Anthropological-Ethnographic Methods for the Assessment of Cultural Values in Heritage Conservation

By Setha M. Low

Marta de la Torre (ed.) (2002) Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage. Los Angeles: The Getty

Introduction

This paper will review qualitative methods in anthropology that are available for assessing sociocultural values at heritage sites. In this publication, the Getty Conservation Institute is interested in exploring existing methods that could be applied or modified to elicit stakeholder and community values. Through the surveying and evaluating of these methods, a methodological approach and specific techniques could be identified that would help conservation professionals and managers understand the complexity of social relations and cultural dynamics at play in the conservation planning and development of heritage sites. Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAPS) used at National Park Service (NPS) historical parks are highlighted as useful methods of assessment for planning, design, reconstruction, and management of heritage sites.

This discussion begins with a brief overview of qualitative methods in cultural anthropology. Ethnographic and observational approaches seem most appropriate to the heritage conservation task because of their individual and group levels of analysis. Two other methodologies—constituency analysis and ethnosemantics—are also applicable to heritage sites. The limitations of each are discussed, and a third methodology, the REAP, is proposed as the most inclusive and useful for solving heritage conservation problems. REAP methodologies grew out of agricultural and national park projects, and when they are applied to planning and design problems, they integrate elements of constituency analysis used in landscape architecture as well as ethnosemantic methodologies used in historic preservation projects. The remainder of the discussion focuses on the REAP and its application to cultural heritage conservation.

Anthropological-Ethnographic Methods for the Assessment of Cultural Values at Heritage Sites

Overview of Qualitative Methods in Cultural Anthropology

Qualitative methodologies in cultural anthropology are characterized by their humanism and holism (a philosophical position that argues that humans and human behavior cannot be understood or studied outside the context of a person's daily life, life world, and activities). Methodological strategies consonant with this definition include: cognitive, observational, phenomenological, historical, ethnographic, and discourse approaches to research (Low 1987b). Each of these approaches focuses on distinct aspects of the social world, and the approaches vary in terms of their appropriateness for different problems, their levels of analysis, and the role of the researcher. Although these determinations are not fixed and may change over time, they provide a preliminary framework for selecting the qualitative methods that would be most appropriate for eliciting and assessing sociocultural values at heritage sites. While all qualitative methods have some utility in evaluating heritage sites, some approaches have distinct advantages. For this discussion, methodologies are arranged in order of their complexity and scope of inquiry, beginning with cognitive and observational approaches that focus on one dimension of human activity—a mental or behavioral process—followed by phenomenological and historical approaches that integrate human activity with the environmental context, and concluding with ethnographic and discourse approaches that include human activity, environment, and social, cultural, and/or political context.

Cognitive approaches include both the study of cognition as a mental process—often reflected in language—and cognition as a set of categories that structure perception through the attribution of meaning. One application is in the area of ethnosemantics (the study of cognitive meaning from the culture's own point of view),

discussed as a separate methodology later in this paper. Semantics refers to the linguistic analysis of the structure of meaning in a language and culture. Most semantic work is based on the intensive interviewing of key informants to produce linguistic taxonomies, hierarchies of concepts and terms that describe an individual's understanding of the world and that collectively describe the culture (Low 2000a). For instance, a heritage conservation professional working with an anthropologist could develop a taxonomy of house types by asking informants to name all the kinds of houses that exist in their town. Once a list of all the possible house types is developed, the researcher then asks what distinguishes each house type and repeats the procedure until a complete linguistic map of all housing kinds and their characteristics has been produced. The term *ethnosemantics* in this paper refers to a modified semantic procedure that focuses on the semantic structure of one group of people in relation to their local environment. When used in studies of the built environment, the term also incorporates the role that language plays not only as a structural or taxonomic system but as symbolic communication about important cultural ideas.

Observational methodologies in which overt behavior is observed by the researcher are the mainstay of qualitative researchers, and they include simple observation of activities and behavioral mapping, as well as elaborate systems of time-lapse photography of public spaces (Whyte 1980), ethnoarchaeological techniques (Kent 1984), and nonverbal communication strategies for understanding the built environment (Low 2000b; Rapoport 1982). For instance, William H. Whyte spent seven years filming street behavior with a small movie camera perched on the top of Rockefeller Center (Whyte 1980). The analysis of these observational films produced a set of urban design principles that have governed urban public space zoning in New York City for the past twenty years. Ethnoarchaeological techniques combine traditional archaeological data obtained from on-site excavation and stratification analysis with historical documents and ethnographies of local groups that may be using the site in ways similar to their local ancestors. The idea is to use observations of contemporary peoples' built environment, everyday behavior, and social and ritual activities to interpret archaeological findings (Kent 1984). Finally, observation of nonverbal behavior has been used to theorize about how people understand a site. Rapoport argues that fixed features of a site, such as the buildings, trees, and elements that cannot be easily moved, and nonfixed features, such as furniture, produce very different kinds of meanings (Rapoport 1982). Nonfixed features are more important for the understanding of nonverbal communication. In all of these cases, observational techniques are at the core of the research project or theoretical explanation.

Phenomenological approaches differ in their epistemological point of view in that the object of study is not separated from the act of perceiving. Studies focus on "place" and on "how place grows out of experience, and how, in turn, it symbolizes that experience" (Richardson 1984, 65). The emphasis is on the individual perceiver and his or her experience as empirical evidence of the world.

Historical approaches locate a particular site, place, or built form in its temporal context. From a conservation perspective, historical approaches are very important for architectural historians, archaeologists, and others, because they can provide insight into past values of the site and how perceptions and significance have changed over time. Conservators, however, have to bring into consideration the values of current users as well as those of other communities (such as experts) and past users. While historical approaches address past users and the study of material culture and its evolution, they do not address the current users of the site, who are best understood through ethnographic approaches.

Ethnographic approaches are broader and include the historical, as well as the social and political, context of the site as a means of understanding contemporary sociocultural patterns and cultural groups. Ethnographic research—the process of describing a culture—has the ability to predict local response to design and planning proposals accurately, and it can help evaluate complex alternatives through systematic cultural understanding.

Depending on the magnitude of the geographical area, the length of time spent, and the historical depth of the study, ethnography produces a complete cultural description of a site, as well as descriptions of interconnected nonlocal communities and of relevant adjacent sites. For instance, the ethnographic study of Jacob Riis Park at the edge of Brooklyn and Queens in New York City found that the restoration done by the National Parks Service (NPS) of Robert Moses's bathhouse was of little importance to new visitors to the site, who come to the beach to picnic in the shade and to enjoy family activities. These new users, mostly recent immigrants from Central and South America, are not aware of the history of the site and do not understand the fencing off of the historic "mall" area (with a direct view of the Empire State

Table 1 *Qualitative methodologies in cultural anthropology: research appropriateness.*

Methodological Approach	Scale/Level of Inquiry	Degree of Involvement	Research Problem
Cognitive	Individual	Minimal	Rules, ideals, and perceptions
Observational	Group (individual)	Minimal	Behavior, observable actions, and activity sites
Phenomenological	Individual	Total	Experience of places and events
Historical	Societal	Minimal	Social and cultural trends, comparison of sites
Ethnographic	Group (individual)	Moderate	Cultural motivations, norms, values, intentions, symbols and meanings
Discourse	Individual (societal)	Moderate	Underlying meanings of speaking / conversation

Building). Instead, they are upset that so many of the few remaining trees on the site are cordoned off. Their response has been to ignore the fencing and to picnic under the trees wherever possible. The ethnographic study illuminated this source of conflict, providing the possibility of better communication, design, and planning of the historic site in the future.

Discourse approaches include social experience, the reciprocal acts of speaking and being spoken to, and the emergent product of that speaking, the object of the conversation. Discourse approaches consider the object of study, the text, the context, and the interpretation of the object as one continuous domain. Discourse approaches are only beginning to be used in applied settings because of the difficulty of gathering the data and because of their highly specialized forms of transcription and notation.

In Table 1, each methodological approach is evaluated by (1) the focus or scale of the research—individual, group, or societal; (2) the degree of involvement and/or contact with the research subject—minimal, moderate, or total; and (3) the kind of problem most often associated with the methodology. The utility of each methodology is derived from the researcher's need to answer questions at a specific scale, in a time frame that controls the degree of involvement, and within the domain of a particular research problem. The application criteria derive from the same decision variables.

These approaches are appropriate for different kinds and levels of research. For instance, the individual-based methodologies (cognitive, phenomenological, and discourse) are excellent for eliciting individual users' experiences and perceptions of the site, while the societal-based approaches (historical and discourse) provide methods that uncover historical significance and social change. All of these methods answer some research problem of concern to the heritage conservation practitioner; however, it is valuable to highlight the observational and ethnographic approaches that focus on the group and the individual within the group. These two methodologies address the core objective—that is, to identify local site use and disuse and, even more important, to understand the motivations, norms, values, intentions, and symbolic meanings underlying that use and disuse. For example, while phenomenological research can elicit statements of place attachment and place identity, ethnographic research describes the place attachment of groups within the geographical community. Furthermore, ethnographic approaches focus on sociocultural values as a central part of the research endeavor.

Ethnography combined with observational methodologies requires considerable time in the field to complete—usually up to a year or more. However, working with design and planning professionals—as well as conservation practitioners—requires brief, direct procedures for understanding a particular site. Two of these strategies have been used in historic landscape preservation projects and are discussed because of their appropriateness—they combine observation and ethnography—and because they offer methodological shortcuts that allow for short-term application during an ongoing, site-specific project.

Constituency Analysis: A Methodology for Landscape Architecture

The author developed an appropriate social science research method for landscape architecture[1] as a consequence of working as an anthropologist with design faculty and students. They needed a way to organize, collect, and conceptualize social data relevant to design problems. Constituency analysis was an attempt to integrate the

complex, recursive process of design with social data. Table 2 summarizes the five-stage design process, which includes three social data phases, stages 1, 2, and 5, that necessitate anthropological methods. The first stage is problem formulation, composed of client definition and problem clarification. For any project there are a number of possible clients and user groups, including a paying client (often the federal government); specific user groups, communities, or neighborhoods on or near the proposed site; and often potential regional or national constituencies that may use the site in the future. Interviews, an analysis of influence processes, and other techniques are necessary to generate a list of all the clients, or stakeholders, involved in the design.

Once the problem and the client are defined, the designer begins to collect data on the perceptions of the residents and future users of the site. This data-collection stage takes the form of an identification of constituencies, as well as of their perceived needs, desires, and social conflicts. Constituency identification is the enumeration and description—that is, with regard to social, cultural, and demographic characteristics—of the kinds of people living on or near the project site. Any number of sampling techniques and methods, from participant observation of local communities to a questionnaire survey of randomly selected residents and users, can be employed to collect such data. Once constituencies are described and categorized into groups, the second task—identifying constituency perceptions, needs, and desires—begins. This information, which becomes the basis of later physical design decisions, is more difficult to collect, in that direct elicitation techniques are not usually successful. The methods suggested for constituency needs and desires assessment are therefore indirect techniques that attempt to stimulate response and opinion concerning possible land use and physical design features; these techniques include expert interviews, mental maps of patterns of site utilization and perceptions, and projective tests. A final step in the data-collection procedure includes the identification of constituency conflicts concerning issues that impact the future success of any planned change. Depending on the project, an analysis of constituency conflicts may become part of the programming procedure, especially when the project objective is to resolve conflicting land uses.

The third and final stage before implementation and physical design is the construction of a program, a set of specific objectives and detailed goals upon which the physical design is based. The program orders and applies the constituency needs and desires to physical design decisions. Finally, an evaluation of the design, based on original project objectives and social criteria, requires some form of measurement of social change. A number of anthropological methodologies have been developed to monitor the social impact of large-scale projects, including the REAP discussed below. Social change is often measured by a questionnaire survey of previously defined outcome variables; however, qualitative techniques, such as participant observation and structured interviewing, can be used when the design intervention is at a relatively small scale.

Constituency analysis is an excellent system for integrating constituency identification into the planning and design process. The process of client identification is similar to stakeholder identification; and constituency identification, constituency needs and desires assessment, and the working out of constituency conflicts are applicable to most heritage sites. The drawback to this methodology, however, is that some sites do not have clear constituencies—or there might be clear constituency groups that do not, however, match or correlate with cultural values on the site. For instance, local homeowners, with concerns about a nearby site, might not be visible if the analyses are focused on users of the site. These reasons have led to the development of methodologies, such as the REAP, that are more flexible than constituency analysis and that

Table 2 *Constituency analysis.*

	Stage	**Tasks**
Stage 1:	Problem formulation	Client definition; problem clarification
Stage 2:	Data collection	Constituency identification; needs and desires assessment; constituency conflicts
Stage 3:	Programming	Data interpretation; data application
Stage 4:	Physical design	Conceptual design; physical framework
Stage 5:	Evaluation	Measurement of change; interpretation of meaning

utilize a wider set of techniques and methods. Nonetheless, the sequencing of stages and the emphasis on the reiterative nature of design and planning problems are useful in thinking about developing a cultural values assessment process for heritage conservation projects.

Ethnosemantic Methodology: Design and Translation at Historic Sites

Ethnosemantic techniques have been used in preservation projects to translate local values into elements of material culture that could then be respected and preserved. The separation between the perceptions of architectural historians and those of the public is increased by differences in professional and popular culture (Low 1982). Architects and architecturally trained historians, as well as most conservation professionals, participate in a process of professional socialization that provides a common language, set of symbols, value structure, and code of rituals and taboos. The public does not share this perceptual system but, instead, holds images and preferences that are embedded in its own beliefs, customs, and values. Conflict may arise when these two cultures compete for control over land use, building, landscape, and/or preservation decisions. In such a situation, the methodological and conceptual skills of someone trained in ethnosemantics or other anthropological and linguistic methodologies are useful to resolve the cultural conflict. When conservation managers and planners face decisions that they know may be fiercely contested, looking for another way to translate the cultural differences, through a method such as those described, may solve the disagreement by locating the middle ground or appropriate language necessary to proceed with the plan, design, or any other desired change.

Ethnosemantic methodologies assume that culture is encoded in language that can be elicited through a linguistic, taxonomic analysis (see the overview of qualitative methods above for further discussion). Structured questions organize responses into taxonomic categories to create cultural domains of meanings. These methods have been applied in a modified form to the historic preservation of buildings and landscapes. Research on the ethnosemantic structure of Greek village houses uncovered their traditional social status meanings (Pavlides and Hesser 1989) and translated culturally appropriate details of eighteenth-century stone farmhouses in a rural Pennsylvania community into standards for infill architectural design (Low and Ryan 1985).

Both studies began by determining the range of architectural variation in the local community, investigating the local meanings attributed to the variation, and then verifying those meanings through an ethnosemantic method. Pavlides and Hesser photographed architectural details of Greek village houses that they suspected were symbolic of a family's social standing based on their previous interviewing and house survey (Pavlides and Hesser 1989). They then presented these photographs to the community and asked people to tell them what each architectural detail meant. The responses of community members were used to ensure that the researchers' interpretation of symbolic meaning reflected that of the community.

The study of historic buildings in Oley, Pennsylvania, was designed to elicit what local residents thought were meaningful characteristics of their stone farmhouses (Low and Ryan 1985). The project was part of a rural preservation program and utilized a historical buildings survey as a guide to architectural variation in the community. A representative blue ribbon panel was interviewed as to the degree of "Oleyness" for each of the architectural details found in the survey. The research linked architectural elements with cultural images through the exploration of "Oleyness" as a culturally relevant cognitive domain.

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures

Review of Rapid Assessment Methodologies

Rapid assessment methodologies[2] have been adapted from rural and agricultural development projects in developing nations. In these contexts, multidisciplinary teams of experts investigate socioeconomic conditions in a particular area with regard to agriculture and resource management, usually in less than a month or even a week (Ervin 1997). Beebe, surveying the literature on rapid assessment procedures, outlines three basic principles: a systems perspective, triangulation of methods, and an iterative process of data collection and analysis (Beebe 1995). The rapid assessment is used to identify the elements of a local system and how they interrelate, through a qualitative data collection process of uncovering local knowledge. The semistructured interview, the expert interview, and the focus group are characteristic elements of a triangulated methodology. The general approach—

which is based on the assumption that researchers often do not know the right questions in advance—is to get people to talk rather than to answer direct questions.

Rapid assessments differ from traditional qualitative research in that more than one researcher is always involved, researcher-team interaction is critical to the methodology, and results are produced much faster. Rapid assessment is "especially relevant when time constraints preclude use of intensive qualitative methods by a single researcher and when the different perspectives of the team members (including local participants) are essential for understanding the situation" (Beebe 1995, 42).

Ervin used the term "relatively rapid" in the context of a six-month community needs assessment for Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (Ervin 1997). The research team worked under contract to the local United Way to rank the community's social service priorities. Because of time and budget limitations, Ervin used six qualitative methods, including focus groups, key informant interviews, review of existing reports, Delphi questionnaires (a process in which experts participate in the research anonymously, through writing), and public forums. The resulting report ranked community needs, such as the elimination of hunger and greater emphasis on preventative services.

Rapid assessment as a specific tool for ethnographic research—and in some cases at heritage sites—has been written about in the *CRM (Cultural Resource Management) Bulletin,* a periodical published by the NPS. The agency's Applied Ethnography Program defines seven ethnographic research methodologies, among them REAPS, that are used to investigate and describe cultural relationships between particular local communities and park resources and that are sometimes used to support nominations of lands and sites to the National Register of Historic Places (Joseph 1997). The REAP is appropriate for project-driven applications because it provides a great deal of cultural information useful for planning purposes within a short time—generally within a four-month time frame (NPS 2000; Liebow 1987). The short time frame of a REAP is a crucial advantage in the event of substantial proposed construction, which involves major commitments of funds, negotiation of political support, and timely project development.

REAP first employed ethnographic research in connection with western Native American communities having long-standing associations with certain parklands. These lands—natural resources and, in the case of objects and structures, cultural resources—are required by Native Americans or other local communities for their continued cultural identity and survival. NPS terms these lands "ethnographic resources" and calls the peoples associated with them "traditionally associated" or "park-associated" peoples (Crespi 1987). In providing systematic data on local lifeways, applied ethnographic research is intended to enhance the relationships between park management and local communities whose histories and associations with park cultural resources are unknown or poorly understood (Crespi 1987; Bean and Vane 1987; Joseph 1997). In many newer parks, NPS shares jurisdiction with other federal agencies, state and local governments, modern Native American nations, or other culturally distinctive communities. The resulting complexity of planning tasks makes ethnographic research with affected communities especially helpful.

The literature points to several kinds of benefits from ethnographic research. One is in the area of conflict management—for example, where local communities anticipate adverse impacts from new park designations or from changes to existing parks. Wolf describes the contribution made by ethnographic research to community relations in the difficult process of establishing a national historic park around sites in Atlanta associated with the life of Martin Luther King Jr. Ethnographic knowledge helped management identify opportunities for compromise and potential mitigating measures (Wolf 1987). The process of ethnographic research with culturally distinctive communities affected by construction projects can give a certain credibility to agency decision making (Liebow 1987).

Community empowerment is another benefit, in that relationships established create a dialogue between park officials and local neighborhood and cultural groups that would not otherwise have a voice in the park planning process. Joseph stresses the collaborative nature of the applied ethnographic research done by NPS, where ordinary citizens and community leaders participate alongside elected officials, park managers, and the researchers (Joseph 1997). Low suggests that most preservation problems in cultural landscapes—especially vandalism, underutilization, and neglect—could be prevented with more dialogue between the community and the governmental agency (Low 1987a).

A third important benefit of ethnographic research is to present and represent the cultural heritage of local communities within the overall programming of park resources. Ethnographic information is useful in presentation, particularly for parks like Minuteman, in Massachusetts, that include existing communities within their borders. Minuteman has endeavored to restore and preserve farming as a traditional cultural practice within the historic environment the park preserves and interprets. Information that may be uncovered only through ethnography, such as the gendered division of labor on family farms, may be crucial to the continued effective management of a generations-old practice (Joseph 1997). Where the presentation of historic objects is concerned, ethnographic information, gained from living members of the associated cultural group, can reveal uses and meanings not apparent in the objects themselves (Brugge 1987).

"Most cultural landscapes are identified solely in terms of their historical rather than contemporary importance to the community" (Low 1987a, 31), privileging historical meanings over those of the geographically and/or culturally associated communities. This oversight often promotes friction and local disagreements that can be solved through the knowledge produced by a REAP.

REAP Methodology

In a REAP, a number of methods are selected to produce different types of data from diverse sources that can be triangulated to provide a comprehensive analysis of the site. A description of each method is briefly presented below. Table 3 summarizes the products and outcomes of each method.

PHYSICAL TRACES MAPPING

Physical traces maps record the presence of liquor bottles, trash, and clothing, the erosion of plantings, and other traces of activities. These maps are completed based on data collected early in the morning at each site. Records of physical evidence of human activity and presence provide indirect clues as to what goes on at these sites during the night. Physical traces mapping presumes that there is a base map of resources and basic features available which can be used to locate the physical traces. Otherwise, part of the task is to create such a map, both for the physical traces and for the behavioral maps discussed below. At many archaeological sites, a base map might not be available—a condition that would add another step to the research process.

BEHAVIORAL MAPPING

Behavioral maps record people and their activities and locate them in time and space. Such maps arrange data in a way that permits planning and design analyses of the site, and these maps are very useful in developing familiarity with the everyday activities and problems of a site. They are most effectively used in limited park areas with a variety of social and economic uses, where the researcher can return repeatedly to the various social spaces during the day.

TRANSECT WALKS

A transect walk is a record of what a community consultant describes and comments upon during a guided walk of the site. The idea is to include one or two community members as research team members, in order to learn about the site from the community member's point of view. In most REAPS, local consultants work with the researcher as a collaborator. In the transect walk, however, this relationship is particularly important, in that the method is dependent on the quality of the relationship between the collaborator and the researcher, and on the ability of the community member to explain and discuss the landscape.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Individual interviews are collected from the identified populations. The sampling strategy, interview schedule, and number of interviews vary from site to site. In most cases, on-site users and residents who live near the site are interviewed, but in specific situations, interviews might be collected more broadly.

EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Expert interviews are collected from those people identified as having special expertise to comment on the area and its residents and users, such as the head of the vendors' association, neighborhood association presidents, the head of the planning board, teachers or principals in local schools, pastors or ministers of local churches, and representatives from local parks and institutions.

IMPROMPTU GROUP INTERVIEWS

Impromptu group interviews occur where people gather outside of public places or at special meetings set up with church or school groups. The goal of group interviews (as opposed to individual interviews or focus groups) is to collect data in a group context, as well as to provide an educational opportunity for the community. Impromptu group interviews, which are open-ended and experimen-

tal, include any community members who are interested in joining the discussion group.

FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups are set up with those people who are important in terms of understanding the site and local population. As opposed to the large, open group interviews, the focus groups consists of six to ten individuals selected to represent especially vulnerable populations, such as schoolchildren, seniors groups, and physically challenged groups. The discussions are conducted in the language of the group; they are directed by a facilitator and are tape-recorded.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The researchers maintain field journals that record their observations and impressions of everyday life at the site. They also keep records of their experiences as they interact with users and communities. Participant observation is a valuable adjunct to the behavioral maps and interviews. It provides contextual information and data that can be compared to what is seen, and such observation is said to enable accurate data interpretation.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

The collection of historical documents and review of relevant archives, newspapers, and magazines begins the REAP process. At historically significant sites, this process may be quite extensive, especially if secondary sources do not exist. The importance of a careful review of historical documents should be emphasized, since it is through a thorough understanding of the history of the site that areas of cooperation and conflict often become clear and identifiable.

ANALYSIS

Interview data are organized by coding all responses, and then content is analyzed by cultural or ethnic group and study question. Transect walks, tours, and interviews are used to produce cultural resource maps for each group. Focus groups determine the extent of cultural knowledge in the community, and they can identify the areas of conflict and disagreement within the community. Mapping, transect walks, individual and expert interviews, and focus groups provide independent bodies of data that can be compared and contrasted, thus improving the validity and reliability of data collected from a relatively small sample. As in all ethnographic research, the use of interviews, observations, and field notes—as well as knowledge of the cultural group patterns and local politics—are used to help interpret the collected data.

A number of procedures are used to analyze the data. First, the resource maps are produced by an overlay method that combines the behavioral maps, physical traces, and participant observation notes. These maps are descriptive, in that they summarize activities and disturbances on the site. Second, a research meeting is held in which each participant summarizes what he or she has found in the interviews. These are general observations that guide the researcher or research team as more precise coding strategies are developed. This synthetic stage is quite important, in that it provides a place to start thinking about what has been found. These general summaries are used to explore theoretical approaches and to prioritize the coding procedure.

The third step is to take each generalization and break it into a set of codes that can be used to analyze the field notes. Once this process is completed, the interview questions are reviewed, and a similar coding scheme is developed. The interview coding relies on the findings of the maps, on the field notes (just discussed), and on the structure of the questions themselves. This is the lengthy part of the analysis process, and it requires discussion of the research team with the client and, in some cases, with the individual stakeholders. Some coding schemes may require multidimensional scaling and a quantitative analysis, although qualitative content analysis is usually adequate in a REAP.

Because the REAP is a rapid procedure, the number of interviews is usually under 150, and therefore, they can be analyzed by hand. The advantage of a qualitative analysis procedure is that the data are not abstracted from their context, and so they retain their validity and detail. The final step involves a triangulation of the various analyses and a search for common elements and patterns of behaviors and the identification of areas of conflict and differences, both in the nature of the data and in the groups themselves.

Application of REAPs for Heritage Conservation Sites

Two NPS projects—the first on Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, which focused on the importance of ethnicity and cultural representation in park use; the second, an evaluation of access alternatives to Ellis Island, New York—are presented to provide possible prototypes for developing a methodology for heritage conservation. The issues involved—identifying

Table 3 Products and outcomes of research methods used in the REAP.

Method	Data	Product	What Can Be Learned
Physical traces mapping	Collected trash, patterns of erosion on site	Description of nighttime activities	Identifies evening activities not observed
Behavioral mapping	Time/space maps of site	Description of daily activities on site	Identifies cultural activities on site
Transect walks	Transcribed interviews and consultants' map of site	Description of site from community members' points of view	Community-centered understanding of the site; local meaning
Individual interviews	Interview sheets	Description of responses of the cultural groups	Community responses and interest in the site
Expert interviews	In-depth interview transcriptions	Description of responses of local institutions and community leaders	Community leaders' interest in the site planning process
Impromptu group interview	Transcription of meeting	Description of group perspective, educational value	Group consensus of issues and problems
Focus groups	Tape-recorded and transcribed	Description of issues that emerge in small group discussion	Elicits conflicts and disagreement within the cultural group
Participant observation	Field notes	Sociocultural description of the context	Provides context for study and identifies community concerns
Historical and archival documents	Newspaper clippings, collection of books and articles, reading notes	History of the site's relationship to the surrounding communities	Provides historical context for current study and planning process

the stakeholders, community, and local users; eliciting their cultural values; understanding the meanings that the site holds for various groups; and giving voice to their concerns and perspectives—are similar to the issues addressed by a conservation professional who must evaluate a site. Each case study is presented in detail so that conservation practitioners can adapt the procedure to their own needs.

Independence National Historical Park: Ethnicity, Use, and Cultural Representation

The idea of a historical national park in Philadelphia originated with the Federal Historic Sites Act of 1935, which authorized the NPS to engage in research and educational and service programs and to protect, preserve, and maintain historic buildings and sites for public use. Planning and site acquisition began in the late 1940s; demolition, site preparation, and construction took place throughout the 1950s.

The Independence National Historical Park's enabling legislation and primary historic resources focus on Independence Hall and related structures as the scene of the central events that resulted in the creation of the United States of America. These structures are the physical reminders of the epic struggle for freedom and self-government, as they relate not only to the founding of the nation but also to the birthplace of modern democratic government worldwide. The Liberty Bell, an international icon and one of the most venerated objects in the park, evolved as a symbol of liberty because of its association with various struggles for freedom, including the events of 1776 to 1789.

The historical park project became part of a larger effort in the 1950s to renew Center City Philadelphia. The epicenter of the renewal effort was Society Hill, an area adjacent to the new national park. Because of the proximity of this neighborhood to the projected park area as well as to downtown and because of the high quality of much of its building stock, the city saw in the national park planning process an opportunity to restore the racially and culturally heterogeneous neighborhood to its colonial-period status as a wealthy residential area. The name Society Hill was rediscovered and put to use in making over the district's image.

Sections of Society Hill were designated as redevelopment areas. Homeowners were given the choice of restoring their properties according to strict historic preservation guidelines adopted by the planning authorities or of selling to the redevelopment authority. Since few could afford the costly work of historic restoration, most sold their homes. The city then offered the properties for

sale at a nominal price to buyers who could prove that they had the financial resources to restore them in accordance with the guidelines. The banks, the real estate community, and the news media cooperated with the city in creating a favorable image of the redevelopment area, thereby creating a market of affluent, mostly white buyers. Thus, over a period of roughly fifteen years, the predominantly poor, heterogeneous community of long standing was dispersed and replaced by a new community of predominantly white professionals.

The social and physical upheavals involved in creating Independence National Historical Park and Society Hill did little to foster communication with local communities. The extensive demolition and erasure of the city fabric removed many of the settings that had meaning for members of local communities. In particular, the uprooting of the historic African-American community from what is now Society Hill is a legacy that has made it difficult to build ties between the park and that community.

Nevertheless, the NPS supports numerous community outreach programs and has recently created the *Yellow Fever* exhibit, which focuses on the heroic roles of African Americans during this deadly plague. Furthermore, the NPS receives and responds to numerous requests for park use from the many cultural and ideological communities in greater Philadelphia.

In 1994, Independence National Historical Park began developing a general management plan that would set forth basic management philosophy and provide strategies for addressing issues and objectives over the next ten-to-fifteen-year period. The planning process called for extensive public participation, including a series of public meetings, televised town meetings, community tours, and planning workshops. As part of this community outreach effort, the park wanted to work cooperatively with local ethnic communities to find ways to interpret their diverse cultural heritages within the park's portrayal of the American experience. The study, therefore, was designed to provide a general overview of park-associated ethnic groups, including an analysis of their values and the identification of cultural and natural resources that are used by the various groups or are culturally meaningful to them.

The research team spent considerable time interviewing cultural experts and surveying the neighborhoods located near Independence National Historical Park. Based on these interviews and observations, four local neighborhoods were selected for study: Southwark for African Americans, Little Saigon for Asians and Asian Americans, the Italian Market Area for Italian Americans, and Norris Square for Latinos. These neighborhoods were selected based on the following criteria: (1) they were within walking distance of the park (except for Norris Square); (2) they had visible spatial and social integrity; and (3) there were culturally targeted stores, restaurants, religious organizations, and social services available to residents which reinforced their cultural identity. The Jewish community could not be identified with a spatial community in the downtown area; therefore, members of both Conservative and Orthodox synagogues in the Society Hill area were interviewed as a "community of interest," rather than as residents of a physically integrated area. In thirty-six days of fieldwork, 135 people were consulted in the form of individual and expert interviews, transect walks, and focus groups. Table 4 presents the product and outcome of each method utilized.

The data were coded and analyzed by cultural group and study question. All places in and around the park with personal and cultural associations for the research participants were recorded on cultural resource maps. One map was prepared for each cultural group.

One of the goals was to involve and educate community members about the park planning process, as well as to learn their thoughts about the park. They were considered research "collaborators" rather than informants, and at the conclusion of the interview, they were given a form that could be mailed back to the park with written suggestions and comments on the park's future use.

RELEVANT FINDINGS: CULTURAL REPRESENTATION

Many participants were concerned with issues of cultural representation. Some assimilated Italian Americans and Jews were ambivalent about presenting themselves as distinct from other Americans. African Americans, in contrast, saw a lack of material and cultural representation in the park's historical interpretation. For some, the park represented the uneven distribution of public goods: "So much for them [tourists, white people] and so little for us [African Americans, working-class neighborhood residents]." Asian Americans and Latinos favored a curatorial approach less focused on national independence which, instead, integrated their immigration stories and colonial struggles into a more generalized representation of liberty and freedom within the American experience. Italian Americans, too, were interested in a more inclusive representation—one that did not end park interpretation in 1782 or 1800 but continued to the present.

Table 4 *REAP methodology for Independence National Historical Park. (Adapted from Low et al. [forthcoming].)*

Method	Data	Duration (days)	Product	What Can Be Learned
Behavioral mapping	Time/space maps of site	2	Description of daily activities on site	Identifies cultural activities on site
Transect walks	Transcribed interviews and consultants' maps of site, special places, special events, culturally significant areas	6	Description of site from community member's point of view; problem with using tour guides—ample data but seemed rote	Community-centered understanding of the site; local meaning; identification of sacred places
Individual interviews	Interview sheets in English, Spanish, Vietnamese, or Chinese, with map	12	Description of responses of the cultural groups in informal settings	Community responses and interest in the site
Expert interviews	In-depth interview transcriptions	10	Description of responses of local institutions and community leaders	Community leaders' interest in the site-planning process
Formal/informal discussions; participant observation	Interview sheets	20	Description of the context and history of the project; description of site needs	Provides context for study and identifies NPS and community concerns
Focus groups	Field notes, and tape recordings in English, Spanish, and Vietnamese (used facilitator and translator)	6	Description of issues that emerge in small group discussions—difficult to organize, conduct, and transcribe	Enables understanding of conflicts and disagreement within the cultural group
Historical documents	Newspaper clippings, collection of books and articles, reading notes	7	History of the park's relationship to the surrounding communities	Provides historical context for current study and planning process

Three of the cultural groups—African Americans, Latinos, and Jews—mentioned places they would like to see commemorated or markers they would like to see installed to bring attention to their cultural presence within the park boundaries. Many participants—particularly Latinos, African Americans, and Asians—saw the need for more programming for children and activities for families. Unlike the visual, pictorial experience the tourist seeks, residents in general were interested in the park's recreational potential: as a place with sociable open spaces where one can get food, relax, and sit on the grass; or as a place for civic and cultural celebrations. These residents wanted the park to be a more relaxed, fun, lively place. As a group, Latinos made the most use of the park for recreational purposes in their leisure time. Latinos were particularly interested in developing the recreational potential of the park, but their sentiments were echoed by at least a few consultants in each of the other ethnic groups.

RELEVANT FINDINGS: CULTURAL VALUES

The REAP demonstrated that the park holds multiple values for Philadelphians which are often overlooked because of management's emphasis on accommodating visitors. *Visitors* was a problematic term, because residents using the park do not see themselves as visitors. Treating everyone as a visitor (read *tourist*) neglects an important sense of territoriality. The resident incorporates the park into her home territory; the visitor knows she is a visitor. To the resident, the park is symbolically and functionally part of the larger landscape of the city and the neighborhood. The resident likes being surrounded by familiar sights and places, follows his/her own rhythm in moving around the city, and enjoys a proprietary right of access. Those sensibilities are offended by crowds of tourists, by the denial of free access to historic sites (that is, when not part of a tour), and perhaps by an emphasis on official interpretations. The more the park sets its landmarks off from the surrounding city, reducing everyday contact with residents, the more the objects and places lose their meaning for residents.

The REAP of Independence National Historical Park is a model for heritage sites where issues of ethnicity and culture correspond with either use or nonuse. Identifying relevant cultural or ethnic groups as constituencies that live in the local neighborhood or that traditionally have a relationship to the park, then learning about those groups and neighborhoods through the REAP methods, provides a quick but complete snapshot of the community and its diverse values, meanings, and sense of cultural representation. Furthermore, this REAP was able to distinguish between visitor and resident values, which on this site were in conflict. One aspect of the methodology, however, that needs to be expanded for use in the conservation field would be more emphasis on the needs of the visitor as well as of the local community residents.

Ellis Island Access Alternatives: Conflicting Cultural Values

The research goal was to provide commentary from an ethnographic perspective on four possible scenarios—a bridge, subsidized ferry, elevated rail, and tunnel. For the purposes of this project, the culturally appropriate populations included the local users of Battery Park and Liberty State Park; local providers of services at Battery Park and Liberty State Park, including vendors and small-scale tourist services; residents of the Jersey City neighborhoods adjacent to Liberty State Park; special populations such as children, the elderly, and the physically challenged; and "traditional cultural groups"—those people whose families entered through Ellis Island or who are themselves immigrants with identities and aspirations symbolically connected to Ellis Island.

Ellis Island in New York was the principal federal immigration station in the United States from 1892 to 1954. More than twelve million immigrants were processed there, and it is estimated that over 40 percent of all U.S. citizens can trace their ancestry to those who came through the Registry Room. In 1954, Ellis Island closed and was virtually abandoned until 1965, when President Lyndon Johnson added it to the Statue of Liberty National Monument under the jurisdiction of the NPS. The restoration of Ellis Island began in 1983, and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum opened in 1990, with the building being restored to the period of 1918–20.

Visitors to the Ellis Island Immigration Museum mostly arrive by ferries that leave from Battery Park in New York City and make stops at the Statue of Liberty and then at Ellis Island before returning to Battery Park. There is also an infrequent ferry from Liberty State Park in New Jersey. The cost of the ferry trip was $6.50–$7.00 at the time of this study. People who work on Ellis Island, however, especially construction workers with trucks and materials, drive across a temporary bridge built to enable the earlier historic preservation work; the bridge spans the four hundred meters from Liberty State Park in New Jersey to Ellis Island. Senator Lautenberg of New Jersey was able to appropriate close to $15 million of the federal budget to build a permanent bridge to replace the existing structure. The proposed bridge would have allowed both vehicular and pedestrian traffic.

This study was begun in the summer of 1994 and was undertaken as part of the environmental impact statement required under federal law to disclose and evaluate the impact of building and operating the proposed bridge. Much of the concern focused on whether making Ellis Island accessible by footbridge would compromise the island's historical integrity. The task was to evaluate the impact of a bridge on the sociocultural environment of the two places from which the existing passenger ferry service departs for Ellis Island—Liberty State Park in Jersey City and Battery Park in New York—and to consider the impact on nearby Jersey City neighborhoods. The author was also asked to find out whether the research participants were in favor of the bridge or not. The bridge was later taken out of the federal budget, and the project was dropped. The "temporary" bridge remains in service to authorized vehicles and personnel.

BATTERY PARK

Battery Park is one of approximately fifteen hundred parks, playgrounds, and other public spaces under the jurisdiction of the City of New York's Department of Parks and Recreation. The park covers almost twenty-three (22.98) acres of land in a tear-shaped form that stretches among State Street, Battery Place, and the New York harbor. The ferry to the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island leaves from the end of the park. On any summer day, the park is filled with tourists waiting in line for the ferry.

Visitors to the park consist of various categories of tourists, the Wall Street lunchtime crowd, and New York and New Jersey residents who come to enjoy the park. Tourists can be found throughout the park, although

the majority tend to convene near the ferry landing, souvenir pushcart area, and tour bus area. Lunchtime workers tend to sit both in the sun and in the shade of Eisenhower Mall, around the great lawn, and in the picnic areas. Fishermen tend to gather at the end of the harbor. Bikers and rollerbladers use the length of the promenade. Sunbathers can be found along the edges of the promenade where there is the least shade.

Several different groups of park and recreation authorities serve Battery Park. NPS rangers are generally inside or at the door of Castle Clinton, directing tourists or giving guided tours in the parks and surrounding neighborhood. City Parks and Recreation employees work throughout, maintaining the park. Several city employees regularly lunch in the playground area at the picnic tables. A police car patrols the park for security, and often city park officers are seen talking with homeless individuals or illegal street vendors.

There are many kinds of vendors in Battery Park. Three pushcart vending companies—two that concentrate on food and one that sells souvenirs—have pushcarts regularly in the park. One of these vending companies also owns both outdoor restaurants. This company has only four carts, which are within the vicinity of the eastside outdoor restaurant. Another pushcart company employs the majority of immigrants operating pushcarts near the entrance to the park, Castle Clinton, and the nearby tourist bus stop. The third company occupies territory near the tour-bus stop, as well as near the ferry landing. Independent vendors are spread out between the two ends of the park.

Street performers position themselves on the promenade where boat lines are formed, along the wide path to the great lawn, at the crossroads in front of the great lawn, or between the Castle and the promenade. A large number of homeless people reside in the park. The stone slabs of the war memorial offer privacy to a person sleeping on a bench. Patches of healthy grass, bathrooms, and a running fountain in the park are resources to the homeless residents. By evening, the homeless residents outnumber other park users. A service center for homeless individuals is located underneath the Staten Island terminal, and a soup kitchen is located in the surrounding neighborhood.

LIBERTY STATE PARK

Liberty State Park occupies 1,122 acres of land and tideland along Upper New York Bay in Jersey City, New Jersey. The site was a vast railroad yard throughout most of the twentieth century. By the 1960s, all passenger rail and freight operations on the site had been abandoned. The State of New Jersey acquired the site and has been gradually transforming it into a public park. The first phase of Liberty State Park opened in June 1976, in time for the national bicentennial observances. The area developed for park use so far comprises approximately three hundred acres, mostly at the southern and northern edges of the park.

The southern area—which was the first part of the park to be constructed and opened and is the most intensively used area in Liberty State Park—includes grass-covered fields, a public boat launch, walkways along the waterfront, spacious parking lots, and the park headquarters, which contains a food concession stand, restrooms, and visitor information. The northern area has three centers of activity widely separated by flat, mostly treeless fields. Two of the activity centers are major developments of recent years: the Liberty Science Center and the restored head house and concourse of the Central Railroad of New Jersey (CCRNJ) ferry terminal, where passengers once boarded ferries for New York.

The third concentration of activity in the northern area is the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island passenger ferry dock, which is located along the Tidewater Basin. Visitors to the two national monuments can park in the newly constructed parking lot across Johnston Avenue, west of the CCRNJ terminal train shed, and walk across the street to the ferry dock, from which the ferries come and go at roughly forty-five-minute intervals. Next to the dock are a ticket stand operated by the ferry company, a film and souvenir stand, several picnic tables, sheltered waiting areas, several refreshment vendor carts, and public lavatories.

The most popular area includes the perimeter walkways around the Liberation Monument, east of park headquarters, and the section of Liberty Walk that continues from this field on a trestle across the south cove. This area is within easy walking distance of two large parking lots and offers spectacular views of the bay, the Statue of Liberty, and the New York skyline. Liberty Walk itself has numerous benches where people rest and enjoy the views and the breezes.

The picnic grove is used by families, organized groups, and some individuals alone. People can buy takeout food at the stand in the park headquarters, but most seem to bring picnics, and some cook on outdoor grills. The stretches of Liberty Walk that bridge the north and south coves are popular with people who fish, especially in

the early morning and in the evening—times when the fish are feeding.

The brick plaza next to the CCRNJ Terminal is used occasionally in the daytime for ceremonies, such as Flag Day observances by the Jersey City Fire Department. In summer, Jersey City sponsors Sunday afternoon jazz concerts here. On sunny evenings, people may drive down to the plaza, parking in the free lot next to the ferry terminal, to watch the sunset. The CCRNJ Terminal is lightly used on weekdays by people visiting the historical exhibits in the old waiting room, using the lavatories, or just looking at the building itself. On some weekends the terminal is used for special events like ethnic festivals or collectors' shows, which may attract thousands of people.

NEARBY JERSEY CITY NEIGHBORHOODS

Three neighborhoods bordering Liberty State Park were selected for study: (1) Paulus Hook, a small gentrified area of brownstone row houses and corner parks; (2) Van Vorst, a larger area of elegant brick and brownstone row houses focused on Van Vorst Park, a residential square, with some gentrification amid a highly heterogeneous population; and (3) Lafayette, a mixed industrial and low-income residential area of tenements, wooden row houses, public housing projects, and newer, subsidized modular housing. These neighborhoods were selected both for their proximity to Liberty State Park and because they are representative of the social diversity of Jersey City.

Paulus Hook is a historic, peninsular neighborhood, across the Tidewater Basin from Liberty State Park. It is bounded by Hudson Street on the east, York Street on the north, Marin Boulevard on the west, and the Tidewater Basin on the south. The Morris Canal Little Basin, on the southeastern edge of Paulus Hook, is the last vestige in Jersey City of the early-nineteenth-century Morris Canal, a shipping channel that crossed the state of New Jersey to connect the two great rivers of the Mid-Atlantic region: the North River (the Hudson) and the South River (the Delaware). The clearance of industrial buildings from the lot between Hudson Street and the Hudson River has opened up beautiful views of the river, the harbor, and the skyscrapers of downtown New York. The open lot is currently used for public parking. The enormous Colgate toothpaste electric sign, the face of its clock big enough to be read from Manhattan, has been relocated from the former Colgate factory nearby to a site at the river's edge, just east of the open lot. A new weekday passenger ferry service operates between the newly named Colgate Pier, next to the sign, and the World Financial Center ferry dock in New York.

The center of the neighborhood is made up of three corner parks across from one another, where people sit on benches in the shade during hot summer afternoons. The park users are representative of the various residents of the neighborhood: some are Polish-speaking immigrants who are longtime residents of the area, some are Spanish-speaking recent immigrants, and a few are older English-speaking European Americans. The gentrified center of the community is Washington Street, a mixed residential and commercial street, with an expensive Italian restaurant across from law and real estate offices. There are a number of churches in Paulus Hook, including Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and a Polish Roman Catholic church, Our Lady of Czestochowa. Each of these churches offers numerous community activities and services, including senior centers, parochial schools, and summer children's programs.

Van Vorst is bounded by Grand Street on the south and by Monmouth and Brunswick Streets on the west. The streets surrounding the park, including York, Mercer, Montgomery, Monmouth, Varick, and Barrow Streets, are lined with substantial row houses of brick and brownstone dating from the middle and late nineteenth century. The largest and most splendid houses look out on Van Vorst Park from Jersey Avenue. Gentrification has been under way in Van Vorst since at least the mid-1970s. Many houses in the neighborhood have been refurbished and their architectural details restored. On the same streets, salsa music can be overheard from double-parked cars of residents who have stopped to talk to a friend at the local bodega or to someone sitting on a row house stoop. Many of these conversations are in a mixture of English and Spanish. Further down the street, elderly African-American residents sit or stand on their stoops conversing with neighbors who are returning home or passing by on the way to the busy bodega. Van Vorst has a number of churches, including various Spanish-speaking congregations of local evangelical churches.

Lafayette is located along the western edge of Liberty State Park. It is a residential neighborhood with many intrusions of car repair shops, scrap metal yards, and piles of old tires and other industrial waste. Part of the neighborhood has small manufacturing shops side by side with residential streets. Most of the community members interviewed were African Americans or Spanish-speaking Caribbean Americans who had lived in the neighborhood for some time. Families live in brick or

stone row houses, in larger apartment projects, or in the new, subsidized modular attached town houses. The center of the Lafayette African-American male community is the barber shop, where men sit, talk, and exchange news throughout the day. The bodegas and bus stops on each corner of Pacific Street also provide opportunities for conversations and neighborly interchange, particularly for women, younger men, and mothers with young children. The major school in the area is the Assumption–All Saints parochial school, run by Sister Maeve McDermott. According to Sister Maeve, she is responsible for 750 children in this relatively poor area. The Convent of the Sisters of Charity has been a mainstay in the community for over eighty years and runs the school and summer programs for local children. There are a number of other churches throughout the neighborhood, including the Monumental Baptist Church, where the researchers interviewed a number of the congregation, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as other small evangelical and storefront congregations.

RELEVANT FINDINGS: INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES

The research focused on constituency groups; further into the project, however, when constituency analysis did not provide statistically significant clustering of similar people and points of view, a values-orientation-based analysis was incorporated. The constituency groups provided a guide to sampling the users and residents on the three sites—Battery Park, Liberty State Park, and the Jersey City neighborhoods surrounding Liberty State Park (Paulus Hook, Van Vorst, and Lafayette)—who were consulted concerning their perceptions of possible positive or negative impacts of each of the proposed access alternatives. Their attitudes and concerns were collected through a series of REAP data collection methods—including behavioral maps, transect walks, individual interviews, expert interviews, impromptu group interviews, and focus groups—completed at the various field sites (see Table 5). A total of 318 people were consulted: 117 through individual interviews in the two parks, 113 through impromptu group interviews in neighborhood gathering places, and 88 in focus groups both in the parks and in neighborhood churches and institutions.

Table 5 *REAP methodology for Ellis Island access alternative project.*

Method	Data	Duration (days)	Product	What Can Be Learned
Physical traces mapping	Map of trash and clothing left at site	1	Description of physical condition of site	Identifies nighttime activities that would be affected by the proposed bridge and alternatives
Behavioral mapping	Time/space maps of site, field notes	2	Description of daily activities at site	Identifies daily activities that would be affected by the proposed bridge and alternatives
Transect walks	Transcribed interviews and consultants' maps of site, field notes	4	Description of site from community member's point of view	Community-centered understanding of the site; local meanings
Individual interviews	Interview sheets, field notes	10	Description of responses of the constituency groups	Community and user responses to the proposed bridge and alternatives
Expert interviews	In-depth interview transcriptions	5	Description of positions of local institutions and community leaders	Community leaders' responses to the proposed bridge and alternatives
Group interviews	Field notes, video or tape recording	5	Description of various community groups and their responses to the proposed bridge and alternatives	Involves the neighborhood and church groups in the planning process; provides for public discussion of issues in the local context
Focus groups	Field notes, video, or tape recording	2	Description of issues that merge in small group discussion	Enables the development of a typology of responses and in-depth discussion of alternatives

The data were analyzed by coding all responses from the interviews and focus groups and then by comparing constituency groups. Constituency groups were defined as groups of people who share cultural beliefs and values and who are likely to be affected by the proposed access alternatives in a similar way. Correlational, content, and value orientation analyses were utilized to present the various positions held by consultants across the subgroups studied in this project.

In addition to the coding of all responses from the interviews and the analysis by constituency, correlational analyses were applied where possible. The attitudes toward the alternatives were analyzed for content and presented as lists of arguments for and against the bridge and the other alternatives. Finally, a value orientation analysis summarized the various positions held by consultants across the subgroups studied in this project.

In Battery Park, the people the most concerned about the negative impact of a bridge were the service managers, city employees, park employees, ferry representatives, and tour bus drivers—that is, those constituencies with a vested interest in the success and profitability of Battery Park. The greatest differences in attitudes about the proposed bridge were found between people who were recreating, versus those who were working, in Battery Park—recreating consultants were more positive, and workers were more negative—and between people who were immigrants and those who were native born—immigrants were more positive, and the native born were more negative. Overall, Battery Park users were most concerned about the economic consequences of the proposed access alternatives, but there were a number of people who were concerned about access to Ellis Island or who questioned the social priorities of the bridge alternative.

In Liberty State Park, constituency groups were not predictive of attitudes toward the alternatives, with the one notable exception of such vested interests as Liberty State Park officials and workers, who were overwhelmingly against the proposed bridge. The active recreation users, such as walkers and cyclists, were more in favor of the bridge than were the passive user groups and organized group leaders. There was also a sharp distinction between Latino and non-Latino consultants: the Latino consultants were very positive about the access alternatives, as compared with non-Latino groups. The same differences in attitude between user type (work-related use versus recreational use) and place of origin (immigrant versus native born) found in Battery Park were found in Liberty State Park. The two most frequently cited value orientations were health and recreation, and park quality—quite a contrast from the economic findings in Battery Park—followed by aesthetic concerns and concerns about improved access.

The residents of the various neighborhoods surrounding Liberty State Park were generally in favor of the proposed bridge and less interested in the other alternatives, yet each neighborhood had a slightly different perspective on the issue. Paulus Hook residents had very mixed opinions about the proposed bridge and were concerned about potential problems, such as increased traffic or limited parking, that might occur. Van Vorst residents were more positive and considered the proposed bridge a way to increase democratic access to Ellis Island. They saw the recreational benefits of the bridge as an improvement to their neighborhood. Lafayette residents were the most positive about the proposed bridge because it would allow them to visit Ellis Island without paying the ferry fare, which was perceived as too high for families and groups of children to afford in this low-income area. They, too, saw the bridge as an amenity that would add to the beauty and recreational potential of Liberty State Park and their local community.

RELEVANT FINDINGS: VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Table 6 presents the value orientations compared across the parks and neighborhoods. What is clear from this comparison is that each area has slightly different priorities and concerns. Battery Park workers and users are not at all concerned with the cost of the ferry or the bridge but instead are concerned about the possible economic consequences of the proposed access alternatives. Liberty State Park workers and users, on the other hand, are concerned with the health and recreation advantages and park-quality disadvantages of the access alternatives. The residents of Paulus Hook, Van Vorst, and Lafayette are most concerned with the cost of the ferry or proposed access alternative. Cost, access, park quality, and economics were the most frequently mentioned concerns for all groups. Table 6 is useful in understanding the variation among these populations and can be used to judge how often a concern was expressed by consultants in this study.

One important conclusion from Ellis Island is that all the people the researchers talked to were interested in the questions asked and were quite sophisticated in their understanding of the problem and its consequences, regardless of cultural or educational background. Thus, concerns that the general public would not be able to evaluate the access alternatives or would not care about the proposed changes to Ellis Island and Liberty State Park were unfounded. This finding suggests that values assessments and planning processes can be enhanced by consultation with local populations through the REAP process.

Table 6 *Value orientations by site in Ellis Island access alternative project.*

Value Orientation	Battery Park	Liberty State Park	Surrounding Neighborhoods	Total
Cost	0	7	35	42
Access	13	8	20	41
Park quality	6	11	20	37
Economic	23	7	6	36
Health and recreation	9	11	9	29
Choice	9	7	5	21
Aesthetic	6	8	6	20
Social priorities	10	7	2	19
Political	8	5	3	16
Education	4	3	8	15
Personal	8	3	1	12
Safety and comfort	4	5	3	12
New technology	5	5	0	10
Ecological	2	3	4	9
Not going to have impact	9	0	0	9
Community quality	0	0	7	7

Integrating Anthropological-Ethnographic Methods into Heritage Conservation Planning and Practice

Table 7 outlines a research approach to heritage conservation planning that includes constituency analysis, ethnosemantic methodologies, and REAPS, as strategies in a values assessment process. Although these are not the only strategies for assessing relevant cultural values, they are an excellent place to start. A Getty Conservation Institute report, from the "Economics and Heritage Conservation" meeting of 1998, which was focused on the economics of value assessment, also proposes a number of other strategies for overlaying and assessing heritage, once the values are identified (GCI 1999).

A final question about who should be undertaking these various projects does not have a simple answer. The overall project—including the identification of stakeholders, the development of a values typology, the values assessment process, the evaluation and ranking of values, and a follow-up with more detailed assessment as necessary—should be organized and directed by the conservation professional. But values assessment, particularly when a REAP is used, is a team process.

Experienced ethnographers and field workers will be able to produce the necessary data more quickly and easily than other professionals. Furthermore, the analysis process requires considerable training and background in qualitative analysis techniques. Yet the techniques involved in constituency analysis, ethnosemantic methodologies, and REAPS can be learned through a series of training workshops. Local participants can become excellent on-site field workers, and the REAP process usually includes local collaborators. In fact, part of the point of undertaking a REAP is to create connections to the local community.

The best situation, if finances allow, is to bring together a team made up of conservation professional(s), ethnographer(s) (the number depends on language demands), and two to three local residents and/or experts who would like to be part of the values assessment process. The residents and experts can be trained by the ethnographers to assist in interviewing and mapping, while the ethnographers would undertake the group interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. There are many combinations of expertise that are useful, and these would have to be developed for each project on site.

Table 7 *Cultural values assessment procedure.*

Task	Methodology	Specific Techniques
Identify stakeholders	Constituency analysis	Expert interviews, behavioral mapping, physical traces mapping, participant observation
Develop values typology	Ethnosemantic methodology	Work with panel of representatives from each constituency to evaluate values typology, translate values typology into local categories
Values assessment	REAP	Individual interviews, transect walks, focus groups, participant observation
Overlay values assessments	Ecological planning and design process	Constituency groups are represented in a process that assesses values and negotiates ranking of values priorities/importance
Discuss assessments with stakeholders	REAP	Focus groups, impromptu interviews, group interview
Repeat procedure for more detailed assessments of individual values where conflicts arise	Constituency conflict analysis	Individual interviews, behavioral mapping, expert interviews

Conclusion

This paper has outlined how qualitative anthropological-ethnographic methods can be incorporated into the process of value assessment at heritage sites. The proposed methodologies are intended to be complementary to a parallel economic values assessment that utilizes the techniques identified in the *Economics and Heritage Conservation* meeting report (GCI 1999). The next step in developing an integrated "sociocultural-economic" model of valuing the significance of a historic site requires field testing with clients or stakeholders and local community groups, as well as field testing that addresses values conflicts. When this proposed methodology is applied in a real-life case study, problems and redundancies in the assessment process will become apparent. After this test application, the conclusions of this paper should be revisited, discussed, and evaluated, and a final model methodology should be proposed.

Notes

1. Adapted from Low (1981).
2. Portions of the literature review are based on the more extensive discussion found in Taplin, Scheld, and Low (forthcoming).

References

Bean, L. J., and S. B. Vane. 1987. Ethnography and the NPS: Opportunities and obligations. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):36–40.

Beebe, J. 1995. Basic concepts and techniques of rapid appraisal. *Human Organization* 54:42–51.

Brugge, D. M. 1987. Cultural use and meaning of artifacts. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):4–16.

Crespi, M. 1987. Ethnography and the NPS: A growing partnership. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):1–4.

Ervin, A. M. 1997. Trying the impossible: Relatively "rapid" methods in a city-wide needs assessment. *Human Organization* 56:379–87.

Getty Conservation Institute (GCI). 1999. *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute, December 1998,* ed. R. Mason. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Joseph, R. 1997. Cranberry bogs to parks: Ethnography and women's history. *CRM Bulletin* 20:20–24.

Kent, S. 1984. *Analyzing Activity Areas: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of the Use of Space.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Liebow, E. 1987. Social impact assessment. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):23–26.

Low, S. M. 1981. Social science methods in landscape architecture. *Landscape Planning* 8:137–48.

———. 1982. Professional culture: The boundary between theory and practice in design. *Resources in Education,* ERIC Report 219290:2–19.

———. 1987a. A cultural landscapes mandate for action. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):30–33.

———. 1987b. Developments in research design, data collection, and analysis: Qualitative methods. In *Advances in Environment, Behavior, and Design,* vol. 1, ed. E. N. Zube and R. T. Moore. New York: Plenum Publishing, 279–303.

———. 2000a. Culture, politics, and the plaza: An ethnographic approach to the study of urban public spaces in Latin America. In *Culture-Meaning-Architecture,* ed. K. D. Moore, 233–46. Aldershot: Ashgate.

———. 2000b. *On the plaza: The politics of public space and culture.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Low, S. M., and W. Ryan. 1985. Noticing without looking: A methodology for the integration of architectural and local perceptions in Oley, Pennsylvania. *Journal of Architectural Planning and Research* 2:3–22.

Low, S. M., et al. Forthcoming. Recapturing erased histories: Ethnicity, design, and cultural representation. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research.*

National Park Service (NPS). 2000. Applied ethnography program. NPS Web site (http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/appeth.htm).

Pavlides, E., and J. E. Hesser. 1989. Vernacular architecture as an expression of its social context in Eressos, Greece. In *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective,* ed. S. M. Low and E. Chambers, 357–74. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rapoport, A. 1982. *The Meaning of the Built Environment.* Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Richardson, M. 1984. Place: Experience and symbol. *Geoscience and Man* 24:1–3, 63–67.

Taplin, D., S. Scheld, and S. Low. Forthcoming. REAP in urban parks: A case study of Independence National Historical Park. *Human Organization.*

Whyte, W. H. 1980. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces.* Washington, D.C.: Conservation Foundation.

Wolf, J. C. 1987. Martin Luther King Jr. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):12–13.