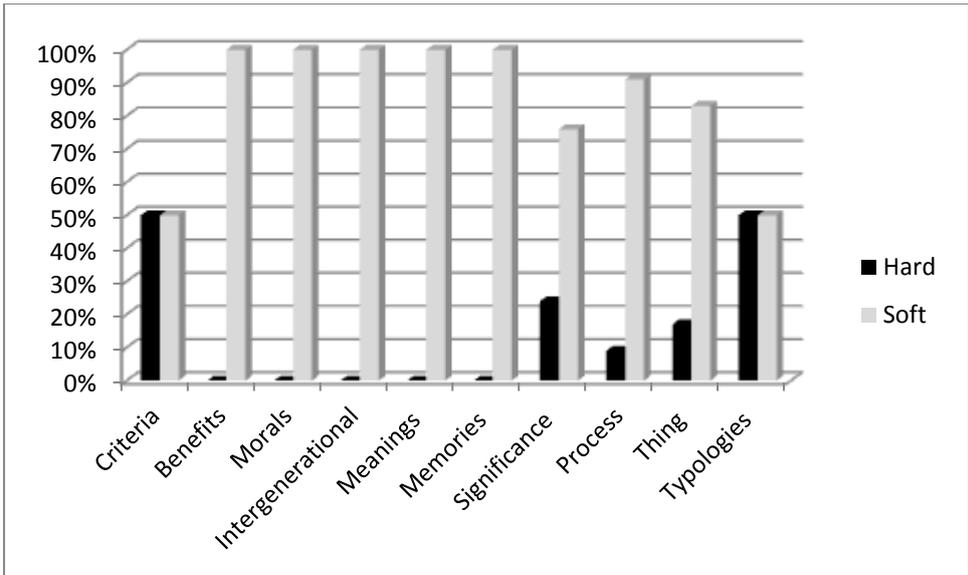


Figure 5: Cross-tabulations between hard and soft disciplines and approaches to heritage values (Number of responses = 78)

Overall, soft-applied disciplines tend to define values as criteria, benefits, significance and as a socio-cultural or political process (Figure 6). Hard-applied disciplines are more likely to identify values as a series of typologies or criteria. The emphasis of applied disciplines on the above approaches can be explained by the fact that applied disciplines are highly concerned with practical implications and applied solutions to real problems. The hard-pure disciplines, on the other hand, were more inclined to define values as something tangible and the soft-pure disciplines were identifying heritage values as morals, memories and meanings.

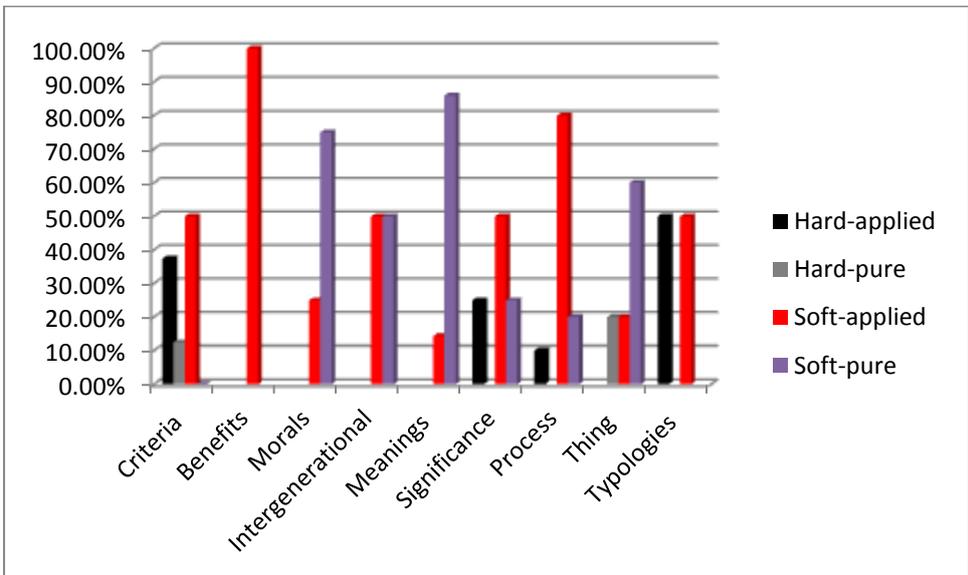


Figure 6: Cross-tabulations between hard-applied, hard-pure, soft-applied, soft-pure disciplines with approaches to heritage values (Number of responses = 78)

A closer look towards some of the disciplines reveals that museum professionals place an emphasis on values as benefits while economists define values as specific types or

typologies of values (Figure 7). The identification of values as significance or criteria/attributes of significance underpins mainly the disciplines of heritage science, conservation and heritage management while heritage studies are divided between values as meanings and values as significance. Anthropologists are mostly referring to values as meanings or narratives while for archaeologists and architects values are either equal to significance or to a socio-cultural and political process.

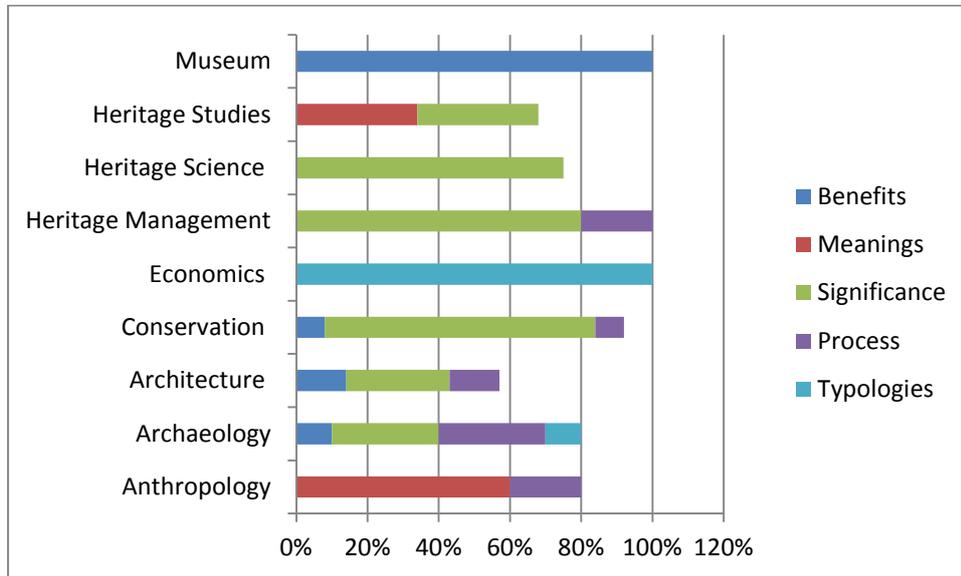


Figure 7: Approaches to heritage values cross-tabulated with specific disciplines

The current data do not reveal a correlation between attitudes to value typologies and approaches to heritage values. The only exception is that the respondents who defined values as morals or nostalgia and tradition tend to disagree with value typologies (Figure 8).

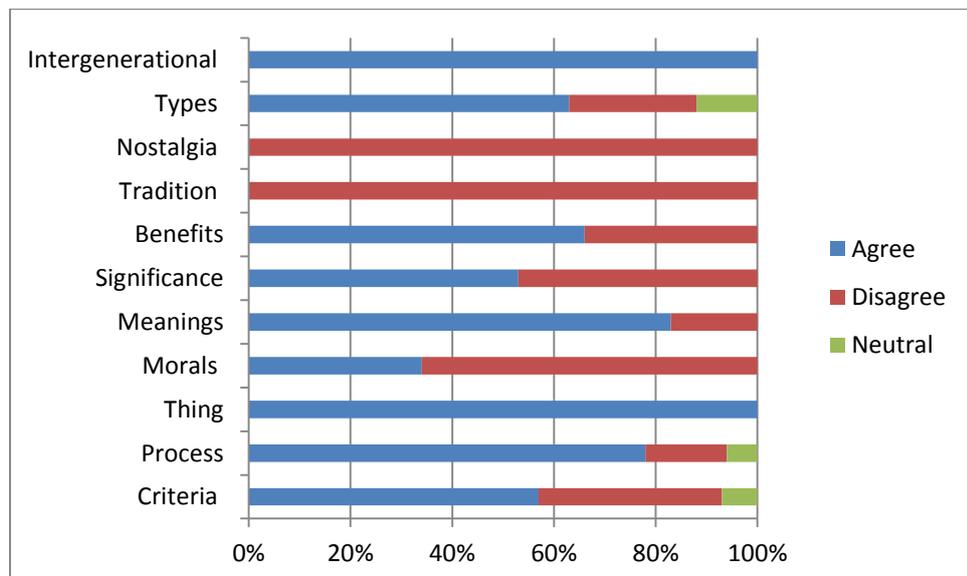


Figure 8: Approaches to value typologies cross-tabulated with approaches to heritage values

Not surprisingly the respondents who agree with value typologies tend to agree with quantitative methods for value assessment but those who disagree with typologies do not

necessarily disagree with quantitative methods (Figure 9). No statistically significant differences were observed between hard/soft disciplines and attitudes towards value typologies.

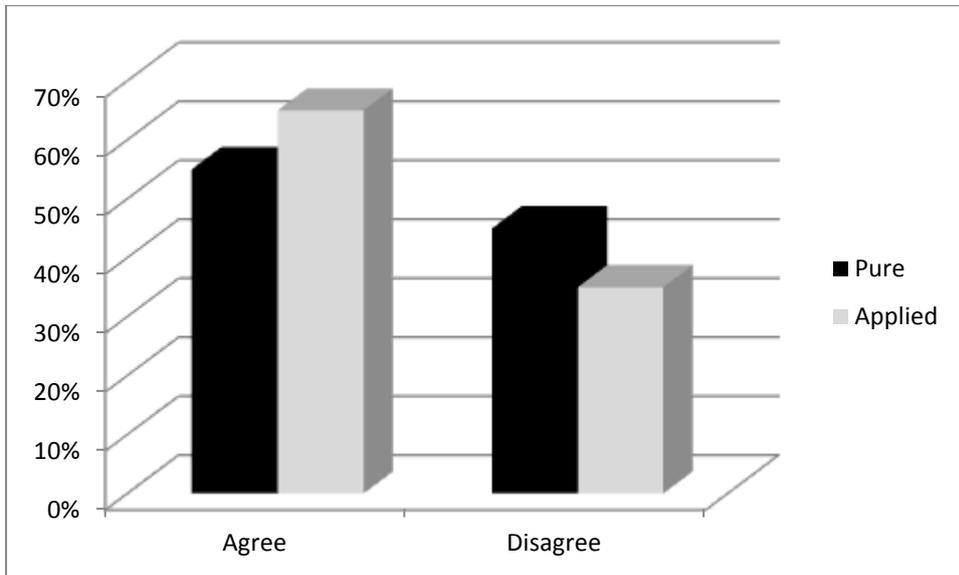


Figure 9: Approaches to quantitative methods of value assessment cross-tabulated with applied and pure disciplines

Hard-disciplines tended overall to agree with the use of quantitative methods for assessing heritage values while soft-disciplines tended to disagree (Figure 10).

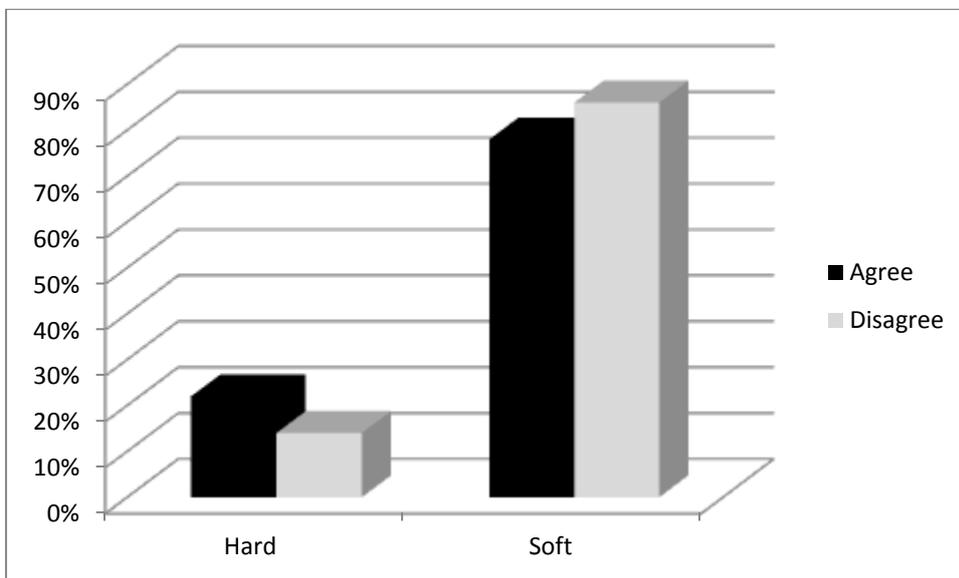


Figure 10: Approaches to quantitative methods of value assessment cross-tabulated with hard and soft disciplines.

Overall, soft-pure and hard-pure disciplines were more likely to disagree with value typologies, while soft-applied and hard-applied disciplines were inclined to agree (Figure 11).

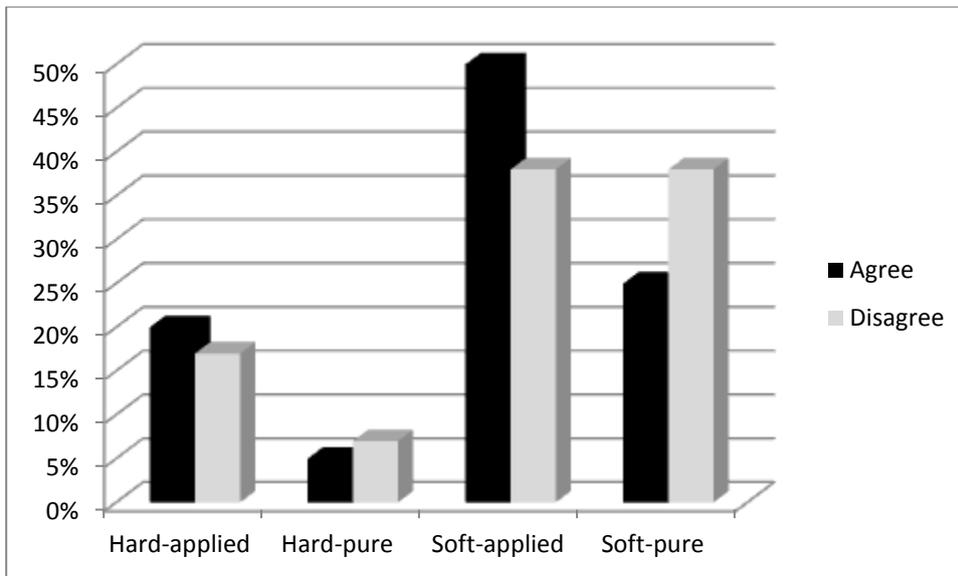


Figure 11: Approaches to quantitative methods of value assessment cross-tabulated with hard-applied, hard-pure, soft-applied and soft-pure disciplines.

Interestingly while variations occurred among disciplines in terms of attitudes towards the use of quantitative methods and value typologies, the response towards the use of qualitative methods was overall accepted by all disciplines including hard-pure and hard-applied disciplines. This indicates that research and work associated with heritage is viewed largely as a qualitative subject.

## 5. Discussion

The analysis illustrated that the epistemological differences among various conceptualisations of heritage values occurring in the literature are also reflected in heritage practice. The survey unveiled nine distinct approaches to heritage values including heritage values as i) tradition ii) nostalgia and memories iii) intrinsic and intergenerational iv) economic and socio-cultural benefits v) human needs/morals and beliefs vi) narratives and meanings vii) types and typologies viii) a ‘thing’ ix) process/construct x) criteria/attributes of significance and xi) significance. In other words, heritage values were defined by the survey participants in terms of ‘what’ heritage, ‘for what reason/why’ and by whom and for whom heritage is preserved. Indeed, while for some respondents heritage values are a tangible entity (‘thing’ or a ‘benefit’) that can be described, measured, classified and assessed, for others they are mostly related with the ‘why’ is heritage preserved and ‘how’ its preservation contributes to memory, identity and decision-making for present and future generations. A smaller percentage of respondents is mainly concerned with the ‘who’ assigns heritage values and the associated meanings.

The chapter aimed to interpret the aforementioned differences through the exploration of the impact of particular disciplines in shaping certain attitudes and approaches towards heritage values. Based on the premise of Becher and Trowler (2001) that academic disciplines form a distinct community with cultural and social characteristics, we examined

the extent to which hard-pure, hard-applied, soft-pure and soft-applied disciplines differ in their approach towards heritage values. It needs to be noted though that there are wider factors, such as cultural context, country of origin, institutional ethos, personality of individuals which all contribute to the ambiguity of the concept of heritage values. Nevertheless, this chapter provides the starting point for deconstructing the ambiguous term of heritage values through a disciplinary lens.

For soft-pure disciplines heritage values revolve more around the 'who' values and 'what' the public values as heritage. For soft-applied disciplines emphasis was placed on heritage values as a list of criteria of significance or benefits that can justify decisions on heritage preservation. In other words, it is the 'why' heritage is valued that really matters for these disciplines. Hard-applied disciplines adopt a more systematic (echoing scientific methods and techniques) approach to defining heritage values with an emphasis on the need for using existing or developing suitable value typologies. It is thus the 'how' heritage values are measured and assessed that matters. Hard-pure disciplines were not well represented in the sample of responses. Existing data show that they tend to define heritage values as a tangible entity that can be described, measured and assessed. Indeed, as Becher and Trowler have shown in hard-sciences it is the methods that tend to determine the choice of the problems while in soft disciplines it is the problems that determine the methods (2001:185). Moreover, the fact that applied disciplines were more concerned about the 'whys' and the 'hows' while the pure disciplines about the 'what' and 'who' possibly can be explained by the fact that 'pure knowledge, though increasingly vulnerable to epistemic drift, is essentially self-regulating, and applied knowledge, though occasionally prone to academic drift, is in its nature open to external influence' (Becher and Trowler 2001: 185). As a result, applied disciplines including both hard and soft are particularly 'amenable to outside intervention' (Becher and Trowler 2001: 190).

Furthermore, the data reveal the complex and political nature of heritage values and, consequently, heritage management. As mentioned above, the approaches towards heritage values are driven by the 'who' values, 'what', 'why' and 'how'. These questions are fundamental in critically thinking and then deciding on heritage values. As Taylor has shown (2014) the factors of 'who', 'what', 'when' and 'how' play a decisive role in 'affecting choices and policies in a flexible way' (Taylor 2014: 3). The factors do not stand in isolation but they inter-relate (Taylor 2014: 3). Two additional factors that were revealed by the survey and could be added in this model include the 'why' factor and the 'for whom'.

So going back to the initial question 'where do heritage values reside epistemologically' the answer is that heritage values are located across a diverse range of disciplines imbued by different meanings that can partly be explained by the distinct culture and way of working of each discipline. The question that is more critical is how each discipline interprets and implements such an ambiguous concept in a critical manner that is of benefit for all those involved in heritage preservation.

## **6. Conclusion**

Heritage values are unquestionably an ambiguous term that can cause miscommunications in collaborative, interdisciplinary heritage projects. The ambiguity of the term can be explained by the different cultural and ideological models, methods and approaches used by various disciplines as well as by other factors (such as the institutional

ethos of organisations, legislation, politics etc). Thus an attempt to rename heritage values may not be successful. What is critical for avoiding miscommunication and mismanagement is to reach a consensus of what is meant by this term at the beginning of project while adopting a flexible attitude towards the definition of the term. In the context of heritage, the term could be replaced by a phrase of heritage values as the 'what', 'why', 'how', 'by whom' and 'for whom' heritage is valued. By attributing the list of these questions, all involved in a heritage project will be required to reflect on the various elements included in this term.

This chapter set the starting point for deconstructing the complexity and ambiguity of heritage values in order to tackle miscommunication. However, there is more research that needs to be conducted.

An area for further research which requires more data – both in breadth and depth – relates to how disciplines related to heritage research behave in terms of its urban, suburban or rural character and the extent to which such disciplines are divergent or convergent. It was shown, for instance, that economics (in our case cultural economics) tend to be rather convergent and thus lack the openness that is required for adopting new approaches to understanding heritage values.

Another area for further research is to look more closely, before looking at other disciplines, on heritage studies, heritage management, heritage science and heritage conservation. All these emerging scientific fields advocate that they are multidisciplinary and thus constitute divergent disciplinary areas open to dialogue and collaboration. However, each of those multidisciplinary fields is informed or influenced by different disciplines. Heritage science, for instance, is highly informed by hard-pure sciences. Heritage conservation is mostly influenced by hard-applied disciplines. Heritage management tends to be a divergent, soft-applied discipline that is highly informed by soft-applied disciplines (such as archaeology and architecture). Heritage studies, on the other hand, draw mainly on knowledge from soft-pure (e.g. anthropology, cultural studies) and soft-applied (sociology) disciplines. Indeed, an investigation of the extent to which the aforementioned emerging disciplines form distinct 'academic tribes' with socio-cultural characteristics and of their relationship with more traditional disciplines from which they have been influenced would allow a more in-depth understanding of how and where ambiguous concepts – such as that of heritage values – emerge, develop and affect practices and policies and what can be done to mitigate the negative impacts of such ambiguities.

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