Cultural Value

Heritage value: combining culture and economics

John Carman

Arts & Humanities Research Council

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Executive Summary

The workshop assembled a range of individuals engaged in understanding aspects of what we call 'heritage', the values it represents and the way those values are ascribed. Participants included academics and practitioners, those more established and others at the start of their careers, in order to produce as wide a range of views as was possible. The workshop took place over two days and discussion ranged widely over aspects of the valuation of heritage and the complexities involved.

Outcomes included a recognition that there is a need for researchers and practitioners alike to move away from a concentration on official attributions of significance and a concern for designation as the mark of heritage value: there is more to heritage value than officially-sanctioned lists. While this finding is not revolutionary and in some ways it reflects those who charge the sector with acting in terms of an 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD), it also challenges those who adopt the AHD approach by pointing out how they too (by focusing on critique of current practices) also privilege official values.It places the focus on the processes involved in heritage valuation – official and 'public', 'significance' and economic – rather than on the values themselves. There is also a need to understand the effect of the attribution of certain kinds of values to heritage.

Researchers and Project Partners

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Attendee:

Dr Patrycja Kaszynska, Arts & Humanities Research Council, UK

Participants at the workshop prepare to discuss

From left to right: Patrycja Kaszynska, Chris Landorf, Sefryn Penrose, Randall Mason, Malcolm Cooper, John Carman, Sarah Howard (invisible to left: John Armbrecht, Ian Baxter, Anna Woodham)

[Alt text: image of four women and three men sitting at a table]

Key words

Heritage, value, economics, process, institutions, significance, methods

Workshop aims (drawn from AHRC guidelines for workshops):

- to develop a fuller understanding of the nature of heritage as a contemporary phenomenon in terms of the values it represents
- to offer a new framework and new methodologies for the evaluation of the value of the heritage.

Workshop programme (actual):

Thursday 24th April

09.00 – 09.30	Arrival at UoB Conference Park, Edgbaston Park Road, Birmingham Coffee
09.30	Convene in Kingfisher Room, Peter Scott House Welcome and outline of workshop structure by convenor, Dr John Carman Introductions. Each participant gave a short (five to ten minute) outline of their work and interest in heritage.
10.30	Coffee
10.45	Opening Keynote by John Carman. Some ideas on heritage values for challenge and debate, with questions and challenges
12.30	Lunch in Restaurant
14.00	Reconvene in Kingfisher Room, Peter Scott House Plenary discussion of issues arising from Opening Keynote
17.00	Close
19.00	Dinner for invitees at Bank Restaurant, Brindley Place, Birmingham

Friday 25th April

09.00 – 09.30	Arrival at UoB Conference Park, Edgbaston Park Road, Birmingham Coffee
09.30	Convene in Kingfisher Room, Peter Scott House Each participant gave a summary of key points they took from the previous day's discussions and implications of them for understanding / assessing heritage value
10.00	Plenary discussion of workshop aims and how discussions contributed to them.
12.30	Lunch in Restaurant
14.00	Reconvene in Kingfisher Room, Peter Scott House Plenary discussion of final issues and preparation of report
15.00	Disperse

Outline of Opening Keynote

This workshop had a number of origins (apart from the opportunity offered by the AHRC *Cultural Value* project call for workshops):

- an ongoing interest in how we give value to 'the heritage' (see e.g. Carman 1996; 2002, 148-176; 2005, 45-61)
- the recognition that the field of 'heritage studies' is inevitably an interdisciplinary one, and that engagement with approaches derived from fields other than one's own are a paramount need (see e.g. Mason 2008; Sørensen & Carman 2009);
- and especially that in recent years, the cultural heritage has increasingly become the focus of attention by economists.

It is clear from any study of heritage as a phenomenon that 'value' is a central issue – as a theoretical matter in coming to terms with a complex modern phenomenon (Schofield 2008, 23-26); as a matter of policy direction (Clark 2006; Peacock & Rizzo 2008); and as a matter of everyday practice (Baxter 2009). What is equally clear, however, is that the discourses on value of both a cultural perspective and an economic one are fraught with problems and highly truncated.

Economists and heritage

There seem to be three positions available to economists on heritage value, depending on how they perceive the means by which heritage objects can be considered 'valuable':

- that heritage objects represent economic goods like any other because of the benefits that accrue from them and that their cultural value is seen as the reason for ascribing them economic worth (*eftec* 2005; Peacock & Rizzo 2008);
- that heritage objects represent a store of cultural value that is different from that of economic goods and that these value schemes operate entirely independently (Throsby 2001); or that
- they can be valued both in economic and cultural terms simultaneously (Mason 2008).

The interest that economists have in heritage lies in its status as a 'public good'. These are items that are understood not be tradeable and therefore can acquire no market value. They are also held to provide 'flows of wellbeing' that accrue not to individuals but to the community at large. They are frequently also items that can be 'consumed' by many individuals at the same time without diminution of the stock – a recognition that 'heritage' is an abundant phenomenon, at once local and universal. As a result of this perspective, economists consider heritage – indeed the arts and culture in general – from two perspectives. One is to analyse the kinds of benefits that accrue to individuals, groups or to society in general, usually using a model based upon a division of use and non-use values. The other is to attempt a quantification of the value of particular components of the heritage.

Under the first scheme of valuation, various use and non-use values ascribed to heritage are further divided into different kinds of benefit that can be ascribed to particular recipients (as in Table 1). Here, use values and non-use values correspond quite closely: the difference lies in the beneficiary (oneself, a group to which one belongs, or to others) and whether the benefit accrues immediately or is deferred to some specified or unspecified future. The *kinds* of benefits that accrue are the same whether current or deferred, direct or indirect.

Table 1: Economic value types (adapted from Armbrecht 2010)

USE VALUE TYPES		**NON-USE VALUE TYPES**	
Descriptor	**Example**	**Descriptor**	**Example**
Direct Use Values	*Current* pleasure, health, education, wealth creation	Option Value	*Future* pleasure, tolerance, education, health
Indirect Use Values	*Current* pleasure, creation of social unity, education	Existence Value	*Community* cohesion, identity creation
		Bequest Value	*Future* pleasure, health, education, wealth creation *of others*

Economists also have a tendency to provide solutions to issues of resource use in terms of ownership regimes: "*all* approaches to environmental protection [including those of heritage] are property-based" (Cole 2002, ix; emphasis in original). The trend among economists is, where resource depletion is perceived as an issue, to proffer the holding of exclusive rights as a solution, either to the state or to private owners. The same is true in the field of heritage management (see Carman 2005). However, the rhetoric of the heritage field (e.g. Merriman 1991, 1; Smith 2006; Smith & Waterton 2009) is that heritage is a resource that is owned by everybody. The allocation of exclusive rights of control is therefore in direct contradiction of principles most heritage professionals would hold to. This too is a problem for economists. In part, however, it is also solved by them: we can draw on the work of 'institutional economics' (Eggertson 1990; Ostrom 1990) to understand how successful communal property regimes can be made to work, and heritage is an area where experiments in such regimes can be tried. Beyond this, taking the rhetoric of the heritage field to its extreme, we can offer economists the opportunity to study heritage as an area where 'open access' or non-property status applies and thus release them from their ties to particular sets of power relations (Carman 2005).

Heritage *contra* economics

There is a strong argument against any scheme of measuring heritage values derived from economic approaches, and that the cultural and economic value realms are quite incommensurable (see e.g. Carman 2002, 167-175; 2005, 56-59; 2009, 545). According to this argument, cultural value is not reducible to economic terms because the social function of heritage is to represent those values that are not those of the everyday and the mundane, the measurable and comparative, and that relate to individual rather than community existence. All of these are the kinds of values assessed by economists. Instead, heritage has an 'otherworldly' quality (Douglas & Isherwood, 29) because it represents what we would like to think of ourselves as being and because, although deriving from our past, it also represents our pledge to the future.

Heritage can be found – in many forms – everywhere there are human beings, and any human being can make as many claims to as many different forms of heritage and as

many heritage objects, sites or places as they choose. These represent what has been termed claims of 'cognitive ownership' (Boyd et al. 2005; Carman 2005, 111-116; Boyd 2012) where the claim is not an exclusive proprietary one but a claim of association or attachment – one that can be shared with many others who may make different such claims. As outlined by Boyd et al. (2005, 93), "for every place a wide range of 'owners' and meanings can be identified, each with particular relationships with the place [or object] and, importantly, with every other owner". Moreover, it is an axiom of the heritage field that the heritage constitutes a "public good" (McGimsey 1972, 5; Fowler 1984, 110); and that it is retained "in the public interest" (Cleere 1989, 10). Accordingly, heritage as a phenomenon presents three characteristics in particular:

- that it is superabundant; and
- that it represents a form of collective property in the public realm,
- that is defined for people rather than chosen by them.

There is no scarcity and there is no individual choice: without these things, economics can say nothing.

This is despite the large literature (including from economics) that identifies clear differences between straightforwardly economic transactions and other types of behaviour. One such is the distinction between different types of action: auctions as sites of economic competition; and as sites of 'tournaments of value' (Table 2).

Table 2 Commercial transactions and tournaments of value (after Appadurai 1986 and Baudrillard 1981)

CRITERIA	COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION	TOURNAMENT OF VALUE
Participation	Open	Restricted
Location	Public or private space	Designated arena
Relations between participants	Rivalry between equals	Parity of the privileged
Type of objects exchanged	Everyday	Tokens of value
Role of objects	Commercial	Affirmation of status
Examples	Daily market, shop	Art auction, fashion show

As research into the public response to heritage has shown (e.g. Merriman 1991), heritage places demonstrate the same kind of restrictions on access as the locations where 'tournaments of value' take place: it requires a certain level of 'cultural capital' – of knowledge and experience of the museum and of history – to make such places familiar. Merriman's research (1991; confirmed by other surveys in the two decades since) indicates the connection between educational attainment, likelihood to visit museums and the attitude towards them: non-visitors are most likely to have low levels of educational attainment and to regard museums as most similar to mausolea rather than anything else (Merriman 1991, 62). Although regular museum visitors may not be indulging in an obvious tournament of value with each other, they exhibit the same traits as those who habitually do so: and indeed at a subliminal level that may be exactly what is going on when one visits a heritage site. The point of this apparent digression is to

suggest that heritage places are something different from ordinary economic phenomena and operate in different ways. The rules of the market – and of conventional economic choice mechanisms – do not apply. They therefore cannot be assessed on the same basis.

A further issue that may be worth our consideration is the manner in which the costs and benefits of activity are distributed in the different realms of the private and public (Table 3). In the private realm of conventional commercial economic activity, benefits in the form of monetary return on time and expertise accrue to those who work *inside* the institution – its managers, employees, and of course owners. Costs are externalised by passing them on to the purchasers of products. These bearers of cost do not directly benefit from the work of the institution except as buyers of its services: they are outsiders in every sense of the term.

By contrast, the benefits of public institutions accrue to those *outside* the institution: to a largely anonymous 'public' or to the abstract notion of society on whose behalf they work. They represent a form of 'corporate saving' as outlined by Douglas and Isherwood (1979, 37), which is made for the benefit of groups quite separately from their individual members at any one time: such savings always belong as much to the future as to the present. The costs of such institutions are however borne by those who also benefit from the work of the institution: the taxpayer (who are 'the public' or 'society' by another name) and donors of various kinds. In other words, in general, costs of museums and other kinds of heritage institution are borne by those who also its beneficiaries. The relationship of beneficiaries to bearers of costs is thus reversed in the heritage and private realms, confirming the fundamental differences between them.

Table 3: Accrual of costs and benefits

PRIVATE REALM		**PUBLIC REALM**	
Costs borne by	**Beneficiaries**	**Costs borne by**	**Beneficiaries**
(Outsiders) Customers	(Insiders) Owners Managers Employees	(Insiders) Donors Owners (including'the public')	(Outsiders) The public

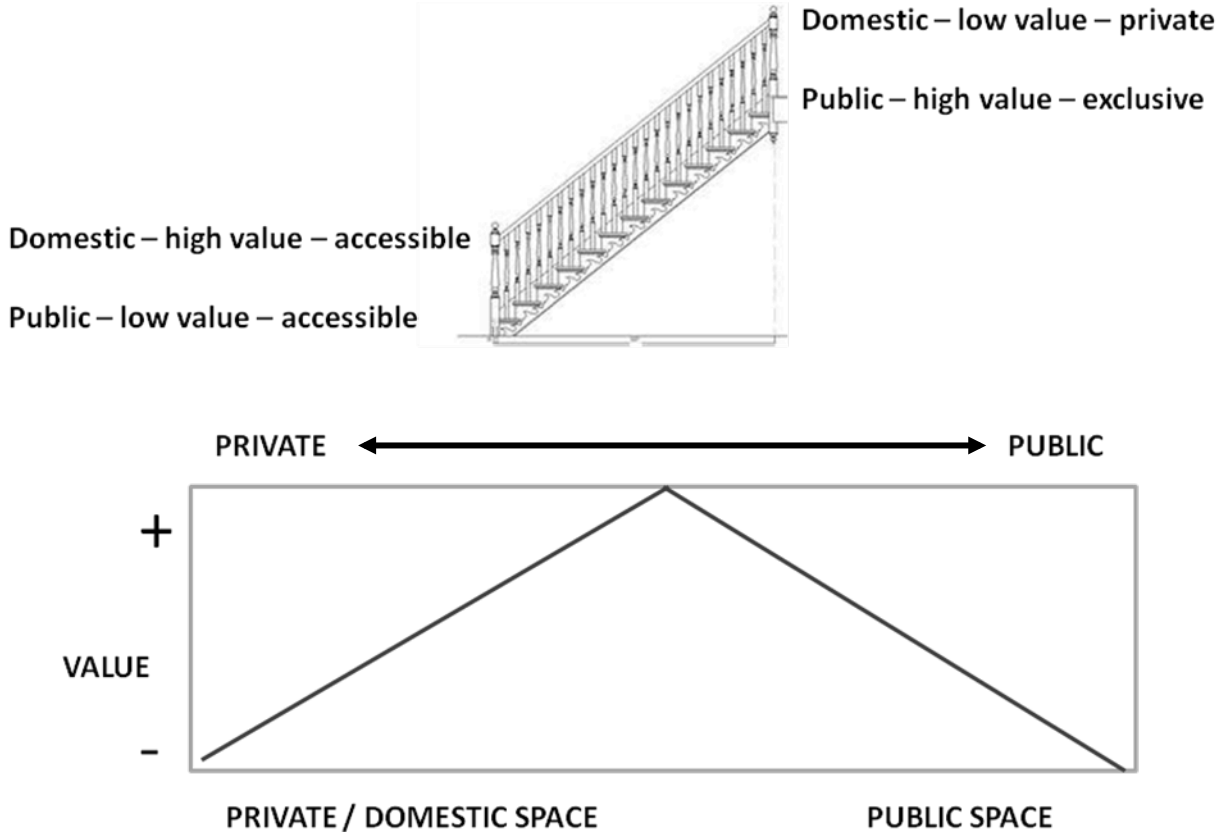
A comparison of the distribution of objects through different kinds of space further elucidates the issue of the difference between private space and the public space of heritage (Fig 1). In domestic space in western European contexts, in general the most valued objects will be those on display in the shared and therefore more 'public' areas – in so-called 'reception' rooms such as the living and dining rooms where not only the family but non-resident guests will be entertained. By convention these rooms are generally located downstairs and at the front of the property. By contrast, more functionally-specialised spaces – the kitchen and bathroom, which contain few or no valued items – are located at the rear of the property; these are also the spaces where various kinds of refuse are most likely to be processed. Bedrooms – the most private

and generally least shared spaces – are usually to be found upstairs, the most important being generally at the front of the property. Although objects of value will be located in bedrooms, often these will be of a 'private' nature and not for display to a wide audience. The exceptions that prove the rule in this instance are the most common items of value retained in bedroom spaces, which are clothing and jewellery: but these really only have true value when on display adorning the body of the owner and on public view. Accordingly, in the domestic space, the high value items are those most closely related to public space and display, downstairs and at the front; the higher and further to the rear, the less valued items are generally to be located.

By contrast, in public and collective spaces such as museums, the reverse is true. The entrance hall to most museums rarely contains items of the highest value: there may be some objects of interest, but never the most valued. These instead will be located further within the museum space, often in the furthest reaches, well away from the front entrance. While a functional explanation can sometimes be given for this – such as that for a visitor to reach a single high-profile exhibit they are forced also to encounter the museum's other collections, or reasons of security – the practice of locating high-value material far from the entrance is too common to be so easily explained away. Accordingly, in the museum space, the high value items are those kept furthest from public space and display, upstairs and to the rear; the higher and further to the rear, the more valued items are generally to be seen.

Figure 1 suggests a convenient way of representing this difference. The staircase in both contexts can be seen as a metaphor for the gradient of value along which objects can lie. In the domestic space this runs downwards, with the most valued items more likely to be placed downstairs towards the front of the building. In the public space of the museum, this runs upwards with the most highly valued objects in the collection to be located furthest from the public entrance, upstairs and towards the rear. The lower, more abstract, diagram shows how the value gradients lie oppositional to each other in the separate realms of public /collective and private / individual. Here again, as suggested in relation to the distribution of costs and benefits, the realms of the private commercial and the public heritage operate in entirely contradictory ways.

Figure 1 Staircases as value gradients: public versus private space



[Alt text: diagram showing staircase and value gradients that place different types of object in different places]

Problems of heritage value

However, there is value in borrowing ideas from economics to assist those of us who wish to understand the phenomenon of heritage. Economics – as a serious and mature social science – can offer much in making sense of the difficult concepts we encounter while trying to comprehend the heritage as a contemporary social fact (see the index entries for 'economics' in e.g. Carman 1996; 2002; 2005; Fairclough et al. 2008; Sørensen & Carman 2009). In particular, as the field *sine qua non* of the study of value and valuation, economics has a great deal to offer those of us on the 'cultural' and more anthropological side of things to help us grapple with the issues that interest us. We are, however, limited in the types of value we on the 'cultural' side of the heritage field can apply, and discussions of value in the field frequently collapse into one of three modes:

- mere description of qualities that heritage objects are deemed to possess – such as architectural or artistic merit, archaeological or historical interest, age, and condition (e.g. the criteria for designating sites of importance in the UK, DoE 1990)

- a discussion *about* value and what it means and perhaps derives from (e.g. Lipe 1984; Carver 1996; Carman 2002, 148-176), or
- the listing of the kinds of uses heritage objects and sites can be put to (e.g. Darvill 1995).

The limitations of economics, however, lie in the particular methods of valuation that have been advocated. All are primarily quantitative, reducing heritage values to amounts of currency. As mentioned above, the most common approach to valuing heritage objects for which there is no market value is that of Contingent Valuation. This – in essence – is a measure of how much people are willing to pay for the maintenance or availability to them of a resource. This has the effect of reducing the 'public' who are the owners and beneficiaries of heritage to 'consumers' who can express preferences as to their 'willingness to pay' for particular sets of goods or services – either directly or (more commonly) through some sort of taxation (Peacock & Rizzo 2008, 125-135). It is also clear from the work of *eftec* (2005) in England, that applying data from one study to a different but apparently similar context is fraught with difficulties: therefore in order to make meaningful value assessments for heritage objects, economists are forced either to carry out expensive contingent valuation studies for each different context, or to simplify the collection of data to a few simple variables (which may never be the key variables) to allow transfer to a different context. Accordingly, efforts have been made to rectify the method to assure its greater effectiveness (see e.g. Gibson 2011). Taking a slightly different perspective, Carnegie and Wolnizer (1996) argued for an approach that evaluated heritage places – especially museums – on the basis of how well their activities reflected or contributed to achieving their objectives as set out in their own mission statements.

Conclusion

In both these cases, economics and heritage studies can be seen to be equally deficient. Economics lacks a capacity to understand and evaluate the heritage as a cultural phenomenon. At the same time, the cultural approach to heritage lacks a language in which to express the values the heritage holds. By working together such a language can be developed to the mutual benefit of both: for economists, to gain an insight into a phenomenon effectively opaque to them; for students of heritage studies, to communicate effectively the nature of the phenomenon we struggle to describe.

Summary of discussions

Day One

Discussion on the afternoon of the first day were wide-ranging and diverse. While some remarks responded directly to content of the Opening Keynote, others represented the concerns of participants from their own work and contexts. The breadth of discussion however confirmed the interest and importance of the topic and the complexity of interlocking issues to be accommodated in reaching understanding.

The content of discussion is summarised as follows:

On economics:

The characterisation of economics in the opening presentation may be too reductive: it ignores the rise of 'behavioural economics' that specifically seeks to include the irrational

aspects of decision-making and choice mechanisms. Similarly it ignores other relevant emerging fields, such as that of the 'environmental humanities'.

On oppositional value realms:

Although economic and cultural values are treated as oppositional in policy discussions, and therefore deemed to occupy different realms (as suggested in the presentation), it may be that they are actually are similar processes merely producing different outcomes.

Economic value is comprised not just of use values; but of use values *plus* non-use values *plus* externalities: it may be better understood as not constructed *by* individuals (which are then simply aggregated) but as *between* individuals. The implications are (1) that economic value is simply a different kind of cultural value and (2) depends upon context.

Economic value derives from the interests of individuals. Heritage value ('significance' in the jargon) derives from the authority of cultural experts supported by law and official agencies. Whatever economic value is ascribed to heritage or not, its significance remains.

Rather than creating dichotomies between public values and private realms, or economic and non-economic values, or quantitative and qualitative approaches, etc. we should recognise how they overlap (although we also need different kinds of logic to understand them). See for instance private land with public rights of way across it. It is where we locate things within the grid that counts.

	Economic	Non-economic
Public		
Private		

[Alt text: grid placing public / private and economic / noneconomic values against each other]

On value processes:

Values change with different contexts and are both positive and negative. Cultural value is a *latent* or *potential* value whereas economic value is *enacted* and relies upon the uses to which a resource is put. If there is no interest in e.g. a site, then it has no value.

There is a need to understand a number of factors in attempting to comprehend heritage value:

- the role of expert knowledge in establishing value, based upon available information (itself a changeable quantity),
- and the effect of democratisation of heritage management processes on the role of expert testimony;
- the role of the future in establishing value (since heritage is held notionally in perpetuity);
- the effect of 'privatising' heritage:
    - heritage is created for current purposes, and these purposes must be understood in terms of (non-financial) use values
    - when privatised, financial considerations predominate over these use values;
    - what happens to cultural value in the case of abandonment? (although see *Rubbish Theory* which emphasises how 'rubbish' can re-emerge with new values)

On heritage institutions:

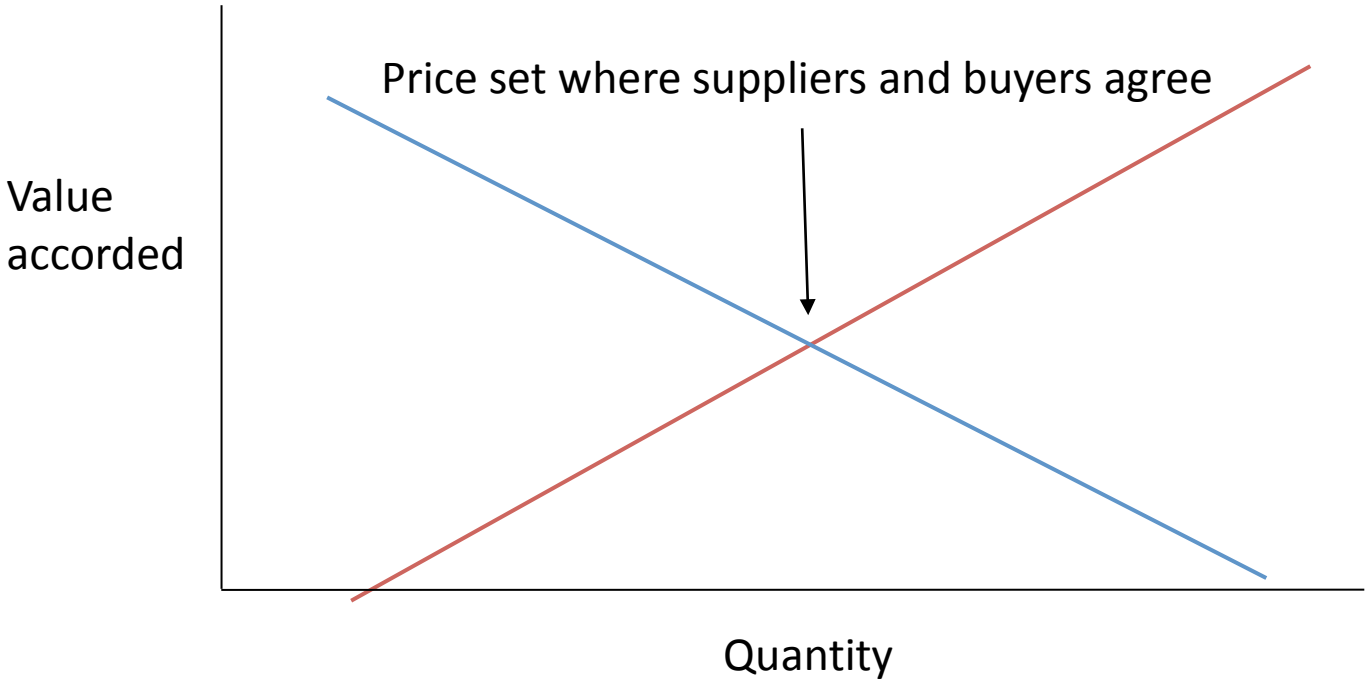
The announced reorganisation of English Heritage is a philosophical change offered in terms of an economic argument. The sites most to be affected were taken into the care of the state precisely because they had no economic value, but great heritage value. If heritage is the responsibility of the state acting on behalf of the entire community, then what happens when the state withdraws its concern?.

- A reduction in value
- Claims of alternative ownership (including private ownership)
- The creation of use values by 'selling' the experience of heritage.

Reliance on expertise to establish heritage value 'significance' accords with the idea of the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith 2006), but assumes that we accept the critique of heritage practice offered by the AHD.

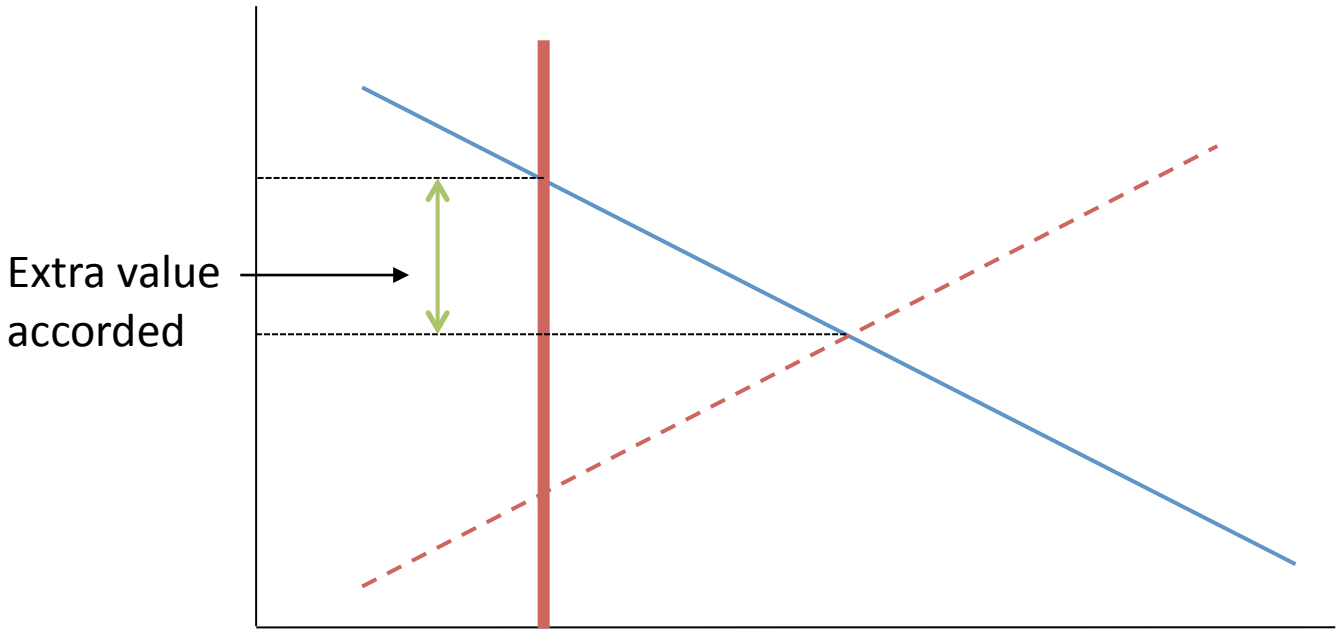
An alternative to 'supply –demand' model valuation

Fig 1: the 'classic' supply-demand model where price is set by the conjunction of willingness to supply (which rises with financial return) and willingness to buy (which falls with cost). Here price and value are synonymous.



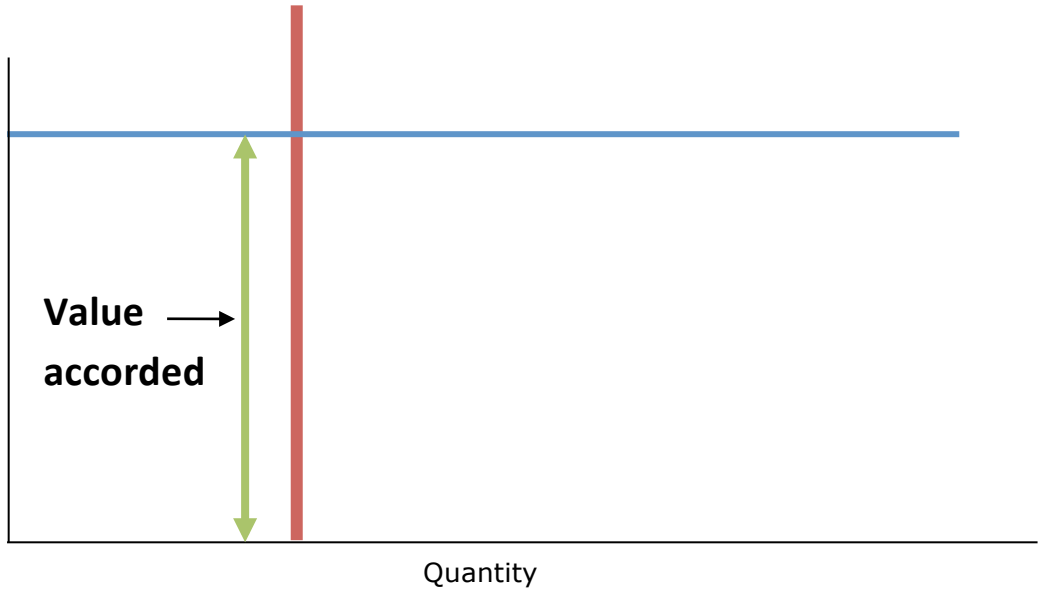
[Alt text: classic 'supply / demand' diagram from economics]

Fig 2: where quantity is fixed (as for heritage assets; thick vertical band) the price may be set unusually high compared with the 'normal' situation of increasing supply with rising return. The differential represents the contribution made by the distinctive qualities of heritage. However, this is not always the case: the placing of restrictions on a historic property can have the effect of reducing its market value.



[Alt text: similar to Fig 1, but showing relationships when quantity is fixed]

Fig 3: where quantity is fixed (as for heritage assets; thick vertical band) and willingness to purchase operates independently of cost (as for rare items appealing to a particular interest group: e.g. in a 'tournament of value' context). Here it is not set strictly by supply / demand considerations since value will not change with increase or diminution of supply.



[Alt text: as for above, but showing fixed supply and demand]

If the situation in either of Figures 2 or 3 can be said to apply to heritage, then traditional modes of economic analysis based upon assumptions derived from classical demand / supply models do not apply. Instead, analysis needs to turn to the mechanisms by which value is accorded, rather than the value itself since these are distinctive to the heritage as a phenomenon (but also apply to other cultural material).

Overall

A continuing theme in the discussion was the processes involved in decision-making on heritage. These, it was felt, were crucial to any process of valuing that took place, and where the focus of analysis should be placed. It was noted that there is a disconnection between heritage management practices and the aims of management, and an unwillingness for the heritage sector to challenge established discourses and practices. It was suggested we need to examine more closely the processes of knowledge production in heritage: these are powerful determinants of expert 'significance' valuations.

Day Two

The second day began with an assessment of the previous day's discussions in terms of the main points each participant had noted, some of course being shared by more than one participant. These were:

- A lack of clarity of (a) definitions especially of heritage itself and (b) of processes: heritage as an 'undisciplined discipline'. A need to recognise and incorporate complexity in our analyses and to apply different approaches to value in different contexts.
- The diversity of views of economists: not such a united field as perhaps thought.
- The need to 'think outside the box' of official valuation schemes. A need to recognise the privileging of certain values over others whereas different values serve different purposes.
- The significance of process: especially the management process and how decisions are made.
- Economic valuation as a public valuation, versus expert valuation of 'significance'. The move towards the democratisation of heritage as a major change in value attribution.
- A need to engage more with management as a process, to reach a deeper understanding.
- Perhaps a need for different valuation methods for public places versus private ones.

A distinction was offered between stages of valuation processes of heritage: an initial concern and decision for conservation, followed by further decisions relating to the future treatment of the site. These stages were referred to as 'sacralisation' and 'destiny'. As points in a continuum of activity relating to the heritage, these stages are amenable to identification and study as distinct sets of practices.

This discussion led directly to a consideration of how to meet the aims of the workshop as set out above.

Outcomes

Understanding heritage in terms of its values

There is a need for researchers and practitioners alike to move away from a concentration on official attributions of significance and a concern for designation as the mark of heritage value: there is more to heritage value than officially-sanctioned lists.

- While this finding is not revolutionary and in some ways it reflects those who charge the sector with acting in terms of an 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD), it also challenges those who adopt the AHD approach by pointing out how they too (by focusing on critique of current practices) also privilege official values.
- It places the focus on the processes involved in heritage valuation – official and 'public', 'significance' and economic – rather than on the values themselves.
- There is also a need to understand the effect of the attribution or denial of certain kinds of values to heritage.
- The role of language is important here: both as 'AHD' but also the distinctions between 'official' language and non-professional usages

Methodologies

A distinction was drawn between the *methods* economists use to establish prices (such as Contingent Valuation) and the kinds of *thinking* economists engage in when considering value. This places the emphasis on economics beyond econometrics – towards institutional economics; behavioural economics; etc.

The role of institutions is particularly important. These establish what is considered as heritage and the particular values given to it. In turn, this places the focus of research on identifying those institutions and the specific roles they play in the creation of heritage. Research would especially concentrate on identifying and understanding the two stages of 'sanctification' (the point at which something is deemed 'heritage') and 'destiny' (where its particular future is decided) to identify the specific mechanisms involved.

One approach is to investigate the effect on institutions of applying particular kinds of values to their work. E.g. the consequences of a purely financial valuation (as derived from e.g. Contingent Valuation), other economic values, alternative forms of 'significance', etc.

Unresolved issues

A number of issues that were raised could not be resolved in the workshop but remained as unanswered problems, especially:

- Defining heritage
- To what extent heritage can be considered a scarce or abundant resource
- The effect (if any) of a shift of focus from individual 'objects' (including sites and buildings) to 'landscape' and 'place' (the contexts in which they sit)
    - The observed 'spill out' of value from heritage objects, so that non-heritage objects in the vicinity also gain value (a phenomenon also noted in auctions of fine art)
    - But also the converse, so heritage places can be perceived as 'ordinary' by those familiar to them
- A possible shift from (or at least distinction between) a focus on *object* (fabric and material culture) to a focus on *subject* (memory, association)
- The place of intangible heritage and tradition in heritage discourse
- Official agencies versus other institutions involved in heritage processes
- A focus on the British context which did not necessarily translate to other regions

Next steps

A report on the workshop would be delivered to AHRC by their deadline of 31st May 2014. This will be drafted by the convenor in the first instance, circulated to participants for comments or revision (giving each a week or so to respond), amended as required, and submitted. Final versions would be circulated to all participants at the same time as submission to the AHRC.

It was further agreed it would be valuable to continue the discussions and to include those not able to attend this workshop. We shall therefore establish a network to achieve these aims, to further develop the results of the workshop and to take the discussion of heritage values further.

References and external links

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The Cultural Value Project seeks to make a major contribution to how we think about the value of arts and culture to individuals and to society. The project will establish a framework that will advance the way in which we talk about the value of cultural engagement and the methods by which we evaluate it. The framework will, on the one hand, be an examination of the cultural experience itself, its impact on individuals and its benefit to society; and on the other, articulate a set of evaluative approaches and methodologies appropriate to the different ways in which cultural value is manifested. This means that qualitative methodologies and case studies will sit alongside quantitative approaches.