

University of Cambridge
Department of Archaeology



**Living (with the) past – on the everyday experience,
performance, and valuation of heritage**

Kim Eileen Ruf
Wolfson College



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PREFACE AND STATEMENT OF LENGTH

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

Living (with the) past – on the everyday experience, performance, and valuation of heritage.

In the past, a range of studies has investigated how individuals encounter and relate to heritage in the role of the visitor and in contexts of designated heritage places and spaces, which are frequently established and administered by the Authorised Heritage Discourses. The majority of these approaches, however, reduce people either to statistical masses to be quantified, or mere ‘users’ and ‘consumers’ of heritage. Thus, these encounters do not capture the complex character of the relationship between individuals and heritage in everyday life. Moreover, the definitions, value, and relevance of authorised heritage (such as monuments, archaeological sites, museums, and similar heritage structures) are thoroughly specified and grounded in statutory texts – yet there is no official consensus on what everyday heritage is, how and why it may be considered valuable, and in what context this might be the case.

This dissertation aims to expand on everyday heritage and reflect on how it is valued, both from an official and individual standpoint. Drawing from Critical Discourse Analysis, policy evaluation, and qualitative interviews, it investigates how people create and engage with heritage on a daily basis, as well as how their perceptions of heritage may differ from those of the Authorised Heritage Discourses. Through reflecting on everyday heritage, this research is critical to understanding heritage in its various mundane forms and expressions. This study is also significant in that it addresses the perspectives of non-marginalised individuals and communities, for whom a connection to and specific positioning toward heritage may not be inherent. In short, it seeks to explore heritage beyond its definitions and valuation based on grassroots approaches and (community) activism, which emphasise involving stakeholders from various social backgrounds, and particularly marginalised and minority groups, in official heritage (e)valuation processes – as opposed to individual accounts of heritage and meaning-making in the everyday.

The study of everyday heritage can help close the gap in our understanding of what heritage may mean to many people and individuals. In shifting the focus on what (else) is valued as heritage, this research raises awareness of the range and variety of heritage to question its dominant narrative. Especially regarding the realm of the everyday, this can help to reconsider how people attribute significance to the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage around them – beyond the authorised and official.

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GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

GLOSSARY

Alltagskultur: everyday culture

Badner: People originating from the Baden region in Baden-Württemberg

Denkmal(e): memorial(s), monument(s), or landmark(s)

Denkmalgebäude: official heritage building

Denkmalliste: official register of protected memorials, monuments, or landmarks

Denkmalpflege: Monument Preservation

Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne: Monument Preservation Value Plans

Denkmalschutz: Monument Protection

Denkmalschutzamt/-ämter: Monuments Conservation Office/-s

Denkmalschutzgesetz: Monument Protection Act

Denkmalschutzrecht: Monument Protection Law

Denkmalstatus: officially sanctioned heritage status

Erhaltenswertes Gebäude: building worth preserving

Gesamtanlagen: entire complexes

Heimatverein: club devoted to the maintenance of local/regional heritage and traditions

Historische Ortsanalyse/-n: Historical Location Analysis/-es

Kulturdenkmal Prüffall: potential cultural monument – subject to review

Kulturdenkmal/e: cultural monument/s

Kulturdenkmalliste: register detailing listed cultural heritage objects

Kulturerbe, Kulturgut: cultural heritage, cultural objects

Landesdenkmalamt/Landesamt für Denkmalpflege: State Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments

Schwarzwälder: People originating from the Black Forest region

VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste: Administrative Regulation of the Ministry of Economy for the registration of cultural monuments in a list

ACRONYMS

AHD(s): Authorised Heritage Discourse(s)

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

IPA: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the defining and universally accepted characteristics of heritage is that it can be understood and formed in various ways. It is created through multifarious actions, including remembering, adapting, negotiating, communicating, forgetting, and performing (see Sather-Wagstaff 2015; Smith 2006; Solli et al. 2011; Waterton et al. 2017). These active engagements highlight that heritage is not just something to be passively experienced and encountered, but rather something more fluid, approachable, and constantly evolving that brings the past into the present (Waterton et al. 2017, 4). It shapes and transforms not only our sense of place and belonging but also our cultural identities at both the national and local levels (Waterton et al. 2017, 3).

For almost two decades now, researchers such as Laurajane Smith have been arguing that people further create and perceive heritage in ways that do not necessarily align with what has been termed the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) – concluding that heritage essentially is made up of social and cultural processes (see, for example, Smith 2006 in Solli et al. 2011, 44). While this latter statement intuitively rings true at first, it is also fairly non-palpable and raises numerous queries: How are those social and cultural processes defined? Whom do they originate from? What is this heritage in question? Whose observations and knowledge is this definition based on? With such a myriad of reflections brought in its wake, one may easily label heritage an almost nebulous construct and ponder its true relevance or place in our ‘real’ world.

In this thesis, I therefore explore the intersections between heritage as part of institutionalised discourses and its significance in the lived experiences of people. In particular, I examine how individuals engage with (semi-)authorised heritage as part of everyday life to understand how living with the past influences the experience, performance, and valuation of heritage. Doing so, I assess how such engagements relate to the similarities and disparities in how the AHDs and individuals perceive heritage. This research seeks to understand the different forms of heritage creation that may arise in everyday engagements with listed buildings, especially for people who live in them and are surrounded by officially sanctioned heritage environments in their daily lives.

This dissertation research took place in the state of Baden-Württemberg in the southwest of Germany, bordering France and Switzerland. I had grown up in this region and was, hence, familiar with local customs and (most importantly) the Alemannic dialect which is still widely spoken and preferred in people’s interactions with each other – and which particularly influences the degree to which outsiders and strangers are approached and

accommodated. In comparison to the rest of the country, this state is characterised by its high density of *Denkmale*, i.e. authorised tangible heritage, and particularly the so-called *Gesamtanlagen*, i.e. 'entire complexes', which denote historic cities and towns that are protected and preserved in their entirety by the authorised discourses. Most buildings and neighbourhoods that fall under the jurisdiction of state and local heritage legislation are domestic buildings still in use today. For these reasons, and as further outlined in chapters 3 and 4, Baden-Württemberg appeared to be the ideal place to conduct this doctoral research.

Given my familiarity with the region, I was aware of the oftentimes difficult relationship between local heritage management and individuals living in officially listed buildings. Originally, I had therefore piloted a research design centred around the (re)use and valuation of officially sanctioned heritage buildings. It sought to compare how changes to the physical fabric of heritage homes would affect the perception and valuation of authorised heritage from both the perspective of local heritage management and individuals living in and around these buildings. In this early conceptualisation, I perceived alterations to the physical fabric of a *Denkmal* building, street, or environment to be the epitome of change. Due to this, I delved into the material, particularly the adaptive reuse of tangible listed heritage. However, as I will outline in more detail in chapter 3, the data from my initial pilot study suggested that in the case studies investigated in this work, the relevance of change for the perception and experience of heritage was not only connected to the material but also the immaterial – in memory and recollections, names, narratives, and personal-familial identities and traditions.

Moreover, the same tangible heritage appeared to be considered and valued differently by heritage management professionals and individuals. Further, based on these preliminary interviews I realised that while authorised, listed heritage constituted the physical centre of people's engagements with the past, other forms of unauthorised and mundane heritages emerged from such daily interactions. However, I also considered this an opportunity to investigate the (seemingly quite blurry) boundaries between authorised and unofficial heritages in those (home) environments dominated by the authorised discourses.

Due to these observations, I reconceptualised my research and its approaches, as will be outlined in greater detail in chapter 3. While the initial draft of this research gravitated toward merely considering the tangible, already recognised forms of heritage such as historic buildings and monuments, its revision included a broader exploration of what (else) heritage may or may not be to people in heritage-dense environments. Using semi-structured interviews, I spoke to 43 individuals who lived in officially listed or

formerly listed houses or whose homes were part of *Gesamtanlagen*. In doing so, I sought to understand how authorised heritage was perceived and engaged with as part of their daily lives as well as whether and how people may construct their own, unofficial heritages within these historic home environments and daily interactions. Further, I continued to explore whether change (in any shape or form) would affect the definition and valuation of heritage, both by the authorised discourses and individuals.

In my presentation of the different forms of heritage that are part of the local Authorised Heritage Discourses, I sometimes refer to ‘semi-authorised’ heritage. This term was borne from an assessment of local heritage policies and practices which evaluate *Denkmale* based on three categories; these also hold implications for their respective listing and protection status. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, only one of these categories denotes a ‘fully’ listed and henceforth legally protected *Denkmal*. While not officially part of the AHDs, the other two categories remain within the influence and interest of local heritage management, as they are marked as either ‘preservation-worthy’ or ‘listing to be determined’. Since such heritage has been considered, yet not fully embraced by the authorised discourses, I classify it as semi-authorised.

I also situate this reality of living in and around officially sanctioned heritage in the idea of everyday heritage. Although the term has emerged in academic heritage literature in recent years (see, for instance, Giombini 2020; Historic England 2022a, 2022b; Lekakis and Dragouni 2020; Mosler 2019), everyday heritage does not constitute a fully formed concept so far. While I do not claim to provide a universal and all-encompassing definition, this thesis seeks to contribute to its clearer delineation overall.

In my approaches to exploring everyday heritage(s), I root it in the understanding that heritage is fundamental and all-encompassing. In its essence, it is a product of the everyday and, often, the mundane. The processes through which heritage is made, (re)negotiated, attributed significance by some – and dismissed as utterly irrelevant by others – can be found in all planes of life. Venturing forward from an individual, micro-level, I explore how heritage may be formed, perceived, and valued in the context of people living in and around (semi-)authorised tangible heritage, including individually listed buildings, neighbourhoods, and entire historic town centres. Despite therefore being linked to officialised and protected forms of heritage that are specific in their presentation and significance from an authorised perspective, I argue that this same authorised heritage may well be perceived and engaged with differently in everyday life.

From these daily, often mundane interactions and interrelationships between ordinary people and officially sanctioned heritage may arise a multitude of everyday heritages, some of which I will explore throughout this dissertation. Difficult to grasp and even more challenging to define, these forms of heritage do not necessarily need to be viewed purely in the context of officially sanctioned buildings, spaces, and places. Instead, they may be found in the remodelling, adaptation, and reconstruction of listed historic houses or in the documentation of these processes of change. It may show in the conjuring of memories and discussion of personal narratives and past selves interwoven with and constructed around (heritage) places and spaces in daily life. Some forms of such non-authorised heritage may arise from or spark habitual engagements with physical markers of the past in the present; that way, places, objects, or people 'belonging' to the past may be transported into and embedded in the current day. Everyday heritage may also revolve around family traditions – or something as physically small and externally insignificant as an heirloom. Even so, does this make it less of a heritage?

In one way or another, heritage to a large degree centres around living with the past. It is made from continuous processes of (dis)engagement between people and objects, memories, concepts, and emotions. Oftentimes, the catalyst for these engagements is provided in the form of a tangible thing, sometimes it is not. As time pushes forward and people navigate through life, the world continues to revolve around ever-changing realities. People, memories, ideas, and the tangible environment keep changing – and so does heritage, every day. Aspects of the past are continuously brought into the present and nestled into the current day until they, too, become part of the past and future alike. *Living (with the) past* seeks to outline and assess how heritage becomes part of the everyday, and how it is formed as part of it. This concerns previously authorised and protected tangible heritage as well as other forms of heritage that are not considered and officialised by the respective authorities and institutions.

In her most recent monograph, Smith (2021, 2) pondered a dominant and vaguely related question within Heritage Studies, namely the reasons behind people's visits to museums and heritage sites. While following this avenue of research would surely have surfaced insights into heritage formation and significance in these specific instances, they merely represented conscious efforts to travel to, visit, and engage with designated places, spaces, and elements of heritage. Instead, however, I felt that heritage in some of its fundamentality may best be explored in answering an extended version of this line of inquiry. What is still lacking in the study of heritage is an understanding of how ordinary people engage with authorised and non-authorised forms of heritage in their daily lives and environments. How

do living environments, especially authorised, historic ones, shape our perceptions of the past, the present, and the self? What other, non-sanctioned forms of heritage may emerge from, be embedded and continuously re-negotiated in day-to-day engagements with(in) authorised heritage places and spaces? How do people construct their own 'mundane' and everyday forms of heritage around authorised, tangible heritage places that simultaneously constitute people's homes and home environments?

Over the past decades, scholars such as Buchli (1999), Merriman (1992), and Miller (2008) have investigated how the public and individuals engage with the past, objects, or their home and how this feeds into matters of heritage formation and identity-building. Buchli, for example, particularly focused on socialist housing in Soviet Russia to understand the workings of socialism on a household level and how daily life and habits affected "the evolution of a totalitarian society" (Buchli 2002, 133). Merriman conducted a large-scale nationwide survey in the UK in which he assessed public attitudes to museum and heritage visiting to explore how people perceived and experienced the past, also in ways that were not related to museum visits. Miller interviewed the inhabitants of homes in a randomly chosen street in contemporary London to examine how people use material possessions to make sense of their lives. Albeit central for understanding the role of objects, home, and the past more broadly in people's construction of non-officialised heritages in everyday environments, these works differ from my research in that they are not concerned with investigating how heritage is formed and perceived by inhabiting listed buildings and neighbourhoods. The overlaps and differences between these studies and this work will be discussed and further contextualised in chapter 5.

Moreover, through this research, I sought to move away from the narrative of the visitor and considered the angle of the 'everyday' most suitable to investigate daily, mundane, sometimes routine interactions and engagements with heritage. While Merriman (1992) has also focused on 'alternative' ways of engaging with the past to understand people's relationship with heritage, his study emphasised interactions that were still linked to overarching public narratives or AHD-related activities. These include, for example, archaeological excavations, beliefs in UFOs, or treasure hunting. Moreover, I argue that these reflect conscious and leisurely engagements with the past that are not necessarily tied to the mundanity of everyday life in and around the home (more in chapter 5).

Research Rationale and Significance

In approaching everyday heritage we may draw comparisons between the 'authorised' and 'individual', similar to Nora's (1989) differentiation between 'modern' and 'traditional'

memories. He sees “an elite, institutionalised memory preserved in the archives” which is diametrically opposed to “the memory of ordinary people, unrecorded, and ingrained in the unspoken traditions and habits of everyday life” (Harvey 2001, 326). This divide is also prevalent within the field of heritage, which Carman refers to as a “double action [...] of inclusion and simultaneous exclusion” (2002, 17); this division underscores the imperative to study different expressions of heritage in the context of everyday life and incorporate them into our understandings of heritage beyond the authorised discourses. Amongst others, Sørensen (2020, xiv) suggested a deeper analysis of the AHD, stressing the importance of nuance and circumstance in determining its applicability and feasibility.

In Germany and Austria, there is a lack of awareness of unauthorised forms of heritage in these intersections between authorised and everyday, especially in the contexts and environments managed by the respective heritage management authorities. In recent years, Karl (2016, 2020) has raised this issue, which he places in the wider history of both countries as being fundamental in shaping the respective development of managerial practice and the authorised discourses.

While the origins and emergence of the German AHD will be thematised later in this dissertation (see chapters 4 and 6), it is important to note here that national definitions of ‘heritage’ have been dominated and legitimised solely by the authorised discourses since the inception of the discipline and *Denkmalschutz* two centuries ago (Karl 2016; Pollak 2011, 227). This creates a power imbalance between the authorities and the public, which is very much in line with common trends observed within the Authorised Heritage Discourse across the globe (Smith 2006, 29-34).

As I will outline in chapters 4 and 6 in this work, German heritage legislation is built on the notion that heritage may only be defined and protected as such if it lies in the public interest (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014, Article 15 paragraph 3). However, Karl criticised authorised policy and practice as nonetheless being purely dominated by experts, “to the extent that it can be irrelevant whether there actually is a public interest in the preservation (or study) of the [past] concerned, whether it has become legally effective, and whether other justified [...] legal interests of citizens or other public interests [...] are voided by it.” (Karl 2020, 151). Despite being officially rooted notions of relevance for the public, the dominant heritage discourse fundamentally excludes non-experts from making their voices and concerns heard.

This work, therefore, seeks to shed light on the engagements with (semi-)authorised heritage of those who live in and around it. In exploring the intersections between

authorised and everyday, it further aims to highlight the discrepancies between the AHDs and individuals, and how policy and practice may affect people's perception, expression, and valuation of heritage. The latter concerns both officially sanctioned and unauthorised forms of heritage. As such, this research is significant in illuminating how people engage with (semi-)authorised heritage on a daily basis. It adds to our understanding of the interests and significance individuals and communities place in heritage – both official and unofficial.

As I will discuss in the course of this dissertation, certain forms of heritage certainly emerge from people's engagements and perceptions of authorised heritage in the day-to-day. However, it is by no means a prerequisite for the construction of individual and everyday heritages. Some forms of 'mundane' heritage that will be explored in this dissertation are also either partially or completely removed from the official and tangible heritage that constitutes people's homes and living environments (see Miller 2008, for instance, for similar studies on the role of objects and home in constructing narratives of personal pasts). While physically embedded in these authorised heritage places and spaces, the data collected in this research suggests that there may often be little to no intersection of everyday heritage(s) with the values and definitions presented by local heritage institutions and practitioners (see chapters 6 to 8).

This work will also shed light on the role and significance of both authorised as well as unofficial, individual heritages in daily life. The exploration of how regular people live with(in) official heritage buildings and environments may further be crucial in illuminating how perceptions of the 'official' and 'personal' may both overlap and fundamentally differ. This may help navigate the often intersecting worlds of legislation and lived experience by providing a more bottom-up understanding of the impact of authorised heritage interpretation and presentation in the day-to-day, especially concerning the concrete implications of clashes between managerial and conservational practice and the ordinary, yet ever-changing experience of daily life.

Recently, calls for increased inclusivity and sustainability in heritage management have become louder, emphasising a desire to involve stakeholders from various social backgrounds, and particularly marginalised and minority groups, in official heritage (e)valuation processes (Fatorić and Egberts 2020, 2; see also Avrami et al. 2019; Janssen et al. 2017; Jones 2017). Though these grassroots strategies represent a different and important reality of heritage and heritage creation, this exploration of heritage expressions and engagements in everyday life provides a different kind of bottom-up approach. At its heart lies people's engagement with heritage within everyday life, as well as the fundamental

assumption that “heritage cannot exist without continuous performance” in the day-to-day (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 16). Despite its constant presence in the lives of people, this idea of living with and around officially sanctioned heritage has only been considered by the authorised discourses in one recent study funded by Historic England (see Colwill 2024). Its findings suggested that “the existence and abundance of local heritage, particularly those assets that are more integrated into our daily lives, play a significant role in enhancing wellbeing” (Historic England 2024). Although wellbeing does not constitute a key focus of this research, I seek to contribute to a small, yet hopefully growing body of knowledge that centres around understanding how people experience and perceive (authorised and unauthorised) heritage in their daily lives.

A range of studies have focused on the examination of how individuals encounter and relate to heritage in the role of the visitor and in contexts of designated heritage places and spaces, which are often created and administered by the Authorised Heritage Discourse (see, for example, Smith 2021; Waterton 2019). Most of these approaches, however, turn people either into statistical masses to be quantified, or mere ‘users’ of heritage (Smith 2021). A contemplation of the role and differing forms of heritage in daily, ordinary life is often neglected – particularly within German and Austrian heritage management (see Karl 2016, 2020; Strobl and Sieche 2010). Moreover, there is a lack of information on how individuals perceive heritage and engage with the past through living with(in) it. Unlike other forms of heritage acknowledged and managed officially, I contend that everyday forms of and interactions with heritage should be recognised not for their own sake (i.e. to be protected and conserved) but rather to advance knowledge and widen (social) insights.

Therefore, this work is significant in addressing the perspective of non-marginalised communities and individuals, where a connection with and particular positioning towards heritage is not inherent. In short, it explores heritage beyond its authorised definitions and valuation and is not based on grassroots approaches and (community) activism. Such bottom-up viewpoints have been a lasting priority within Heritage Studies, though I argue that shifting the focus to ordinary people may be analytically intriguing and provide some much-needed nuance.

Research Aims and Questions

This dissertation aims to explore how people engage with (semi)-authorised heritage in their daily lives, how they live with(in), perceive and value it, and how they may construct other, unofficial and ordinary forms of heritage within those authorised buildings, places, and spaces. It further investigates how people create and engage with heritage in the day-to-day,

and how their understandings of heritage may intersect with as well as differ from those of the Authorised Heritage Discourse(s). I want to draw attention to the nuances that arise in the 'use' of and engagements with heritage sites and spaces, albeit with the primary focus on the everyday – as opposed to mere encounters with tangible heritage in museums, monuments, or other spaces managed by the AHD (as investigated by Smith 2021, 20). Moreover, this research aims to shift attention away from the predominant focus on the preservation of tangible heritage, to increasingly focus on people's relationships with heritage on a more fundamental, everyday level. To approach these themes and outline other, everyday expressions of heritage, I reflect on and attempt to answer the following questions:

- How does living with(in) listed buildings and living environments affect people's perception and experience of heritage?
- How are value and significance attributed to domestic heritage buildings from both an authorised and individual point of view?
- What are the intersections and differences in how the 'official' and 'personal' are perceived?

Conclusion and Structure of Thesis

In this chapter, I argued for the significance of this research in adding to our understanding of heritage in its varied forms and manifestations. This especially concerns people's experience and perception of it through living in and around listed buildings and living environments. This chapter also introduced my argument that 'mundane' forms of heritage arising from day-to-day practices and engagements can be a powerful tool to illuminate current heritage practice, creation and meaning-making. In the context of this research, this is done by exploring the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages.

I outlined my aims and objectives which centre around examining how people live with(in) (semi-)authorised heritage and how they perceive and attribute significance to it in their daily lives. Further, my work is concerned with understanding how such perceptions may overlap with or differ from those of the local Authorised Heritage Discourse(s). In focusing on such individual relationships and engagements with the (tangible) past, I seek to add to current literature and knowledge surrounding 'everyday heritage' as a yet undefined concept emerging in the field of Heritage Studies.

Following this, chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework this research is based on and seeks to contribute to. It outlines the Authorised Heritage Discourses generally and

contextualises Baden-Württembergian heritage management as a material-based practice within them. In line with this, I contend that the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages need to be analysed in light of broader topics such as materiality, value, change, and authenticity. Beyond thematising value and significance as part of the evaluatory processes of the AHDs, I also argue for the study of insignificance to approach differing perspectives on the relevance and importance of authorised and everyday heritages. Closely related are matters of authenticity as rooted in materiality. While being well-embedded within the authorised discourses broadly, authenticity appears to be referred to only indirectly within Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*. Here, I also give a brief outlook on my findings which suggest that what does or does not constitute ‘authentic’ heritage is viewed differently by non-expert individuals. Further, this chapter describes the role of memory studies in this research, particularly how I draw from collective and social memory, communicative memory, and cultural memory to examine how different understandings of heritage intersect or differ. I also briefly outline the ‘Democratic Turn’ in Heritage Studies and how approaches situated within it have informed my approach to this research. Lastly, a central theme discussed in this chapter is that of everyday heritage. While acknowledging former studies that have used this term, I do not outline them in detail in this chapter; this is done in chapter 5 where I further contextualise these works. Instead, I here argue for my understanding of everyday heritage as rooted in the notion that heritage is formed in daily and mundane engagements with the past and the present – its common denominator being the individual and non-expert.

Chapter 3 addresses the methodological framework of this research. First, I outline the initial project design and summarise the original aims of this research. I then explain why and how I revised its objectives and approaches based on findings from an initial pilot study. Following this, I present the local managerial documents and reports consulted and analysed in this work. Particularly relevant here are so-called *Historische Ortsanalysen*. These are locally specific reports commonly used in urban development. As one of the few publicly available, yet comprehensive resources showcasing the (e)valuatory and interpretative processes of the local authorised discourses, I discuss how *Historische Ortsanalysen* were central to this research, especially in conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis of the public papers and reports of the local AHDs. To understand how people live with(in) *Denkmale* and listed home environments, I outline how I approached participants and discuss the semi-structured interviewing process, including the questions posed to all 41 interviewees. This also includes descriptions of the local heritage events I partook in and the ‘heritage markers’ encountered in several towns. Moreover, I summarise my approaches to data

interpretation and argue for transcriptions as an interpretive tool. Here, I also include a statement on positionality which I consider relevant due to my simultaneous insider/outsider position as a local, yet foreign researcher. Further, I outline the concept of 'hot' versus 'cold' interpretation and how I drew from this in my analyses of both the official heritage documentation and participant interviews. Lastly, I address the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the linguistic intricacies arising from translating the English term 'heritage' into German.

As this research was conducted in the state of Baden-Württemberg in the southwest of Germany, chapter 4 presents the broad geographic and sociocultural context of this research. It further a short discussion on the etymology of Heritage, which does not exist as a broadly construed term in the German language. The most common translation used is *Denkmal*. Its linguistic roots suggest deep interlinkages with memorial practices and material cultural heritage. Borne by the authorised discourses, this term has informed wider societal understandings of heritage. Its strong linguistic and historical links to managerial practice and authorised definitions of heritage pose challenges to the exploration of unauthorised, everyday heritage. Further, this chapter provides an outline of the history of *Denkmalschutz* in Germany and the current managerial policies and preservation practices relevant to this work. As part of this, I outline the three main *Denkmal* categorisations applied to domestic heritage buildings in Baden-Württemberg: the *Kulturdenkmal*, the *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, and the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*. In line with this, I present their implications for preservation and management, and the legal and practical consequences these categorisations of heritage status have on heritage homeowners.

In chapter 5, I outline my understanding of everyday heritage and situate it within previous related studies. Further, I contextualise it by discussing earlier works that concretely referred to the term 'everyday heritage'. Here, I contend that while other scholars and heritage practitioners have similarly been concerned with understanding individuals and their relationship to the past and how this facilitated heritage creation on a non-authorised level, my dissertation research explores everyday heritage from a different angle. I argue for this due to this work's focus on heritage formation and perception in listed home environments, and especially its concern with ordinary individuals over communities. This chapter also addresses the concept of 'heritagisation' which I argue against in its applicability to everyday heritage as outlined in this thesis. Moreover, I identify memory, performance, and sharing as the pillars of everyday heritage creation in the context of this research. This chapter presents a broad outline of general observations drawn from the analysis of my

interview data and points towards the main chapters in which these findings will be contextualised and discussed in depth.

In chapter 6, I thematise the intersections between authorised and everyday in my case study area. Much of the tangible listed heritage that constitutes the physical reality and backdrop for participants' lives is managed and preserved by the local *Denkmalschutz* authorities. Therefore, I base one of my streams of argument on the intersections between authorised and everyday realms in the material heritage fabric that constitutes people's homes and living environments. I argue for the relevance of exploring such intersections in that it enables the examination of the relevance of officially sanctioned heritage in people's everyday lives and how such tangible *Denkmale* may affect the creation and valuation of everyday heritage. The first half of this chapter provides an outline of the local *Denkmalschutzamt* and how their policies and practices are situated within wider Authorised Heritage Discourses. Based on their legislature and other publicly available media and reports, I situate Baden-Württembergian heritage management within a material-based approach. Thus, alterations to the material fabric of authorised heritage, which are often necessary in home environments, are considered invasive and destructive of the 'heritage value' of said *Denkmale*. The second part of this chapter outlines public and private attitudes to heritage management in Germany, and Baden-Württemberg specifically. Drawing from interview data, I also identify 'surface-heritagisation', perceived disregard for traditional building methods and materials, and lack of guidance and pragmatism within managerial practice as central concerns among participants. Based on this, I further demonstrate how the dominant authorised narrative of the public (and especially homeowners) as custodians of heritage causes dissent among individuals and communities, and often leads to the antagonisation of local heritage management. This chapter also outlines potential intersections between the authorised and everyday as rooted in participants' relationships and direct experiences with heritage professionals. Moreover, I contend that interconnections also emerge from the exclusion of non-expert individuals and communities from local heritage initiatives.

Chapter 7 discusses the oftentimes clashing notions of authenticity and the role of materiality in authorised and everyday heritage. I reflect on the 'authentic' substance of heritage and provide an overview of the various perspectives on reconstruction, replication, reuse, and change. The chapter also serves as an overview of the dominant debates and conceptions of authenticity that inform the German and Baden-Württembergian stance on 'authentic' heritage, which is fundamentally materially based. Here, I contend that to local

managerial practice and policy authenticity is a central factor informing the significance of tangible heritage; these perceptions are based particularly on the Nara and Riga documents on authenticity. Moreover, this chapter focuses on the challenges and issues arising from prevailing discrepancies between the authorised and everyday, which are usually grounded in alterations made to the material fabric of listed heritage. However, I also explore how expert and public notions of authenticity are mainly linked to authorised, listed *Denkmale*, whereas such considerations are not present in everyday heritage. In outlining this, I further suggest that exploring the role of authenticity in unauthorised forms of heritage, such as replicas, restorations, or everyday heritage, may allow us to broaden our understanding and approaches to authenticity generally. Here, we may draw from notions of pastness, acceptance, narrative, sense of place, or memory to explore whether and how individuals perceive and define ‘authentic’ heritage in non-authorised engagements with the past.

In chapter 8, I discuss how value and significance are attributed to heritage from an authorised and individual perspective. I explore which factors serve as catalysts for heritage formation in the everyday and how this differs from how value is ascribed to heritage from the local AHDs. This chapter outlines the evaluatory processes of the local *Denkmalschutz* and which factors of significance are considered respectively; in line with this, I demonstrate the lack of universal approaches and uniform definitions for the values attributed to authorised heritage. Further, this chapter shows how heritage is presented as inherently positive and beneficial for all by the local authorised discourses and how this differs within personal conceptions. Moreover, I present the role of insignificance in the creation of and engagement with everyday heritage and highlight how this differs fundamentally from the official evaluatory processes of the local AHDs: The value of *Denkmale* in Baden-Württemberg, and Germany overall, is rooted in the demonstration of their wider relevance. Once this relevance or significance is dismissed officially, the heritage status of *Denkmale* is revoked. Within everyday heritage, however, insignificance is often central to its individual valuation.

In chapter 9, I provide the final discussion of the various themes addressed in this thesis. I outline everyday heritage as explored through my case studies as an individually constituted, ongoing process of heritage formation that emanates from non-experts living in and around official *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen* in Baden-Württemberg. While some of these engagements with the past may centre around the tangible officialised heritage presented by the local AHDs, I argue that they are fundamentally personally informed and may only be tangentially and subconsciously influenced by managerial policy and practice. Moreover, I

contend that everyday heritage in the forms discussed in this thesis is often made into an active agent in participants' life stories. This suggests that the past (in its physical and immaterial forms) may be considered an inseparable entity central to individual and familial histories and identities.

In this chapter, I further outline pastness, narrative, place attachment, and sharing as central themes in this exploration of everyday heritage and discuss the relationship between authenticity and materiality in relation to (in)significance and approval. This also feeds into my discussion of the intersections between authorised and everyday where I demonstrate and discuss their depth. I further discuss the indivisibility of the AHDs from the realms of the everyday as examined in this work. Here, a separate section thematises the relevance and benefits of including perspectives from everyday heritage into managerial practice. In this, I contend that individuals and communities living with(in) authorised heritage homes and environments engage with the past in a multitude of ways which are not considered by the AHDs. However, their knowledge and narratives may prove insightful as people may hold deep knowledge as well as visual or oral records of places and spaces. Including non-experts in the interpretative processes of heritage management may further be crucial in opening up the dominant discourse to include the public in managerial concerns. This lack and its urgent need has been criticised by various scholars in Germany and Austria. While I argue for the increased consideration of individual and communal knowledge, I also argue against the protection and management of everyday heritage as outlined in this work.

Lastly, I conclude this chapter by outlining the contributions of this work to scholarly practice and gaps in knowledge. This includes the twofold perception of heritage in AHDs-dominated heritage home environments: Official heritage, *Denkmale*, and their protection are considered good and relevant for communal and regional histories and identities. Everyday heritage, while not being recognised or labelled as 'heritage' by participants, has proven equally if not more important, and is particularly significant on an individual or familial level. Furthermore, one contribution of this work lies in its showcasing of how both the AHDs and non-experts attribute significance to authorised and non-authorised heritages. While specific tangible 'forms' of heritage were not considered equally valuable by professionals and the public as part of people's ordinary engagements with the past, the underlying notions often were. Among others, these included an appreciation or relationship with former ways of life, traditions or customs, or local histories and identities. One further contribution of this work lies in its giving voice to members of the general public who engage with (semi-)authorised heritage in their daily life and who are affected by, and may also themselves affect, local managerial concerns.

Chapter 10 provides the conclusion of this thesis where I summarise my understanding of everyday heritage in the context of this work. It also includes a brief outline of the intersections and clashes between authorised and everyday, and addresses the importance of investigating and discussing the policies and practices local AHDs alongside the primary data collection with participants. I outline the different dimensions of how everyday heritage is valued by individuals and communities within their home environments, explaining how these construct an overarching sense of identity and attachment, not only to a concrete place but to a broader notion of belonging and self. This conclusion chapter further demonstrates how this work differs from previous, similar studies and how it contributes concretely to our expansion of everyday heritage as an idea, as well as to our understanding of how ordinary people engage with the past in officially sanctioned everyday home environments.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical background of this research and discusses the various concepts and constructs this dissertation seeks to build and expand on. In particular, this includes the following key themes: the Authorised Heritage Discourse(s), Value and (In)Significance, Authenticity, Memory Studies, Sense of Place or Place Attachment, and Everyday Heritage.

In my examination of how living with(in) officially sanctioned buildings affects individual perceptions of heritage, I seek to outline the local Authorised Heritage Discourses, their policies and practices, especially concerning the implications of managerial practice on people's engagements with their listed homes. The officially listed tangible heritage that constitutes the physical component of my case studies and the local heritage institution, the *Denkmalschutzamt*, represent the AHDs in this study. Moreover, as authenticity tends to be strongly linked to the notions of significance used in the evaluation processes of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*, significance constitutes a central element of this work. The overarching concept of value, which authenticity and significance are both seen to reflect, is also central. As I explore the experience, perception, and creation of heritage in those officially sanctioned heritage environments as part of everyday life, I draw from memory studies and ideas of sense of place to understand the individual relationships and engagements between people and their heritage home environments.

Lastly, I further argue for expanding the idea of everyday heritage which has surfaced as a theme within Heritage Studies and (in some instances) managerial practice in recent years. Yet, it has not been formally defined as a concept. Its parameters and areas of application thus remain unclear. In this thesis, I view everyday heritage as formed in the myriad of engagements between individuals and aspects of the past (both officially sanctioned and non-sanctioned) in the home environments of everyday life. This research focuses specifically on the creation, perception, and experience of heritage from the perspective of individuals living with(in) listed heritage buildings and environments.

Heritage

The Oxford English Dictionary defines heritage as "property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance", "valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations", and "relating to things of historic or cultural value that are worthy of

preservation” (Oxford English Dictionary 2017). This highlights an emphasis on tangible heritage and brings matters of inheritance, conservation, historicity, and preservation to the fore. Under this definition, heritage may be a physical object to be passed on in the present and to future generations; as such, it can be owned and may include artefacts and places from the past that hold importance in the present (Harrison 2010, 9ff.). In this research, this is reflected in the buildings and environments managed by the local AHDs and personal-individual engagements with heirlooms, photographs, or family homes.

This mirrors the common notion of heritage which still revolves around specific artefacts or places considered ‘historically significant’, and has been criticised by a range of scholars (e.g. Carman 2002; Lowenthal 1996; Smith 2006). It has been argued that much of the established and internalised understandings of heritage, often largely materially centred, are based on the authorised discourses (see Smith 2006) because conversations about the definition and valuation of heritage are predominantly held with and between official stakeholders as well as heritage ‘professionals’ (Harrison 2010). This will be discussed in greater depth in the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* section below, as I draw from these notions of managerial policy and practice as constitutive of overarching authorised discourses.

While this material- and preservation-oriented perspective on heritage is prevalent in heritage management in Baden-Württemberg, I follow Carman’s (2002, 11) argument that heritage is fundamentally a product of diverse (dis)engagements with the past in the present. I base this position on the case studies and data collected and presented throughout this work. They suggest that from an individual and non-expert perspective, the definition of heritage can (and does) transcend that of a tangible, historically important object or place. They also reveal that the nature of heritage varies significantly depending on perspective, as outlined in chapters 6, 7, and 7 by comparing authorised and everyday notions of heritage in southwest Germany.

Because the towns and environments featured in this research are officially managed in (almost) their entirety by state-wide heritage authorities (see chapters 3 and 4), I considered it vital to assess whether definitions of heritage were similarly based on those of managerial policy and practice.

Furthermore, at the heart of this work is a concern with the character of the private discourses on heritage: Given that ordinary people live in these environments and not only tangentially and purposefully engage with them – for example as heritage site visitors – how may definitions and perceptions of heritage differ or concur with those officially presented within the authorised discourses? I thus seek to investigate the various discourses on heritage that were applied to these places by exploring broader questions such as: Which (if

any) conversations are held about the definition and value of heritage? Who is included in and engages with them? In doing so, I aim to gain a broader understanding of the nature of the local heritage discourses. Further, I seek to search out central themes not only within the managerial discourses but also among members of the general public.

This dissertation aims to explore everyday heritage in two key ways: 1) by investigating how ordinary people engage with authorised heritage (such as *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen* in Baden-Württemberg) as part of their everyday lives and 2) what forms of non-authorised heritages, perceptions of and engagements with the past arise from it.

To understand everyday heritage, however, one needs to critically reflect on the nature of heritage altogether, as well as on the different considerations and concepts it is comprised of and contributes to. To think about heritage means to think about the nature of people's engagements with the past-present-future, about the kinds of discourses held about the past, about the individual and collective definitions of heritage, and how those factor into matters of identity, memory, narrative, community, and place on varying scales.

The Oxford English Dictionary's definition of heritage centres around a physical anchor, but 'inheritance' may also be reflected in passing on or taking over ideas and memories, traditions, dialects and local verbal expressions. This will be emphasised in this work via the exploration and further delineation of everyday heritage. Such a somewhat broadened understanding of inheritance also suggests that, despite the dominant focus on the tangible and material, heritage may be closely interwoven with the intangible as well. Here, I also draw from Smith (2021, 25) who proposes that apart from the dominant focus on the material, heritage may well be understood as something more abstract such as 'cultural background' or 'family'.

Moreover, I situate the focus of my research within a broader shift in Heritage Studies as brought forth by Waterton and Watson (2015): They discussed a change in emphasis from pure concerns with objects and materiality, particularly revolving around their classification, preservation, and interpretation, to understanding "the ways in which they are consumed and expressed as notions of culture, identity, and politics" (Waterton and Watson 2015, 1). Understanding the latter is central to my exploration of everyday heritage, as I aim to examine how people engage with tangible markers of the past as part of their daily lives and how this may foster 'alternative' forms and definitions of heritage respectively. Further, Baden-Württembergian managerial practice (i.e. the local authorised discourses) remain somewhat rooted in this original conception of heritage as tangible objects. However, they also acknowledge their role in navigating its wider societal purposes,

including for tourism and culture, but also regional and state-wide identities, and politics on both a local and interregional scale. This shift, therefore, is well-visible, yet not necessarily consciously addressed or acknowledged within local heritage practice and is thus important for their broader understanding and contextualisation. It is also relevant to the exploration of everyday heritage. In chapters 6, 7, and 8, I will address the influence of the local authorised discourses on people's perceptions of heritage, as well as on their own creations of 'alternative', everyday heritages.

In assessing this, I particularly draw from Harrison (2010, 9ff.), who argues that the tangible forms of heritage – such as objects, buildings, places or sites – can be engaged with through what he refers to as practices of heritage. These include languages, music, or (communal) commemorations. In doing so, we form and (re)create “ideas about our past, present, and future” (Harrison 2010, 9). In this thesis, I seek to explore which practices of heritage may be present in everyday engagements with heritage and how these may factor into the creation and renegotiation of personal, familial, and communal pasts. In doing so, I aim to contribute to a broader understanding of how heritage is experienced and valued in everyday contexts.

Indeed, various scholars have argued that heritage itself is a process, practice, or performance (Arlotta 2019; Harvey 2001; Holtorf 2020; Kolesnik and Rusanov 2020; Smith 2006; Smith 2021; Skrede and Hølleland 2018; Sørensen 2020; Waterton et al. 2017). I base my understanding of heritage on this conception, especially considering the interrelationship between the tangible and intangible as well as the fact that heritage is ultimately a matter of (constantly developing and changing) perspectives and (re)negotiation of factors such as memory, attachment, place, sense of identity, performance, dissent and dissonance (Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 79). Harvey succinctly concluded that “heritage is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it” (2001, 336), as part of which identities on an individual, communal, and national level are formed, expressed, and disputed (see also Solli et al. 2011). My research revolves around this investigation of such constant renegotiation of heritage: While the Baden-Württembergian AHDs hold relatively fixed notions on the meaning and relevance of authorised heritage, I was particularly interested in examining how my participants' engagements with authorised and unauthorised forms of heritage would impact matters of identity formation but also how this influenced their view on local heritage management.

This further aligns with and builds on David Lowenthal's (1996) criticism of traditional, materially-centred perspectives on heritage as a fixed and unchanging entity. Instead, he argues for it being a fluid concept influenced by contemporary values and

concerns. To him, the past is continuously reinterpreted through the needs and perspectives of people in the present day. The latter is essential to this work: In seeking to understand the relationships between ordinary people and their heritage homes, I also investigate how engagements with the past may be influenced by the current needs and values of these individuals and the communities they are part of. How is heritage defined, perceived, and engaged with individually? How may interpersonal relationships, family or community ties, factor into this?

This also aligns with Smith's argument of the "performativity of heritage [which] helps to challenge the idea of the passivity of heritage audiences" (2006, 74). In examining participant relationships with their home environments and their respective understanding and creations of heritage within and beyond the local authorised discourses, I also seek to extract and emphasise the "multiplicity of meaning" Smith considers to be inherent to any form of heritage (2006, 74) encountered and performed by people. By extension, as humans engage with their environment (officially sanctioned as 'heritage' or not), they negotiate and create various layers of meaning and relevance of the past in the present. These processes of heritage creation and valuation do not need to be officialised, but instead take place on an individual and personal level as much as on a communal one, dependent on the practices and heritages in question. This is a particular point of interest in my exploration of everyday heritage, to be addressed in chapter 8.

It could be argued that heritage and heritage formation are two sides of the same coin. Smith in particular makes a case for this by reasoning that instead of merely being a 'thing' or 'site', heritage is an action and intent, and thus "something that is done rather than possessed" (2021, 4). Concretely, she argues that heritage is what happens at certain sites or places, "and while this does not mean that a sense of physical place is not important for these activities [...] the physical place or 'site' is not the full story of what heritage may be" (Smith 2006, 44).

As will be discussed in light of my case studies in this dissertation, this particularly applies to many of the everyday heritages embedded in direct home environments. Here, dwelling and being surrounded by personal, communal, and regional pasts is central to many of my participants' understandings of meaning, which they often refer to when making sense of their place in the world. It is not the physical marker of home – i.e. the listed heritage building – that *is* heritage, but rather the continuous engagements with it, the memories attributed to it, the sense of place and identity it creates, and the narratives it may feed into and reinforce.

As such, heritage represents "a continual embodied process of heritage-making" (Smith 2021, 4). In this process, the past is used to find meaning and coherence in the present

(see also Smith 2006, or Macdonald 2013 who coins this as 'past presencing'). Here, I also argue that matters of inheritance and mere dwelling in historic or familial heritage environments may also be considered an active, embodied part of heritage creation. The lived and sensory experience of heritage and engaging with its reality (in the form of a home environment, for instance) presents ongoing processes of meaning-making and renegotiation of the past in the present.

On a similar note, Wetherell (2012) has defined heritage as an 'affective practice' as part of which the past is used through performances to "construct meaning in and for the present" (Smith 2021, 4). This further underlines the conception that heritage is performative and ongoing – as opposed to passive or stable; which is how it is often portrayed within the Authorised Heritage Discourses. In this work, I draw from these notions of heritage as an active and affective practice and agent in heritage formation by looking at how people live and engage with(in) official heritage places and environments.

Following the argument of heritage as being created through people's engagement and relationships with it, it can be concluded that heritage in its fundamentals is artificial in the sense that it is not inherent; rather, it is a constitutive, discursive process that "identifies those things and places that can be given meaning and value" (Smith 2006, 3). For some, this is equated with heritage being subject to processes of heritage management and conservation and therefore being labelled as such along the way (Sharma 2019).

There is, however, more to heritage and heritage formation than its definition as part of authorised evaluation procedures, though this often appears to be the logical conclusion. Heritage can – and does – exist outside these official processes, as has been increasingly recognised within the emergence of Critical Heritage Studies and the so-called 'new heritage paradigm' (see Harrison 2015; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013), which views heritage as a result from "dialogue among individuals, communities, practices, places, and things" (Harrison 2015, 35), instead of being static or inherent. This paradigm and how it shaped my work will be discussed in the *Democratic Turn* subsection of this chapter. Furthermore, the existence of 'alternative' heritages beyond the authorised managerial processes is emphasised throughout this work via the case studies presented.

Also different to how heritage is perceived within the authorised discourses is Smith's notion that objects, sites, buildings, places, and other physical things merely help us 'perform', 'create' and 'accomplish' heritage (Smith 2021, 26). It moves away from defining heritage as a product (where, for example, changes in the fabric should be avoided) and towards understanding heritage as a process (as part of which transformation is natural and inevitable; see also Poullos 2010); this idea of material adaptation and change as an

elemental part of heritage will further be discussed in the 'Democratic Turn' and Living Heritage section of this chapter. However, I also want to move away from the tangible component seemingly involved in such performative actions of heritage-making. As will be addressed in the main chapters of this work, I contend that performance and adaptation do not have to be physically interactive, or a deliberate act of 'taking action' that culminates in an intended (tangible) outcome. Instead, it can rest in the recollection and communication of memories, for instance that of bygone places or people. In doing so, I argue, the creation of a shared heritage is taking place. Albeit not rooted in a physical anchor, such actions may form a shared heritage and identity, as the past is engaged with and 'performed' in the present.

Both considering the heritage performances carried out at the respective festivals and events (see chapter 8) as well as the recollective and vocalised heritage (inter)actions emanating from individuals (described in chapters 5, 7, and 8) may also be considered adaptive in that no performance, no conversation, and no sharing of memories and stories remains the same. Stories and recollections will always be (sub)consciously adjusted according to audience, circumstance, event, or trigger. As the perspectives, perceptions, and intentions of its communicators change, depending on timing and occasion, so will the outcome of such performances.

Within Heritage Studies it has hence been widely established that heritage does not merely facilitate but, rather, represent processes at work. From this debate and realisation arose a gradual shift – namely from questioning what heritage *is* to what heritage *does* (Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 78). Despite acknowledging this change in emphasis, I seek to investigate both questions in this study and further delineation of everyday heritage: Both for authorised and everyday heritages, I seek to understand their respective perspectives and definitions. And both for authorised and everyday heritages, I want to understand what it does to people.

In line with this, Apaydin argues that heritage can serve to connect people, holds the power to shape personalities and worldviews on an individual and group level, and can impact the everyday lives of people (2017, 492). As I investigate heritage as part of people's everyday lives and home environments, I base this work on the understanding that heritage is an essential, though oftentimes subliminal part of our world and the everyday (see also the respective *Everyday Heritage* section in this chapter). As such, heritage can be both mundane as well as constitutive of overarching identities that may transcend the bounds of the individual and reach into the familial or communal spheres. Drawing from my case study evidence, I will further discuss this in the course of this work.

Even further, and considering a larger scale, some contend that heritage is about mediating and arbitrating “the cultural and social politics of identity, belonging and exclusion” (Smith and Waterton 2008, 295; Silverman 2015). I argue that this is particularly the case in the forms of everyday heritage explored in this work, as notions of identity, belonging and exclusion have been voiced both implicitly and explicitly by my participants. Even more so, I found these to be present on varying scales, ranging from individual and internalised beliefs in personal history and identity to a larger sense of belonging to a specific town, region, or cultural area (see especially chapter 8, where I discuss this in light of sense of place). As will be presented in the main chapters of this dissertation, some of the everyday heritages discussed rest firmly in both deliberate and unconscious acts of exclusion or inclusion. These appear to serve to create a sense of belonging and identity, as well as overarching narratives.

The case studies discussed in this thesis further illuminate shared practices on varying scales, from the singular individual to smaller and larger family circles, or even entire communities via heritage festivals and public demarcations of local ‘heritage markers’. How are identities communicated, consolidated, or dismissed and what is the role of authorised and non-authorised heritages in this? Reflecting on this will be particularly insightful in light of the communal heritage festivals and shared practices of everyday heritage as discussed in chapter 8. By examining these, I aim to understand how both authorised and non-authorised heritages contribute to the construction and negotiation of identities on various scales.

Within Heritage Studies it is generally recognised that what is often coined as ‘official’ may be contrastive or even conflicting to personal, individual perceptions of heritage (Harrison 2010, 11). As such, heritage may also reflect sites or places of contestation in that they bring to the fore the conflicts and diverging interpretations, which I emphasise in chapter 6 in particular. There, I will discuss the intersections and dissonances between local German heritage management and those affected by its policies and practices.

Here, my work is rooted in Ashworth and Tunbridge’s concept of ‘dissonant heritage’ (1996). In essence, they argue that heritage is created by interpretation, resulting in specific and varying perception and definitions. Their work tends to revolve around the touristic exploitation and use of heritage, which is only partially relevant to this research, as only some *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen* are presented for tourism. Further, while the dissonances arising from touristic or otherwise outward-facing initiatives have been voiced as an occasional factor for dissatisfaction by participants (see chapters 6 and 7), most of the ‘alternative’ heritages discussed in this dissertation (for example as rooted in family

traditions) are removed from such considerations. A tension that is relevant, however, is their general argument that dissonance inherently arises from an object, site, or place taking on an officialised heritage 'status' (see the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* section in this chapter, as well as chapters 6, 7, and 8 for the tensions arising from the denomination of authorised versus everyday). This is also rooted in disjointed understandings of value and significance, but also differing notions on wider meanings and relevance of a given heritage to communities.

Any attempts at denominating 'authorised' heritage will always be incomplete and selective, though I concur with Harrison in that this is reflective of an existence of "multiple 'heritages'" (Harrison 2010, 12) instead of there being a division between a seemingly 'correct' or 'incorrect' heritage. Within my case studies and interviews, I have come across various forms of these personal and unauthorised heritages which exist within and beyond the officially sanctioned heritage that is part of the local Authorised Heritage Discourses. In exploring such 'multiple heritages' as suggested above, I aim to investigate the degree to which authorised heritages may be conflicting with those 'alternative' heritages that may emerge from it. I also seek to understand where and how their expression and definition may intersect with and be influenced by the AHDs.

In its essence, this research is concerned with gaining a deeper understanding of heritage in those instances where the worlds of the authorised discourses and ordinary people intersect on a daily and fundamental basis. In doing so, I follow Smith and Waterton (2012, 153-4) who argue that such inquiries require the navigation of a range of "different – and often contradictory – values, arguments, and connotations" (Smith and Waterton 2012, 153-4) attributed to heritage. The case studies presented in this dissertation reflect the myriad of ways in which material and immaterial aspects of the past are embedded in and continuously renegotiated in the present. As such, they are centred around implicit and explicit debates on the value and perception of heritage from two (seemingly) opposing angles: the AHDs and ordinary people living in and around authorised heritage places and spaces. In examining how people engage with and ascribe importance to listed homes and neighbourhoods, or even entire towns, I aim to understand the different experiences and valuations of heritage in everyday, domestic environments and how this compares and contrasts to the notions attributed to heritage by the AHDs.

Here, I am particularly interested in the differing realities and perceptions of heritage. In this vein, I also build on Sharma (2019, 187) who suggests that potential dilemmas that may arise from these differing perspectives can, however, also be productive: They may shed light on how divergent values attributed to heritage can be negotiated and

how the preservation of multiple perceptions of continuity may best be achieved. While the latter goes beyond the scope and aims of this research, it is nonetheless an argument that speaks for the extension and definition of a more formal idea of everyday heritage and how it may best be approached in light of managerial practice.

As I venture beyond the evaluatory processes of heritage that constitute part of the listing procedures in Baden-Württemberg, my work revolves around the question of: How is heritage created, engaged with, shared, and which values are called upon? For instance, Harrison (2015, 27) has argued for heritage as "collaborative, dialogical and interactive, a material-discursive process [...] out of dialogue and encounter between multiple embodied subjects in (and with) the present". To him, heritage emerges from processes of interaction between "heterogeneous human and non-human actors", through acts of "caring for and attending to the past in the present", and an ongoing conversation about which tangible and intangible aspects of the past are valued (Harrison 2015, 24, 35).

In this dissertation, I investigate these suggestions to understand how heritage is formed and continuously engaged with as part of everyday life. I do so by exploring these notions of collaboration, dialogical communication, and interaction across differing stakeholders and entities (including the AHDs and individuals or communities). However, Harrison's notions of heritage-making also suggest a certain degree of active and conscious involvement, discourse, and decision-making, particularly in light of evaluating the degree of relevance and significance of the heritage in question. But do 'alternative', everyday heritages similarly emerge from such deliberate and active-discursive processes of evaluating the value and role of (aspects of) the past? Which dimensions and considerations are central to the processes of such everyday heritage formation and between whom is this communicated and negotiated – if at all?

In short, heritage is a 'value-loaded concept' (Harvey 2001), created, shaped, and managed through people's ascription and negotiation of meaning and value to places and spaces (Ashworth 1994; Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007, 13; Avrami et al. 2000; Avrami and Mason 2019, 23; Lowenthal 1985; Smith and Waterton 2008, 295; Silverman 2015, 70); the dominant idea here is that heritage primarily holds positive values (Apaydin 2017, 492; Harrison 2013a, 5). I both draw from and critically examine those notions in my work and will discuss these in the *Value and (In)Significance* section below.

As I will discuss in the course of this dissertation, particularly chapters 5 and 6, both the local authorised discourses and participants engage in these practices of heritage creation through the conscious and subconscious attribution of value and meaning to tangible and intangible forms of heritage in everyday, domestic environments. In the case

studies presented, memory and narrative tend to be more closely associated with personal formations and perceptions of heritage; this will be discussed further in the respective sections in this chapter and throughout this work. Here, I particularly draw from Rogers' notion of heritage as a social construction. His central argument is that heritage is aimed at "connecting people and place through memory and narrative" (2019, 184), which is what also emerged from many of the interviews. The centrality of memory and narrative in the creation and perception of (everyday) heritage will be discussed in chapters 5, 7, and 8.

However, narratives also constitute a large part of the authorised discourses, as is evident from the public initiatives that are part of the *Denkmalschutz* mission, the latter of which is outlined in chapter 4. Through public-facing engagements and paperwork, such as pamphlets or *Historische Ortsanalysen*, the *Denkmalschutzamt* presents cohesive narratives that seek to both justify and gain additional public support for their conservational and managerial aims and practices. The main question concerning both authorised and everyday narratives as explored in this work, however, is: Whom are these communicated to? How (if at all) do they affect perceptions of and engagements with heritage? And how may certain narratives factor into the dynamics between authorised and everyday? These considerations constitute central aspects of my exploration of not only the intersections between the authorised and everyday, but also how potentially diverging narratives may mutually influence and impact respective attitudes towards heritage in this instance.

In investigating the relationship between the reality of living in and around heritage buildings and environments and being confronted with the practices and policies of the local AHDs, I seek to explore and challenge the idea of heritage as a predominantly positive thing. As can be seen in chapters 4 and 6, this notion is supported by the local authorised discourses presented in this work which argue for the preservation of heritage as positive elements and even tangible 'witnesses' of the past. This is closely linked to evaluations of value and significance, to be discussed in this chapter's *Value and (In)Significance* section and chapters 4 and 8.

As I will further thematise in the relevant section below, this research also concerns itself with the idea of insignificance. Here, I do not simply equate significance with positivity and insignificance with negativity. Instead, I argue that both are merely sides of the same coin, presenting a heritage that may both be imbued with positive and negative attributes, subject to individual perspectives. The same 'object' or idea of heritage can, therefore, simultaneously carry positive and negative traits and values.

Through these examples, I seek to underscore that the nature of heritage is complex and manifold. Because of its multifaceted nature, heritage is a notoriously complex concept to

grasp and define (Carman 2002; Harrison 2010; Smith and Waterton 2012). It encompasses concepts such as value, significance, meaning, emotion, commercialisation, and the role of experts in society and the everyday (see also Carman 2002). As a wide and varied field and concept, it is also rooted in individual and collective definitions and attributions of significance. These aspects and their relevance to this research will be introduced and discussed throughout this chapter and dissertation. Through this research, I seek to add to the field of Heritage Studies by further delineating the idea of everyday heritage as a mundane and everyday way of engaging with and constructing heritage. This may occur both within and beyond the respective authorised discourses.

The Authorised Heritage Discourses

One central aspect of this research is the so-called Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) which presents “the dominant way of thinking about, writing and talking about, and defining heritage”, particularly in larger institutions and within the heritage management sector (Smith and Waterton 2012, 155-6). This discourse is not monolithic; rather, it encompasses a spectrum of institutional practices and ideologies that shape the dominant perceptions and values of heritage. Scholars such as Carman (2002) argue that authorised heritage is created through categorisation in authorised managerial practice, while Harrison (2010) further stresses the impact of this heritage canon on broader societal values.

In this thesis, I specifically focus on the local Authorised Heritage Discourse in Baden-Württemberg, the *Denkmalschutzamt*. By focusing on the interrelationship between these local authorised discourses and the individuals living in listed buildings and officially sanctioned heritage neighbourhoods and townscapes, this research seeks to further our understanding of the impact of the AHD on people and non-marginalised communities. Examining the intersections between the authorised and private-individual, I strive to contribute to filling gaps in knowledge surrounding the perception, experience, and creation of heritage as part of everyday life.

While the notion of the AHD implies a singular, authoritative perspective on heritage, recent scholarship argues for a more nuanced approach towards the authorised discourses. For instance, Skrede and Hølleland (2018) propose a critical realist perspective on this. They suggest that in nominalising the Authorised Heritage Discourse as such, the agency of individual heritage management experts and policymakers is obscured by reducing them to “one grey mass”, namely the ‘authorising heritage institutions’ including UNESCO, ICOMOS, English Heritage, and the like (Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 86).

As a singular noun, the AHD commonly symbolises “the agent that defines what counts as heritage” (Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 85). Whilst Critical Heritage Studies have begun to slowly move away from this limiting perspective on the authorised discourse(s), acknowledging the existence of various streams and sub-streams within heritage management based on individual experts and stakeholders, the nominalisation and its underlying connotations yet remain prevalent. In the hearts and minds of scholars, practitioners, and the public lingers an image of the Authorised Heritage Discourse as an overarching institution or system which thinks about and acts upon one (mostly regionally or culturally specific) universalised notion of heritage and its significance.

Following this chapter, I will refer to it as Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHDs) instead. I argue for this de-nominalisation and plurality particularly in the context of German heritage management, as there are a multitude of different streams and offices as well as independent heritage contractors and professionals. These follow their official definitions and justifications, particularly regarding value assessments and evaluations of preservation approaches. Therefore, in the specific context of this research, there is no singular, uniform stream of authorised heritage, but a range of voices and opinions, all of which are informed by the larger sense of what constitutes heritage from the perspective of the Authorised Heritage Discourses.

The AHDs’ Definitions of Heritage

“‘Official’ heritage process[es]”, as Harrison (2010, 8) terms it, are both product and producer of the Authorised Heritage Discourses. This refers to the procedure of formally labelling certain objects, sites, places, spaces, or practices as heritage and, consequently, attributing value and significance to it. To understand and define the local expressions of the authorised discourses in this research, I will first need to draw from such generalised, internationally based notions of the AHDs. This is done to concretely outline the underlying processes of heritage management and conservation in Baden-Württemberg, identifying their priorities and practices. This will aid in assessing whether these do or do not (partially) reflect the dominant patterns observed for the AHDs as discussed in this section and communicated via the established heritage literature.

Though the authorised discourses have more or less followed one official, universal process of designating heritage (focused primarily on monumentality), approaches within heritage management have lately begun to move “towards an acceptance of a wider variety of tangible and intangible heritage” (Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 87; see also Ludwig 2016; Mydland and Grahn 2012; Parkinson et al. 2016a, 2016b). Whether this trend emerges in both

the German and its individual federal heritage practices and legislation will be examined in this research. It constitutes a crucial aspect for investigation in the outline of local AHDs practices and policies because of the personal, individual, and mundane engagements and expressions of heritage explored in this work. As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, many of these are deemed separate from the tangible aspects valued by local heritage management, and thus can be considered part of the aforementioned 'wider variety' of heritages.

The AHDs usually define heritage as old, fundamentally material and often monumental, aesthetically pleasing and predominantly concerned with an (e)valuation based on technical or architectural knowledge (Smith 2006; Smith and Campbell 2015, 2, 8). Designated heritage objects or sites become worthy of preservation from these professional assessments of value with the driving force behind these authorised practices being the prevention of their 'loss' (Arlotta 2019, 11; Harrison 2010; Poullos 2010). I used these definitions of the most common authorised policies and practices to assess whether similar approaches and perceptions are present in my case study area.

As such, institutional heritage management are "keeper[s] of the status quo" (Smith 2021, 7), particularly given the dominant focus on material preservation and continuity; this has often been criticised for being 'reductionist' and merely "protecting and preserving the material vessels where values have been determined to reside" (Araoz 2011, 58-9; see also Avrami and Mason 2019; Poullos 2014, 17). Following a Critical Discourse Analysis of the documents, policies, and public writings of the local authorised discourses, I argue that this notion of heritage is also prevalent within the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*. Therefore, I draw from these definitions and perceptions of heritage from an authorised perspective, as they fundamentally overlap with the mission and aims of the regional heritage management and conservation practices that form part of the data collected in this research.

As part of the Authorised Heritage Discourses, 'official' heritage ultimately becomes something that must be conserved and managed actively and specifically (Carman 2002; Harrison 2010), and is often separate from the everyday. This also holds for the managerial practices and policies of the *Landesdenkmalamt* Baden-Württemberg; a more in-depth discussion of this will follow, especially in chapters 6 and 7. Within the authorised discourses generally (and locally specific in the case of this work), a strong emphasis is placed on specialist interpretation and professionals' authority "to act as stewards for the past and its heritage" (Waterton and Smith 2010, 12; Avrami and Mason 2019). Due to this, the AHDs mainly represent top-down, expert-driven approaches to heritage and

heritage-making (Avrami et al. 2019; Poullos 2014, 18; Smith 2006; Waterton and Smith 2010). As will be discussed and demonstrated throughout this dissertation, and especially in chapter 6, such approaches are reflective of the Baden-Württembergian (and broader German) heritage practices examined as part of this research. I thus draw from these notions of the authorised discourses in my discussion of the local AHDs, especially in the comparison between authorised and non-authorised definitions and engagements with heritage that constitutes people's everyday home environments.

Some scholars have raised concerns about the consequences of such official notions of heritage as they tend to be considered more truthful or important than "local expressions of heritage" (Avrami and Mason 2019, 20). This notion has been voiced by the local *Denkmalschutz* as well (see chapter 6), which may result in a form of elitism that can undermine the importance of non-authorised heritage experiences (Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2012, 156). As I explore these tensions, my research aims to highlight the how individuals create and communicate 'their' heritage – which may be informed by but not strictly bound to authorised narratives. Based on this, I seek to examine how this may feed into tensions between authorised and everyday expressions of heritage in those instances where personal perceptions of and engagements with the past may not align with the dominant narratives of the local AHDs.

As the dominant notion of heritage, especially in the realms of heritage management (Smith 2006), the authorised discourses have particularly emphasised the importance of significance and (national) values, which are to be understood as collective and universal, as something that can be labelled and sorted neatly into boxes of well-defined categories. These ideas, however, are rooted in elitist, Western practices and understandings of heritage, which mask and push aside the vast and diverse multitude of experiences of heritage – especially those of the local, the individual, and the everyday (Avrami and Mason 2019, 23; Smith and Waterton 2012, 156; Smith 2021, 32).

Beyond understanding the authorised practices that form the *Denkmalschutz* in Baden-Württemberg, this work is also fundamentally concerned with such local and small-scale, ordinary expressions of heritage. As will be further discussed in the course of this dissertation, this divide between the AHDs and individuals living and engaging with (semi-)authorised heritage daily is evident in the case studies presented in this thesis. Therefore, I seek to explore the various expressions of non-authorised, everyday heritages within the realms of the authorised discourses.

Implications of the Authorised Discourses: An Initial Outline

Resulting of these authorised discourses is also a discrepancy between past and present in that heritage is presented as something frozen in time. As such, it can be considered somewhat timeless, but there is also a sense of discontinuity or lack of connection between past and present (see also chapter 6). Conservation practices emphasise “the past and its tangible remains/the fabric”, as well as “the notion that authenticity of heritage is non-‘renewable’” and that it should be taken care of for the benefit of future generations (Poulios 2010, 171; see also Avrami and Mason 2019, 22; Jones 2006, 122; Wijesuriya et al. 2013, 20). As I will outline and reflect on particularly in chapters 6 and 7, this authorised notion of needing to preserve the materiality of heritage constitutes a central theme within the Baden-Württembergian AHDs. I pay particular attention to these as they can hold certain implications for individuals and communities who may want to engage with this heritage in different ways. This includes making physical changes to the tangible fabric of houses and home environments, but can also be seen in differing notions on how to preserve and communicate heritage among individuals, families, and local communities. It also involves questioning whether similar conceptions of wanting to conserve and carry forward heritage into the future are held by non-expert members of the public.

In these practices lie a discontinuity between the monuments belonging to the past, and the “social and cultural processes of the present” (Poulios 2010, 171; see also Poulios 2014, 18; Ucko 1994, 261-63; Walderhaug Saetersdal 2000; Jones 2006, 122), especially when considering heritage creation under the ‘new heritage paradigm’ mentioned above. Such disjointed notions of heritage are evident from the authorised documents and practices studied as part of this research, but may also be found in the way people refer to and perceive the local *Denkmalschutz* authorities; the latter is a central topic of chapter 6.

The authorised discourses generally ascribe value to heritage preserved unchanged (Poulios 2010; Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2012; Waterton and Smith 2010), such beliefs are clearly present in the managerial and conservational approaches of the local AHDs examined in this dissertation (see chapters 6 and 7). In conservation, the past is considered separate from the present (Matero 2004, 69) and contemporary transformations are thus a challenge for the AHDs: When does the value of heritage places and spaces decrease or cease to exist? This aspect of potential tension – between what is valuable despite (or due to) modification according to the authorised discourses and what is valued by private individuals living in heritage buildings – constitutes an essential part of my research.

The Authorised Heritage Discourses' somewhat generalised understandings and valuations of heritage go hand in hand with similarly universalised management concepts and conservation practices. At times, these may result in friction and negative implications, particularly for non-Western societies, marginalised groups, and indigenous communities (see also Larsen 2018; Smith 2004, 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009; Smith and Waterton 2012, 155); the scope of this, however, is not part of the discussion of this research.

In my discussion of the Baden-Württembergian AHDs throughout this dissertation, I observe that while such tendencies for universalised practices are present, the underlying structure and individual approaches of local heritage management are not. This is especially the case in authorised evaluatory processes which seek to denote heritage significance and status. Still, I draw from this overarching conception of the authorised discourses as being grounded in universalised notions of heritage, as the *Denkmalschutz*'s mission and aims remain overwhelmingly unified. This is evident in their statutes and legislation and particularly present in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* which hold central role in conceptualising the definition of authorised tangible heritage: Despite being created by a multitude of professionals across the state without a concrete template or universal guidelines, all these reports are fairly universal – particularly in the way that heritage is described and ascribed relevance.

This idea of friction resulting from such top-down management and clashing perceptions of the 'reality' of heritage may be a limited one overall in that it essentialises these differences, for example in suggesting that communities and individuals have similar or even universal responses to 'authorised' heritage. In the grand scheme of things, however, the authorised discourses often appear to be vilified as a central institution *per sé*, considering their global reach, universalised definitions of heritage, as well as preservation practices and significance assessments tailored to and thus concerning very specific conceptions of heritage (Smith and Waterton 2012, 155ff.). This has also been observed throughout data collection and interviewing, and is particularly addressed in chapter 6. Moreover, and as discussed previously, I believe that this is in part due to the nominalised notation it is usually referred to: namely the Authorised Heritage Discourse. This facilitates the tendency to view the authorised discourses as an overarching, almost antagonistic system – a Goliath to the seemingly powerless David who represents any non-authorised forms of heritage.

However, heritage can be created *as well as* exist within and beyond, parallel to, overlapping with, or even entirely separate from the spheres of the authorised discourses, which is what this thesis seeks to address and outline. It thus differs from the legendary tale of the triumphant underdog defeating his larger-than-life opponent in the sense that various

heritages can exist at the same time without needing to ‘defeat’ the others. Emphasising this, and looking into “the power of heritage outside of state authorising institutions” (Smith 2021, 31) is one of the central aims and objectives of delineating and studying everyday heritage, which will be explored as part of this dissertation.

Value and (In)Significance

In this section, I will outline the role of value and significance in the evaluatory processes of the AHDs generally and discuss how this informs my approach to examining them within the framework of local *Denkmalschutz*. Moreover, I draw from the notion of (in)significance in exploring the relationships between individuals and the past in home environments and everyday engagements with heritage.

Valuation as an umbrella term for attributing values and significance to artefacts, sites, and spaces is central to the management of heritage. Officially ‘significant’ heritage places established within the authorised discourses are then compiled in lists or registers which denote their ‘merit’ (see Avrami and Mason 2019; Kalman 2014). Such inventories have become key “elements in archaeological resource management in most parts of the Westernized world, and elsewhere, too” (Darvill 2005, 21), as they outline which objects and places are deemed important and, consequently, worthy of preservation (Appelbaum 2007; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Harrison 2010; Pye 2001). Often, these are further divided into categories based on their importance on an international, national, regional, local, and personal level (Mydland and Grahn 2012, 567; see also Carter and Bramley 2002). Such attributions of significance and related categorisations are seen in German heritage management and legislation via the assignment of specific heritage statuses; the individual categories relevant to my case studies are outlined in chapter 4. Moreover, the differing categorisations employed by the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* – as well as the lack of concrete definitions for certain values or factors of significance – are addressed and discussed in chapter 8.

There are differing opinions on how values come to be. Whereas I agree with Ireland et al. in that “all heritage values are culturally constructed” (2020, 8; see also Araoz 2011; Arlotta 2019, 8; Avrami and Mason 2019, 50; Briuer and Mathers 1996, 11; Carman 2002; Fojut 2009; Fairclough 2009; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Loulanski 2006; Smith 2006), some regard them as intrinsic or embodied in material vessels instead; this is an especially persistent notion within heritage management circles overall, as well as the local AHDs discussed in this work. I therefore situate my approaches to assessing not only the role of

value but also the respective evaluatory processes of the authorised discourses generally on this understanding.

Most common in the authorised discourses, predominantly government-led and heavily institutionalised ones, are strict definitions and resulting categorisations of perceived heritage values: practices arising from these are often referred to as values-based approaches (see Avrami et al. 2000; De la Torre 2002, 2013; Fatorić and Egberts 2020; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Jones 2017; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Poullos 2010). While German heritage institutions use the idea of value and significance to justify the preservation and management of heritage objects, their practices are not values-based. Instead, they are grounded in material-based approaches aimed at conserving the fabric over a set of values (Poullos 2010, 17ff). Whereas values-based approaches acknowledge the malleability of values and significance attributed to heritage, material-based approaches are fundamentally rooted in the idea that the material fabric of heritage is representative of stability and continuity. As will be discussed in chapters 6 and 7, such ‘conserved’ tangible heritage is often not to be changed in its fabric, creating a discontinuity “between the monuments and the people, and between the past and the present” (Poullos 2010, 18). This is reflected in my data and will be thematised in subsequent chapters. In the case of Baden-Württemberg and my research, this discontinuity is felt and criticised by the public and particularly the people who live in and around listed heritage; the latter has become evident in the interviewing process with my participants. I therefore drew from this observation of discontinuity and potential clashes between authorised and personal notions of authorised heritage to explore where attributions of significance and the perceptions of heritage may overlap or differ. Further, this informed my approaches to understanding the different forms of heritage that may be created in those gaps that emerge from these material-based practices.

Heritage management practices are built on this notion of inherent or intrinsic values as ingrained within the fabric of the respective object or place, such as rarity, age, or intactness (Fatorić and Egberts 2020; Ireland et al. 2020, 5; Tainter and Lucas 1983, 711; see also Arlotta 2019 and Smith 2006, for example, who challenge this idea). As is also reflected in the Baden-Württembergian heritage policies and approaches, the ‘uncovering’ of worthiness, significance, and their interpretation of representativeness, should be done through experts; these mainly stem from the fields of architecture, archaeology, anthropology, engineering, or history (Harrison 2010). Because it is professionals who ‘reveal’ heritage values as part of the official evaluation process, these values often become more or less “fixed and unquestioned” (Harrison 2010, 25 on the taxonomic model of heritage). This notion of inherent value and

significance is deeply embedded in German and Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*, as I will present and discuss in chapters 6 and 8.

Within the authorised discourses and practical heritage management, values are used as a means of significance assessment to guide expert decision-making and practice. They are categorised into different typologies, such as aesthetic, environmental, economic, associative, social, scientific, and historic, and usually refer to positive attributes which benefit society (Avrami and Mason 2019; De la Torre et al. 2005, 5; Fatorić and Egberts 2020). While such overarching categorisations are not formally made in Baden-Württembergian managerial practice, the factors of significance referred to (see chapter 8) nonetheless fall into the above categories. In short, values considered within heritage conservation are “defined by the significance for and interests of stakeholders and authorities” (Avrami and Mason 2019, 83); this often excludes “those who perceive their past, their identity, and notions of “heritage” in different ways” (Avrami and Mason 2019; Boyd et al. 1996, 123; Poullos 2010). I used this dominant notion to assess whether this was similarly the case in the authorised discourses in Germany and my case study area, and how this would feed into the intersections between authorised and everyday.

Authorised value and significance is also distinct from the individual, everyday valuation of heritage that constitutes a key theme of this research and will be explored in chapter 8. In my research, this focus on heritage (e)valuation and relevance for the benefit of stakeholders – in this case urban planners or local governments – is evident from its policies and practices, and has been featured strongly in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*. While the conservation and management of heritage fabric is argued to serve ‘the public’, reports and lists which state the value and significance of listed and semi-authorised heritage are almost exclusively aimed at and accessible to internal and external stakeholders.

This became particularly evident when I tried to compile official documents for data collection and analysis, only to realise that they were not publicly accessible unless I was planning on implementing architectural changes to specific buildings, neighbourhoods, or townscapes. Further, the nebulous idea of ‘the public’ is frequently stated in these documents to justify heritage preservation, as the conservation of its fabric is considered to benefit the public. However, not only is this not explained within these documents, but it also assumes a homogeneity of significance and relevance to communities across the entire state that is likely unrealistic.

Value and significance are often used interchangeably, although they are different in the sense that one builds on the other: ‘significance’ is constructed from the collective of values that are attributed to a certain heritage object or place (Ireland et al. 2020, 3-4). Values can be

defined as positive and negative meanings which are officially or unofficially ascribed to objects, places, sites, spaces, and more (Ireland et al. 2020, 3). Arlotta (2019, 8) further states that because heritage is always valued in a variety of ways, values are multiple; as a consequence, values attributed to objects or places often are mutually incompatible which may lead to conflicts (see also De la Torre 2013). This notion constitutes a central aspect of my work as I investigate the intersections between authorised and everyday. This is particularly vital in understanding where and how perceptions of the value and significance of heritage may differ, especially given that the tangible ‘object’ of heritage, here in the form of *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen*, constitutes lived, everyday home environments.

Even more importantly, it has widely been recognised within Critical Heritage Studies that heritage values (and thus the meaning and definition of said heritage itself) are mutable, dynamic, and relative (Arlotta 2019; Carman 2002, 187; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Jones 2017). I draw from this understanding and base my work on the idea that, just as life and the human actors that are part of it, values may change over time. Through this research, I seek to address and bring forward these differing, mutable, and relative perceptions and valuations of heritage. I also show and discuss the failure within the German authorised discourses to acknowledge this subjective nature of value and significance, which often leads to larger issues, negatively impacting people’s relationships and engagements with heritage in daily life (see chapter 7 for a thorough discussion of this).

Some scholars have argued that these values also carry a social aspect. Rogers, for instance, bases this idea on heritage being a social construct and a means of forming connections (2019, 184), whereas Jones grounds her conceptualisation of social values on the significance and relevance of heritage environments to individuals and communities (2017, 1). She argues that heritage shapes people’s sense of identity, memory, belonging, and spiritual association (Jones 2017); social value can be used as an umbrella term for a variety of concepts, such as place attachment, symbolic significance, spirituality, or community identity. As such notions have been voiced by participants in interviews, I draw from this concept of social value to explore heritage formation within and beyond the confines of the authorised discourses. This includes not only engagement with tangible (semi-)authorised heritage but also creations and perceptions of more mundane, personal, everyday heritages.

Further, it has long been argued that values are fluid and complex (see Grady and Lipe 1977, 8; Lipe 1978, 142-143; Moratto and Kelly 1978, 23; Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 155; Schiffer and House 1977, 45-47; Tainter and Lucas 1983, 714), created and shaped through practices and experiences, some of which align with and are recognised by the AHDs and some of which are not. Jones further criticises traditional heritage management and

preservation approaches for failing to recognise, acknowledge, and, ultimately, accommodate those rather informal, ever-changing, dynamic and iterative valuation processes (2017, 1). This holds for this study of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*.

It is these forms of valuation and attribution of significance that I seek to understand through researching and further expanding the idea of everyday heritage. The concept of social value as described by Jones (i.e. “a collective attachment to place that embodies meanings and values [...]”, 2017, 2), however, has a strong communal emphasis, particularly aimed at understanding heritage valuation from the perspective of marginalised communities or local communities excluded from the managerial heritage evaluation process (Jones 2017; see also Byrne et al. 2003; Johnston 1994; Jones and Leech 2015). The study of everyday heritage outlined in this thesis aims to redirect this focus on communities and (presumed) collective valuations to increasingly pay attention to the individual.

One further concept I draw from in exploring these dynamic, (re)negotiated, and informal attributions of value to everyday heritage is the notion of ‘pastness’ as discussed by Holtorf (2013). This concept challenges traditional notions of heritage significance by suggesting that the value people attribute to heritage is not solely dependent on the historical or material authenticity of an object, site, or place. Instead, pastness refers to the sense of the past that people experience, which may be derived from both material and non-material sources. Holtorf (2013) argues that pastness can emerge in two distinct ways: First, through determining the age of an artefact or building via its material or manufacturing techniques, this may be visible in its patina or signs of use. This aligns with the approaches of the authorised discourses which emphasise the preservation of materiality, and which focus on historical accuracy, continuity, and the physical integrity of heritage objects and sites. Second, Holtorf suggests that pastness may be generated through other perceptions and experiences, particularly emotive and sensory ones. Here, personal associations may create meaningful connections to the past which are felt as a subjective form of pastness.

The idea of pastness seeks to address people’s experiences in historic environments and investigate how people engage with this environment in an emotive and meaningful way (Holtorf 2013, 431; Jones 2009, 136). As it allows for an exploration of heritage as more flexible and dynamic, not necessarily anchored in material authenticity (see also the respective section on *Authenticity* below), I draw from this concept of pastness in my work. Here, one may assess the value and importance objects or places via the memories or narratives attached to it – regardless of whether or not they are materially and historically authentic or old. This approach is well-suited to exploring everyday heritage practices,

where personal, familial, or communal experiences with the past may carry more weight than the more formal values attributed to this heritage by the local *Denkmalschutz*. Holtorf's concept allows for a broader and more inclusive interpretation of heritage, where pastness is experienced through a combination of sensory engagement, emotional attachment, and lived experiences rather than a strict focus on material integrity alone.

Lastly, one aspect within this debate on values and valuation, however, is often overlooked: the matter of insignificance (see Ireland et al. 2020). Concepts surrounding the attribution and definition of value carry an inherent duality: what may be important to some may at the same time not be significant to others. This divide is especially prominent in authorised versus personal practices of heritage-making and valuation. An exploration of the double-edgedness of significance-insignificance may thus further shed light on the "culturally complex and multi-layered" nature of valuation processes within and beyond the Authorised Heritage Discourses (Ireland et al. 2020, 2), which is particularly crucial and insightful in my exploration of how and where authorised and everyday perceptions and expressions of heritage may differ, overlap, or intersect. It is central to understanding how heritage is created and attributed value (or not) as part of everyday life. Ireland and her colleagues specifically address this from a critical perspective on heritage management by probing questions such as "Who has made that determination [of heritage significance] and for whom (i.e. the political economy of the heritage field)?", or: "Whose perspective is being represented (i.e. the politics of recognition)?" (Ireland et al. 2020, 2). I drew from these questions in my assessment of the evaluatory processes of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* and in examining how this may impact and influence perceptions of heritage of residents and local communities. Further, this exploration also shed light on the dominant heritage discourse in the area and on the degree of inclusion or exclusion it may subsequently foster. It allowed me to approach the intersections between authorised and everyday, and provided a nuanced perspective to participants' attitudes towards managerial practice which I further contextualised using their interview data.

Ireland and colleagues also bring forward the potential for individual, positive, non-official heritage formation by creating significance from insignificance as seen in the example of the garden of Bustan Khayat in Haifa, Israel. After becoming the property of the city of Haifa and experiencing long-term managerial neglect due to political tensions, the garden's insignificance to relevant institutions opened up possibilities for local, individual, as well as communal expressions of significance and the attribution of non-authorised values. Resulting of this, the garden as a communal expression of heritage and significance flourished through a multitude of new uses and engagements which were not regulated or

restricted by official heritage institutions (Haifa Museum 2019; Liberty-Shalev 2011; Ireland et al. 2020, 1).

While such engagements are necessary and relevant – especially considering their potential for critically assessing managerial practice – they are nonetheless rooted in conceptions about insignificance and significance arising from the engagement with or neglect of heritage objects, places, and spaces through heritage management. In doing so, the creation of value and significance (or matters of insignificance) is viewed through a lens of the authorised, as opposed to exploring the attribution of significance or insignificance from an individual, personal perspective first.

I argue that “why and when [an item is] deemed significant and how [this process creates] forms of insignificance [...]” (Ireland et al. 2020, 2) may also be investigated from an individual standpoint, and afterwards be compared and contrasted with the impact of managerial preservation approaches on the creation and attribution of value as well as perceptions of insignificance or irrelevance of heritage. As I stated in the introduction, heritage may not necessarily be perceived as a significant factor in people’s lives and a connection with it is not always inherent. It is, therefore, crucial to also consider why and how it may not be relevant to some individuals; this is also emphasised by Smith who contends that failing to explore the underlying reasons for why heritage may or may not be valued by people “will impede understanding [...] the material consequences heritage has for them” (2021, 23). There is an evident lack of studies of the significance of heritage as made in the everyday, especially concerning how tangible heritage may impact people’s daily lives based on how its relevance is perceived. Again, this carries a reference to the dominant notion (notably within the authorised discourses) of people as passive consumers of heritage (as discussed in Smith 2021). This exploration of the duality of (in)significance within the study of everyday heritage will be outlined and discussed in chapter 8.

Authenticity

In exploring everyday heritage within environments shaped by the authorised discourses, the concept of authenticity emerges as a central theme. As people inhabit *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen*, the prevailing narratives surrounding official heritage often revolve around their material truthfulness and historical accuracy. This also raises questions about how managerial approaches and frameworks may influence personal and informal expressions of heritage in these environments. Are concerns about authenticity significant to individuals as they navigate their daily lives and construct their own ordinary forms of heritage? Approaching this is essential for uncovering the nuances in how people perceive, value, and

interact with heritage in their immediate home environments, especially as these perspectives may diverge from the dominant views communicated by the local *Denkmalschutz*. In this subsection, I will address the various concepts surrounding authenticity and examine their relevance to my research and everyday heritage.

Especially within the context of the AHDs, notions of authenticity as embedded within the fabric of heritage objects and places are a driving force behind common conservation approaches (Djabarouti 2020; Jones 2017; Smith and Waterton 2009). Such materialist approaches argue for authenticity being inherent, grounded in the fabric and material substance of objects and places (Holtorf 2013, 428; Jones and Yarrow 2013, 6; Walter 2013, 635). This perspective is central to my work in light of the local *Denkmalschutz* practices, which follow this stance in their focus on material conservation of the original building fabric. While present in the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses, the materialist idea of authenticity may not necessarily apply to everyday forms of heritage as explored throughout this dissertation (see chapter 7). This will further be addressed in this subsection.

Anchoring authenticity in the fabric of a place or object also “emphasize[s] notions of permanence” (Djabarouti 2020, 169; see also Jones 2017, 23; Smith and Waterton 2009, 290), and can easily be detected within managerial practices in their denominations of value. For example, the preferred consideration of aesthetic, historic, or scientific factors indicates an emphasis on authenticity as inherent in the material of heritage (Djabarouti 2020). I specifically sought these out in my Critical Discourse Analysis of official policy documents, heritage registers, lists, and reports. While not directly labelled as factors denoting authenticity, I found frequent references to such considerations as related to heritage significance and relevance within Baden-Württembergian managerial papers and reports, including the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*. This further aligned with and affirmed Smith’s observation that authenticity “is a socially constructed value” that exists within and is employed as a vaguely defined concept by the authorised discourses to “authorize and legitimize the past and its material remains as universal heritage” (Smith 2006, 125; see also Barthel-Bouchier 2001, 237). In these contexts, ideas of authenticity are created and affirmed based on specific political, social, cultural, and economic considerations.

From the authorised perspectives, what is authentic is reflected in the “truthfulness of a cultural place and is defined through physical attributes found in various historical layers” (Cameron 2008, 20). Such references to truthfulness have also been voiced by my participants in relation to officially sanctioned heritage, suggesting that this notion is quite relevant to people’s understanding of authenticity in this context. Moreover, ideas of

continuity and change are conceptually linked to authenticity and therefore inevitably accompany debates surrounding the basis of its 'truthfulness' (Jokilehto 2006; see also chapter 7). Both continuity and change, but also ideas of truthfulness have emerged as central elements within the intersections between authorised and everyday (see chapters 7 and 8). This has been evident not only from participant responses in relation to how they perceive official heritage and how it should be managed accordingly but also in the different engagements with the past and subsequent creation of non-authorised heritage as part of daily life. Here, the physical adaptation and transformation of the building fabric of *Denkmale* and home environments, but also immaterial expressions of the importance of continuity or disruption – for instance concerning traditions – have emerged as key considerations both within the local AHDs and non-expert members of the general public. Therefore, examining them in light of different understandings of authenticity, especially the dominant materialist versus constructivist perspectives, is important for developing my approaches towards everyday heritage in officially sanctioned *Denkmal* environments.

Traditionally, heritage objects in their original fabric and structure were deemed 'authentic', while transformed or restored sites, or even replicas, were considered of "distinct and secondary nature" (Foster and Jones 2019, 2). In light of this, I sought to investigate whether this would also apply to the case studies presented in this dissertation, and explore whether perceptions on change, restoration, or renovation would differ between authorised and individual viewpoints. From this arose concerns regarding 'surface-heritagisation' among my participants (see also the Disneyfication of heritage by Smith 2006), which are discussed in chapters 6 through 8. Interestingly, there appears to be a difference in how such actions of transformation are perceived in relation to authenticity (see also chapters 7 and 8). Exploring the different perspectives on authenticity and whether or how these may translate from official *Denkmale* to everyday heritage is therefore an important aspect of my work.

While a dominant notion in the AHDs, this materialist view is increasingly being questioned by those who argue that authenticity is not fixed within objects or sites themselves. Thus, debates in the intellectual community largely centre around "conflicts between materialist and constructivist approaches" (Holtorf 2013, 428) on what comprises authentic experiences and heritage objects. Here, constructivist voices seek to challenge this materialist perspective by asserting that authenticity is "variable, negotiable, and relative to a specific social and cultural context" instead, and being subject to context, both socially and culturally (Holtorf 2013, 428). I base my investigation of authenticity in the context of this work on the latter constructivist approach and agree with the notion that authenticity is a projection arising

from “the minds of the onlookers” (Holtorf 2013, 428; see also Starn 2002; Reisinger and Steiner 2006). In broadly aligning my understanding and approaches towards matters of authenticity in everyday heritage, I seek to understand not only how authenticity may be perceived by different people, but also how this is communicated.

Whereas ideas of what constitutes ‘authentic’ heritage are central to how said *Denkmale* are valued and preserved within Baden-Württembergian managerial practice, they can also strongly diverge from ‘unofficial’ understandings of authenticity in heritage. As such, other ideas of authenticity may not necessarily be tied to the materiality or originality of objects or places. Beyond conceptualisations of authenticity emerging from the authorised discourses, authenticity may also be created or granted by other bodies. Examining the latter, namely who addresses and attributes significance to authenticity beyond the local AHDs and in which context they may do so, is what I set out to explore during the interviewing process.

Over time, new understandings of authenticity have emerged (see Cameron 2008; Foster and Jones 2019; Holtorf 2013; Jones 2010; Labadi 2010; Macdonald 2013) which embrace the inevitability of change and recognise the need to accommodate it accordingly; this may include discussing and applying “alternatives to original material substance” whilst retaining the authentic nature of heritage (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 199). In the context of local managerial approaches to the ‘authentic’ preservation of heritage fabric, such notions have arisen from participant interviews, especially in instances where people debated whether or not the rigid conservation of tangible heritage was suitable for their modern lifestyles (see chapter 6).

At first glance, the idea of ‘experiential authenticity’ appears to be relevant to my work, as it centres around “the belief and sensations of having experienced something genuine and real” (Penrose 2020, 1248). Rather than focusing solely on materialist or constructivist notions surrounding authenticity, experiential authenticity refers to the totality of an experience – namely how individuals interact with objects, places, events, and others to create a personal sense of connection to the past. Mainly applied to museum contexts (see, for instance, Penrose 2020 who discusses it in relation to the Anne Frank House), this concept emphasises that authenticity is not inherent in objects or places alone, but instead is co-constructed through individual experiences and sensations (Chabra et al. 2003; Knudsen and Waade 2010; Penrose 2020).

While this framework allows for an understanding of how authenticity may be perceived or constructed on an individual level, it primarily focuses on heritage experiences mediated by authorised institutions, such as museums. Here, particular emphasis is placed

on the visitor's ability to engage with heritage through sensory and emotional connections with objects or spaces (see Penrose 2020). As such, this highlights how, for some, authenticity is not only a question of material 'truthfulness' but an interaction with the past in a way that resonates with one's own lived experiences and enables "establish[ing] personal connections between [individuals] and the protagonists of museum narrative(s)" (Penrose 2020, 1252; see also Bruner 1994, 410; Witcomb 2010). The personal connections formed through such engagements are critical in creating an experience that feels 'authentic' to the individual, which may align or contrast with institutional definitions of authenticity.

However, the applicability of experiential authenticity to my research is more complex. My focus lies not on museum environments or curated heritage experiences but on how people live within, engage with, and create everyday heritage in authorised heritage environments, i.e. through living within *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen*. Despite the omnipresence of authorised heritage narratives, these spaces constitute home environments and are, as such, not designed by a heritage institution or expert to prompt existential or sensory connections. In my participants' cases, authenticity seems to be more than a purely practical or intellectual concern; it reflects their desire to connect emotionally with the past. As such, notions of authenticity (while not communicated directly as such, see chapter 7), arise from participants' lived experiences and personal relationships with heritage as part of everyday life. Especially concerning 'their' non-authorised engagements with heritage, this often takes place without any critical reflection or negotiation of their authenticity. Nonetheless, experiential authenticity is partially relevant to this research as it emphasises the complexity of authenticity as a concept. Further, I employed it to explore experiential, sensory, and emotive aspects of heritage formation both within and beyond the authorised discourses, including assessing whether and how these served to (subconsciously) verify and 'authenticate' the genuine and real nature of these everyday heritage creations.

Another such emerging concept is 'contemporary authenticity' coined by Silverman (2015). While acknowledging and grounding itself in the dynamic nature of life – from which ever-changing, subjective (re)negotiations of what is significant and/or authentic arise –, it differs in its focus on the larger matters that shape our world today. Referring to "forces such as globalization, commercialization, mass communication and tourism" (Silverman 2015, 85), contemporary authenticity highlights their role in creating new forms of tangible or intangible 'cultural manifestations'. The key to this concept is that these novel and socially generated heritage performances or objects can be meaningful "without necessarily bringing the past 'faithfully' into the present" (Silverman 2015, 85). Considering our rapidly transforming and increasingly digital world – which will, in the long run, fundamentally

challenge our perceptions of the authentic and 'true' –, this idea of a somewhat 'modern', societally and globally informed notion of authenticity represents some much-needed change. While contemporary authenticity is aligned with my approach to understanding authenticity as fluid and dynamic and not necessarily grounded in the material, this concept does not apply to my case studies as these are only in a few instances part of local tourism, let alone affected by 'mass' communication or commercialisation.

In the case of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* practices, I sought to understand whether the dominant narratives surrounding *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen* may be rooted in ideas of memory-based authenticity or nostalgia. Here, Poullos argues, the 'hunt for authenticity' may result from a general dissatisfaction with the present. Because of this, people hold on to an illusion of "an 'authentic', supposedly more fulfilling, past [...] to repossess and re-experience something untouched by the present" (Poullos 2010, 171). While this notion of value and pastness being anchored in the unchanged material of heritage closely aligns with materialist approaches present in the local authorised discourses, I sought to further explore whether this was applicable to participants' experiences and engagements with heritage. Would people base their understanding of heritage on ideas of a 'better past' that is removed from the present? I aimed to find such notions during my analysis of interviews, but did not identify related expressions of dissatisfaction with the present. Such romanticising of the past only emerged in discussions of surface-heritagisation (see chapter 6), but these were exclusively related to official conservation practice.

The varying ways in which authenticity is understood in relation to both authorised and everyday forms of heritage raises important questions about the role of individuals in defining what is 'authentic'. Baillie et al. (2014) argue that authenticity is not an objective characteristic but something that is created through personal perceptions of significance. This aligns with my findings in that participants engaged with heritage through personal and familial practices that they considered authentic. This subjective understanding of authenticity challenges the need for rigid definitions, especially in contexts where heritage is created and lived in the everyday.

Even further, this is supported by Uzzell who argues that there is no such thing as a truly authentic recreation of the past or a certain atmosphere because people's "perceptions of the past will always be influenced by their present-day attitudes and values" (1989b, 44). This notion informs my understanding of everyday heritage as a form of engaging with and creating notions of the past that are by no means universal: How people may or may not attribute significance to the past, especially in everyday (home) environments, is heavily

influenced by personal backgrounds, values, experiences, knowledge, and ideals. In turn, this impacts perceptions of authenticity. The ways in which people attribute meaning to heritage on an ordinary and daily basis and through experiential and emotive engagements suggest that authenticity is constantly being negotiated and redefined by individuals, even within the realms of the authorised discourses where certain notions of 'authentic' heritage exist and are strictly rooted in the material.

How 'authenticity' comes to be defined is thus a matter of perspective; this has also become increasingly evident as part of this research and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7. Most approaches to authenticity particularly consider its relevance in light of managerial practice or tourism, with little focus on it as part of engaging with and creating relationships with the past as part of everyday life. This dissertation not only explores the role and perceptions of authenticity as part of the authorised discourses, i.e. in how they perceive the materiality of heritage. It also investigates authenticity from the angle of *Denkmale* that sit at the heart of non-authorised and ordinary engagements. In doing so, it examines the perceived authenticity of the same tangible object or site from two potentially fundamentally differing stances. While authenticity appeared relevant within the framework of the AHDs and related official heritage, it was not voiced by participants in relation to 'their' heritages. Therefore, I reflected on the different and potentially diverging ideas of authenticity to understand how people define and value their relationships and engagements with heritage, and the past more broadly.

Memory Studies

The theoretical framework of this dissertation draws from several aspects within the field of Memory Studies, including Collective and Social Memory, Communicative Memory, and Cultural Memory. Amongst others, Connerton (1989, 2) has argued for memory as an experiential aspect of our present that heavily relies on people's "knowledge of the past" as well as a "[causal connection] with past events and objects". According to Samuel, memory is ever-changing, "it is progressively altered from generation to generation" (2012 [1994], xxiii). Memory is deemed to be embedded "in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects" (Nora 1989). This relation to material or immaterial sites of reference has been considered particularly vital in the consolidation of collective and social memory (Connerton 1989, 2009; Halbwachs 1992; Nora 1989).

I approached the investigation of people's relationships with the past first from the angle of tangible heritage by interviewing them about their listed homes and their relationship to the

past in their daily lives. This follows Tolia-Kelly's (2004) notion of the role of visual and material culture as prompts for memory.

Building on Samuel's (2012 [1994]) conception of Theatres of Memory, she argues that home environments in particular serve as "key sites for the construction of histories and memories in the present, both individual and collective" (Tolia-Kelly 2004, 316). She further suggests that 'home' may be expanded to refer not only to current residences but also to places of origin (Tolia-Kelly 2004; see also Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 198). While this is more relevant for the study of diasporas, it nonetheless aided my differentiation between the ideas of 'home' that were expressed by my participants. Further, it allowed me to examine how people related to and constructed memories of home and how this impacted their perception of heritage and the past. This is also based on Wertsch (2004) who argues that memory constitutes a process of meaning-making and continuous engagement with what people consider significant.

Generally, heritage is understood to be a relative and relational construct, one that does not constitute an objective interpretation of the past. It is embedded and formed, often simultaneously and synchronously, by a multitude of stakeholders and falls subject to their interpretations as well as time, temporality, and change (Lowenthal 1996; Smith and Waterton 2009). Although it has been argued that "focus[ing] on actual memory, active remembering and the dissemination of memories" within "lived, everyday human experiences" (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 201) is central to Critical Heritage Studies, the link between heritage and memory remains relatively overlooked (Viejo-Rose 2015). This research aims to further illuminate this relationship: Drawing from concepts such as collective and social memory, it seeks to explore and interpret individuals' perceptions and experiences of the past in their everyday lives.

Collective and Social Memory

In formulating the concept of collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1992; see also Assmann 2006) argued that memory is a fundamentally social construct, formed in people's constant referencing to their immediate surroundings. To him, memory is embodied in these 'social environments' or 'frameworks', so collective memory cannot exist without and beyond people (Halbwachs 1992, 48). Similarly, Samuel also argues that memory is "far from being merely a passive receptacle or storage system" (2012 [1994], xxiii). The relevance of memory as an active and constant agent in the formation and experience of individual, everyday heritages is seen in the answers given by participants during our interviews,

particularly in the way they emphasised the relationship between them and certain objects, practices, and places – but also people.

Collective and Social Memory studies have been widely applied to archaeological and anthropological research to investigate how individuals "construct a sense of the past" (Confino 1997, 1386). The concept of social memory transcends the original idea of collective memory (Halbwachs 1992), which assumes "a homogeneity that is rarely, if ever, present" (Beiner 2017). Instead, it is to be understood as "the actions and practices of individuals (Fowler et al. 2010; see also Wilce 2002)". Such homogeneity has also not been evident in my research, as participants' perceptions of heritage and the past were rooted in highly individualistic memory constructs. I therefore situate my work predominantly within social memory studies.

The construction of social memory involves practices such as "commemoration and monument building and general forms like tradition, myth, or identity" (Olick and Robbins 1998, 106). It therefore encompasses the various forms of heritage and heritage-making discussed in this dissertation. Consciously or unconsciously, "individuals pass on their behaviors and attitudes to others in various contexts but especially through emotional and practical ties", which are brought to life in their engagement with the tangible past around them (Anderlini, Gerardi and Lagunoff 2009, 559). Social memory thus presents an ideal angle from which to explore the myriad of engagements with heritage that are taking place through living with(in) listed buildings and environments.

In arguing that the term 'social memory' equally requires the need for the concept of 'social forgetting', Beiner (2018) highlights the active nature of memory, which is key in our study of the past. This research draws from this idea of memory as a formative element of heritage (creation). It explores the variety of everyday heritages discussed in this thesis from the understanding that embodied memory and selective forgetting allow for the past to be experienced, re-lived, transformed, and transformative.

Communicative and Cultural Memory

Social memory is also defined "broadly as "the connective structure of societies" (Assmann 1992, 293)" and as "the means by which information is transmitted" among groups and individuals, as well as between generations (Crumley 2002 in Anderlini, Gerardi and Lagunoff 2009). Such practices of sharing and shared memories as a means of communicating knowledge, narratives, and communal affiliations have been observed with my participants throughout this study and were further affirmed during several interviews.

In this regard, I particularly draw from Aleida and Jan Assmann's conceptions of communicative and cultural memory (Assmann 1995 [1988]; Assmann 2006). Though paralleling Halbwachs' idea of collective memory, communicative memory refers to memories of the recent past and is specifically centred around the informal transmission of generational information (Assmann 2011; Vansina 1985). In this case, sharing memories is done between people via daily interactions and conversation which I have also observed in numerous instances during my conversations with participants as well as the heritage festivals I attended. This further emphasises the relevance of everydayness in the formation of and interrelationship between memory and heritage in my research. Communicative memory constitutes an embodied form of memory, which, as Assmann (2011, 22) has argued, only lasts for a maximum of 100 years or a few generations. It therefore ties in well with those case studies and everyday heritages mainly centred around familial practices, identities, and narratives.

Contrasting to this is cultural memory which is more closely tied to the material, including objects, sites, institutions, and environments. Being anchored within these 'things', cultural memory enables practices and processes of remembrance related to the distant past as opposed to being linked with recent events or occurrences (Assmann 2011). I argue that such disembodied memory is predominantly visible in and facilitated by the local authorised discourses, the *Denkmalschutzamt*. Nonetheless, this is not mutually exclusive with individual conceptions and engagements with non-authorised heritages, as I have found it to also be present in communal practices and conceptions of individual-communal heritage in everyday environments.

Memory has been widely debated as being problematic in its representation and use within the AHDs in that it primarily reflects a "fear of forgetting" (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2014, 9). This is shown in the careful consideration of how past events may be memorialised and embodied through the discourses' central focus on "the selection, appropriation, and/or construction of sites, monuments, memorials etc." (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2014, 9; see also Harrison 2013, 166ff). Tamm (2013) further suggests that this is evidence for the overarching authorised conception that the past and present are disconnected. Through the preservation of material elements of the past and their endurance into the present, tangible heritage is carried into the current day and future. However, in this static material transference, I argue it simultaneously remains firmly anchored in the past – at least according to the AHDs.

This research, however, is also concerned with understanding how the same material heritage may be perceived from different angles, namely heritage management and the people who live in and around these respective houses or living environments. The data

collected suggests that what may be considered to belong strictly to the past by one may simultaneously constitute an active agent of heritage- and identity-formation in the present to another.

Interviews with my participants revolved around their perceptions of heritage and the past, which were brought forward through voicing individual and collective – or, rather, social – memories. Communicative memory was evident from the clear vocalisation of recollections and stories that revolved around familial pasts, notions of kinship, or other relationships with people and environments in the recent past. Participants also communicated aspects of cultural memory by making references to authorised tangible heritage and its official interpretation, initiatives run by the *Denkmalschutzamt*, local museums, or other forms of regional tourism facilitated by the local AHDs.

Memory Claims

I examined the different expressions of memory in this thesis in accordance with Connerton's (1989) three classes of memory claim. As part of this, he distinguishes between personal memory claims, cognitive memory, and habitual memory, albeit only the first two are present in the participant data collected.

1. **Personal memory claims** refer to “acts of remembering that take as their object one’s life history” (Connerton 1989, 22), thus, they include personal memories (e.g. individual-related actions, timelines, events, places) embedded in a notion of a personal past. These memory claims are vital to people’s narratives, as these outline personal histories as constitutive for identity – “our conception of our own character and potentialities is to a large extent determined by the way in which we view our own past actions” (Connerton 1989, 22).
2. **Cognitive memory** describes remembrance in the form of being able to recollect meanings, including those of “words, or lines of verse, or jokes, or stories, or the lay-out of a city, [...] or facts about the future” (Connerton 1989, 22). These are predominantly factually based.
3. **Habitual memory** refers to “simply having the capacity to reproduce a certain performance” (Connerton 1989, 22), for example reading or writing, or driving a car. While people may not know where or when they acquired the respective skillset, Connerton (1989, 23) suggests that it is through the performance itself that they recognise and can demonstrate that they actually remember.

The difference between the first two and the third memory type is that the latter requires ‘acting out’ rather than ‘remembering’. While habitual memory has not been observed as part of this research, personal and cognitive memories have been voiced as part of the interviewing process and appear relevant for the creation and experience of everyday heritages. I made use of these categorisations of different types of memory to understand what kinds of recollections were featured in people’s lives and how this affected their understanding of heritage in listed home environments: Which aspects of their past and heritage were discussed making personal memory claims over cognitive ones and vice versa? What does this suggest about their perception of the past in these instances?

Place Attachment or Sense of Place

Place attachment or ‘sense of place’ is considered vital for understanding people’s connections to objects, places, sites, and landscapes within their direct environment (Jones 2017; Schofield and Szymanski 2011). As such, it is particularly concerned with the social value of places in constructing and experiencing heritage. Concretely, place attachment has been defined as “the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space [...] that provides the basis for the individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment” (Low 1992, 165). In part due to this, it has been argued that place attachment or ‘sense of place’ is particularly appropriate for investigating people’s relationships with heritage as part of their lived, everyday experiences (Apaydin 2017, 493). Schofield and Szymanski (2011, 4) suggest that people’s knowledge of place is relative and may be formed over both short or long periods, i.e. from a matter of months to over many generations.

Understanding the importance of and participants’ attachment to local places and sites constitutes a central aspect of this work, as it helps to understand how they perceive and engage with local heritage sites and objects within their direct home environments. For these reasons, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, notions of place attachment and sense of place have also been featured in recent studies on everyday heritage.

For the study of place attachment or ‘sense of place’, I applied Scannell and Gifford’s (2010, 2ff) three-dimensional framework to examine the different aspects of place investigated in this work. It outlines the following three organisational categories:

1. **Actor:** This refers to the attached person. This dimension is concerned with understanding the extent of attachment as rooted in individual and collective meanings.

2. **Psychological Process:** This dimension defines how attachment is manifested via affect, cognition, and behaviour.
3. **Place Dimension:** This outlines the 'thing' or place of the actor's attachment as well as its nature.

In this research, my participants constitute the actors. This dimension is based on an examination of their experiences with living in and around listed heritage sites and places; these may be individually or collectively informed. In analysing the psychological process dimension, I mainly explore cognition and affect, since behaviours were difficult to observe in the majority of instances due to the remote nature of data collection at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. Affect is reflected in the range of emotions attributed to sites and places as voiced by participants during the interviews. In this regard, my work was also aimed at understanding how these affects were formed and influenced by external factors, specifically the local authorised discourses. Cognition was explored in light of people's association with place: Here, I was interested in the memories and significance people ascribed to and associated with the respective buildings and (home or wider) environments. This dimension was also relevant for investigating participants' place identities. As part of the place dimension, I outlined the respective places, sites, objects, or environments mentioned during conversations.

The 'Democratic Turn' in Heritage Studies

In recent years, (Critical) Heritage Studies have shifted from a focus on materiality to "placing humans and their practices on the centre stage" (Hølleland and Skrede 2018, 827; Ireland et al. 2020, 2). This movement is frequently referred to as the 'democratic turn'. Among other concerns, it raises the necessity of more sustainable and inclusive heritage practices where minorities and marginalised communities in particular become actively involved in managerial evaluation and monitoring practices (Avrami et al. 2019; Fatorić and Egberts 2020; Janssen et al. 2017; Jones 2017). As critically reflected on by Karl (2020), this shift is argued to have taken place within the German and Austrian AHDs. However, its discourse remains predominantly exclusive to experts, policy-makers, national and state-wide stakeholders. While not all democratic perspectives on heritage included in this 'democratic turn' are deeply relevant to this work – since it does not aim to formulate new managerial approaches – my research is built on this overarching notion that people and their engagements with the past are central to Critical Heritage Studies.

Bouchenaki, for instance, presents a 'holistic heritage approach' as part of which tangible heritage is considered "in its wider context" (2007, 109). In doing so, he aims to better acknowledge and understand its relation to communities and their "spiritual, political, or social values" ascribed to heritage objects and places (Bouchenaki 2007, 109). As with the majority of 'democratic' concepts, however, this holistic heritage approach is largely community-oriented which neglects perspectives on heritage as grounded in non-marginalised and individual perceptions. It appears to primarily take into account the 'bigger picture' of how heritage affects people. I nonetheless draw from its fundamental idea of investigating heritage within this understanding of relationality, especially with regard to understanding participants' relationships with their listed homes beyond the definitions and values presented by the local AHDs.

Holtorf and Fairclough further made a case for critically scrutinising the relevance of "community" in overall heritage approaches: "contemporary society has been changing so drastically over the past few decades that in many parts of Europe and elsewhere it no longer possesses the degree of cultural homogeneity that a unifying and distinctive collective identity requires" (2013, 198). This further connects to my thought on "community" heritage as discussed by Mydland and Grahn (2012) – can this notion of communal and collective culture and identity be applied to any case or region? Considering the case studies on which this research is based, it soon became evident that whilst in some remote, oftentimes rural places, the concept of community and shared identity are present, the reality of most other instances is different. Particularly in these modern and increasingly globalised times, there is a flux of people and a mix of backgrounds, values, and beliefs – due to this, universal understandings of identity and community are not necessarily present in the majority of (semi-/urbanised) regions. Fojut takes this one step further in contending that the celebration of "exclusive collective identities based on the notion of a shared past" may also become the cause of larger issues and divisions between social groups in "contemporary multicultural societies" (2009, 18; also Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 198).

For the 'democratic turn' in Heritage Studies to truly become more equal, one would have to take these perspectives and forms of heritage-making into account, and base new approaches towards meaning, values, and significance on those "who have interlinkage with heritage" (Apaydin 2017, 498). As such, a holistic reconceptualisation of heritage will need to come from the bottom up, where relationships between people, memories, objects, and sites are acknowledged and explored to investigate the "creation of unofficial forms of heritage (usually) at the local level" (Harrison 2010, 8). The latter lies at the heart of my research and its exploration of the intersections between authorised and non-authorised heritage in daily

life. Some scholars argue that such bottom-up approaches can primarily be achieved from community-led initiatives (see, for instance, Jones 2017). However, I also wonder about those instances in which there is no community movement, or where perceptions of heritage are widely disputed within social groups. It also puts particular focus and emphasis on communal-based heritages, thereby excluding more small-scale or individual-centred forms.

Further, the ‘democratic turn’ in Heritage Studies and the bottom-up initiatives that often accompany its approaches are not truly democratic in the strictest sense, since democracy lies in assessing and acknowledging the majority of votes and taking action accordingly. The reconceptualisation and reworking of heritage suggested as part of the ‘democratic turn’ should rather be considered in terms of enabling the creation of equal opportunity instead of being fundamentally democratic. This may also include less community-oriented approaches to heritage and thus shed light on individual heritage expressions as explored in this work. In line with Karl (2020), this can foster more inclusive practices and public discourse on heritage beyond the AHDs.

In stark contrast to this (perceived) notion of holistic approaches to Heritage Studies stands common managerial practice: the authorised discourses as a heavily institutionalised movement are mainly top-down. Their hierarchical structure is shown through an expert-waged, systematic classification of heritage objects and places, and the subsequent “promotion of particular places [...] as an embodiment of regional, national or international values” (Harrison 2010, 8). As discussed throughout this chapter and dissertation, this is reflective also of the local AHDs outlined in my work. In those cases where the authorised discourses changed their conservation strategies to more participatory practices which engage “more diverse stakeholders” (Avrami and Mason 2019, 22), the dominant aim remains the translation of those broader communal and social values into more official interpretations of heritage significance. As a result, these “can be preserved through professional protection, planning and management, and intervention” (Avrami and Mason 2019, 22). Here, too, I see reflected the strategies and approaches communicated by the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutzamt*, which I will address in chapters 6 and 7.

Despite these values-based approaches being an increasingly popular method of challenging and improving authorised evaluation processes for identifying and assessing heritage values (Avrami and Mason 2019, 53; De la Torre et al. 2005; Ireland et al. 2020, 7), some scholars have moved away from the prevailing focus on preserving the fabric and materiality of heritage (see Poullos 2010, 175ff.). I will present these below, as these concepts were crucial in informing my approaches to understanding how heritage is perceived and

experienced not only from the view of the local authorised discourses, but especially by the people that live within and around *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen*.

One such person is Poullos, who proposes an alternative option through his 'living heritage approach' (Ireland et al. 2020, 7; Poullos 2010, 2011) as a critical response to values-based heritage management. To him, the latter is insufficient in addressing the "needs and rights of the present generation" (Avrami and Mason 2019, 53). Poullos' living heritage concept centres around a more "creative engagement with place narratives and materials" (Ireland et al. 2020, 7) over the fixed preservation of specific notions of the past.

Closely linked to living heritage is the idea of continuity, especially concerning the original function of a heritage object or site; it also embraces change "in the context of continuity" (Poullos 2010, 175). Within this concept, continuity is viewed from a communal perspective and relationship with heritage: it is assumed to lie in the care of an object, site, or place "as expressed through (traditional) knowledge, management systems, and maintenance practices", but can also be seen in the evolution and constant progression of heritage expressions "in response to changing circumstances" (Poullos 2014, 21). In this light, change is accepted because it reflects the dynamic of our world and society at an international, national, and regional level (Poullos 2010, 175). The importance of fabric to heritage preservation fades into the background, and a spotlight is set on "guaranteeing the relevance of heritage to the contemporary society" (Poullos 2014, 23; Wijesuriya 2005, 37) through an upkeep of often predominantly intangible values. According to Poullos, transformation or adaptation is essential to and inseparable from continuity in that it ensures the "survival and continuation of a living heritage site over the course of time to present" (Poullos 2010, 175; see also Poullos 2011). Due to the changes to the material, however, this conception of living heritage and transformative heritage practice is less likely to be accepted within the authorised discourses and managerial spheres (Poullos 2010, 179).

The theoretical framework of this work is built on various notions essential to Poullos' living heritage approach: Within my analyses of the local *Denkmalschutz*, I found that very concrete ideas of 'heritage' are preserved as tangible elements in and for the present. Because these strictly conserved and managed heritage buildings and places are not merely visited, but actually lived in, current policy and practice tend to clash with people's needs. It can be argued that heritage management approaches may, therefore, require an update. Ideally, any new approaches to such lived-in heritage should consider alternative expressions and forms of heritage-making as well. Particularly when heritage is engaged with on a daily and lived basis, change is inevitable. Life leads to – and requires – transformation. Change constitutes an essential part of people's realities in their

relationships with heritage and should hence be included in managerial approaches. In light of these overlapping considerations, I examined whether the living heritage approach may fit into my approaches to this research, as discussed below.

Taking centre stage within living heritage are the people, specifically communities as a whole. Poullos argues that these create and sustain heritage through various processes of continuity whilst maintaining the 'original' connection with a site or object. Moreover, this heritage constitutes an integral part of a community's present "in terms of its identity, pride, self-esteem, structure, and well-being" (Poullos 2014, 21). In this regard, the living heritage approach does not fit into the framework of this research. Although I joined and observed a few local communally organised heritage festivals and events, this work revolves around individual participants and their relationship with heritage in their daily lives. In several instances, therefore, I was unable to discern an 'original' connection with certain buildings or places that were universally perceived as such across the wider town communities. Most participants vocalised an individual connection to their homes as, well, their home.

Moreover, Poullos asserts that living heritage groups feel an intrinsic obligation towards tending to this heritage based on their "strong sense of ownership/custodianship" (Poullos 2014, 21; read more in Poullos 2011; Wijesuriya 2005, 30, 37). While this may be true in some cases discussed in this research (see chapters 6, 7 and 8), this nonetheless presumes that heritage matters to the majority of people within a community or social group – and that the urge to preserve, engage with, and continuously reestablish connections to heritage objects, places, or environments is a given. This presumption is not yet sufficiently supported by heritage ethnography. Poullos, therefore, essentialises certain relationships to heritage, which will be discussed in chapter 8. I drew from this notion to investigate participants' perception of heritage in their daily lives, as I sought to understand whether they too would inherently attribute meaning and significance to it.

The living heritage approach calls for an emphasis on the present because the past is considered to reside in and be part of and continually (re)negotiated in the present (Poullos 2008; Poullos 2014; Wijesuriya 2005). As Holtorf and Fairclough say, "something new always emerges out of the transformation of the old" (2013, 199), a notion that I have sought to explore in the interview process, both with regard to alterations made to the physical fabric of listed homes and concerning unofficial heritages such as family traditions.

And so the democratic turn in Heritage Studies has begun to distance itself from the material and is heading towards an exploration of how people attribute and invest meaning and significance to heritage, how they interpret it, and how this may have an impact on their

lives (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 198). As such, this aligns with the aims and objectives of this work.

In this emerging critical assessment of the relevance of the 'strictly material' to people and, ultimately, heritage valuation from different standpoints, scholars furthermore have come to realise that "not all heritage is for keeping" (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 199; see also Holtorf 2006). In fact, the scope and significance of heritage reach beyond its material conservation, and acts of transformation, destruction, replication, or replacement all constitute different ways and nuances to how it is used, interpreted, and changed (Holtorf 2006). These perspectives allowed me to critically analyse the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* to assess whether their policies and practices reflect this recent turn in the field of heritage. However, their mission remains the conservation of physical aspects of the past – as unaltered as possible. Nonetheless, these recent critical engagements with the materiality of heritage informed my exploration of how individuals related to the same authorised tangible heritage. It was particularly relevant in examining how alterations, replacements, or destruction may impact their perception and valuation of heritage.

The 'new heritage paradigm' which unfolded over the last two decades (Araoz 2011; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013) reflects a focus on a heritage that is created through people's interaction with each other and the world around them (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 198). It should be noted, however, that the latter is largely considered a passive partner, merely a foil in this interaction and engagement. Scholars who argue for this 'new heritage' suggest that "all that exists around us [...] is at some level heritage" (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, 199).

This paradigm informed my approaches towards situating my work within the idea of everyday heritage. Using this paradigm as a theoretical basis, I challenge and critically reflect on those common managerial aspirations of conservation-driven, authorised practice and notions of heritage as something that always requires (and deserves) preservation and care. As such, I argue that not all forms of heritage can and need to be conserved as static and fixed entities through this 'official' process. From interviews arose a variety of personal, everyday heritages that were rooted in notions of change or insignificance, or simply existed beyond the authorised discourses, for instance familial traditions or personal memories and identities rooted in a sense of individuality and removal from the grasp of heritage management. Such heritages cannot and should not be preserved in accordance with the dominant material-based approaches to heritage conservation led by the local *Denkmalschutz* authorities in my case study area.

Everyday Heritage

The premise of this research is that heritage is more than merely a sociopolitical instrument. It constitutes an integral part of people's everyday lives and provides insights into how individuals "attribute value and express a sense of care for special objects, places, and practices" (Harrison 2015, 39). This is not to say that heritage is universally meaningful to every single person, and the potential absence of interest in and care for the past is equally as significant for a nuanced understanding of how heritage is made and valued in daily life.

In exploring 'alternative' forms of heritage in this dissertation, I particularly draw from Smith who suggested that heritage formation may occur in 'trivial' environments and engagements in the everyday, such as personal recollections of circumstances or events, looking through old photographs, or holding conversations "across the dining room table [...] about familial histories and so on" (Smith 2021, 30). It was such expressions of personal heritage I sought to explore via semi-structured interviews and participant observation. However, the latter fell short in this research due to the restrictions on in-person data collection imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic (see also chapter 3).

Everyday heritage has not been formally defined as a concept within Heritage Studies. Although the term has emerged in a range of academic publications in recent years, its parameters are not clearly defined. It has been concretely thematised by Bonnin and Moore-Cherry (2023) in their research on livelihood-building and market trading in Dublin, Giombini (2020) and Mosler (2019) in their studies on urban spaces and place-making processes, and Lekakis and Dragouni in their investigation of rural heritage on the island of Naxos (2020).

The following paragraphs will introduce these studies in relation to my work. They will be discussed in even greater detail and differentiated between each other and my dissertation research in chapter 5. There, I will also more deeply contextualise them with similar works on heritage formation either in everyday life or through individuals or the wider public, including Buchli's *An Archaeology of Socialism* (1999), Merriman's *Beyond the Glass Case* (1992) and Miller's *The Comfort of Things* (2008). Again, these are to be outlined and connected here and discussed at greater length in chapter 5. This will also include a discussion of the terminology of everyday heritage.

Previous Work on Everyday Heritage

The idea of everyday heritage, in my understanding, centres around how individuals engage with heritage in their daily lives. Mosler (2019) and Giombini (2020) examine this interaction

through the lens of urban spaces and place-making, emphasising the role of historic environments in creating lived experiences. Mosler, for instance, suggests that everyday heritage is formed through continuous engagement with one's environment, where value is attributed more to its functionality than to its historical significance. In contrast, Giombini (2020) argues that while everyday heritage may be tied to official heritage sites, its value often stems from its aesthetic and symbolic resonance within daily routines. However, she also suggests that familiarity leads to banality, arguing that being surrounded by and continuously engaging with heritage may gradually diminish its significance. This diverges from my perspective on everyday heritage, as I argue that it can exist in the ordinary without losing its importance and deep relevance for people. My research demonstrates that the 'alternative' forms of heritage people create and engage with in their everyday lives are often not acknowledged by the authorised discourses, yet these remain deeply important to both an individual and collective sense of place, memory, and identity. Often, it is also the continued and continuous engagements with (tangible and intangible) heritage that further strengthen its relevance and value.

Lekakis and Dragouni (2020) explore everyday heritage in rural contexts in Greece, with an emphasis on community-driven practices surrounding abandoned or semi-abandoned sites. While my research shares their focus on people's engagement with their daily environments, it differs in scale and focus. My work centres on individual relationships with (semi-)authorised heritage, which may be interwoven with and influenced by – but not limited to – authorised heritage definitions and practices. It differs from Lekakis and Dragouni's approaches to everyday heritage in that it emphasises how people live within and around officially sanctioned heritage environments. Further, aspects of abandonment or ruination are not relevant to this work. Their research also centred around an entire island, namely Naxos, and its community, whereas my case studies were spread across different regions and communities in Germany.

The idea of everyday heritage has also been applied to non-authorised, mundane spaces, with studies such as Bonnin and Moore-Cherry (2023) exploring its role in urban environments. In their work, everyday heritage is linked to marginalised communities, such as market traders in Dublin's Moore Street, where livelihood-building is framed as a heritage worthy of preservation. They argue for the official recognition of these spaces, thus aligning with broader efforts to support grassroots heritage movements and to challenge neoliberal urban transformations (Bonnin and Moore-Cherry 2023; Cooper et al. 2022). However, my research differs in that it expands the notion of everyday heritage to include interactions with officialised heritage, such as listed buildings, within daily life.

While Bonnin and Moore-Cherry advocate for the preservation of marginalised everyday practices, my approach resonates more closely with the ideas of Holtorf and Fairclough (2013). In line with them, I argue that not all forms of heritage, particularly those embedded in everyday life, need to be preserved. In chapter 7, I will further explore how unauthorised, everyday heritage is deeply anchored in change, and that its transient nature does not align with authorised preservation efforts. Others, such as Hawke (2012), have also argued for including non-authorised heritages within the AHDs. However, I question this approach, particularly in relation to recent initiatives published by Historic England.

In February 2022, Historic England introduced their *Everyday Heritage Grants: Celebrating Working Class Histories* initiative, aimed at highlighting public spaces and working-class histories often overlooked in the dominant heritage discourses. This grant encourages projects that connect personal and community stories to historic places by focusing on how these spaces contribute to understanding everyday life (Historic England 2022a, 2022b). It emphasises recognising and preserving tangible remnants of the past central to working-class histories. The initiative frames everyday heritage as fundamentally linked to the physical world and seeks to “bring collective and shared histories back to life” through emphasising historic, working-class sites (Huddleston 2022).

However, this approach reflects a broader institutional tendency of framing everyday heritage within the parameters of authorised heritage discourses. Historic England’s focus on working-class histories and tangible remnants of the past aligns with their role as a managerial authority overseeing the preservation and official recognition of heritage. While their initiative aims to democratise heritage recognition and support grassroots efforts, it remains rooted in a top-down framework that may limit the scope of what can be considered ‘everyday heritage’. This perspective contrasts with how I delineate and explore it in this thesis, as I argue for everyday heritage as an ongoing, personal engagement with spaces and objects in the present that are not necessarily tied to any institutional recognition. My research highlights the need for an understanding of everyday heritage that moves beyond authorised acknowledgement and comprises personal, intangible, and ephemeral aspects that are often overlooked in managerial approaches.

While these efforts may seem to democratise heritage, I argue that they risk formalising what is inherently fluid and dynamic. Everyday heritage, by nature, thrives in its informality and ability to adapt and change with the lived experiences of individuals and communities. When such practices are institutionalised, as seen in Historic England’s initiatives, they may merely be frozen into static representations that fit within the Authorised Heritage

Discourses. This can undermine their individual and communal value, which often rests precisely in their unregulated, evolving expressions of identity and place attachment. Rather than attempting to include these practices within formal heritage management, I contend that their significance should simply be acknowledged, allowing them to exist outside of officially sanctioned frameworks.

This also applies to Bonnin and Moore-Cherry's study which places everyday heritage within the notion of a 'heritage from below'. Here, they position everyday heritage as both an expression of marginalised urban experiences and something to be recognised by local authorities. While their approach advocates for recognition and protection, I contend that formalising or institutionalising non-authorised heritage risks altering its fundamental nature, particularly in the case studies examined in this thesis. The everyday heritages discussed here are not rooted in oppression or the overarching desire for official recognition. Instead, they exist in a space where authorised and non-authorised expressions of heritage coexist and evolve, as is seen in communal heritage practices in Baden-Württemberg (see chapter 8). These showcase a negotiation between authorised policies and practices and informal, everyday engagements with heritage that transcends institutional boundaries.

Similar Research

Beyond such studies referring to 'everyday heritage' as a concrete term, I draw from several similar studies and conceptualisations in building my understanding of the idea of everyday heritage. One such notion is Poullos' (2010, 2011, 2014) living heritage approach, which has been addressed extensively in the *Democratic Turn* section in this chapter. However, as I argue throughout this thesis, Poullos' emphasis on continuity does not fully capture the forms of everyday heritage that emerged in my case studies. My data suggests that, for many participants, everyday heritage is rooted in disruption rather than continuity. This is especially evident in cases where the past is adapted to fit personal or communal identities, narratives, or senses of place in the present, rather than preserving original functions or meanings. In contrast to Poullos' approach, which is community-centric and concerned with the sustained relevance of heritage objects or sites, the heritage engagements observed in my work often revolve around personal, individualised interpretations of the past that do not necessarily maintain any 'original' connection to objects, sites, or places.

Nevertheless, Poullos' living heritage approach remains relevant to my work, particularly in its acknowledgement of the tensions between the AHDs and non-expert communities. These are central to the everyday heritage explored in this thesis, particularly in the context of living in and around listed buildings and environments governed by

heritage regulations. As Poullos highlights, material change is an inevitable aspect of heritage engagement, which I address in chapters 6 and 7. My work explores how participants navigate material change and adaptation, not only in response to the authorised discourses but also as part of their everyday heritage engagements, where personal significance often diverges from managerial heritage values.

Similarly, Nick Merriman's *Beyond the Glass Case* (1991) seeks to understand the social role of heritage by examining how the past is perceived and engaged with by the public, particularly within formal museum contexts. While Merriman's research offers valuable insights into public attitudes toward the past, my work differs significantly in its focus. Merriman's large-scale survey approach treats heritage engagement as primarily a matter of public experience, while my research narrows this focus to the individual level, examining how people living in listed buildings interact with heritage daily. Furthermore, the perceptions of the past that emerged from my data contrast with Merriman's findings. While his study suggests that many people hold negative, non-nostalgic views of the past, my participants demonstrate a more complex, nuanced relationship with heritage. These relationships are shaped not only by broad socioeconomic factors, as Merriman suggests, but also by personal, individual engagements with the past that move beyond simplistic notions of nostalgia or progress.

Merriman's binary distinction between authorised and non-authorised forms of heritage is also not directly applicable to my work. While he associates non-authorised heritage with fringe activities such as treasure hunting or the belief in UFOs, my research focuses on subtler, more personal forms of non-authorised heritage engagements. These include, for example, how the way individuals experience their homes or interact with everyday objects, such as heirlooms or photographs, forms part of their everyday heritage. These engagements are not framed by official narratives but are deeply embedded in daily life and personal history, illustrating the range and diversity of heritage experiences and engagements that exist outside of formal institutional contexts. Moreover, I challenge Merriman's claim that non-authorised engagements are driven mainly by romanticism or a lack of formal education. As seen in my participant data, many are well-educated on local and global heritage discourses, yet choose to engage with the past in ways that reflect their own identities and values, independent of the AHDs.

Building on this critique, Daniel Miller's *The Comfort of Things* (2008) offers a useful perspective for understanding everyday heritage. Miller's exploration of how people use material possessions to construct personal narratives around the past is particularly relevant

to my research. While his case studies are not set within heritage sites or environments managed by official heritage authorities, his analysis of the intimate relationships between people and objects mirrors the ways in which my participants engage with the past in their homes. Just as Miller's, my participants use everyday objects to create and uphold personal meanings and connections to the past. However, the context of living within listed buildings adds another layer to this dynamic, where the official recognition of heritage often intersects with or complicates these personal engagements.

My research diverges from his in the broader social and spatial context of heritage. Miller's study finds that notions of community or collectivity are largely irrelevant to his participants, whose material engagements are more individualistic. In contrast, my case studies demonstrate that everyday heritage, even when it is highly personal, is often linked to a broader sense of community, especially in rural heritage environments largely dominated by managerial policy and practice. Living within *Gesamtanlagen*, for example, often connects participants to a collective heritage narrative, even if their personal interactions with this are individual and mundane in nature. The intersection of individual and communal heritages will be discussed further in chapter 8.

So far in this chapter, I outlined in depth the range of concepts, themes, and frameworks that informed the development of my ideas and approaches. In the following sections, I aim to break down additional components central to my exploration of everyday heritage. While these may have already been thematised in the preceding sections and subsections, I want to highlight their particular relevance to my approaches to further understanding and expanding the idea of everyday heritage. Among others, I will address additional concerns regarding heritage formation and meaning-making, narratives and (social) values, community, and the Authorised Heritage Discourses in light of everyday heritage.

Additional Relevant Concepts and Concerns

Smith argues for the existence of "individual heritage performances" outside the Authorised Heritage Discourses which serve to create narratives surrounding "meaning and knowledge" (2021, 31). While I have discussed the performative nature of heritage earlier in this chapter, I want to draw from this again to emphasise the relevance of relational heritage creation and narrative-building for my understanding of everyday heritage. First and foremost, Smith's argument aligns with my work in that it emphasises the importance of approaching heritage from a fundamental, individually-based level that may not (or only tangentially) be related to the AHDs.

As DeSilvey (2006), I argue that non-authorised and everyday heritages can be engaged with and remembered through both routine interactions as well as non-static processes, such as change, death, and decay (see also Arlotta 2019, 10), which have been observed and remarked on by participants during the interviewing process. This perspective thus significantly differs from prevailing conceptions derived from the authorised discourses, where a more fixed, materially consistent heritage is preferred (see Sharma 2019).

Beyond providing a different view on heritage-making and the role of everyday heritage, it shares new perspectives on those processes of continuity and change which may not be acknowledged and recognised by the AHDs. For example, this may include the continued inhabitation of family homes, or take the form of heirlooms passed down for generations as has been one of the foci of this work. As Rogers emphasises, (societal) values are imbued onto tangible aspects of people's daily lives and "expressed by change, multiple uses and sensory experiences, traditions, and interpersonal relationships" (2019, 176). This research presents and reflects on these material and immaterial (ongoing) consequences of people's relationships and engagements with and in daily life.

I further situate my approaches to exploring everyday heritage in this research in Bartolini's and DeSilvey's findings which suggest that heritage is not fixed in time and instead represents an "ongoing mechanism that is produced relationally" (Bartolini and DeSilvey 2019, 305; Smith 2021, 31). From these continuous "long-term processes of meaning-making" in the present (Apaydin 2017, 504) arise experiences and perspectives on heritage objects and sites which largely and fundamentally differ from those 'official' values and relevance claimed and presented through the authorised discourses (see also Smith 2006; Waterton 2005). I apply this notion by comparing and contrasting not only perceptions of the past and heritage in everyday environments, but also exploring alternative heritages which may be formed and engaged with in these environments, yet which are not related to the authorised conceptions of heritage rooted in the local AHDs.

Narratives, Meaning, (Social) Values

Therefore, this research draws from semi-structured interviews with ordinary people (see chapter 3), discussing their personal narratives surrounding the past and their listed home (environments). In doing so, I investigate how they position themselves within their notions of past-present-future, and examine how they verbalise memories and ideas linked to personal, familial, and communal pasts – or objects and places that constitute part of their daily life. I conduct and analyse this study following Harvey's argument that all people and societies form relationships with their past ("even those which have chosen to ignore it";

Harvey 2001, 320). These relationships and engagements can be uncovered through investigating how people talk about and present the past, but also in reflecting on “what they forget, remember, memorialize and/or fake” (Harvey 2001, 320).

While this also applies to officialised and institutionalised forms of heritage, I consider this particularly insightful from an everyday, mundane perspective: For an ordinary individual living in a *Denkmal* environment, there is no *need* to present or follow a particular national, regional, or ideological narrative. Hence, my research focused mainly on the individual and how they place themselves within personal perceptions of the past as linked to their immediate, everyday surroundings. I found this particularly interesting in light of the AHDs-dominated environments in which this research was conducted: here, there are indeed pre-existing and dominant narratives of the history and heritage of specific houses, neighbourhoods, towns, regions, et cetera. Drawing from Harvey’s notions of (sub)conscious choices on forgetting, remembering, memorialising, and faking in my analyses of interviews, I sought to explore not only how individual, everyday, personal pasts are presented overall, but also how these are embedded and expressed in these institutionally dominated home environments. Which aspects of the authorised narratives are included, forgotten, approved, diminished, or rejected? What is memorialised in tangible objects, abstract memories, and personal stories?

In examining these questions, I seek to understand the (social) values and significance people ascribe to certain things which are ultimately transformed into heritage (see also Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Smith 2006; Waterton 2005). This can be done by investigating the acts and attitudes through which people engage and subsequently describe their relationship with the past in the present, which is what I have sought to do in this research.

According to some scholars, including Boyd et al. (1996), heritage becomes relevant and significant to certain groups or individuals through claims of ‘cognitive ownership’. These represent links “between people and place defined by some form of intellectual, conceptual or spiritual meaning” attached to sites and places (Boyd et al. 1996, 124-5). While such connections may be observed in other case studies or regions, the research data collected from participants and legislation does not suggest their presence. Further, it appears that Boyd’s concept of cognitive ownership is linked more to consciously constructed associations with specific heritage places that are engaged with from a distance as opposed to daily interactions and relationships formed with heritage.

As I will discuss throughout the course of this dissertation, the ‘alternative’, everyday heritages encountered and outlined through this research appear to be fundamentally and continually created in the present. While this notion has been examined

by scholars, such as Bartolini and DeSilvey, most work has done so with the underlying notion that heritage in the present is made for the future (2019, 305; see Harrison 2015 for a discussion on futurology; also read Harvey 2001, 320 who argues that all heritage is “produced completely in the present”). In line with this, Harrison and many others, advocate for using heritage “to both materially and discursively remake both ourselves and the world in the present, in anticipation of an outcome that will help constitute a specific (social, economic, or ecological) resource *in and for* the future” (Harrison 2015, 35; see also Harrison 2013a; Holtorf 2013; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Holtorf and Högberg 2013).

However, I distance myself from these stances because I understand everyday heritage as being removed from having to serve a specific purpose for the future or accommodating an intention. As the interview data suggests, while the mundane expressions of participants’ engagements with the past certainly constitute essential parts of identity formation and personal-communal narratives, these everyday heritages are often not created with an aim and objective in mind. Instead, and as will be outlined in the subsequent chapters, many of these personal forms of heritage just *are*. Many of them are rooted purely in the personal conceptions of the past of ordinary people and are separate from any communal aspects. As such, I base my understanding of everyday heritage on the idea that not all heritage should be generated and used for the future. However, some forms of everyday heritages encountered in this research also appear to be created communally and with a certain audience in mind. While there may not be a distinct tangible ‘outcome’ such as the material conservation of an object or site (as is often prevalent in authorised policy and practice), these often revolve around heritage performances that seek to establish an overarching communal notion and relevance of a shared past and heritage. This will be addressed in depth in chapter 8.

Community

On this note, and based on the data collected and discussed throughout this work, heritage creation in everyday life may certainly be affected by group dynamics or community ideologies. However, this research is not concerned with investigating these on a larger scale. Rather, I make references to them as and when they arise, either as observed during communal heritage festivals or when referred to by participants during our conversations. This thesis deals with communal dynamics as an undercurrent that provides an additional, consolidatory layer to everyday heritage-making.

Moreover, the “artificial idea of community” (Waterton and Smith 2010, 5) has received scrutiny from a different perspective because it reinforces the idea of a division

between specific parties. Usually, this separation refers to “the full range of heritage experts and ‘everybody else’” (Smith and Waterton 2009) and the resulting problem of representatives of the authorised discourses making sense of ‘the other’ (see also Waterton and Smith 2010, 5). During interviews, I drew from this notion of separation to investigate how participants related to and felt about local heritage management. Further, while I contend that some of these notions of community may at times indeed be constructed and not reflective or representative of actual circumstances, it is all too easy to dismiss all notions of community as inherently divisive and artificial. As will become evident in the later chapters of this dissertation, the idea of community (on varying scales) may often be felt deeply and proactively engaged with by individuals. Further, contributing to communal forms of everyday heritage can serve to both strengthen and unify shared perceptions and expressions of heritage in daily life.

In exploring everyday heritage within this specific context of people living within and around officially sanctioned heritage, I aim to add to and move beyond conceptualisations of community and divisions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in the sense that it strives to understand individuals as opposed to paying special attention to overarchingly communal ties. While community and communal-oriented everyday heritage appears common in the towns I visited as part of this work (as will particularly be discussed in chapter 8), this research first and foremost seeks to approach such heritages via the voice of the individual. This shift in focus may hopefully enable scholars and management professionals to move away from this objective, distant study of heritage in general and empower a perspective on heritage as it is – namely all around us, a part of everyday life, and the foundation of the world we live in.

Grassroots or Bottom-Up?

As will be discussed in the course of this dissertation, my notion of everyday heritage is not rooted in grassroots approaches. However, it conforms to some of the ideas and conceptualisations that have been suggested by other researchers, including Apaydin’s stance on the experience and valuation of non-authorised forms of heritage. On this bottom-up level, the meaning and definitions of heritage may vary as well (Apaydin 2017, 492; see also Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009; Waterton 2005) in that it is likely to be more plural (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007) and relevant to everyday life.

In the case of this research, the relevance of heritage to daily life is self-evident in that people live within listed buildings and construct narratives and identities around their everyday engagements with the past in the present. Reflecting on the earlier argument of

presumed plurality, I cautiously want to remark that it may well not be the case since people may consider heritage and the environment in the same manner; this is yet another exploration where the study and consideration of everyday heritage may add to current knowledge and theory. This does, however, not constitute a part of this work.

The Authorised Heritage Discourses

The data collected as part of this work has shown that from the authorised discourses arises a heterotopia, “a place separate from [people’s] daily reality” (Rogers 2019, 175) – an image of heritage that is presented by experts to the public or connected communities which mostly has little to do with individuals’ perceptions of heritage. Because this is so prevalent in the case studies presented in this thesis, I argue that the approaches to everyday heritage taken in this thesis are well-suited for unearthing this heterotopia.

Examining how people relate to and construct heritage in their daily lives, either linked to officially listed heritage places and environments or (partially) removed from such tangible markers, will enable scholars and professionals to widen their understanding of how heritage is created and negotiated in those gaps between the authorised and the individual. Shifting our attention to this will help to address and investigate the challenges, issues, and opportunities these discrepancies between the ‘official’ and the ‘personal’ may subsequently create.

Despite criticising some of the dominant practices rooted in the authorised discourses, the study and conception of everyday heritage does not aim to ‘democratise’ heritage studies as suggested by Schofield (2014) by getting rid of its professionals. Similarly to Hølleland and Skrede (2018, 828) and Holst and Molander (2017, 237), I acknowledge that professional heritage management and conservation practices are deeply reliant on expert knowledge. What I do agree with is Waterton’s and Smith’s (2010, 11) criticism of the Authorised Heritage Discourses for failing to provide experts with opportunities to explore this everyday point of view (see also Mydland and Grahn 2012, 568).

Consequently, the following investigation of everyday heritage specifically aims to comprehend how people understand and create heritage – considering that these engagements with sites, buildings, places, and spaces of individual-personal value are often neglected by the authorities (Mydland and Grahn 2012, 567). In doing so, I also hope to provide a basis for discussing whether and how this may be embedded and considered within heritage management and professional (e)valuation practices in the future. Having said this, scholars such as Skrede and Hølleland (2018, 89) have already declared that, realistically, this incorporation of “tangible, intangible, discursive and affective aspects of

heritage” will take some more time to be “treated as a complementary rather than oppositional”.

In my exploration and expansion of everyday heritage, I acknowledge that the tangible and intangible are often closely interwoven to an extent where one cannot exist as such without the other. This disputes classic notions of such a division as discussed, for example, by Bouchenaki (2007, 108) in his commentary on matters of official management, protection, and preservation of heritage. He argues that while tangible heritage can easily be catalogued and managed through conservation or restoration, intangible heritage “needs different safeguarding approaches and methodologies” because it is “made up of processes and practices” (Bouchenaki 2007, 108).

Within my understanding of everyday heritage, as investigated as part of this work, tangible heritage is not created *per sé* through such processes. However, much of its significance and valuation in the everyday lives of people stems exactly from such practices. Tangible heritage can be imbued with values through processes and practices in the everyday, and it is those processes which this study of everyday heritage aims to explore: Broadly speaking, what is heritage to people? How is (tangible) heritage attributed significance by people engaging with it daily? How does this ultimately impact the way that this heritage is, in turn, treated, changed, adapted, protected, or no longer protected?

The Perspective of the Interpreter

Another challenge that has informed my conceptualisation of this research and the notion of how everyday heritage may be approached is the matter of the interpreter versus the public/people. Lowenthal (1985, 214-17) argues that whilst “the past we know or experience is always contingent on our own views, our own perspective, and above all our own present”, he also states that history (which I equate to heritage in this case) is always seen and presented by an (expert) interpreter. Non-professionals here are given the role of passive ‘listener’ onto whom expert-based visions of the past and connected realities are imposed (Craig 1989, 109; Lowenthal 1985, 214-17). This further underscores a point previously made in this dissertation where I argue that definitions and interpretations of heritage, and thus heritage itself, can never be made objectively from any standpoint – because our views and experiences, and place in the world create subconscious biases and interpretations of what and how things *should* be, even heritage professionals can never truly be objective.

Nonetheless, this also confirms the central point that I seek to convey in my exploration and expansion of the idea of everyday heritage: All heritage is made individually, based on people’s thoughts, views, engagements, and cultural backgrounds;

heritage can also, therefore, never really be the same and fully comparable to each other. Logically speaking, one could argue that heritage may never be standardised and categorised based on its perceived significance, nor, consequently, managed in a more or less universal manner. However, I do not consider this argument as realistic, viable, and feasible in the world we inhabit, and hence do not support or advocate for it. Instead, in exploring how people construct heritage and ascribe value to it, we can move beyond the dominant perspective of the interpreter, the professional, and the expert (more on this in chapter 3) – which is acceptable within the scope of heritage management but disregards a large portion of what *else* heritage can be and is made of.

In short, the exploration of everyday heritage puts particular emphasis on how heritage is formed and viewed by individuals, how it is renegotiated through time, and how these processes differ from professional (e)valuations of the same heritage – or whether this heritage is recognised within the local Authorised Heritage Discourses.

Most fundamentally, in approaching the idea of everyday heritage, I aim to build on and expand other theoretical conceptualisations rather than fully rejecting them or declaring them inferior (see Skrede and Hølleland 2018, 89). I situate my work in fully acknowledging the plurality of heritage theory and management practices and hope to provide nuance rather than suggesting strict alternatives. As Sørensen remarked recently, research during the past few decades has increasingly helped to understand the range and “varied roles that cultural heritage plays” (2020, xiii). As a whole, heritage is a game of perspectives; a layered concept where little is truly and inherently *wrong*. Based on this, I argue that in its variety and subjectiveness, heritage is central to constructing culture, identity, politics, and facets of social life both on a larger scale and as part of the everyday.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework of this research and the concepts it seeks to expand on. It included an initial outline of heritage and heritage creation more broadly and a brief contextualisation of the local *Denkmalschutz* within the Authorised Heritage Discourses. Further, I addressed how my research draws from the field of memory studies and discussed the role of place attachment or sense of place. Closely linked, I outlined a contextualisation of my theoretical approaches to understanding value and significance and emphasised the relevance of exploring insignificance as part of my work. Related to this is a discussion of authenticity and how it relates to my research. Lastly, I presented the concepts that informed

my approaches to exploring and building on the idea of everyday heritage – which has surfaced, yet not been defined, in recent publications.

In this chapter, I outlined the concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse(s) and explained how and why these relate to local heritage management in Baden-Württemberg. While this phrasing suggests the presence of a nominalised, singular discourse, I explained my critical realist stance on this by subsequently referring to the plural ‘discourses’ instead. In doing so, I acknowledged the existence of a range of streams within managerial practice that are based on and informed by multiple experts and stakeholders. Especially in light of the local AHDs, this distinction and clarification is crucial in critically approaching and analysing the nature, realities, and implications of authorised practices and policies on people.

After outlining common, dominant approaches to heritage management in the Western world, I argued that the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses follow a materials-based approach. This section further discussed the evaluatory processes common to heritage management and conservation. I drew from these to investigate the role of materiality, value and significance, change, and authenticity in this research. This lays the foundation for chapters 4 and 6 which thematise the local *Denkmalschutz* and people’s perception of its policies and practice. These are fundamental for understanding the intersections between the spheres of authorised and individual at the heart of this work.

Examining people’s perceptions of *Denkmalschutz* and its authorities as well as their relationship with officially sanctioned heritage in their daily lives, I argued, provides an interesting intersection that can inform us on the differing and overlapping perceptions of heritage and the past. While the tangible heritage in question, namely the listed homes participants inhabit, is firmly linked to the local AHDs, it may also be central to an entirely separate formation of unofficial, everyday heritage. This constitutes a key aspect of this research and will be discussed at length throughout the main chapters of this work.

This chapter demonstrated how I drew from several perspectives on heritage as an affective, ongoing practice that is renegotiated in its meaning and relevance on an everyday basis. On these grounds, I consider heritage a process rather than a fixed entity or outcome, as is commonly propagandised within materials-based heritage management. Situating my work in this conception enables me to explore heritage beyond the fixed notions it is ascribed by the local *Denkmalschutz*. Further, I argued that my work fundamentally places people at its core. This is central to my approaches towards understanding my participants’ relationship to the past in their daily lives.

In line with this, I placed my work within the gradual shift in the field of Heritage Studies that centres around exploring what heritage *does* – as opposed to what it is. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, this was particularly useful in understanding the relationships that lay at the heart of people's heritage engagements in their daily lives: Most of the everyday heritages I encountered in this dissertation research were centred around the processes of communication, sharing, remembering, and other engagements rather than showing a 'finished' product of heritage as is often portrayed within managerial practice. In short, the heritages communicated to me by participants seldom revolved purely around the material fabric and, instead, were made and deemed (in)significant in active engagements that were often rooted in the immaterial.

Therefore, authenticity was an important element to consider in this research. It can be argued most of the authorised discourses argue for authenticity to be rooted in the material fabric; hence, the preservation of (ideally) unaltered tangible heritage is central to its approaches. While this reflects the materials-based policies and practices of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*, their papers and public reports do not directly refer to notions of the 'authentic'. As I will further discuss and demonstrate in chapters 4 and 7, understanding the dominant notions surrounding authenticity within the AHDs generally allowed me to approach this matter critically nonetheless. With regard to my participants, the interview data suggested that authenticity was not a factor considered in personal perceptions of heritage; this included both their relationship and valuation of their listed home as well as their personal, unauthorised forms of heritage created in everyday engagements. I will elaborate on this throughout this dissertation, specifically in chapter 7, as I consider this a central aspect of expanding the idea of unofficial, everyday heritages, and how these are created, engaged with, and attributed significance.

In examining the role of memory in the differing perceptions and engagements with the past, I sought to understand how notions of the 'official' and 'personal' intersect and what implications this may have for our understanding of heritage and its formation and perception more widely. To do so, I drew from collective and social memory, communicative memory, and cultural memory. Further, I examined the different memory claims expressed by participants in interviews.

I also addressed the so-called 'Democratic Turn' in Heritage Studies and outlined Poullos' 'living heritage approach' to demonstrate how it informed my work. In particular, I argued that while applicable to community-based heritages, especially those of marginalised groups, this approach is not suitable for my exploration of how individuals relate to authorised heritage in their everyday lives. This serves as a basis for situating my research

within the idea of everyday heritage as opposed to fully relating it to pre-existing approaches.

Lastly, I discussed everyday heritage which has been mentioned by several academics in the recent past, yet lacks specific outlines and parameters based on which it may be contextualised. As chapter 5 constitutes the main chapter in which I situate my research within and beyond these existing works, this chapter does not include an outline of these studies. Instead, I presented and discussed several concepts that informed my approaches towards an expansion of the idea of everyday heritage. In light of this study, I argued for everyday heritage as arising from everyday engagements and relationships between people and the past in the present. These relationships may be rooted in the material and authorised or the immaterial and unofficial, including listed homes, neighbourhoods, familial narratives or traditions, trinkets and heirlooms, or the remembering of bygone places as central to individual and/or communal identity. I argued that the common denominator in these everyday heritages is the non-expert individual.

While not claiming to exclusively define a singular, overarching concept of everyday heritage as part of this work, I nonetheless proposed that approaches towards its understanding and outlining should be treated as a distinct subcategory within Heritage Studies, so that it may be fully studied without being hampered by the limits and dilutions of other heritage subsections and specialisations. Considering the case studies that informed my perspective on what everyday heritage may encompass, it must be acknowledged that some of its expressions can be intricately intertwined with concerns of the Authorised Heritage Discourses. This may include, for example, features of heritage management and, particularly, conservation methods related to residential heritage structures, as well as individual interactions with such heritage in everyday life. These matters will be addressed in detail throughout this dissertation, especially in chapters 5, 7, and 8.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology used in this dissertation. Its first section briefly thematises the legacy aspects that may have prevailed from earlier research designs. This is followed by an outline of the final research approaches which discusses how I approached the study of the local Authorised Heritage Discourses via an analysis of the official documentation related to the individual case studies and wider environments of the participants, including the wider town- or cityscapes the respective case studies were embedded in. These documents include official heritage lists, *Historische Ortsanalysen* and *Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne*, the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste*, AHDs-issued pamphlets. I decided to use these documents because they provide a formal and institutional understanding of heritage, which is crucial for comparing how official perspectives may contrast with individuals' everyday perceptions of heritage. These sources were analysed to identify key themes, values, and terminologies in the local authorised discourses. The subsequent section presents the case studies, detailing how I decided on the respective towns and heritage homes, and how I individually approached participants for interviewing. Following this is a data collection and interpretation section which further details the data collection process. This mainly took place via semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and the visitation of local heritage festivals or communally designated 'heritage markers' (where applicable). In the latter part of this chapter, I further outline the range of considerations undertaken in this research, including researcher positionality, ethics, the challenges of online interviewing and data collection as posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, and the intricacies and peculiarities arising from the linguistic specifics surrounding the English and German terms for 'heritage'.

The Origins of this Research

My initial research was aimed at investigating how changes in architectural features may impact individual perceptions of tangible heritage, especially in those instances where people lived in and adapted listed homes. I wanted to explore the specific values that people attributed to these houses and compare these with the values or factors of significance listed by the respective authorised discourses. The ultimate aim was to understand not only whether and how changes to the historic fabric of a listed building would impact individual perceptions and valuations of it, but also to explore how this compared and contrasted to

official perspectives on this. I sought to investigate this topic not from the angle of adaptive reuse, but from a more personal and lived experience of private individuals.

Both my personal background, i.e. having grown up in the area therefore being familiar with local customs and the language, and the parameters of this initial research outline informed my choice of not only Germany, but specifically narrowed down Baden-Württemberg as a case study region. In terms of specific parameters, I considered this state particularly suitable for this research due to its high percentage of officially sanctioned domestic heritage buildings, which in turn meant that many people lived in or were immediately surrounded by such tangible heritage in their everyday lives. I also knew that new statewide energy efficiency regulations had become effective in 2014 (Zweite Verordnung zur Änderung der Energieeinsparverordnung 2013) which would require a certain degree of changes to be implemented to homes, including listed heritage houses. I hence wondered how those and other modifications carried out would impact both people's and heritage practitioners' understanding of those homes as heritage.

Therefore, I conducted an initial Pilot Study in which I interviewed five people from a neighbouring town that I knew had recently renovated and adapted their listed home. Interviews were semi-structured and sought to understand the demographics of the participant, household, and current housing situation, the construction (phases) of the building, any alterations made to the building and how people related to them, and outline overlaps or discrepancies in the official and private valuation of the building. Further, I explored individual perspectives on heritage conservation and the *Denkmalschutzamt* in general to gauge personal experiences with the heritage authorities and any implications this may have for the relationships between individuals and professionals. Additionally, I used questionnaires in an attempt to 'quantify' values and heritage categories to explore how much people's perceptions of the significance of their heritage home would overlap with authorised value assessments.

However, several methodological issues arose from this Pilot Study. For instance, some people did not concretely voice or name specific values or factors, some did not attribute comparable values or factors of significance that could then be compared and contrasted with those listed in the official register. Furthermore, it was difficult to clearly differentiate between specific 'values', both from the authorised as well as the individual side. As will be discussed in the subsequent text as well as the following chapters, the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* as well as the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* do not give a standardised, universal definition for the values attributed to heritage. This makes it difficult to understand both which factors and

considerations are at play, and which ones are of particular relevance and importance in the process of proclaiming something as heritage, as a *Denkmal*. In turn, this impacts the way these values may be sought in people's private, individual, non-authorised engagements and definitions of heritage. How would I know which values to seek out during interviews if those were not even defined officially? Further, I realised it was almost impossible to differentiate between one value and another. The boundaries were blurred. To give an example of values attributed to tangible heritage in several official documents I analysed prior to this Pilot Study: How do 'exemplary significance' and 'representative significance' differ from one another?

During this pilot, I also realised that while changes to the material fabric of homes were inevitable and, therefore, commonplace, my initial presumption of it being fundamentally relevant to the personal-individual valuation of heritage homes was flawed. I had viewed it from a predominantly authorised discourse-informed perspective, assuming that the 'authentic' material would be central to personal heritage valuation as well. The Pilot Study interviews suggested that this was not necessarily the case.

Originally, I perceived alterations to the physical fabric of a *Denkmal* building, street, or environment to be the epitome of change; thus, I delved into the material reuse of tangible, officially sanctioned heritage. Despite this initial material-heavy focus, interview data from the Pilot Study suggested that change may not only be found in the material, but also in the immaterial – memory, recollections, names, narratives, identity – and that heritage also manifested in differing ways to those suggested by the AHDs, especially in the everyday, domestic environments I was looking into. These findings led me to shift my methodology to focus more broadly on the relationship between material and immaterial heritage as part of everyday life. This was further guided by respective heritage literature, which emphasises the importance of intangible and 'alternative' forms of heritage, focusing on the "joint involvement of humans and material things in the production of heritage objects, places and practices, and the role of heritage in [creating] the present" (Harrison 2013, 273; see also Smith 2006).

I further realised that instead of looking at how transformations may or may not have an effect on heritage valuation and perception, I should rather look at the general interrelationship of change, including how heritage may impact people's perspective on change. May everyday understandings of heritage also be the cause and catalyst of change? How did both affect each other?

Due to these realisations, I decided to pivot from this original research draft while continuing to focus on this particular geographic region, as I remained convinced that both the regional 'heritage specifics' and my personal background were well-suited to conduct this research. Instead of purely focusing on the tangible heritage that was officialised by the local authorised discourses and how changes to the material fabric would impact people's lives, I wanted to explore the wider context of living with(in) and being surrounded by the (officially sanctioned) past.

What remained from my Pilot design was an interest in people's stance towards heritage management and the *Denkmalschutzamt* as an institution. I also wanted to further explore the matter of material authenticity in the context of changes occurring from the lived experience of inhabiting a 'heritage home' and historic environment. Broadly, I wanted to continue investigating how people lived with(in) officially sanctioned heritage buildings and environments to understand whether and how this would affect their individual expressions and perceptions of heritage in everyday life. Of course, since the research area (regionally) did not change, the exploration of everyday heritage would inevitably be biased towards an environment in which the authorised discourses were physically and spiritually dominant: Not only were people immediately surrounded by officially sanctioned historic town- and cityscapes, they also actually inhabited them and lived among its architectural fabric. Thus, there would most certainly be some degree to which this would affect and bias ordinary people in their everyday lives and in their creations of heritage. However, I also considered this an opportunity to investigate the (as I then realised often quite blurry) boundaries between authorised and everyday heritages in those environments that were dominated by the AHDs.

Approaches to the Final Research Design

Ultimately, the final methodological approach to this research was twofold and based on the collection of primary and secondary data. The first approach focused on examining heritage legislation in the state of Baden-Württemberg as well as looking at official conceptualisations and valuations of heritage from official reports called *Historische Ortsanalysen* (transl.: Historical Location Analyses; for a list of all reports consulted in this research, see Appendix 2); these will be explained in greater detail in this chapter. This method was chosen because these reports provide a comparatively rare public insight into local heritage evaluation and management processes, reflecting how authorised understandings of heritage are communicated to the wider public and relevant stakeholders. It is also a crucial resource that

allows me to address my second research question which centres around exploring how value and significance are attributed to domestic heritage buildings and sites.

As such, this secondary data allowed for an analysis of authorised definitions and (e)valuation criteria for heritage sites, places and spaces, and further provided me with a range of listed buildings and their heritage 'measures', all of which play a central role in this research. Information on heritage definitions and the value categories outlined in the *Historische Ortsanalysen* were further compared and contrasted against official legislation and conservation policies outlined in the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* and the so-called *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste* (transl.: Administrative Regulation of the Ministry of Economy for the registration of cultural monuments in a list). The latter list in particular, and its role in defining the 'nature' of heritage and assessing its value, will be thoroughly discussed in chapters 6, 7, and 8 later in this thesis. This comparative analysis aimed to highlight how official definitions of heritage are formalised through legislation and subsequently applied to specific heritage sites and spaces. Overall, *Historische Ortsanalysen* were a valuable resource for understanding how authorised definitions of heritage are constructed, valued, and applied. Their role as an official tool in the dissemination of information on officialised heritage made them ideal for analysing the authorised discourses surrounding the significance and preservation of *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen*. Moreover, these reports allowed me to identify specific domestic heritage buildings that form the case studies central to this research. This created the foundation for examining the intersections between the local AHDs and everyday heritage as addressed through my third research question.

The second approach of this research revolved around exploring everyday heritage on an individual and therefore less official level. This primary data collection took place mainly via interviewing and observing inhabitants of certain historic buildings as well as speaking with people from local communities who live in predominantly historic environments, i.e. designated 'heritage' streets, neighbourhoods, or entire towns. It also included attending local (heritage) festivals and town anniversary celebrations, conversing with people accordingly, and wandering around cities and places to look at and examine new and old public 'heritage markers'. This observation of public gatherings allowed me to explore how members within town communities engaged not only with each other during specific heritage festivities, but also how they discussed and presented both communal and individual constructions of heritage to each other. This primary data was essential in exploring how personal, non-expert perceptions of heritage may reinforce or challenge the authorised definitions and approaches revealed in the first part of this research. As such, it feeds into all three research questions in that it allows for insights into 1) individual-personal

understandings of heritage in authorised environments, 2) people's attribution of significance to these places and 3) official and personal perceptions of these domestic sites and heritage landscapes.

In my analysis of the authorised discourses, I primarily focused on heritage management as the representative of the AHDs. This decision was made because heritage management provided the largest overlap with everyday heritage with regard to the case studies chosen (these will be outlined in *Presenting the Case Studies* below). The focus on officially sanctioned residential heritage buildings facilitated the exploration of the authorised as well as individual perspectives rooted in the same site: the conservation status of these buildings and any measures implemented to maintain their preservation would shed light on the authorised definition and valuation of the building as heritage, whereas conversations with and observations of those people living in the buildings would allow me to investigate the engagement with and creation of heritage on an everyday basis.

Therefore, this dual focus on secondary and primary data served to ensure a comprehensive analysis of both authorised and individual perspectives. By comparing the official, expert-driven definitions from several *Historischen Ortsanalysen* with the lived experiences of inhabitants of listed buildings, I sought to critically examine the tensions and overlaps between the local *Denkmalschutz* and personal heritage engagements. This methodological triangulation, combining document analyses and ethnographic research, was crucial in addressing the central research question, namely how individuals construct their personal heritage within officially designated heritage environments.

Historische Ortsanalysen

For Baden-Württemberg specifically, *Historische Ortsanalysen* served as a powerful tool for this research. These catalogues created by the state's *Denkmalschutzamt* present an overview of selected historic townscapes and city centres in southwest Germany; as such, they provide information on entire historic heritage environments and the individual buildings, streets, and other features it is comprised of. Since the majority of these heritage sites are currently used for residential purposes, these *Historische Ortsanalysen* give the largest overlaps of heritage recognised as such by both the authorities and non-expert individuals who are surrounded by it in their daily lives. The latter is especially interesting for this research regarding people's engagement with and creation of heritage in everyday life, as it bridges institutional perspectives and non-authorised, everyday perceptions of officialised heritage.

Even further, *Historische Ortsanalysen* are one of the very few heritage resources in Germany which are open to the public. They provide somewhat detailed information on the listing status of a heritage site or place, the reasoning behind its official valuation, and the driving factors justifying its preservation (or lack thereof). This gives significant insight into what is valued by heritage management – and the Authorised Heritage Discourses in general – as well as why they aim to conserve particular heritage structures over others. My decision to focus on *Historische Ortsanalysen* was also shaped by their dual role: not only do they reflect institutional priorities and strategies, but they also address regionally specific tangible heritage in everyday, domestic settings. This allows for an analysis of how everyday environments are embedded in authorised heritage discourses, which is central to understanding the complex relationships between official heritage practices and personal, everyday heritage perceptions.

Originally, *Historische Ortsanalysen* were created to serve as an instrument of urban heritage preservation. They are compiled as specialist reports presenting the current state of local heritage conservation and are thus consulted in preliminary investigations of redevelopment planning. They address urban heritage at an early stage within those planning processes, raising awareness of the variety of tangible heritage at hand, and introducing historical assemblages, houses, and structures deemed valuable within the respective settlement.

Historische Ortsanalysen comprise a variety of materials, including cadastral maps, photographs and illustrations of streets, houses, building details, et cetera. They contain descriptions of the respective topography, natural spaces, and layout of a given settlement, provide background information regarding its historical and economic development and give detailed accounts of individual heritage buildings and structures – including their history, construction details, and current classification. Figure 3.1 represents a typical adapted cadastral map commonly included in *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, here showing the city of Waldshut-Tiengen and detailing the range of listed heritage buildings, objects, sites, and places registered with the state. The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* consider these *Historische Ortsanalysen* are central to heritage conservation; from a managerial perspective, they argue that “the preservation of these structures and elements is important to be able to embed cultural monuments in an intact and meaningful environment” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019a). *Historische Ortsanalysen* also address individual building histories and changes implemented over time; in some instances, they state why respective houses are considered heritage buildings despite such modifications.

Historische Ortsanalysen versus Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne

Technically, all *Historische Ortsanalysen* also classify as so-called *Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne* (transl.: Monument Preservation Value Plans). These are the product of an updated project initiative based on the introduction of *Historische Ortsanalysen* in 1986. Considering the nature of these analyses, I argue that *Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne* is a more reflective term for what is laid out within these expert-informed reports – namely the specific values ascribed to heritage sites and places which stand in favour of their respective preservation, or their potential of being officially managed and conserved in the future. Since all reports of these kinds are officially filed under *Historische Ortsanalysen* online, contain the same type of information and are structured in a very similar manner, I will refer to any of these types of reports as such. Adding to a sense of incoherence, *Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne* are also nowadays included in *Historischen Ortsanalysen* in the form of adapted cadastral maps which showcase the respective towns or cities and the heritage objects that are part of it, including their respective listing and conservation status (see Fig. 3.1).



Fig. 3.1: Adapted cadastral map titled “Denkmalpflegerischer Werteplan” included in the *Historische Ortsanalyse* Waldshut Tiengen – Waldshut.

Nonetheless, one needs to acknowledge that *Historische Ortsanalysen* have undergone an evolution in the sense that they are now created and composed to serve a reworked

initiative: as part of this, values attributed to *Gesamtanlagen* (i.e. entire complexes, comprised of a range of heritage sites, objects, features, and spaces) are defined and presented mainly for purposes of urban planning and conservation. As a current version of the initial concept, these reports nowadays have a more clearly defined intent and area of application.

By providing respective outlines of architectural and urban planning histories, *Historische Ortsanalysen* put historical towns and city centres in a spatial context. The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg* (2019b) argues that this presents an urgently needed component in heritage management and preservation in which heritage sites and buildings are considered in context with similar *Denkmal* features, structures, and spaces. The authorised discourses consider this a vital prerequisite for the appropriate conservational handling of entire complexes (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019b); the aim of these reports is to achieve active, 'precautionary' preservation of heritage.

Officially, *Historische Ortsanalysen* provide "an improved database [which] enables all those involved in planning and construction [...] to make faster and at the same time more competent decisions" (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019b). In reviewing these aims as well as their explicit outline of stakeholders involved, it quickly becomes evident that these do not include any individuals or local communities in their decision-making and planning processes; instead, the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg* here refers to *Denkmalbehörden* (transl.: monument authorities), municipal decision-makers, and restoration companies as the key audience and beneficiaries of these reports (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019b).

As some information on who was responsible for assessing heritage sites and places mentioned in the *Historische Ortsanalysen* – and who ultimately drafted these reports – was difficult to ascertain from the limited information online, I contacted two *Denkmalschutzamt* officials responsible for supervising their conceptualisation, creation, and distribution. They clarified that any *Denkmalschutzamt* is allowed to compose such a report (Keller 2020), with one mandatory requirement being the frequent consultation and discussion of results with the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*. As of our communication in January 2020, *Historische Ortsanalysen* are being developed by three academic specialists from the fields of art history and architectural history as well as two assistant staff members from the *Denkmalschutzämter* in Freiburg and Tübingen (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019b). Including such background information on whose official perspective on heritage definitions and (e)valuations these reports drew from seemed crucial to this research, especially with regard to assessing authorised notions of heritage. The individual conceptualisations and

definitions of heritage as well as how these were expressed and justified within the authorised discourses as part of *Historische Ortsanalysen*, will be outlined from chapter 6 onward. Since most of these reports focused on the value and significance of heritage sites and places and their contribution to and role for the general public, chapter 8 will also specifically address the processes and outcomes of ascribing value to heritage in everyday environments, and how these compared to individual perceptions of such heritage.

Analysing Historische Ortsanalysen and Other Official Documentation

To understand the authorised perspective on the value and meaning of these domestic heritage buildings, I conducted a comprehensive analysis of the keywords associated with the valuation of individual homes. As can be seen in Fig. 3.2, *Historische Ortsanalysen* always contain at least some photographs and a brief description of the building, mostly including its building history, age, perceived value or significance, an assessment of whom the conservation of the house is beneficial for, and the respective 'heritage category', i.e. listing status, attributed by the *Denkmalamt*. These descriptions vary in form and extent across all *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, although all contain at least the address, listing status, photographs, and a short assessment of their value or significance.

All reports consulted (n=29) may be found in Appendix 2. For a high-level understanding of the value factors considered in the evaluation of heritage significance from an authorised perspective, I compiled two different lists:

- 1) One list of the Nara and Riga factors indicating authenticity and significance of heritage and their counterparts as found in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* (Fig. 3.3). This included the value factors ascribed to all heritage objects, *Denkmale*, outlined in the report, including residential buildings, taverns, shops, streets, city walls, public wells, et cetera.
- 2) A second list indicating the value factors only attributed to residential heritage buildings (Fig. 3.4), i.e. those officially sanctioned objects I also investigated from an individual-personal perspective. In this case, I did not draw any comparisons to Nara and Riga, albeit some factors of significance may be found in both.

Fahnergasse 4
(Flst. Nr. 0-248)
Kulturdenkmal gem. §2 DSchG

Gehöft, 1794

Das Gehöft besteht aus Wohnhaus, Schopf, Scheune, Backhaus und Hof mit Mauer zur Straße. Das zweigeschossige Wohnhaus mit Satteldach, ein Steinbau mit Fachwerkgiebel, steht giebelseitig zur Straße. An den Ecken Pilaster aus Sandstein, ebenso die segmentbogigen Fenstergewände mit Schlussstein und das korbboigige Portal im Erdgeschoss in der Mitte der Traufseite. Das Sandsteinportal besitzt ein geschwungenes, gekröpftes Gesims über dem Sturz, dazu eine Rokoko-türe aus Holz. Die zweiläufige Treppe ist hingegen neu. An der Kellertüre die Jahreszahl 1794.

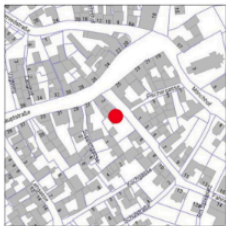
Das gesamte Anwesen bildet eine Sachgesamtheit. Als typisches Beispiel einer Malterdinger Hofanlage besteht an ihrem weiteren Erhalt aus bauhistorischen und ortsgeschichtlichen Gründen ein öffentliches Interesse.



Fahnergasse 4, Blick nach S



Fahnergasse 4, Blick nach W





Freies Institut für angewandte
Kulturwissenschaften
Stephan Kaltwasser M. A. &
Oliver Ungerath M. A., 2015

Werteplan

Objektliste

Historische Ortsanalyse

Malterdingen



Baden-Württemberg
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart

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Fig. 3.2: Description of a *Kulturdenkmal* in Fahnergasse 4, Malterdingen. Taken from the respective *Historische Ortsanalyse*.

Authenticity and Significance (Nara/Riga-based)	Related Keywords (<i>Historische Ortsanalysen</i>)	Amount of Mentions (HO)	Rounded Percentage
form and design	artistic work, architectural style	1246	44%
materials and substance	age, old core, rarity, authenticity, high degree of transmission/well-transmitted	1592	56%
use and function	exemplary for [specific function or use]	1258	44%
traditions and techniques	high-quality work, craftsmanship	400	14%
location and setting	contextual relationship with other buildings or street/environment	1286	45%
spirit and feeling	local history, public piety, character of the city, central hub for the community	671	23%
other factors	referrals to prominent figures in the arts and sciences, historic orders, local architects, to a specific time in local history, to social structures or former structuring of towns, or to the town's relevance in the past	372	13%

Fig. 3.3: Table linking the Nara/Riga factors of authenticity and significance to the respective counterparts found in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*.

As will be discussed in more depth in later chapters, the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses largely base their definitions of significance and authenticity on the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (Larsen 1995) and the 2000 *Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage* (Stovel 2001), which is why I

specifically looked for respective equivalents to their factors of authenticity and significance in my keyword search of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*.

Values/Factors of Significance for Residential Heritage Buildings	Original German Keywords/Phrases
age	Alter
artistic significance	künstlerische Gründe
building history	bauhistorische Bedeutung
constructional reference	baulicher Hinweis, ortstypische Architektur, charakteristische Merkmale der Entstehungszeit
contextual significance	Bestandteil eines Komplexes, einer Gesamtheit oder eines Straßenzusammenhangs
documentary significance	dokumentarischer Wert
economic history	wirtschaftshistorische Bedeutung
exemplary significance	exemplarische Bedeutung, Beispielhaftigkeit
high evidential significance	hoher Zeugniswert
historical tradition	gute Überlieferung, örtliche Baukunst und Handwerkstradition
local historical significance	orts- und heimatgeschichtliche Bedeutung
mirroring social structures	Spiegel der Sozialstruktur
rarity	Seltenheit
representative significance	repräsentative Funktion, stattlich
scientific significance	wissenschaftliche Bedeutung
state historical significance	landesgeschichtliche Bedeutung
uniqueness	Einzigartigkeit, auffallend
urban planning/development	städtebauliche Gründe

Fig. 3.4: List of the values/factors of significance attributed to residential heritage buildings in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*.

I conducted these keyword analyses to understand the general factors deemed relevant in assessing heritage significance as well as those more tailored to domestic buildings. As *Historische Ortsanalysen* are the only publicly available source specifying the reasonings behind the listing status and valuation of heritage buildings, this keyword analysis enabled me to gain a relatively holistic picture of the aspects the local AHDs attributed importance to. While there is an official register detailing the reasons behind official listings of *Denkmale*, its respective lists are not available to the public and I have therefore not been able to officially consult them as part of this research – except in those instances where someone had attached them as an appendix to *Historische Ortsanalysen* (see, for example, *Historische Ortsanalyse Bönningheim*). Appendix 3 contains excerpts from such a *Kulturdenkmalliste*.

Furthermore, where applicable, I noted down any references towards whom the conservation and listing of these *Denkmale* were deemed to serve, as several object descriptions contained concluding sentences such as: “Seine Erhaltung liegt insbesondere wegen [...] im öffentlichen Interesse.” – “Its preservation is in the public interest, particularly because [...]” or “[...] besteht an der Erhaltung dieses Gebäudes besonderes öffentliches Interesse.” – “There is a particular public interest in the preservation of this building for [...] reasons.”. While not all descriptions (n=2858) contained such a statement, many did (n=542). Of these, 539 stated that the preservation and management of those *Denkmale* was in the public interest, 1 referred to its conservation as lying in the interest of building historians, another 1 to archaeologists, and 1 to scientists generally. Overall, this is in line with § 2 *Denkmalschutzgesetz* which states that a *Denkmal* may only be listed if its preservation lies in the public interest. A detailed outline of the various *Denkmal* categories will be discussed in the following chapter 4.

Additionally, three brief and unstructured interviews were carried out with representatives from the *Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg* who were able to give me insights into the process and considerations of writing a *Historische Ortsanalyse*. They were able to clarify some of the questions I had regarding the overall process of heritage evaluation in Baden-Württemberg. These included, among others:

- Which instances require the drafting of a *Historische Ortsanalyse*?
- Who compiles the information for these reports? Is there a committee that handles peer review and fact-checking?
- How is the *Denkmal* status of a heritage object determined? Are there formal categories to be considered in the evaluation process or specific thresholds that may have to be met?
- When and how are heritage objects classified as *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*, i.e. under review, re-evaluated? Which criteria are considered as part of this?
- Who determines whether or not something is ‘heritage’ and, thus, worthy of management and preservation?
- How are certain values or factors of significance defined, what do they mean? (In this instance, I discussed a set of specific keywords I had come across during my analysis of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*.)

These interviews allowed for a deeper understanding of the relatively opaque processes of heritage management and value assessment in Baden-Württemberg. From these answers I understood that these reports served to inform local stakeholders and urban developers

about officially sanctioned tangible heritage in historically dense towns and cities. *Historische Ortsanalysen* are compiled on an individual case-by-case basis and do not need to adhere to a fixed set of rules or standards, albeit most follow a similar structure. They are not peer reviewed and all information presented is obtained and verified only by the respective author(s). *Kulturdenkmale Prüffall* are only to be re-evaluated in instances when their owners or external stakeholders are planning on implementing changes, or even contemplating the building's demolition. There are no specific criteria under which potential *Denkmale* are evaluated. Here, again, the classification of an object, building, or place as authorised heritage is done via the assessment of a singular (or set of) local heritage expert(s) employed by the *Landessamt für Denkmalpflege*. As for the definition of factors of significance noted in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, I was told that there is no universal catalogue outlining particular values. Some of the definitions, therefore, needed to be viewed in a less rigorously defined manner, as their meaning was determined solely by the respective professional in charge. Further, I was told that no official justifications for assessments of significance and value are required in drafting a *Historische Ortsanalyse*. Hence, the overall process of heritage reporting and evaluation appears highly individualistic.

Further, I conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of these documents and reports to critically reflect on the way heritage is presented to the public by the local authorised discourses in Baden-Württemberg. This method is employed to investigate interpretations, meanings, identity and identity creation, and how certain narratives are communicated and promoted (Jacobs and Tschötschel 2019; Sommer 2009). It allows for an examination of the "context of language use, together with the relationship between language and power" (Martens 2022, 48; see also Wodak 2011) to assess how certain heritage values are normalised within public discourses. By focusing on how authorised heritage was framed by the authorised discourses and to whom this was presented, this CDA enabled a deeper understanding of the ways in which the *Denkmalschutz* prioritises certain narratives and values over others. This method focuses not just on the documents' contents but also allows me to examine how language is used to reinforce or challenge power relations. As such, I consider it particularly suitable for a study of authorised heritage narratives, which often reflect deeper socio-political structures (see also Karl 2016, 2020 for a comment on this within the German and Austrian heritage discourses).

While alternative approaches exist, such as Content Analysis or Narrative Analysis, these methods were less fitting for my overall research focus. Content Analysis, for example, is primarily concerned with quantifying the frequency of certain words, themes, or patterns within a given text (Berelson 1952; Krippendorff 2018). Though this can provide useful

insights into *which* themes are prominent, it does not critically engage with documents in a way that helps to examine *why* certain narratives may be prioritised or how these may shape public perceptions of heritage, in my case. For instance, using Content Analysis, I might discover that terms such as “preservation,” “authenticity,” or “historical value” appear quite frequently in certain documents. However, this method would now allow me to investigate how these words or phrases may be used strategically to promote or dismiss specific ideas of heritage in alignment with managerial priorities. As such, Content Analysis is inherently reductive and thus not well-suited for examining the underlying power structures or ideological implications behind choices of language, which are central to approaching my research aims and questions.

Narrative Analysis, on the other hand, focuses on how individuals or groups construct and communicate meaning through stories (Chase 2011; Stokes 2003). While this may be useful for exploring personal perceptions or lived experiences of heritage (see also Clandinin and Connelly 2000), it is less effective in analysing and interpreting institutional texts and documents, as these are structured as authoritative reports rather than personal stories. Considering my focus on how heritage is framed and valued by AHDs-based institutions, Narrative Analysis would not enable me to critically analyse how these documents may legitimise certain values and heritage definition while potentially marginalising others. CDA, in contrast, is specifically aimed at holistically investigating such processes, making it better suited to analysing how official heritage documents may be used to construct and maintain dominant discourses.

To understand how authorised heritage is presented by the Baden-Württembergian AHDs, I analysed the content of its official website, the 29 *Historische Ortsanalysen* used in this work (see Appendix 2), one paper each by the Baden-Württembergian *Landeskonservator* (transl.: state conservator) Prof. Dr. Michael Goer (2009) and its *Leiter des Referats Inventarisierung* (transl: Head of the Inventarisierung Unit) Dr. Volker Osteneck (2003), and two of the *Landesdenkmalamt*’s key publications from 2007 and 2012 respectively (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007). I selected these secondary sources based on their relevance for this research and their public availability.

Their content is analysed in accordance with the criteria of CDA, which focus “on texts, on the discursive practices of production and consumption and on the wider socio-cultural practices which discourse helps (re)produce” (Jiwani and Richardson 2011, 182). From these criteria, I drafted a topic list outlining overarching themes within the local AHDs (see Fig. 3.5). Following Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 44; see also Jiwani and Richardson

2011), my analysis of these authorised discourses revolved around five central considerations to identify *whom* or *what* was spoken/written about and *how*. These included:

- **References:** How things or people are named or referred to semiotically.
- **Predication:** The description of these things or people, including an identification of the qualities or characteristics attributed to them.
- **Argumentation:** The arguments (both implicit or explicit) used to support these qualities or characterisations.
- **Perspectivisation:** The perspective from which such arguments, descriptions, or namings are expressed.
- Whether these expressions were communicated explicitly or implicitly and whether they were intensified or mitigated.

An example of how I embedded these considerations in my Critical Discourse Analysis may be found in Appendix 4. Results from my CDA were further contextualised and structured using the topic list (Fig. 3.5) below.

General information	● Author or professional in charge of the publication/report ● Year ● Topic ● Geographic region ● Target group ● Main aim of the publication ● Definition of heritage ● Narratives told
Material Preservation	● The role of heritage experts in conservation and preservation. ● Importance of preserving <i>Denkmale</i> in their materiality. ● Guidance for heritage homeowners on renovation or restoration projects.
Heritage Obligations	● Legislation on heritage custodianship and preservation. ● Responsibilities of <i>Denkmal</i> homeowners. ● Responsibilities of heritage professionals.
Temporality	● Perceptions of past, present, and future in managerial practice. ● The role of time and materiality in defining 'authentic' heritage.
<i>Denkmal</i> for the Public	● Significance of heritage to the region, state, and/or nation. ● Private versus public interest in <i>Denkmale</i>. ● Education of the public on the relevance of heritage.

Fig. 3.5: Table presenting the Topic List emerging from a Critical Discourse Analysis of the local AHDs.

The Case Studies

Initially, ten *Historische Ortsanalysen* were selected as a starting point; the locations of the towns covered by these reports were evenly spread out across the state of Baden-Württemberg to eliminate potential regional biases. The *Historische Ortsanalysen* I chose were all published after 2015, so they are relatively recent and should, in most cases, accurately reflect the heritage status of the case study buildings at the time of publication. This choice also reflected a deliberate decision to engage with heritage as a contemporary

issue, rather than a historical one. It allowed me to explore everyday heritage as it was lived and created at the time, also allowing me to examine how people navigate and feel towards current heritage discourses and experiences.

Within these reports, I looked for examples of historic buildings that had undergone some transformation over time and were also currently inhabited by private individuals. I further ensured that these buildings served no other, for example economic, academic, or touristic, purpose. This is often the case in city or town centres where the ground floor of such historic buildings would house shops, cafés, or restaurants, and where only the upper floors were domestically occupied. By focusing exclusively on fully domestically used spaces, I aimed to isolate how transformations to historic homes are experienced by participants in a personal and more intimate context, and change and adaptation may influence their perceptions of value and authenticity in relation to these authorised *Denkmal* buildings and environments.

I also considered only buildings which the participants themselves owned because I wanted to look into how transformation and change may impact people's valuation or relationship with official heritage buildings. As German rental contracts tend to be quite strict about transforming both external and internal architectural features, let alone making structural changes to the building, I deemed rental properties to be less useful for this research. Moreover, I argue that ownership brings a deeper level of personal investment and autonomy in decision-making regarding transformations and renovations. Consequently, rented *Denkmal* homes would likely have provided fewer insights into the kinds of personal engagements with heritage that ownership may enable. This decision aligns with my broader research aims centred around exploring how everyday heritage and the authorised heritage discourses intersect, and the role of individual agency within this dynamic.

To allow for broader insights, particularly into people's perceptions of heritage and their relationship with the *Denkmalschutzamt*, I chose case studies from a variety of houses representing differing *Denkmal* categories, i.e. the *Kulturdenkmal*, the *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, and the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* as will be discussed in the subsequent chapter 4. While fairly limited to a set range of heritage engagements or heritage 'objects'/forms in the everyday in the beginning stages of the study, the research was soon expanded to include and accommodate for other notions and expressions of heritage not originally anticipated or considered: Due to observational data collection and referrals between participants (based on snowball sampling), I also came to include a few case studies where people lived in places that were not listed or otherwise recognised as heritage by the authorised discourses. In these cases, the focus of the interviews lay less on people's relationship with their

officially sanctioned historic home and how it did or did not play a role in the creation and definition of everyday heritage, but in other expressions of everyday heritage that were not necessarily tied to the home or people's direct environment. These cases saw a stronger focus on heirlooms or photographs, familial histories, or personal narratives and memories of place, people, and communities. As such, they provided more nuanced insights into how non-authorised, everyday forms of heritage may be negotiated and lived beyond the definitions and experiences provided by the local *Denkmalschutzamt*. Thus, it allowed me to explore how deeply personal and affective connections to the past may manifest through people's various engagements with the past as part of daily life – yet situated within the overarching realm of the local authorised discourses.

The initial case study buildings – ranging from Art Nouveau villas (Fig. 3.6), and half-timbered houses (Fig. 3.7), to former mediaeval taverns, farmsteads, and artisan cottages (Fig. 3.8) – were selected for their diversity in architectural style and historical period.



Fig. 3.6 (left): Art nouveau villa in Freiburg. Fig. 3.7 (centre): Half-timbered house in Hausach. Fig. 3.8 (right): Artisan cottage in Knittlingen.

I contacted its inhabitants either by reaching out via the phone, through mutual acquaintances, or by showing up in person to ask about their willingness to participate. It was usually the house owner or one of the owners (e.g. when a married couple had joint ownership over the house), who was willing to step forward and be interviewed. If their partners had differing opinions in some regard, the participant would usually comment on it and elaborate from their perspectives. In most cases, one person would always happily step forward to give an interview, whereas the other would be less interested in participating. It was also my observation that those participants taking part in the interview and research were also those who had stronger opinions on this building in particular, or who even

prided themselves in being the caretakers of the house. This distinction may be relevant for understanding how personal identities and heritage intersect, as these participants often framed their relationship to the building and home environment in terms of pride and responsibility. I therefore sought to explore this during interviews, where applicable.

In the end, I conducted 41 interviews in total, of which 34 were based on case studies I had chosen from the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*. The remaining seven participants were referred to me by other interviewees because they thought they may be of interest to my study in one way or another. Figure 3.9 shows the distribution of official *Denkmalschutz* statuses among those 41 case studies (this can be reconstructed based on the Participant Data Key in Appendix 1).

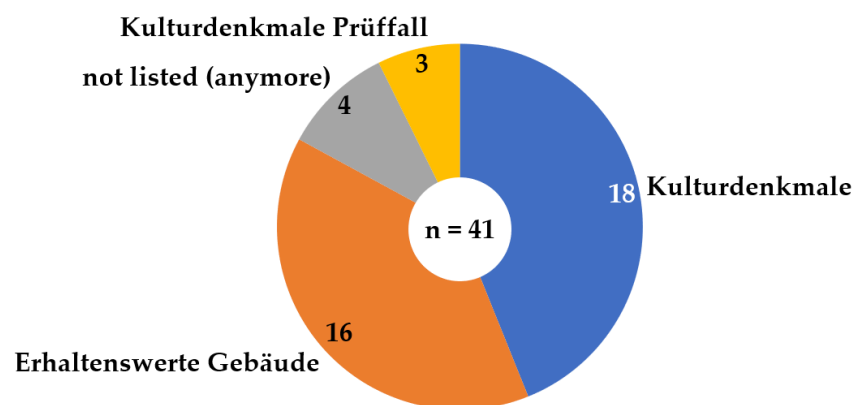


Fig. 3.9: Share of participants' houses by *Denkmalstatus*.

Data Collection and Interpretation Methods

Data collection took place in a range of towns and cities in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Although this research was designed to be as demographically inclusive as possible, clear tendencies soon came to the fore. Men over the age of 35 were especially overrepresented and participants largely came from middle-class backgrounds, with the distribution of wealth being more or less equal as well. With the exception of some of the elderly participants and, for these, particularly women, the level of education was high among the majority of interviewees, with most of them holding at least an *Abitur*, the German A-Level or IB equivalent. As a consequence, different levels of knowledge and education were underrepresented in this study. Interestingly, this reflected a tendency for human-heritage relationships and interactions as recently stated by Smith who noted that people visiting “museums and heritage sites framed within the AHD”, for example, “consistently and overwhelmingly fall within socially privileged demographics” (Smith 2021, 7). It remains to

be determined whether this is based on correlation or causation; however, people engaging with tangible heritage as visitors will certainly have made a conscious choice of visiting and experiencing these sites or places which will inevitably have been informed and facilitated by some level of knowledge and privilege. The potential consequences for how people understand, create, and engage with (everyday) heritage that may arise from such socially privileged backgrounds will certainly need to be examined as part of a larger study that lies beyond the scope of this research.

On the upside of this high level of education among the participants of this research, however, this also meant that participants were knowledgeable and historically educated overall, and had at some point learned about authorised aspects and institutions of heritage, including UNESCO as well as the German *Denkmalschutz* system. It implied that they were perfectly suited to give their views on heritage management and how they saw their home and environment in the larger context of it; most participants were also eager to debate and offer their opinion on the positives and negatives of heritage conservation and authorised cultural heritage values. This was tremendously useful for my investigation of how people viewed authorised notions and institutions of heritage but simultaneously impeded my attempts at moving beyond such heritages defined by and based on official understandings.

Interviewing

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the primary data collection method due to their flexibility, allowing participants to articulate their thoughts in their own terms while still adhering to a research framework. This method is well-established in qualitative research, particularly in fields such as Heritage Studies or Psychology, where the goal often involves capturing subjective experiences and perspectives (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015; Rubin and Rubin 2012). The interviews focused on how participants perceived their heritage homes, their relationships with heritage authorities, and their views on material and immaterial aspects of heritage generally.

They were held in Alemannic German, the local dialect, which is what the majority of participants felt most comfortable with. Although the interviews were conversational in nature, I had prepared a list of themes and questions I wanted to investigate (see specifications below). Based on my experiences from earlier piloting I had found this semi-structured style to be most suitable for exploring personal understandings of heritage and the individual experiences connected to living in a *Denkmal* or being surrounded by tangible remnants from the past. Not being firmly tied to a certain structure or order allowed me to follow cues based on the responses given by the participants. According to Whyte

(1981, 35) such semi-structured interviewing entables the “introduc[tion of] materials and questions previously unanticipated”. This had already been confirmed through my Pilot Study, where people had frequently not picked up or elaborated on the topics I anticipated to be relevant, instead emphasising themes I had often not even remotely considered at all.

Until the COVID-19 pandemic in the spring of 2020, these conversations were conducted in person (n=17); after that, either via Zoom or the phone (n=24). All interviews were audio-recorded in agreement with the participants, using an unobtrusively placed iPhone, or using the built-in Zoom recording feature online. All identifying information was removed or anonymised accordingly, and participants were given a pseudonym.

Interview questions were designed to avoid the common mistake of "feeding" answers to interviewees by posing suggestive questions. This issue is discussed by Law and Urry (2004, 390-1), who argue that social inquiry methodology is performative and therefore likely to "make social realities and social worlds [and] do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it". Similarly, Sørensen argues that "interviews are both formed and affected by the knowledge and insights that are pursued" (2009, 164). I thus strived to put my personal, applied methodological emphasis on listening and observing participants, rather than being the driving force behind a potentially artificially upheld ongoing conversation.

In order to gather a coherent set of data for a – in selected areas – comparative assessment of heritage valuation from these personal perspectives, interviews were structured using a set of standardised questions. Instead of pursuing a certain set of responses suitable for rigid comparison (as has been criticised by Sørensen 2009, for example), I aimed for highly individual datasets with information stemming from people's personal narratives, but which loosely and simultaneously covered the grounds of questions I wanted to explore through those individual accounts from participants. It is also due to this that I soon moved away from the additional use of questionnaires and fixed categorisations to assess people's attitudes to the significance of heritage. These would often not correspond to people's perceptions or creations of heritage and value, and the boundaries between definitions or (imposed) categorisations would largely be too blurred to be of any actual use at all. Even more importantly, they only proved my initial, biased assumptions and merely chased 'relevant' or 'important' matters that did, in fact, not exist to the participants in any dimension; this only represented a process of finding “‘the nearest fit’ to the expected outcome” (Sørensen 2009, 169).

The semi-structured and rather conversational nature of the interviews allowed participants to elaborate, tell stories of their own, and further discuss thoughts, ideas, and

memories they considered of importance. The interview set comprised the following questions, which are in no particular order:

- How long have you lived here already, and when and why did you move here?
- How important is the age or history of a house or town to you?
- Have you physically changed anything about this place?
- What do you think of when you think of ‘cultural heritage’?
- If you could choose all over again, would you still want to live in a historical building?
- What do you particularly like about this place? Is there anything you would like to change?
- What is your general opinion on the *Denkmalschutzamt*? Which points of contact have you had with the authority so far?
- What makes you the happiest about living here?
- Describe one aspect of life you most closely relate to this place.
- What do you know about the ‘official’ *Denkmal* significance of your house?

Through these questions, participants were nudged to talk about the values attached to their home as well as particular features, elements, or objects in the everyday. Interviews centred around the participants and how they constructed significance and meaning and attributed it to heritage – or created heritage in this process – in the everyday. I specifically sought to investigate and understand how people used objects, sites, buildings, and spaces to construct meaning and heritage as part of this, or how this may be done otherwise without the presence of or need for a tangible element or place. Analysing “what stories are being told” (Avrami et al. 2000, 9; see also Rogers 2019) may open the gateway for looking into the values ascribed to memories, practices, objects, sites or places in people’s narratives.

Further, many questions and themes were approached from the broad idea of ‘place’, allowing for an individual narrowing down by participants. Not only did this allow them to elaborate individually on the specific aspects of their home environment they deemed particularly important, but it also included their broader environment. In doing so, I wanted to allow for people to situate themselves within a wider sense of place and environment (if they wished to do so), instead of narrowing down the idea of ‘home’ and ‘place’ during the interview. This was also done with the concept of *Gesamtanlagen* in mind – which were considered of particular importance by the local AHDs.

These questions were also aimed at examining whether changes implemented in heritage buildings would impact people’s valuation of those houses. Since the latter is a major

concern of the German authorised discourses, I wanted to explore the relevance of material authenticity and the role of transformation in the (e)valuation of built everyday heritage at the intersections of the official and the individual-personal (see chapter 7). Beyond merely examining what people say about heritage, I also wanted to grasp how the stories and actions related to it may reproduce or transform the heritage in question, as well as assess whether and how it affected the active and everyday practice, (re)negotiation, and experience of heritage.

While the full transcriptions and summaries are not included in this dissertation to respect participants' wishes for anonymity, Appendix 5 provides an outline of some of the typical responses to the interview questions presented above.

Observations and Photographic Data

In addition to interviews, I collected observational and photographic data to enhance the depth of primary data analysis. Visual and observational methods are often used to complement interview data as they provide an additional layer for interpretation (Harper 2002; Pink 2013). In my research context, I used such non-verbal data to gain a more holistic understanding of how participants engaged with heritage as part of everyday life.

In those instances where in-person visits to places and interviews were possible, I was allowed to take photographs of the houses and neighbourhoods, as well as of objects or architectural features the participants pointed out as significant to them, their family, or their local community. For those cases where interviews were conducted via Zoom or the phone, some interviewees offered to take and forward pictures themselves to support their stories and paint a clearer picture of the heritage in question. Agreeing to and subsequently inviting participants to send me such visual material enabled a more participatory approach to data collection. Despite not intended originally, this provided participants with the agency to present and share aspects of 'their' heritage in a way and only to the extent they felt comfortable with. In many instances, this participant-driven photographic data revealed additional elements of significance that may not have surfaced during remote interviews. In line with this, Harper (2002) argues that photographs may often reveal deeper layers of meaning by prompting participants to actively engage with tangible markers of memory or emotion. Participants' photographs thus allowed me to observe which objects or architectural features they found most important. This often reflects a more personal view of heritage that appeared to contrasted with that of the local *Denkmalschutz*.

This also made for an insightful post-interview exploration because it would highlight objects, places, or features that appeared most significant and relevant to

participants – whereas some items or spaces talked about during the interviews were quickly forgotten about as part of this ‘recap’, some things were photographed and forwarded numerous times, which reinforces their importance. This approach not only provided a visual record of people’s physical context but also emphasised the emotive and sensory dimensions of participants’ experiences and expressions of heritage. These are central to understanding people’s engagement with their surroundings (see also Pink 2013). Further, these self-generated images provided me with valuable insights into the participants’ priorities and allied me to triangulate their verbal narratives (as has been suggested by Rose 2016).

Some participants also offered to send me scans or photographs of pictures which allowed for additional visual support in those cases where I was unable to visit the places myself and in those instances where people were keen to show the documentation of earlier renovation processes that had occurred and that they considered vital to understanding their relationship with their heritage home. These images often depicted aspects of transformation and renovation participants deemed essential to understanding their relationship with their homes and heritage environments. This practice also speaks to the notion of the ‘archive’ as discussed by Lowenthal (1998), where heritage is constantly being shaped and reshaped by personal and collective memories. The participants’ desire to share such visual data and documentation may be interpreted as a means of asserting their role as stewards of an ongoing narrative of familial heritage.

Adding to the photographic and interview data, I employed an observational approach during local (heritage) festivals and celebrations. These events provided a contextually rich environment to observe how people engaged with heritage in public, collective settings. As outlined by Fetterman (2010), attending and observing such events allows for insights into how heritage is both experienced and performed in larger social settings. As such, I gained a deeper understanding of the communal dimensions of everyday heritage and was able to explore how it may be interwoven with everyday life outside more formalised or institutionalised frameworks and approaches.

Conversations during these events enabled me with brief, but also contextually specific and unique opportunities to discuss localised and individual-communal understandings of heritage within a broader social context. It gave a glimpse into the minds and experiences of the same event or kind of heritage in celebration and allowed for a comparative investigation of the themes, thoughts, emotions, engagements with, or dismissals of heritage at hand. Looking at such specific forms and communications of heritage and (local) history which were, in these cases, embedded in and engaged with in an

everyday environment, presented insights into official definitions and ‘markers’ of heritage as well as how these were subjectively and collectively perceived by the people. These observations will be presented more deeply in chapter 8. Beyond this, it also brought about a more nuanced and expanded perspective on everyday heritage, as I was able to observe practices of heritage in settings which were not necessarily listed as heritage, or where the built environment of the home was not part of the individual formation of heritage (for example when particular memories, practices, or heirlooms were at the heart of it).

As emphasised by Silverman (2013), field observations may complement interview data by providing additional dimensions of context and interaction; these can be cross-referenced with participants' verbal accounts. In combining these observational insights with photographic and interview data, I was able to build a more comprehensive picture of how heritage is experienced both in private spaces and as part of public celebrations. During local heritage festivities, I paid particular attention to the interplay between personal significance and broader community practices.

Interpretation and Data Analysis

The interpretation of the data collected as part of this research followed a multi-methodological approach. Firstly, I want to discuss transcription as an interpretive tool, as I consider this methodology to go beyond mere data collection: What the researcher sees and hears is fundamentally based on their subjective interpretation (Kvale 1996; McLellan et al. 2003). Despite noting down long pauses, stuttering, interruptions, or the particular emphasis of certain words or phrases, I chose not to carry out in-depth linguistic analyses of what was said during the interviews as I did not consider the syntax, pronunciation, or tone of participants relevant for this research. As transcriptions generally tend to be selective and prone to human error, I have re-examined and cross-checked the original digital recordings to verify all direct quotes in this dissertation to try and avoid some of the intrinsic challenges and issues with this methodology (Kowal and O'Connell 2013; McLellan et al. 2003).

Based on initial impressions and notes from the interviews, I had already gotten a sense of the potential overarching themes which I wanted to explore and systematically search for in the recordings and transcriptions. The first run of this analysis looked at each interview transcription individually, as part of which I compiled short reports on each (see also McLellan et al. 2003 who discuss the sufficiency of such summaries). These reports stated demographics and backgrounds of the participants, outlined their answers to the question –

including some verbatim quotes considered particularly expressive or relevant and which would give voice to the interviewees (Smith and Osborn 2003, 234). Further, in these reports, I reflected upon expressions of and engagements with everyday heritage and the (material) past in the present. This aimed to highlight individual definitions and practices of heritage as well as the key factors behind people's attribution of significance to certain objects, places, or spaces in their day-to-day life. Based on the analysis of the reports and supplemented by wider observations made through interviews and the compilation of the overall data, I began to investigate those emotions and affects "that circulate among and between individuals, objects, and place, sticking to one or other and leaving traces in the present" (Virloget 2019, 239). I did so by exploring how and why certain feelings, thoughts, or memories are evoked by the heritage in question and how people interact with it respectively. From these reports and the general observations made during the process of drafting them, I then created a list of underlying topics, themes, and engagements with heritage that seemed to span the majority (if not all) of the interviews and observations. This thematic analysis was conducted manually, as I considered software to bear the potential to complicate the analysis without necessarily being able to provide deeper insights.

This systematic analysis of overarching themes allowed me to identify and explore patterns in how participants articulated their personal, everyday engagements with heritage. Employing thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) not only allowed me to compare certain notions across interviews but also against and within the documents, reports, and public communication of the local AHDs. This was particularly useful in drawing up the intersections between authorised and everyday (see chapter 6), which is a central aspect of this dissertation research.

In analysing the interview data, I drew from the concept of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; see Smith and Osborn 2003). This approach recognises the existence of a multitude of individual perspectives on the world and seeks to explore and grasp "the subjective meanings of events/experiences/states of the [...] participants themselves" (Smith and Osborn 2003, 229). Although not directly referring to IPA, Jones supports the application of qualitative interviewing and participant observation for "[revealing] meanings and attachments" (Jones 2017, 6). In applying the concept of IPA, researchers aim to understand the thoughts and views of the individual interviewees, although they do acknowledge the central role of interpretative work and the interpreter themselves to understand the emotive and subjective significance of what is being said (Smith and Osborn 2003, 230). Due to its suitability for exploring the meaning of experiences to people, which are both "complex and ambiguous", as well as to investigate processes and transformation (Smith and Osborn 2003,

231), I considered IPA a useful analytical tool to apply to this research on heritage formation and meaning-making, as part of which aspects change and reuse are addressed.

Through interviewing in a semi-structured manner, with the ordering of questions being random and dependent on the answers of the participants, interviewees are guided rather than imposed a rigid structure and external ideas (Smith and Osborn 2003, 232ff.). This approach allows for an exploration of unprompted thought and experience based on what the participant may deem significant and ensures that themes and issues relevant to the interviewee are addressed, opening up new avenues and perspectives on the research at hand. Given that heritage is often subject to personal (re)interpretation and negotiation, IPA provided the most appropriate framework for analysing the data collected from interviews.

Concretely, my process of applying IPA was as follows: Following the creation of participant reports, I sought to delve into and immerse myself in people's experiences by re-listening to the interview recordings in their entirety. This iterative process allowed me to focus on specific descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual elements that emerged from the conversations. In doing so, I was able to further extract and develop emerging themes surrounding key aspects of participants' individual relationships with heritage. For instance, one participant frequently remarked on the high interest from acquaintances and strangers in purchasing her inherited historic home. This connection led me to initially capture her perception of the house as not only a family heirloom but also a symbol of social status. My notes also highlighted her use of phrases that underscored the importance of external validation in her understanding of heritage, illustrating how her personal narrative and identity was also shaped by broader communal expectations.

From such initial notes, I developed emerging themes that reflected both individual and collective experiences of heritage, such as 'curated heritage' and 'public versus private narratives', 'material as memory', or 'sensory connection to the past'. After identifying such themes, I examined potential interconnections between them for each participant and sought to understand how these may have shaped participants' understandings of their heritage. Here, for example, notions such as 'home as a living archive' emerged, combining sensory and material experiences with participants' broader reflections on living with(in) authorised heritage (i.e. *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen*). In one instance, I linked one participant's repeated references to the importance of maintaining the house's exterior as a symbol of stability to a broader theme of 'embodied memory'. This reflective process involved considering my interpretative role in understanding people's experiences and acknowledging that my insights were shaped by both the data and my perspective as a researcher.

Finally, I looked for patterns across interviews and narratives. While many participants expressed a strong emotional connection to their homes, their respective engagements with the past and perceptions of heritage varied greatly. This process not only emphasised the complexities of individual heritage experiences but also highlighted how participants actively constructed their heritage in relation to broader familial, communal, or societal narratives and identities. Through IPA, I was able to delve into the subjective meanings participants ascribed to 'their' everyday heritage which suggested a dynamic interplay between authorised and everyday definitions, perceptions, and expressions of heritage as part of everyday life.

Furthermore, in both data collection and analysis, I followed Uzzell's proposition of applying the concept of 'hot and cold interpretation' in trying to understand "the affective dimension of the human response" (1989a, 4). This was particularly relevant in light of participant interviews, as I wanted to explore the personal (and potentially emotive) engagements with heritage in everyday life. Uzzell argues that interpretative methods usually tend to follow an underlying assumption of people as rational and objective entities, whereas this is not really the case at all (Uzzell 1989b). Humans are emotional and affective, which is why most decisions, sensations, and experiences will be made accordingly. Their analysis calls for so-called 'hot interpretation'. As part of this, stories by people as well as their interaction with the world around them are analysed based on the affective and emotive responses that emerge during the interview or conversation with, or observation of participants. In addition to the explicit use of descriptive words or metaphors, these may entail vocalisations of emotions – such as stress, anger, enthusiasm, fondness, or sorrow – through non-verbal sounds, i.e. sighs or grunts. While pinpointing the specific emotion(s) or affections that are conveyed is not a straightforward (and often deceptive) feat, particularly due to one's own biases and expectations, the acknowledgement of such expressions itself serves as the stepping stone for further inquiry.

Therefore, in those instances where I felt that there was a 'hot' response arising from my exchange with the participant, I would seek to clarify what the underlying emotion was and where it stemmed from. Since I was aware that the phrasing of such follow-ups held the power to shift and artificially bend interviewees' responses, I strived to pose these questions as unbiased as possible – for example via a simple: "How do you feel about this?", an "Is there anything you would like to add here?", or a "What do you think (about this)?".

'Hot interpretation' calls for an investigation of the "personal values, beliefs and interests" (Uzzell 1989b, 34; see also Abelson 1963; Ballantyne and Uzzell 1993) that shape people's

lives and interactions with their environments and which evoke and show traces of emotion and affect – even when an interviewee may reflect on them “in a calm and level-headed way” (Uzzell 1989b, 34). At first glance, one may argue that the AHDs represent the ‘cold cognitions’ that stand in direct opposition to the realms of the personal and everyday.

While cold interpretation would draw from purely analytical and (emotionally and affectively) distanced thinking and approaches to heritage preservation and management, hot interpretation would be informed by a personal and emotional, not strictly objective view – namely the individuals that are embedded in an environment which conjures such ‘hot’ responses and cognitions. I argue that such idolised portrayals of the ‘cold’ and ‘factually informed’ professional who succeeds in achieving objectivity in interpretation are exactly that: idolised and unrealistic. As I will further outline in the *Linguistic Intricacies and Research Limitations* section of this chapter, even trained professionals hold a subconscious and inherent bias which – on top of their private lives, personal values, and experiences – may also be based on professional training and knowledge. Whether or not they stem from a ‘professional’ or ‘personal’ background, these cognitions are never ‘cold’ and produce affective responses to the world. Considering this observation, such a distinction may seem unnecessary. I am nonetheless making use of it to emphasise where the individual positionings lie. In my Critical Discourse Analyses of the documents and reports of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* as well as my interview summaries, I highlighted phrases or expressions that fell under either ‘hot’ or ‘cold’ cognitions. Markers of hot cognitions included emotive statements or exclamations made during interviews; these would often be rooted in broader narrative statements of identity or be drawn from the recollection of memories and people. For instance, a hot cognition may be seen in a statement such as “Because I wanted to make this place my home, I felt that I had to throw out my mother’s cabinet. Doing so, I realised I also threw away a part of my childhood” (Helga). For cold cognitions, I paid particular attention to logical and emotionally distanced explanations that bore as little bias as possible. For example, one participant (Albert) stated that heritage conservation enables people to visit historic places and see the original fabric of *Denkmale*. This statement was made with no vocalisation of judgement and expressed factual information that was objectively true. Therefore, I labelled it a cold cognition.

By highlighting the fact that there is a conscious (perceived) divide between hot and cold, emotionally charged and professionally distant, I seek to establish that there are subconscious aims and perceptions of the self and others. Cold interpretation is often considered a central characteristic and quasi-unique selling point of the heritage expert (both from an external, public point of view as well as from an internal understanding of one’s

own professional role). Realistically, however, it is merely a fiction of perception, albeit one that nonetheless influences behaviours and ideologies and, by extension, practice(s). Whereas both the heritage authorities as well as the general public may think of 'the expert' as an emotionally unbiased entity, this really does not hold true at all. This became particularly evident from the interviews held with local heritage experts and some of the participants who had been in contact with 'the authorities' as part of an official re-evaluation of their home's heritage status due to transformations implemented to the building. Both the professionals in charge of *Historische Ortsanalysen* as well as my participants were firmly under the impression that much of the evaluatory process was hardly as rigorous and clinically fact-driven (i.e. 'cold' after Uzzell) as was conveyed officially.

Our actions, including the drafting of research methodologies or the conducting and analysis of an interview, are always based on 'hot' cognitions. Because these affect the way we approach people or places and interpret objects, stories, or raw data, we need to acknowledge the presence and impact of these 'hot interpretations' as part of the process. Objectivity is unattainable, which is why I sought to consciously lean into the study and interpretation of sites, things, narratives, relationships, and different forms of everyday heritage as products and producers of 'hot cognitions'. The subjective and 'hot' nature of heritage definitions, creations and performances in the everyday is an assumption and understanding that is deeply interwoven in every aspect of this research and dissertation.

Insider- versus Outsiderness: A Statement on Positionality

Although earlier debates have suggested that researchers may only be considered either an 'insider' or an 'outsider' to the individuals or communities they study (see Aguilar 1981; Messerschmidt 1981; Pollner and Emerson 1983), there has been a gradual shift in conception which instead suggests that insiderness/outsiderness should be considered more fluid instead (Merriam et al. 2001; Naples 1996). While not a major aspect of my research methodology, participant observation has been deemed one aspect in which this insider-/outsiderness is relevant: Clifford (1983), for instance, argues that observational methods fundamentally employ both perspectives in investigating rituals and ceremonies, events, and interactions between and among people; while the role of an 'insider' is assumed by the researcher empathetic responses, the 'outsider' perspective is given through the wider contextualisation of the observations through "situat[ing] these meanings in a wider context" (Clifford 1983, 127). Due to my growing up in Baden-Württemberg, I identify with the region and its Alemannic heritage in a deeper way, which also enables me to understand the sociocultural, political, and linguistic nuances from an inside perspective. At

the same time, as a researcher exploring the region's people and their heritage, and given that I do not share the daily experience of those living in and around officially sanctioned heritage homes and environments, my position is also somewhat that of an outsider.

My 'outsiderness' may further be relevant and evident on several micro- and macro-scales: Despite having been brought up and educated in the wider region, I moved away from Germany well over a decade ago and have only sporadically visited Baden-Württemberg since. Moreover, unlike many of my participants, I have not only left the region to pursue higher education, but also did so abroad as well as in a subject that is deeply rooted in notions of privilege. Given the time that has passed since I was last fully immersed in local culture and because my move abroad led to a gradual adoption of High/Standard German, Alemannic German does not come as easily to me as it used to. While my command of it is still strong, I frequently found it challenging to adopt the regionally specific varieties of the dialect which will certainly have affirmed my overall position and image of an 'outsider', not only to myself but also to my participants.

In this regard, my 'insiderness' may further need to be discussed: From my initial reach-outs to potential participants it would become obvious that I was German, although I would always position myself as a 'professional outsider' first, stating that I was studying the topic at a university abroad. Despite not having gathered comprehensive data on this at that point, I was aware of the general power imbalances and oftentimes difficult relationships between state and local heritage authorities and homeowners, which is why I was worried that people would not be willing to participate and speak freely with me if they considered me to be part of the state's or region's 'heritage scene' – or, more concretely, the local AHDs. Simultaneously, I would also make use of my 'insiderness' as part of initially establishing rapport with my participants: Immediately following my positioning as a 'researcher from abroad', I emphasised my personal connection to the region and interest in the project as based in my local upbringing and Alemannic identity.

Although originating from Baden-Württemberg and speaking Alemannic German does facilitate a unique insider perspective, sociocultural understandings and identities are mostly rooted in a smaller, increasingly localised scale. Markers of such identities or cultural affiliations include particular varieties in the Alemannic or Swabian dialects, nominal associations with locally well-regarded families or people of interest, or pride in tangible expressions of (intangible) heritage. An example of the latter are the oftentimes town-specific differences between costumes that are part of the Swabian-Alemannic Carnival which has been recognised as part of UNESCO's Nationwide Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage

(German Commission for UNESCO 2014). In short: Based on my surname and my spoken variety of Alemannic German alone, people would quickly be able to identify me either as an 'insider' or 'outsider', a categorisation based solely on personal circumstance and individual positioning. Simultaneously distant and familiar, I argue that this blend of flexible and contextually dependent insider- and outsidersness allowed me to critically engage with local, individual perspectives, as well as the heritage professionals representing the Baden-Württembergian Authorised Heritage Discourses.

Ethics Statement

This research adheres to ethical guidelines and best practices for conducting studies involving human subjects and personal data. Drawing from the Ethics Policy for the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge, I based my study and data collection on informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

Prior to the interview process, each participant was given an information sheet as well as a consent form to provide their informed and written consent. While these forms also included people's permission to use photographs taken by both them and me for the purpose of this research, for the potential publication of this dissertation, or for related follow-up papers, I also obtained verbal consent in specific circumstances. These included, for example, when participants shared additional documents or photographs with me, allowed me to enter their homes, or wished for specific information in the interview to remain confidential. To minimise ethical complications, only adult-age individuals were allowed to participate in this study. Both the information sheet and consent form included a short description of the research and my background, logistical details about the interview process and potential follow-up questionnaires (these were not used in the end), how interview data would be used for this research, the contact information of me and my supervisor, as well as a contact address for the Ethics Committee should any concerns or issues arise. I provided participants with the opportunity to ask questions and clarify any doubts or uncertainties they may have had while reading the information sheet and consent form. People were also given the right to withdraw from the research at any time, and the consent form explicitly stated that individuals understood and accepted that they could only withdraw while the study was being conducted.

This research follows the principles of data confidentiality and anonymity. Confidentiality refers to the measures taken to protect participant information gathered during the study from being shared publicly, such as through this dissertation or in other publications. The

information sheet provided explicitly stated that participants could request to keep certain information confidential at any point in our conversation, and that they would be given the opportunity to identify any responses they did not want to be included in the research after the interview was conducted. All data was stored on my personal Google Drive cloud and encrypted with a password. Further, I have explicitly excluded interview transcripts from the appendices of this dissertation to maintain participant confidentiality. Verbatim or indirect quotes included in the following analysis chapters accurately reflect the contributions of individual participants and are supplemented by data keys.

In this research, anonymity refers to the process of removing identifying information from participants in order to include their contributions in all resulting work. While I knew the identities of all participants during the interview process, the written consent form gave them the option to remain anonymous. Those who chose to do so have been given pseudonyms in all resulting works, including this dissertation. I have kept a record of participants' personal information, real names, and pseudonyms (where applicable) in an electronic data key that is also stored on my personal, password-encrypted Google Drive. This key has only been used to re-identify anonymous participants when necessary for follow-up purposes. In this dissertation, I included a data key in the appendix which lists the true names (where permitted) or pseudonyms used for participants, and general identifiers such as age range, town, the listing status of the home, and occupation. This key is provided for the reader's reference while reading through the analysis chapters (Appendix 1).

Linguistic Intricacies and Research Limitations

In preparing the semi-structured interview template for this research, language, interestingly, posed challenges which I had not anticipated in this form. The linguistic peculiarities will be outlined in the subsequent chapter 4. It is especially concerned with the lack of a similarly universal – and, at the same time, nuanced – German term for heritage as is seen in the English language. This complicated not only the wording of the interview questions but also the conducting and analysis of the interviews themselves. Questions such as “what does heritage mean to you?” or “how do you define heritage?” were simply not possible to ask in German and, therefore, direct translations of the questions originally drafted in English could not be made. In German, it became increasingly difficult to rephrase those questions in a non-suggestive manner or to keep them formulated in a way that still allowed for a broad range of answers and interpretations from the participant. Instead, questions and the possible answers they facilitated seemed very narrow, which made it incredibly challenging to understand what heritage – in its vast variety and breadth –

actually meant to the individual person. For example, I inevitably had to pose questions such as “what does *Kulturerbe* (transl.: cultural heritage) mean to you?”, and instead of asking people whether they would choose to live in a heritage building over and over again, I had to refer to ‘historical buildings’ for lack of a better term. Especially considering Law and Urry’s concern that “methods are never innocent” in that they “enact whatever it is they describe into reality” (2004, 403), this aspect of the interview design was problematic.

With the inevitability of some questions referring to a very specific form of heritage rather than differing manifestations, this focus on terminology clearly indicated how closely interwoven authorised and individual notions of heritage in Germany actually are. During the process of research design and data collection, it seemed to me that there was no way around a certain culturally and socially embedded understanding of heritage. Even further, it became evident that everyday heritage in the way I had set out to explore and define it was not considered (or, rather, labelled) heritage as such in the mind of most Germans – at least not linguistically. However, the forms of heritage I aimed to seek out and understand through the exploration of everyday heritage often appeared to carry high personal and often even overarching social-communal importance.

This seeming dismissal of more nuanced alternatives to a specific, designated heritage also led to the challenge of having to even more closely listen to and cautiously interpret people’s stories. What may count and be easily defined as ‘heritage’ in an anglophone environment would sometimes only be evident from the context in German, leaving plenty of room and potential for (mis)interpretation. The only possible mitigation strategy was simply to repeat what I had perceived or interpreted and give people the chance to challenge or correct me on any errors.

Conducting data collection at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic obliterated the majority of opportunities for gathering information and conducting research in person; in light of participant observation methods originally planned for, this proved particularly challenging – effectively annihilating all potential to look more deeply into non-verbal cues of valuation of certain elements of the home, as could have been seen in the handling of personal objects or heirlooms, and movements through residential heritage environments.

Given that some interviews had been conducted prior to the pandemic, I also strongly felt the discrepancy between in-person meetings (which felt more like a friendly conversation) and online or phone calls (where the atmosphere of us-being-strangers, and the slightly awkward dynamics between researcher-researched never fully disappeared). Considering the known and mostly proven stereotype of the rather distant nature of Swabians and Alemannic Germans (those living in Baden-Württemberg) towards outsiders,

this most likely affected the depth of conversations and information provided by participants, despite my local relations and Alemannic origin. While in person and prior to the pandemic, I was welcomed and warmed up to quickly after people had discovered my familiarity with the region and distinct local dialect, the same effect could not be achieved as much during Zoom or phone calls. Even further, I believe that people will likely have been more aware of the fact that they were recorded, a fact which was mostly overlooked in person because interviewees seemed to be fully immersed in conversation instead.

While in the earlier stages of my research, people were able – and visibly more than happy – to show me around their homes, streets, and neighbourhoods, and remark on individual experiences and memories, familial heritage, and simply reminisce in and around places of personal relevance and importance, the pandemic reality of observing everyday heritage was vastly different. There was little to no (physical) interaction between people and some of the environments they described, which made it even more difficult to gauge and assess the value of the places and spaces that were verbally attributed significance to by my interviewees. It also made it virtually impossible to observe habitual heritage performance. Therefore, investigating heritage creation and meaning-making through watching participants and their behaviour or simply their being-in-the-place, fell flat. Any insights gained had to mainly rely on people's stories and recollections.

Although I hope for everyday heritage to evolve into an increasingly democratic interplay and approach, it does come from and is investigated through the eye of an 'educated' academic. The shift to online data collection further highlighted this (simultaneously imaginary and real) chasm. Despite one's best efforts, the conversations held and observations made will be interpreted and processed by at least an 'academically or professionally interested/experienced' outsider. Moving beyond this perspective and inescapable representation of the 'expert' will hence always prove difficult and should certainly be addressed – especially so in the exploration of everyday heritage, as it heavily relies on trusting and open relationships and communication between interview partners.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodological framework of this research. First I presented my initial research design which was revised after its piloting. Originally, I had intended to investigate whether and how people's perception of their listed homes may change in light of alterations made to the respective buildings. I wanted to investigate which values individuals attributed to their heritage homes and how these would compare and contrast

with those of the local authorised discourses. The data gathered via interviews in an initial pilot study suggested that matters of value and significance were not neatly comparable, especially with the lack of comprehensive information available regarding the local *Denkmalschutz's* evaluatory processes. These insights suggested that examining the intersections and differences between official and personal understandings of heritage, their value and significance would present an interesting angle to explore in this research. These themes will be addressed in chapters 6 and 8 respectively.

Further, I realised that changes to the 'authentic' material fabric of heritage homes – as considered constitutive of the significance of said *Denkmal* by the local AHDs – were considered largely irrelevant in the individual perception and valuation of the buildings. Instead, it appeared that different forms of heritage and engagements with the past emerged from people living in and around officially sanctioned heritage. This will be particularly relevant in chapter 7, which is concerned with the differing notions of authenticity and materiality from an authorised and everyday viewpoint.

The final research design sought to explore these engagements and variations of heritage. It first investigated the legislative documents and public reports of the local authorised discourses. The secondary data collected in this research is predominantly based on a Critical Discourse Analysis of those documents, but particularly *Historische Ortsanalysen* which constitute one of the rare comprehensive and available sources detailing the definitions and evaluation criteria for (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* in Baden-Württemberg. As part of this CDA, I produced a topic list of the overarching themes within the local authorised discourses which outlined material preservation, heritage obligations, temporality, and *Denkmale* for the public as central themes. The content of official documents, papers, and reports were further analysed in accordance with the five considerations of references, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, and communication. This part of my discourse analysis sought to identify and demonstrate whom/what was spoken or written about and how it was done. This secondary data provides the foundation for my presentation of the local AHDs in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

The primary data presented in this thesis was collected via semi-structured interviews, observation of and participation in communal heritage events, and the visitation of 'heritage markers' in various towns. This chapter outlined the demographics of my participants which were mostly middle-aged to elderly, highly educated, and predominantly male. Here, I particularly noted the relatively uniform background of the people interviewed and briefly discuss how their high levels of education (including on the local and international authorised discourses such as the *Denkmalschutzamt* or institutions such as

UNESCO) may influence both the data collection process and people's perceptions of heritage generally. I suggested that general knowledge of managerial practice and policies likely aided our overall discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of official heritage conservation, but may also have impeded my attempts at moving beyond authorised definitions of heritage as participants' perceptions of heritage were largely influenced by the AHDs. People's attitudes towards local *Denkmalschutz* is a central theme of chapter 6.

I then outlined the case studies discussed in this thesis which were selected on the basis of ten *Historische Ortsanalysen* geographically spread across Baden-Württemberg. From these reports, I noted down domestic heritage buildings of all three *Denkmal* categories discussed in this chapter (i.e. *Kulturdenkmal*, *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*). Following this initial selection, I narrowed down the list of potential case studies based on the house's ownership status and the degree to which physical alterations were present. Building types ranged from art nouveau villas, half-timbered houses, farmsteads, artisan cottages, to former mediaeval taverns. Subsequently, I interviewed 41 people, of which 34 were based on case studies from *Historische Ortsanalysen*. Interviews were conversational, qualitative, and audio-recorded and centred around a list of themes and questions I had identified prior to data collection. These sought to explore people's understanding of heritage broadly and in their home (environments) and examine the general idea of 'place' and heritage-making. This was instrumental in building my understanding of everyday heritage in the context of this work, which will be discussed in chapter 5. Moreover, I investigated how significance was attributed to authorised and everyday heritage and whether and how change may affect this. This will be relevant in chapters 7 and 8 where I outline differing understandings of how change affects individual perceptions and valuations of heritage. Authenticity and materiality, here, were a central concern as well, as is the central theme of chapter 7.

This chapter then presented my approaches to data interpretation and analysis. I discussed transcription as an interpretive tool, the use of individual interview summaries, and how I created a list of themes and underlying topics that emerged from the interviewing process overall. Further, I outlined the application of 'hot and cold interpretation' in both the examination of authorised and personal perceptions of heritage and how I used 'hot' and 'cold' cognitions to analyse and emphasise participants' feelings, values, and affects based on their respective expressions.

This section was followed by a brief positionality statement which outlined my simultaneous insider- and outsidership to the people interviewed in this research. Here, I argued that my upbringing and familiarity with the region and dialect will have conveyed

an insiderness that may have strengthened relationships with my participants, but that my foreign education and long absence from life in Baden-Württemberg will undoubtedly have presented me as an outsider as well. In this subsection, I also emphasised my deliberate positioning as an outsider to the local AHDs and its practices as I presumed this would allow for more open and honest feedback on local managerial practice and their relationship with and perception of the *Denkmalschutzamt* from participants. Afterwards, I presented my ethics statement which outlines the procedures and considerations taken as part of my research design and data collection. This section describes how I obtained consent from my participants and how data confidentiality, anonymity, and the safe storing of data is ensured.

Lastly, I addressed the challenges and limitations of this research. Firstly, I commented on the linguistic intricacies of this work which was particularly evident during the conceptualisation of my methodological approaches, particularly the interviewing. As will be detailed further in the following chapter, the lack of an adequate German translation for the English 'heritage' causes challenges in the exploration of heritage beyond the definitions presented within the authorised discourses. The German equivalent translates to "cultural heritage" which holds direct connotation to memorial culture and conservational practice. This imposes subconscious biases towards a specific idea of heritage which I sought to navigate and mitigate accordingly. I reflect on this back and forth between authorised and non-authorised heritage and its perception in the main chapters of this thesis. Generally, this awareness of inherent linguistic biases towards a certain notion of heritage will have been analytically beneficial to my work as it enabled me to investigate perceptions of 'heritage' more carefully and deliberately. This was insightful for my reflections on authenticity and significance in chapters 7 and 8, but also for my general exploration of heritage in domestic, yet somewhat officially sanctioned environments and homes as discussed in chapter 6.

Lastly, I remarked on the differences between data collection before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and suggested that the information obtained from Zoom and phone conversations during the latter half of data collection likely yielded less 'deep' or substantial results as participants appeared more distant and less trusting since they had not met me in person. I commented on the lack of direct observational data as I was unable to see people engage with their direct environment, especially in the handling of objects and in the arrangement of items within the home. While this research would have benefitted from a larger dataset on these matters, I contend that online data collection did not hinder the successful completion of this project.

The methodological framework for this research was designed to address each of the research questions through a combination of qualitative approaches. In doing so, I sought to

present a holistic perspective of the complexities surrounding heritage perception, value, and experience. To explore 1) how living with listed buildings affects perceptions of heritage, semi-structured interviews provided individual-personal accounts from members of the general public, while IPA shed light on the emotional and sensory dimensions of these experiences. Visual and observational methods were employed to further contextualise these by illustrating everyday engagements with heritage spaces or showcase tangible markers of particular relevance.

For understanding 2) how value and significance are attributed to heritage from both authorised and individual perspectives, interviews, CDA, and IPA were essential. CDA enabled me to examine the *Denkmalschutz*'s official heritage discourse presented through public communication, reports, and policy papers. I then contrasted this with participants' narratives obtained from interviews to reveal overlaps or divergences in perceived heritage value. Here, observational and photographic data further demonstrated how participants and communities physically and/or symbolically engaged with heritage as part of daily life

In exploring 3) the intersections and differences between 'official' and 'personal' perspectives, semi-structured interviews provided me with individual, non-expert understandings of heritage, while CDA allowed for insights into authorised heritage definitions and perceptions. Here, IPA highlighted how participants navigated these official narratives. Further, Uzzell's 'hot versus cold' interpretation approach offered a more nuanced understanding of the emotional contrasts in these engagements and often diverging perceptions. Taken together, this multi-methodological approach offered a comprehensive and holistic understanding of how heritage is experienced, valued, and understood as part of daily life, both through the lens of the authorised and everyday.

CHAPTER 4: GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter presents the geographic and sociopolitical context of heritage in Germany and the state of Baden-Württemberg specifically. It first discusses the etymology of the word 'heritage' in the German language to shed light on the challenges that arise with not only direct translations from English to German and vice versa, but also its implications for this research and the wider understanding and perception of heritage in Germany. It further outlines the history of heritage management and conservation in Baden-Württemberg, presenting its current policies and guidelines as well as the range of official statuses attributed to tangible heritage. In line with this, this chapter presents the history of *Denkmalschutz* in Baden-Württemberg, thereby pinpointing the birth of its authorised discourses. This serves as a starting point for understanding where and how the managerial and conservational mission and responsibilities may have changed over time and how this affects current policy and practice. The chapter then proceeds to outline the relationship between heritage management and protection and the domestic sphere. As part of this section, I outline the three main *Denkmal* statuses linked to domestic heritage buildings and present not only the relevant legislation but also the implications that the different status attributions may have for heritage homeowners in light of potential changes to the material fabric.

Lost in Translation: *Denkmal* and the Etymology of Heritage in Germany

When translating the word "heritage" directly into German, I was presented with the following options: 1) *Erbe*, meaning legacy, 2) *Erbschaft*, referring to (material) inheritance, and 3) *Überlieferung*, primarily describing tradition or transmission. None of these, however, include or characterise the nuances scholars and professionals have come to attribute to heritage, especially in the Anglo-American (academic) system.

Instead, the German terms closest to our anglophone understanding of heritage are *Kulturerbe* or *Kulturgut*, which translate to "cultural heritage" or "cultural objects". As such, the German word for 'heritage' does not encompass both the tangible and intangible, but rather presupposes the material; in those cases when intangible and immaterial aspects of heritage are to be specified, "immaterial" then precedes "cultural heritage" – forming the phrase *immaterielles Kulturerbe*.

However, in specifying (material) manifestations of heritage, such as listed buildings, memorials, or historic monuments, one would regularly use yet another key term: *Denkmal*. It is frequently encountered and used in the German heritage scene, and particularly so in the spheres of the authorised discourse. *Denkmal* generally translates to “memorial”, “monument”, or “landmark”.

Beyond this, an etymological analysis provides even deeper insight into the nuances and understanding of heritage in Germany. Coined in the early 16th century by Martin Luther, and derived as a loan translation from Greek and Latin (i.e. *monēre* (Latin) = “remind” and “remember”, and *mnēmósynon* (Greek) = “memory” and “remembrance”), *Denkmal* was used to describe an aide-mémoire (Kluge 2001, 189; Selbmann 1988). The term became commonplace without a universal definition and could, in extreme cases, denote any object that attracted a more general interest. To this day, *Denkmal* is only broadly defined, mainly as a tangible object or monument serving as a vehicle to remember a person, a thing, or a historical event – in short: to commemorate (Über 1976, 13).

Interestingly, this difference in terminology and language had several implications for this research, and especially how methods were designed and applied; these have been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter 3. On a more general level, this exploration of the links between language and notions of heritage prompted the broadening of my research objectives. It particularly made me wonder about the context in which heritage is being reflected upon, as well as the ramifications of how heritage is understood and valued in Germany.

Investigating this perception of heritage turned out to be highly interwoven with the terminological peculiarities of *Denkmal*. Both the process of conducting this research, as well as the findings themselves showed the strong entanglement between the authorised and official with the personal and individual perspectives on heritage. In Germany, there is no way of talking about heritage without referring to the authorised and official; in people’s understanding, and this is emphasised linguistically, heritage is almost always thought to be the official, the listed, that which emanates from the experts. Which, if any, impacts does this have on the experience and performance of everyday heritage?

The Authorised Heritage Discourses: Current Policies and Guidelines for Preserving *Denkmale*

In Germany, each federal state is individually responsible for the protection and conservation of heritage resources within its region, with each state having defined its own

Denkmalschutzrecht (monument protection law); heritage laws are therefore enacted and enforced on a state-by-state basis (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 67). Nonetheless, throughout the country, there is a universal understanding of what heritage, *Kulturerbe* or *Denkmale*, is meant to comprise, namely objects of archaeological, historical, literary, artistic or scientific significance (Kulturgutschutz Deutschland 2020); ‘objects’ here mostly refers to its tangible forms, but also considers the intangible – though this is not one of the dominant perspectives.

The German National Committee for Monument Protection specifies *Denkmale* as individual buildings including their interiors, multi-part complexes and ensembles as well as parks and cultural landscapes, statues, and above-ground and underground archaeological relics (Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz 2021). In the German authorised heritage discourses, heritage places and spaces are predominantly considered corporeal “testimonies to the past” functioning as “indispensable anchors of collective memory” (ibid).

According to most recent numbers, there are between 800.000 and 1.000.000 architectural and cultural heritage objects listed in Germany, of which roughly 90.000 are located in the state of Baden-Württemberg alone (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2020a; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 67; Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2018; Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011). This is between 9% and 11.25% of the total number of cultural heritage objects documented in the country. Since Germany is made up of 16 federal states, an even, average distribution of the total number of its heritage objects/sites amounts to 50.000 cultural monuments per state. With almost double that number, Baden-Württemberg is well above the average.

Moreover, in comparison with the rest of Germany, the state is of particular interest and importance to this research due to its “outstanding historic urban landscape”. Baden-Württemberg is characterised by a unique variety, diversity, individuality, and quality of historic city and town centres. Of these, 110 objects are currently protected as *Gesamtanlagen* (entire complexes) according to §19 of the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* (Monument Protection Act) (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019a).

These *Gesamtanlagen* comprise not only individual buildings, but also entire town or city centres with their historic layout, streets and squares, green and open spaces, and the entirety of the historic building fabric. Although not unique to Baden-Württemberg alone, the scope to which these entire complexes are relevant to heritage management and the extent to which they influence the authorised understanding of heritage in the state,

emphasise *Gesamtanlagen* as an intriguing facet of the authorised discourse in Germany. This has been explored in chapter 3 and will further be addressed in subsequent chapters.

In part due to this multifacetedness and richness of heritage places and spaces, all case studies are located in the state of Baden-Württemberg in southwest Germany, bordering France to the west and Switzerland to the south. The following sections will focus specifically on the history and heritage of the region's *Denkmalschutz* (monument protection). It will briefly outline how this came to impact their authorised definitions of heritage, as well as describe the state's mission and responsibilities regarding heritage management and preservation. I will further contextualise the authorised discourse and its guidelines for heritage management and conservation in Baden-Württemberg as well as its (inter-)relation with everyday heritage in later chapters, especially in *The Intersections Between Authorised and Everyday*.

History of the *Denkmalschutz* in Baden-Württemberg, or The Birth of its AHD

In 1853, the first state conservator for the *Denkmalpflege* (Monuments Conservation) was appointed in the Grand Duchy of Baden; five years later, the first Württembergian state conservator took office. These events thereby marked the foundation of today's *Denkmalpflege* (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016a).

At the turn of the 20th century, the institution experienced a shift in its aims and objectives; whereas its mission had previously been oriented towards ensuring a “pleasing appearance” through “creative monuments conservation”, which essentially referred to common practices of reconstruction and replication, it now refocused on the motto “preserve substance – maintain appearance” (ibid). This mission statement is still in place and often quoted literally today.

After World War II, South Baden adopted its first official Monument Protection Act, which was later revised and ultimately brought into effect in 1972 (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 67); this is the state legislation that the current *Denkmalschutzgesetz* Baden-Württemberg (i.e. the Monument Protection Act) continues to build on (ibid).

Mission and Responsibilities of the *Denkmalschutz*

According to the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* (State Office for the Preservation of Historical Monuments) Baden-Württemberg, the aim of their institution – and heritage management and conservation in general – is to preserve *Denkmale* in their appearance for future

generations to serve as testimonies of the past “in their historical existence and substance” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege 2016b).

Their responsibilities include taking inventory, urban heritage management and building/construction research. Inventory is concerned with the recording and researching of *Denkmale* as individual objects in the area, whilst urban heritage management is responsible for recording and researching “extensive historical contexts” (ibid). More in-depth and detail-oriented investigations of individual objects are part of historical building/construction research and building documentation.

The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* Baden-Württemberg sees “practical monument preservation” as the pivotal element of its mission and responsibility, as part of which it advises and supports all those involved in planning and taking measures for the care and preservation of the built cultural monuments in the state (ibid; see also Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 9ff.).

***Denkmalschutz* and the Domestic Sphere**

Since the focus of this research lies on the heritage of the everyday, I have specifically looked into those heritage objects that (currently) serve as domiciliary buildings; this will further be outlined in *Theoretical Background* and *Methodology and Methods*, with mainly the basics being summarised in the paragraphs below.

The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* Baden-Württemberg differentiates between three categories of (residential) heritage buildings: the *Kulturdenkmal*, the *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, and the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*, which will all be presented below. Interestingly, there are no adequate guidelines which help heritage management professionals to clarify and support the categorisation and conservation process (Keller 2020; Thiem 2020). This will be further discussed below.

The first – and one may argue, most authorised – of those heritage objects is the *Kulturdenkmal* (cultural monument). Firmly established in the *Denkmalschutzgesetz*, it is precisely defined by the state of Baden-Württemberg as part of their declaration on the subject of monument protection:

“§ 2 *Denkmalschutzgesetz*: Gegenstand des Denkmalschutzes

(1) Cultural monuments within the meaning of this Act are objects, groups of objects and parts of objects whose preservation is in the public interest for scientific, artistic or local historical reasons. (2) Included in a cultural monument are its accessories, as long as they form a unit of value. (3) Subject to the protection of historical

monuments are also 1) the surroundings of a cultural monument, insofar as they are of considerable importance for its appearance (Article 15 paragraph 3), and 2) entire complexes (Article 19).“ (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014).

The *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude* (building worth preserving) describes a building worthy of preservation due to its historical significance for the local image (Thiem 2020). Though as much of an individual building as the *Kulturdenkmal*, they are often classified as such in conjunction with the assessment and management of *Gesamtanlagen* (its context), which will play a larger role in chapters 7 and 8. Their qualification as *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, however, is mostly non-binding and primarily has a "recommendatory character" (Thiem 2020), and so they are only indirectly anchored and protected in §19 of the *Denkmalschutzgesetz*.

Lastly, the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* (potential cultural monument – subject to review) describes the least concrete building classification present within heritage management in Baden-Württemberg. This *Denkmal* category is not quite defined as such, and instead "should be examined more closely in the run-up to structural measures being implemented in the building" (Numberger 2013, 18). A *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* is elusive, left in a limbo of potential future significance to the authorised eye – unless, that is, urban development or redevelopment planning is underway. In this case, the building is reassessed in its worthiness of protection and potential for reclassification. Because of its characterisation as something yet to be decided upon, the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* is not enshrined in the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* at all.

Despite the presence of those *Denkmal* categories, there is an obvious lack of guidelines when it comes to the assessment of ‘worthiness’ and classification of those heritage buildings; though legally binding, their (e)valuation is largely based on best practice and the individual perspective of the heritage management expert in charge (Keller 2020; Thiem 2020). This feeds into a common issue which is rooted in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany: “*Eigentum verpflichtet*”, meaning that ownership of a building or space legally obligates the respective owner to take care of it appropriately (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949 Art. 14; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 67). This, however, comes without specific guidelines on what this entails and how to enact such care. This lack of guidelines and, as a result, complete dependency on heritage management professionals makes it difficult for homeowners to anticipate and gauge the responsibilities or measures they may need to implement with regard to their *Denkmalgebäude* (transl.: (official) heritage building). Often

resulting from this are not only collisions of interests but also discrepancies in how heritage is viewed and valued.

What impact does this have on people's relationships with heritage in everyday life? How may this influence the understanding of heritage, and, in turn, how it is created and engaged with in the everyday? This clash between the authorised and the everyday is a central aspect of this research; it will be revisited and thoroughly analysed through the course of this dissertation, especially in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the etymological biases towards authorised notions of heritage inherent in the German language. 'Heritage' as a broadly construed term does not exist as such in German. Instead, most heritage described within its AHDs is summarised under the umbrella of *Denkmal*, a word deeply rooted in memorial practices and the material fabric of objects and places. In its essence, *Denkmale* are considered markers for and containers of memory that are being fixed in time and space to serve as static representatives of the past in the present day. Linguistically, heritage is thus not only reduced primarily to the material but is also considered a passive agent in people's engagements with the past, as the overall sentiment of *Denkmale* suggests that memories and values may, first and foremost, be attributed to them. The etymology of this commonly used term for heritage in the German language, therefore, is neither particularly inclusive of intangible forms of heritage nor of the dynamic and fluid interrelationships in the engagements between humans and (tangible) heritage more broadly. This particularly fails to consider and include those engagements with heritage that may take place either partially or fully beyond the authorised spheres, for example in people's engagements with local traditions, personal heirlooms, or living in listed buildings or historically dense environments.

Understanding the implications of language allows me to approach the meaning and perception of 'heritage' in German society more broadly. This is particularly relevant as I want to examine how people experience and create heritage in their daily lives, both within the spheres of the AHDs (i.e. by living in and around listed tangible heritage) and beyond. Given that language may also introduce certain biases, these linguistic intricacies and related challenges were highly relevant to my research methodology (as discussed in the previous chapter). Denoting a specific idea of heritage, *Denkmal* as a term is closely interwoven with the emergence and evolution of heritage management in Germany. Therefore, situating the concept of heritage in Germany in this wider linguistic and historical context is particularly

relevant for understanding the local AHDs beyond their statutory texts and practices which will be outlined and discussed in subsequent chapters.

This chapter also examined the history and origins of *Denkmalschutz* in Baden-Württemberg, to understand how current policy and practice evolved over the centuries. In light of the case studies presented in chapter 3, I further outlined the three most relevant *Denkmal* categories attributed to domestic heritage buildings in Baden-Württemberg: the *Kulturdenkmal*, the *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, and the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*. Their respective attributions hold varying implications for heritage conservation and management, as the *Kulturdenkmal* is the only category that grants full protection under German law, whereas the other two hold merely a semi-authorised status. While both the *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude* and the *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* are recognised as potentially historically and materially relevant to the mission of *Denkmalschutz*, their status is not officialised. In turn, this affects the degree to which changes to the building fabric may be implemented. It, therefore, holds implications for how people living in and owning such (semi-)authorised heritage buildings may be able to engage with their homes. This particularly includes debates on alterations of the material fabric, particularly the exterior of those houses, and the lack of guidance on caring for listed buildings. This is central to exploring public notions towards local heritage management (to be discussed in chapter 6). Further, the issue of changes implemented in domestic heritage buildings was particularly relevant to exploring authorised and individual notions of authenticity – or the lack thereof – as will be thematised in chapter 7.

However, the data collected early in the piloting stages of this research (see chapter 3) also suggested that individual heritage formation and perception may not (solely) depend on the degree to which physical changes may be realised. Instead, engagements with (semi-)authorised heritage buildings and spaces may extend beyond the tangible sphere and include more individualistic creations of heritage as rooted in mundane relationships between past, present, and future in everyday life. While the tangible *Denkmal* that has been officialised as such by the AHDs lies at the heart of these engagements, their materiality may not necessarily always be as relevant and dominant in the formation of other, more personal heritages. These matters will further be addressed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5: EXPLORING EVERYDAY HERITAGE

Introduction

In the past five years, everyday heritage has surfaced as a term within Heritage Studies but has not been defined properly in the academic literature so far. As explained earlier in this thesis, I do not seek to provide an all-encompassing definition that describes this term as a new concept. Instead, I aim to contextualise it within existing works and approaches towards people's engagements with heritage in everyday life. In doing so, I strive to both delineate and expand its conceptualisation based on the case studies examined throughout this thesis.

This chapter will first outline the existing works centring around how people engage with and create heritage in mundane, everyday environments. Following this, I will discuss approaches to non-authorised heritage (formation) as well as studies that employ the term 'everyday heritage'. Based on this I explain the need for an expansion of the idea of everyday heritage, the reasoning behind using this terminology in this work, and how I understand it in the context of this research.

While this chapter will refer to broader observations and insights emerging from the data collection process and occasionally uses participant quotes, it merely serves as a vantage point from which the key themes of this research will be explored more thoroughly in the following main chapters. First and foremost, I seek to describe the basic understanding of everyday heritage that informs how I contextualised and examined my data. Lastly, I discuss everyday heritage creation in light of the concept of 'heritagisation' and use findings and general observations from my primary data to emphasise the roles of memory, performance, and sharing practices in the formation of everyday heritage.

Previous Relevant Research

Several works and approaches may be considered similar to this research, as all of them either concretely thematise everyday heritage or people's mundane and unauthorised engagements with the past as part of daily life. In the subsequent sections, I will first outline and discuss those that may be considered similar or applicable to this study, then those that specifically refer to 'everyday heritage'.

In chapter 2, I addressed Poullos' (2010, 2011, 2014) living heritage approach and suggested that it did not fit my exploration and understanding of the everyday heritage discussed in this thesis. I contend that this is because his approach centres around the continuity of

function, whereas much of the everyday heritage I explored as part of this research was formed, rooted in, and attributed significance due to its disruption. As I will demonstrate throughout this work, the case studies presented showed how the past was personalised and adapted in the present to fit certain notions of identity and lifestyle, individual, familial, or communal narratives, or to affirm a sense of place or feelings of belonging (see chapter 8). Further, Poullos' approach was grounded in the notion that living heritage was created and sustained primarily by entire communities who retained an 'original' connection with objects or sites. As I will discuss in the main chapters of this thesis, such original connections to buildings and sites were present for some of the participants interviewed in this research. These may have been seen in an appreciation for the building's craftsmanship, age or artistic style, or its representativeness of the town's history. For some people, as will be outlined in chapter 8, this was vocalised in or contributed to an overall sense of place and general attachment to locality. However, this was not overarchingly constitutive of the everyday heritage forms presented in this thesis, as many expressions of and engagements with the past in people's daily lives moved beyond such officially sanctioned values and definitions.

As discussed previously as well, Poullos' living heritage approach nonetheless informed the theoretical framework of this research. Because it was also concerned with the clashes between the AHDs and non-expert people arising from living in and around officially sanctioned heritage buildings, sites, and environments, it was relevant to my exploration of the intersections between the authorised and everyday (see chapter 6). Further, Poullos addressed (material) change as an inescapable aspect of people's engagements with the tangible past; I contend with this and contextualise it with my case study data in chapter 7.

In *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public*, Merriman (1991) seeks to understand the social role of heritage by examining the role of the past in people's present. He did so via a large-scale survey of adults in Great Britain, investigating their attitudes to museum and heritage-visiting, their images of the past, and non-museum ways of experiencing the past. While his study may initially be considered similar to the research presented in this thesis, he does so in an attempt to inform and improve museum practices by enhancing the accessibility of museums – which is not the object of my research. Moreover, as the title suggests, Merriman approaches his research from 'the public' whereas I predominantly look into individuals (as stated in chapters 1 and 3).

Further, I argue that the attitudes towards the past he discovered through this survey differ fundamentally from the ones voiced during the interviews with my participants: "The majority of the population attach some value to knowing about the past. However, images of

the past are, surprisingly, not nostalgic but overwhelmingly adverse. Rather than wanting to retreat to the past as a haven from today's problems, most people believe they are much better off in the present" (Merriman 1991, 4). Merriman argues that there are differences in these perceptions which he presumes to lie within the social and economic status of the individual: "Those who are less fortunate in the present are more likely than any others to see the past as better in many respects than the present, while those who are well-off now see few redeeming features in the past" (ibid.). Considering the relatively homogeneous demographics of my participants (see chapter 3), all of which can be considered 'well-off' socially and economically, I argue that this notion may also be rejected in light of my data. Throughout chapters 6, 7, and 8, I will demonstrate the complexity of how individuals perceive and engage with authorised and semi-authorised heritage in their daily lives. The primary data obtained from participant interviews and observations at communal heritage events indicates no such polarised notions of the past. Based on my data, I instead argue that attributions of significance and especially the valuation of pastness or 'the past' are highly individualistic and cannot be reduced to socioeconomic status alone. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 8.

Furthermore, Merriman distinguishes differently between authorised and non-authorised than I do in my work: While he draws from activities such as treasure hunting or a belief "in UFOs and the like" (Merriman 1991, 5), I explore other non-authorised ways of engaging with the past such as people's relationships with listed buildings or neighbourhoods as their homes, or the role of heirlooms, photographs, or trinkets that constitute part of everyday life. These, and more, will be thematised throughout this chapter and the remainder of this thesis. I also disagree with Merriman's stance that non-authorised engagements with the past are based on romanticism and a lack of formal education on heritage, museums, and the past (see Merriman 1991, 5). Given the demographics of my participants and the well-informed discussions on the local authorised discourses (see chapter 6) and larger heritage institutions, the latter is clearly not the case. Appendix 5 also highlights some of the answers given by participants that suggest deep knowledge of managerial practice and global Authorised Heritage Discourse institutions such as UNESCO or ICOMOS.

In connecting non-authorised engagements to romanticism Merriman further suggests that authorised engagements (here, concretely: archaeology, but I also include museum practices given the focus of his study overall) are not rooted in such romantic ideals. Considering the secondary data collected as part of my research, I disagree with this: As I will expand on in chapters 6, 7, and 8, Baden-Württembergian managerial policy and

practice centre around the material preservation of a very specific, aesthetically pleasing, historically 'representative', and thus widely engaging form of *Denkmale*. Drawing from participant interviews, chapter 6 particularly thematises the issues and dissatisfaction among the general public arising from these conservational ideals. In line with this, many participants complained about 'surface-heritagisation' which equates to a phenomenon Smith (2006, 33; see also Smith et al. 1992; Hollinshead 1999, 19; Waitt 2000) already coined as the 'Disneyfication' of heritage. This further adds to negate Merriman's comment in that it shows how little such 'romanticism' is appreciated by the general public and that the practices and policies of the authorised discourses may well be rooted in it – at least regarding my case studies and region.

The relationship between ordinary people and their homes has been studied extensively by Miller. In *The Comfort of Things* (2008), he explored how individuals in a random street in contemporary London use their material possessions to construct identities and engage with the past in a non-authorised, everyday domestic context. As briefly outlined in the introduction of this thesis, Miller's work and mine overlap and significantly differ in various respects. While engaging with home environments and how people construct a sense of past and heritage beyond the authorised discourses, his case studies are not set in a heritage-dense environment governed by local heritage authorities such as the *Gesamtanlagen* and the listed buildings and neighbourhoods they encompass. At the same time, like Miller, I explore the relationships "between persons and things" (2008, 6), albeit in an attempt to understand how living with(in) listed buildings and environments (or remnants of the past more broadly) may affect people's perception of heritage.

However, the findings from his study suggest that notions of society or community are not directly relevant to the lives of the individuals he investigated (Miller 2008, 283). Miller argues that: "There are some vestiges of collectivity in the street, for instance the church and the pub, but most people make limited use of these: Other areas not covered by this study, such as sites of work and collective leisure, may be more sociable; but equally they may not be. On the smaller side, streets, households give at least the impression that people know each other, while on Stuart Street itself this is rare" (Miller 2008, 284). This differs from the observations made in my work: Here, collectivity or the idea of being rooted in communities is more evident in everyday heritage; this will be addressed particularly in chapter 8. While my case studies mostly focus on the immediate domestic environment of people, namely the home, most inevitably draw connections to the wider local community in some ways (as will be discussed in chapter 8). I contend that in this research this is probably the case due to the environment of study, namely the *Gesamtanlagen*. While the latter is a

construct of the AHDs, they mostly refer to small-scale villages and towns in rural parts of Baden-Württemberg, where strong local communities are present through shared traditions and local variants of the Alemannic and Swabian dialects, among other things (see chapters 3, 4 and 8).

Another researcher who investigated the relationship between materials and the home was Victor Buchli in *An Archaeology of Socialism* (1999). Although he, too, focused on the idea of daily life, he explored it to understand “how socialism functioned at the very politically and socially significant level of the household” (Buchli 2002, 133). His work centred around the role of material culture in the emergence of totalitarianism through the dynamics of everyday life. In particular, his study is significant in examining how ideology is embedded in everyday objects and spaces. Although Buchli’s research also focused on the everyday experiences of people affected by a dominant discourse (in this instance Soviet socialism), I argue it is not relevant in my exploration of everyday heritage as outlined in this thesis. Whereas my data suggests that *Denkmalschutz* may have a tangible impact on many of the participants interviewed (see chapters 6 and 7), their practices and policies are not targeted towards actively imposing certain ideologies or lifeways. Regarding this, Buchli discusses communal living arrangements and how these influence social relations and individual behaviour, but also the impact of Constructivist architecture in creating a new socialist way of life. These do not apply to the case studies explored in this work, as the rules and regulations of the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses were not instated to enforce certain governmental or national ideologies. From my secondary data analysis emerged that the German AHDs indeed seek to communicate a specific idea of ‘the past’ which contributes to an overarching heritage. However, these are also contextualised with the country’s general history and the emergence of its *Denkmalschutz* practices (see chapter 3).

Moreover, drawing from interview data, I contend that despite the frequent antagonisation of the local AHDs (see chapter 6), many participants were not restricted from freely engaging with the past and creating individual, unauthorised heritages as part of daily life. As will be addressed in the subsequent main chapters of this thesis, many forms of everyday heritage presented and discussed were not or only tangentially related to the authorised discourses. Therefore, Buchli’s work on socialist housing is not relevant to my exploration of non-authorised forms of heritage in people’s engagements with listed buildings and living environments in Baden-Württemberg.

Studies on Everyday Heritage

The term 'everyday heritage' has surfaced in five instances in the past five years which will be outlined and discussed in the context of my work in this section.

In 2019, Mosler first discussed it in the context of place-making and spatiality in urban landscapes. Following Pendlebury (2009), she states that there are "sites that are visited and experienced for their heritage and 'the other', [...] the commonplace heritage which exists as part of the urban terrain of everyday life" (Mosler 2019, 781). As such, she places everyday heritage within everyday life and urban environments broadly. To Mosler (2019, 780), everyday heritage is created through daily engagements with (historic) environments. She argues that the materiality of historic objects provides a "lived-in experience [which] then becomes the perceived reality". She contends that this is essential for "creating everyday spatiality in the landscape; valued by residents through its functionality and everyday symbolism, rather than its historic or heritage value" (Mosler 2019, 780). Some of these notions are also reflected in the data collected in this research: In chapter 8, I will use participant interview data to demonstrate how the significance and relevance attributed to heritage in everyday life by ordinary individuals often differs from the values it is imbued with by the local *Denkmalschutz*. However, throughout this thesis, I also argue that the perception and meaning of people's engagements with authorised heritage as their homes are also interwoven with and influenced by the definitions of heritage presented by local managerial practice and discourse. Further, my data suggests that (semi-)authorised heritage buildings and spaces at the core of everyday heritage (engagements) are considered more than passive vessels of 'the past'. They constitute an essential part of participants' lives and narratives. Thus, *Denkmale* can be considered active agents in creating and expressing the non-authorised forms of heritage explored in this research.

Moreover, Mosler's conception and approach to understanding everyday heritage differs from mine in that she predominantly examines the impact of movement and spatiality on people's perceptions of (heritage) landscapes in the everyday; this especially concerns urban spaces. Her work seems to centre around how individuals move within and beyond those heritage spaces and how they construct meaning and sense of place around them. Nonetheless, sense of place will also be thematised as a central element of the everyday heritages explored in this research (see chapter 8). Yet, Mosler's study revolves around the wider urban landscape of inner cities rather than taking into account the varying scales that may be relevant in the process of everyday heritage formation. I seek to outline and discuss these in the main chapters of this thesis. For example, some participants valued

‘their’ heritage environment on a small scale, namely as being centred around the home and its respective immediate environment (e.g. the garden, street, neighbouring buildings). Others, however, appeared to zoom out further and included heritage (environments) far beyond the scope of their respective home, town, region, state, or even country. My exploration of everyday heritage, therefore, examines notions of locality and place more broadly to allow for the identification and assessment of different levels of place attachment in the creation of non-authorised heritages. This will be thematised in the main chapters of this work, particularly chapter 8.

Generally, Mosler’s research considers the larger impact of people’s everyday engagements with officially sanctioned heritage in urban spaces. It is narrowed down to address its role in place-making overall and in the development of these urban environments. In doing so, she also accounts for the dynamics between tourists and residents which is not a concern in my study. While my exploration of everyday heritage in Baden-Württemberg is also set in historically dense environments, i.e. *Gesamtanlagen*, it examines individual relationships between people and their (semi-)authorised heritage homes as well as those expressions of heritage that move beyond its definitions and tangible fabric as presented via the local AHDs.

In *Everyday Heritage and Place-Making*, Lisa Giombini (2020) builds on Mosler’s research and conception of everyday heritage. Concretely, she defines it as practices of heritage-making through the daily engagement with (authorised) heritage. This presupposes a clear, AHDs-based definition of heritage as tangible objects, sites, or spaces that may be engaged with in everyday life. The matter of everydayness, however, appears to be merely an addendum to the pre-defined and officialised meanings and values attributed to heritage by the authorised discourses. Further, everyday heritage is rooted strictly in the ‘use’ of the tangible heritage fabric, almost constituting a prop people may or may not engage with. The authorised fabric of heritage in urban spaces, in Giombini’s case, functions as a resource based on which individuals may create a sense of identity and place. This aligns widely with the authorised perceptions of heritage discussed in chapter 2 and specifically with the policies and definitions of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* outlined in chapter 6. The latter also includes a discussion of the role of the public in heritage conservation and management which addresses the (presumed) beneficial nature of heritage for all (see also chapters 7 and 8).

Giombini (2020, 57) further defines heritage sites as “culturally and aesthetically significant in themselves; they represent the best and most special achievements of human culture and, thus, inevitably stand out from the flow of the everyday”. After this definition,

however, officially sanctioned heritage and daily life must be incompatible, which she counters by suggesting that “on the other hand [...] these sites also shape our daily life, provide spatial stability and social order, create a sense of temporal continuity for individuals and communities, and give people aesthetic pleasure through comfort and familiarity” (ibid.). This paints a strong picture of heritage as objects or places shaping the passive human being through their inherent and obvious values. Similar notions are also represented in the German AHDs (see chapters 6 and 8). In this vein, Giombini (2020, 57) also suggests that heritage has “the capacity to form and give substance to the routines of our days, and in the power it has to draw us out of the daily humdrum”. Here, I wonder: If it succeeds in the latter, can it truly be ‘everyday’ in the sense of being ordinary and mundane?

Such statements underscore the vast differences between how Giombini and I conceptualise and perceive everyday heritage. Throughout this thesis, I argue that everyday heritage is an often (externally and sometimes even internally) unrecognised form of heritage, created and attributed significance in the more or less mundane and ordinary daily life. While it may be somewhat rooted in or bound to official heritage sites or places, the everyday heritage explored in this work does not require external, expert validation and conservation (see, for example, chapter 8). It may surely be evoked and maintained in tangible cues within a historic environment, but is not anchored in and solely derives its meaning and relevance from an already existing, valued *Denkmal*. Even more so, and as I will outline in the main chapters of this work, everyday heritage as I view it in the context of my case studies is primarily formed in the self. Due to this, it can predominantly exist, be continuously upheld, and ascribed significance in the mind – through recollection of memory and narrative, and reflections on identity and place in the world.

Further, Giombini views everydayness in light of repetitive practice: She states that “everything can and does become banal by way of continual repetition. Even the greatest of buildings and the most spectacular architectures eventually lose their attractiveness when we see them every single day” (Giombini 2020, 58). This argument suggests that Giombini equates everydayness/repetition with banality/loss of value. Further, she appears to ground value in the conscious recognition that something is spectacular, outstanding, or attractive at all times. In chapters 7 and 8, I highlight the differing notions of authenticity, value, and significance between authorised and everyday perspectives on heritage. In light of the secondary data consulted in this work, Giombini’s perspective on everydayness appears to parallel the same idea of the local authorised discourses in Baden-Württemberg (see chapters 4, 6, 7, and 8). My analysis of the respective primary data, however, resulted in a differing

perspective on everyday heritage, namely that significance and insignificance present two sides of the same coin (see the respective section in chapter 8). The perception of one and the same *Denkmal* or heritage may vary within and between participants and experts. As discussed in chapter 2, I view heritage as a process in which its delineations and meanings are constantly (re)evaluated. Therefore, perceptions and valuations of heritage may change, albeit I contend that this is not rooted in the repetition of its use and the frequency with which people engage with and appreciate it. Throughout this thesis, and drawing from interview data, I outline the depth of attachment and significance participants express regarding their engagements with the past and the personal, unauthorised, everyday heritage resulting from them. Many of these are based on repetitive, mundane activities and practices in daily life.

Most centrally, Giombini and I hold differing notions of everydayness, banality, and insignificance. For instance, she states: “I am sure that even the beautiful Helen may have eventually appeared ordinary to Paris, once he had to wake up next to her everyday single morning in the well-walled city of Troy. And yet, as history teaches us, isn’t it for the sake of these everyday, familiar, and even banal things that people have been most ready to fight, wars have been waged, and empires have been made and unmade?” (Giombini 2020, 58). In my exploration and expansion of the idea of everyday heritage, I try to emphasise that ordinariness or insignificance is neither constitutive nor reflective of the importance of people’s attachments to the past. Something that appears so deeply impactful on people – in a way that they would, as Giombini put it, be most ready to fight and wage wars for – cannot be universally placed in the realm of banality and mundanity. As particularly thematised in chapter 8, such everyday heritage is immensely, often unspeakably important in the construction of sense of place, identity, of the self. As she rightly stated, heritage may become “a part of the furniture of [one’s] inner self” (Giombini 2020, 58).

Lekakis and Dragouni (2020) present rural heritage as a form of everyday heritage rooted in communities. In their case study, they thematise the remnants of the past on the island of Naxos in Greece which features “a wide range of material heritage elements, from natural features to buildings and structures, most of which survive today as abandoned or semi-abandoned places of another time” (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020, 84). They seek to study everyday heritage by applying landscape theory and examining ruined or abandoned material heritage. Generally, they explore rural heritage on Naxos to foster understanding and protection for a particular rural heritage under threat by rising levels of tourism and the resulting abandonment of buildings. Further, Lekakis and Dragouni demonstrate that even

the island itself is slowly being abandoned as its inhabitants move to the mainland of Greece.

Several differences arise between our studies: For instance, they observed strong overall rootedness in community and communal practices which has not emerged as a dominant theme from participant interviews. As will be outlined in chapter 8, while some individuals anchor their everyday heritage in a sense of community and its involvement, this cannot be said for all engagements with the past observed in my research. Moreover, Lekakis and Dragouni draw few direct links to authorised, listed heritage sites and places, whereas this work is fundamentally concerned with examining how people live in and around, and therefore automatically engage with officially sanctioned (historic) heritage environments. Further, they observed “the existence of two antagonistic narration strands across studied communities that appear to conceive heritage significance by drawing on either ‘dominant’ discourses or personal experience (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020, 88). As I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, especially in chapters 7 and 8, the participants interviewed as part of my research also based some of the significance of ‘their’ heritage on authorised definitions and values of *Denkmale*. However, these attributions of significance and relevance were not grounded in an antagonistic either/or thinking. Instead, participants intermingled authorised and personal perceptions of value and importance which all contributed to their creation of everyday heritage. As I reflect on in chapter 6, this is likely due to the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages in that people lived in and around AHDs-dominated historic environments. Further, as discussed in chapter 3 and referenced earlier in this chapter, people’s education on local and international authorised heritage discourses likely influenced their overall perceptions of heritage and ‘the past’ broadly, creating subconscious biases in the valuation and perception of *Denkmale*. Only in our discussions of authenticity (see chapter 7), participants expressed such opposing perceptions. These would be anchored in the ‘authentic’ material fabric suggested by the local AHDs on the one, and their disregard for authenticity in their individual engagements with the past on the other hand.

Lastly, we draw from different methodological approaches. The most relevant here lies in the explicit naming of the term heritage in conjunction with people’s daily living environments and the overall island: I, on the other hand, decided against referring to the term itself in this context. This is 1) due to the difficulty in translation and 2) because I wanted to assess whether or not participants would consciously refer to and perceive individualised, everyday forms of heritage as ‘heritage’. In chapter 3, I discussed this choice, arguing that I considered it insightful due to the present and dominant notion of what

‘counts’ as heritage due to the strong influence of the local *Denkmalschutz* on town- and cityscapes in Baden-Württemberg.

In England, everyday heritage only recently appeared on the public radar as part of a grant initiative launched by Historic England in February 2022 (Historic England 2022a, 2022b). Titled *Everyday Heritage Grants: Celebrating Working Class Histories*, its call for proposals sought to explore “public spaces [as] a powerful and emotive tool for understanding and interpreting history” from the perspective of those whose stories are usually less prominent (“not everyone’s stories are told and not everyone’s history is remembered”; Historic England 2022a). Through this, Historic England specifically aimed to support projects centred around “working class histories and the historic places that make up everyday life” (Historic England 2022a). While there is no specific description of what everyday heritage means, the phrasings and aims expressed in the document may hint at how Historic England loosely defines the idea. Interesting, too, is the fact that the working class and everyday are coupled together – as if everyday is a class phenomenon.

Historic England puts those who are (yet) unheard and unseen in direct contrast to “the histories of castles and great houses and their inhabitants”, also making special mention of their interest in “recognising and celebrating working class histories” (Historic England 2022b). The grant proposal generally seems to lean strongly towards stories centring around these particular communities and individuals, focusing on how they engaged with historic landmarks, sites, and heritage spaces and places. Historic England encourages the linkage between people and places, anchoring stories and experiences in the tangible world. Their proposal suggests that approaching everyday heritage should bring “collective and shared histories back to life”, “with buildings or historic sites acting as the inspiration” (Huddleston 2022; Historic England 2022b).

In this sense, it appears that representative, tangible remnants of the past (as well as “overlooked historic places”) are considered heritage, which is there to be enjoyed and talked about by people. Phrases such as “Have you always wanted to celebrate the cool architecture of the place where you live?” (Historic England 2022b) give off an impression of heritage as something that is chosen to be attributed importance only in the process of publicly and officially recognising it as significant to people. In doing so, these places and sites also gain relevance from an authorised standpoint. While aiming to provide opportunities for bottom-up initiatives, the underlying structure and mindset remain a solid, authorised discourse-informed one.

This stems from the undeniable reality that Historic England is, first and foremost, an institutionalised heritage authority. Although it may not necessarily fall into their area of

responsibility, their call for projects described above shows a certain recognition that there exists a heritage beyond their remit. However, their official role and expertise lie in evaluating, listing, managing, and communicating what they decide to be authorised heritage. Because Historic England, after all, is a managerial authority and institution, they merely expand what falls under their jurisdiction. As such, they cannot function as the agents for creating truly bottom-up approaches but may merely embrace them; it is simply not in their nature. By attempting to put grassroots and everyday heritage under their top-down structured umbrella of preservation-oriented practice, these heritages can no longer be what they are in essence, namely concepts, initiatives, or practices engaging with and creating a heritage that is formed, valued, and expressed differently and separately from – and often in spite of or opposed to – the authorised discourses.

Everyday heritage as an idea and term presented and expanded on as part of this thesis seeks to highlight those forms and practices of heritage. Historic England seems to suggest a different perspective on what the composition of the ‘everyday’ constitutes.

Some of their project foci, such as heritage research on work environments like mines, shipyards, and factories, may provide a glimpse of past people’s everyday engagements with their environments. From this perspective, however, the study of everyday heritage merely presents an opportunity for time travel into a working-class everyday world in the past. While it is easy to conflate different notions of everyday heritage based on this initiative, Historic England’s definition of everyday heritage very much differs from the everyday heritage I delineate in this dissertation. Based on Historic England’s definition, everyday heritage reflects people’s lifeways in the past that are now recognised and managed as heritage in the present. This opposes my understanding of everyday heritage as occurring entirely in the present day, and one not recognised as heritage by the authorised discourses, management, and often even the rest of the general public. It is a personal and ongoing process of engagement with places, spaces, memories, objects, sites, or environments in the present that become heritage as part of it.

Further, while Historic England’s view on everyday heritage focuses on working-class histories specifically, the exploration of everyday heritage includes all people. I argue that the heritage created and (re)negotiated in the everyday takes place by everyone and can therefore not be tied to a particular demographic and singled out accordingly. In expanding the idea of everyday heritage we must consider a multitude of ways in which humans engage with and form a heritage of their own in their daily lives.

Beyond this initial conceptualisation of everyday heritage from Historic England's viewpoint, they advocate for the use of such 'everyday heritage' approaches and projects, and for the larger importance of heritage overall. Accordingly, they state that "Heritage should be for everyone" and argue that the study of everyday heritage can "further the nation's collective understanding of the past" (Historic England 2022a) and help "shine a light on the diversity of our heritage" (Historic England 2022b).

This also implies that everyday heritage is a predominantly collective, communal notion. While everyday heritage can be both collective and individual, I propose that its study should especially focus on the individual and personal. I make this argument particularly in light of the range of community-based, community-focused approaches to heritage already available: As outlined in chapter 2, living heritage approaches, for instance, do not mainly focus on the individual person, but rather on various forms of community (see, for example, Poullos 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014). Apart from limiting research to those places and sites recognised within the authorised discourses, such approaches seem to attribute little importance to studying how individuals relate to and create heritage in everyday interactions with (semi-)authorised heritage in the present. Looking more deeply into how people form, (re)interpret, and value personal forms of heritage can serve as the very foundation for understanding the processes through which heritage may be formed, and how in turn it is being talked about and disseminated.

I argue that, while studying everyday heritage may encompass these ventures and foci as suggested by Historic England, it holds much more potential for examining heritage in its unmediated and immediate forms. Their perspective on and definition of everyday heritage is narrow, centring around working-class histories, and managerially designated heritage places and sites; this entirely neglects the potential of considering heritage as a more intangible, fluid, ephemeral, personal, and potentially also small-scale thing. Nonetheless, Historic England's proposal ends with a compelling aim, namely to "[engage] with the widest possible range of heritage". This leaves us with the question of what this range encompasses, and I believe that the study of everyday heritage – in my definition – can help us get closer to answering it, albeit not through the lens of the authorised and official.

For most of these studies on everyday heritage, the 'everyday' component appears to be in reference to non-authorised, mundane spaces or living environments. Among others, this has been discussed by Bonnin and Moore-Cherry (2023). In this research, however, everyday heritage also includes officialised heritage as part of daily life. Throughout this thesis, I demonstrate that non-authorised heritages may also be (partially) evoked by or rooted in tangible *Denkmale* in everyday life and engagements of ordinary people with their (listed)

home and its historic surroundings. These findings are rooted in observations and conclusions drawn from secondary data collection and analysis.

Similar to other grassroots and bottom-up heritage approaches discussed in chapter 2, Bonnín and Moore-Cherry use the idea of everyday heritage to support marginalised groups in advocating for and conserving their heritage (2023, 691). At the heart of their work lies the study of market livelihoods in urban environments through residents, traders, and immigrants engaging in market trading activities in Moore Street, Dublin. In their research, Bonnín and Moore-Cherry interpret everyday heritage as “the act of traditional livelihood building through market trading” (2023, 678) and argue for its preservation. This differs from my exploration and perception of everyday heritage in this thesis, as I contend (like Holtorf and Fairclough 2013, as discussed in chapter 2), that there is a sphere of heritage that cannot be preserved – in part also because there may be nothing to conserve. I particularly emphasise this in chapter 7 where I suggest that, based on the data collected in this research, not all heritage needs preservation as most of its unauthorised, everyday expressions are deeply anchored in change.

Bonnín and Moore-Cherry also draw from Cooper et al. (2022, 1190) who suggest that managerial practice should “support and facilitate community members in developing their own notions of heritage as a resource that delivers meaningful benefit for them”. This is inextricably linked to authorised notions of heritage and does not apply to my understanding of everyday heritage in this work. It considers heritage as a resource to be deployed for the greater good, further conflating notions of everyday and living heritage which, to me, are different things (see also chapter 2). Others, such as Hawke have also argued for the inclusion of non-authorised, everyday heritages in the dominant discourse: “if heritage is conceptualised as a notion that combines place, identity and temporality, then these accounts make a case for ordinary and everyday places to be included” (Hawke 2012, 241). I already dismissed such notions and approaches to everyday heritage (at least in the context of my work) in the previous section on Historic England.

Moreover, Bonnín and Moore-Cherry contextualise their understanding of everyday heritage as a “form of heritage from below” (2023, 680; see also Robertson 2008) due to their study’s emphasis on working class and marginalised communities. As such, they view the study of everyday heritage in Moore Street as a means “through which the contribution and values of working class urban histories can be both recognised and tactically challenge neoliberal urban transformation and bourgeoisification” (ibid.). Therefore, Bonnín and Moore-Cherry argue for ‘everyday’ marketplace heritage to be recognised officially since “these marginalised spaces of the city often exist outside the ‘norms’ of heritage recognition,

designation and protection” (2023, 681). Here, too, they appear to conflate differing ideas: On the one hand, everyday heritage is a particular place within a wider urban environment that has experienced marginalisation, is (at risk of) being gentrified, and is not considered significant by the authorised managerial discourses. On the other, Bonnin and Moore-Cherry also define everyday heritage as practices of market activity by marginalised and largely disadvantaged groups and individuals. They further paint a picture of community heritage that seeks to be officially recognised and valued.

Moreover, while acknowledging the continuous interplay between the tangible and intangible as part of a negotiation of social values in and between groups, they keep referring to this particular everyday heritage as something that may also be recognised and protected by the local AHDs (see Bonnin and Moore-Cherry 2023, 691). Again, I argue that such institutionalising of non-authorised forms of heritage may transform its nature of being (as they declare) a ‘heritage from below’ – at least in the context of the case studies explored in this work. Further, the forms of everyday heritage outlined in this thesis are not grounded in oppression or marginalisation, or in the desire for communities to have their heritage acknowledged and protected by the local *Denkmalschutz*. See chapter 8 for a broader discussion of communal heritage events and practices in Baden-Württemberg and how these are both embedded within authorised notions of heritage and simultaneously formed and widely shared beyond them.

On Everydayness and the Terminology of Everyday Heritage

In Germany, domestic buildings, mundane objects of the everyday, neighbourhoods, and environments are sometimes referred to as representatives of *Alltagskultur* (transl.: everyday culture”; see, for example, Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011, 1). Though this term is seldom used in managerial practice, objects and sites of *Alltagskultur* have been increasingly included in managerial and conservational practice since the turn of the 20th century (ibid.; see also Hoffmann-Axthelm 2000; Holler 2022; Zeit Online 2024). Moreover, a range of museums have begun to structure their collections accordingly, now including “testimonies of the ordinary” to showcase everyday life (Museum der Alltagskultur 2023). Institutions such as the *Kommission Alltagskulturforschung für Westfalen* (Commission for Everyday Culture Research for Westphalia) specifically focus on “everyday life and its cultural expressions (e.g. work, housing, food, customs, beliefs, storytelling, leisure)” (Kommission Alltagskulturforschung für Westfalen 2023). The *Stiftung Kleines Bürgerhaus* (Ordinary Citizens House Foundation), for example, explores and showcases “the various forms of housing and living of the ‘ordinary folk’ over the last 500 years” (Deutsche Stiftung

Denkmalschutz 2023d). I align my understanding of everydayness with these definitions in that everyday heritage constitutes people's lived, daily experiences and home environments.

However, while research on *Alltagskultur* in Germany focuses on the everyday objects and home environments from the past (similar to the Historic England initiative outlined in the previous section), I ground my exploration of everyday heritage in Baden-Württemberg in how people *today* engage with everyday remnants of the past (i.e. (semi-)authorised homes and townscapes, but also heirlooms, trinkets, and photographs) in the present. While rooted in AHDS-based notions of everydayness, I contend that this connection is justifiable in that I examine everyday heritage in relation to (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen* that constitute ordinary people's living environments in Baden-Württemberg.

Everydayness has also been discussed by Mosler (2019) as referring to "the idea of 'personal heritage', commonplace or mundane". Giombini (2020) builds on this and argues that it is opposed to visitorship at sites and museums; I outlined this as central to my exploration of everyday heritage in this thesis in the introductory chapter. However, both Mosler and Giombini draw from cases of 'everydayness' that also venture beyond the everydayness of the home and its immediate surroundings. Instead, their case studies are situated in heritage sites and places within the wider urban environment, such as people taking lunch breaks in parks or at ancient ruins in the city centre. Their examples of everyday heritage refer to conscious efforts to engage with officially acknowledged remnants of the past, namely people having to actively move to a different locality to engage with and be part of a specific environment or place.

While some of my participants also expressed their notion of everyday heritage as rooted in a wider sense of community, townscape, or even regionality, these perceptions and forms of heritage were, at their core, formed at the home and within their immediate domestic environment (see chapter 8 for a discussion of sense of place and place attachment). In these forms of everyday heritage, there was no need for participants to relocate to a different place in order to physically and mentally engage with the past. Overall, I argue that mundanity and everydayness as explored in this work delineate people's daily and often subconscious relationships with their immediate home environment that do not involve active visitorship of sites and places.

Everyday Heritage Creation

Heritage sites are widely considered "theatres of memory and places of heritage-making" (Smith 2021, 2). The term 'theatres of memory' was introduced by Raphael Samuel in his

1994 work of the same name, where he refers to memory as being performed and constructed through different ‘theatres’. These may include museums and heritage sites, but also family narratives and stories, rituals, or public commemorations. As such, these theatres provide spaces in which collective and individual memories may be enacted, negotiated, and contested. In the context of this research, I argue that such theatres of memory are found in tangible *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen*, but also in the familial and communal stories as well as individual narratives that emerged from interviews with participants. Further, following Samuel (2012 [1994], 430), “we are constantly reinterpreting the past in light of the present, and indeed [...] reinventing it”. As such, change and transformation is an inevitable component of heritage creation, which I emphasise as particularly relevant and present in the everyday heritages explored in this thesis (see chapter 7).

As discussed earlier in this thesis, how authorised heritage is created and interacted with in the role of the visitor has been studied extensively. The motivating factors behind people’s engagement with such theatres of memory have been assumed to include the desire to either learn or recreate (Smith 2021, 2). However, the same likely does not apply to people’s everyday engagement with *Denkmale*, especially when those constitute part of their home environment. Why and how, then, do people interact with and weave their habits and experiences with authorised heritage in their daily lives?

Heritage, no matter its form and expression, is always part of a larger narrative of the self. Further, one could argue that everyday heritage – as something that is often continuously engaged with, or at least part of people’s daily lives – is intimately connected to someone’s past, present, and future (see also Walter 2013). Evidence for this can be found in the ways people refer to their definitions of heritage, to their individual and unique role in its upkeep, safeguarding, and transformation (see chapters 6 and 7), the means by which certain notions of heritage are carefully separated from those of ‘the others’ (see chapters 6 and 8), and the common phenomenon of anthropomorphising some heritage which, as such, then seamlessly blends into people’s lives and expressions of their needs (to be discussed in chapter 9). As I will address throughout the main chapters of this thesis, my data suggests that perceptions of everyday heritage (as explored in this work) are primarily based on personal narratives. At the same time, these notions may also (and this appears somewhat contradictory) be closely interwoven with authorised narratives, and sometimes a nebulous intermixture of both (see chapter 8 in particular). In some cases, it is merely the perspective that differs, a conundrum that will further be explored in chapter 7.

On 'Heritagisation'

As Smith succinctly stated recently, "heritage-making is an everyday practice, and people make use of their experiences in all sorts of ways" (2021, 25). To unfold my understanding of everyday heritage in the context of this work, I examined how and by whom it is made, and critically reflected on the idea of something or someplace 'becoming heritage'.

Part of this process of heritage creation has been captured by the concept of 'heritagisation', which at first glance appears to be a fitting umbrella term. While it implies a wide and diverse range of heritage-making, its initial definition does not necessarily apply to and embrace the personalised, amorphous forms of heritage that are considered part of everyday heritage formation. I further argue that the term 'heritagisation' may carry passive and intransparent implications in suggesting that heritage is something that is – *somehow* and *sometime* – externally made and ultimately remains fixed in its final state (the end product being a specific 'heritage'). It further suggests that there is – *somehow, sometime, by someone* – a conscious decision made: the choosing of an object, i.e. *something*, to be transformed. Such matters of (external) agency, consciousness, choice, the *from-to* of non-heritage to heritage, intentionality, stakeholders, professional evaluation, and questions of heritage-worthiness, may not exist or bear relevance in the formation of everyday heritage.

Moreover, 'heritagisation' tends to refer to a very specific kind of heritage and the processes by which it is made. In 2013, Harrison argued that it denotes "the process by which objects and places are transformed from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition" (2013a, 69); a definition which undeniably outlines authorised and public-facing heritage (see also Sjöholm 2016, 26). This formulation of heritagisation includes official collections, objects, listed places, those yet-to-become heritage sites and spaces through conservation efforts, and places transformed as part of adaptive reuse strategies (Harrison 2013a; Sjöholm 2016, 26). Because everyday heritage is created differently and frequently does not involve any of these elements or places that are regarded within the concept of 'heritagisation', it cannot be explored and defined under the definitions given by this term.

Sjöholm recently addressed heritagisation in the context of the built environment, and specifically urban planning practice, drawing from case studies in Kiruna, Sweden (2016). She specifically sought to understand the underlying processes of turning the built environment into 'designated heritage' (2016, 78) – again confirming the concept's dominant inclination towards the authorised discourses and heritage preservation. Interestingly, she also introduced the concepts of 're-heritagisation' and 'de-heritagisation', both of which also

fall into the realms of the authorised and thus confirm the stark orientation towards ‘official’ heritage in the pursuit of understanding heritage formation overall.

In a broader sense, heritagisation has also been referred to as attributing “symbolic value to material remains of the past” (Virloget 2019, 27). Apart from its stern focus on a very specific kind of heritage site or space – and the process by which it becomes heritage as such – what does the attribution of ‘symbolic value’ discussed by Virloget actually refer to? How is such value defined and by whom? Can values be symbolic without being universally significant to a large spectrum of people? Who decides if and when such value may have worn off or changed over time? While answering these questions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, they distinctly show that a complex process such as heritage formation cannot satisfactorily be summarised under only one term – especially if ‘heritagisation’ holds strong connotations to only one (and simultaneously dominant) notion of how heritage comes to be and how it transforms into an ultimate entity.

While this thesis may not draw from the term heritagisation *per sé*, I do acknowledge heritage creation as an active process in which individuals and communities do (or do not) ascribe certain significance to objects, places, spaces, habits, or stories. These then become heritage, whether or not officially recognised as such.

This research primarily refers to any engagement by which heritage of any kind is made, (re)negotiated, and continuously transformed as part of this ‘heritage creation’, with ideas of ‘formation’ and ‘making’ acting synonymously. Lacking a better term, ‘creation’ combines those elements that are central to my understanding of how heritage is made: it describes an active process in which something may be called into existence – either entirely from scratch or building upon something pre-existing. Furthermore, it subtly recognises agency without claiming to stem exclusively from one person, collaborator, community, or society, or be derived from a single narrative. At the same time, creation may be the result of actions or habits with no aim of resulting in a particular outcome (in this case a given heritage); the latter may well happen accidentally or subconsciously. Similarly, creation does not exclude neglect, transformation, or ruination. Instead, creative processes may actually build on such factors of destruction or change if applicable. Lastly, it is not yet laden with the weight of the ‘official’, thus leaving room for alternative interpretations and definitions of heritage.

‘Heritagisation’ may be representative of a widely shared and acknowledged understanding of how heritage comes to be. While it may work well for a range of studies and instances, its underlying implications do not quite apply to everyday heritage and its respective

formation. Common notions of heritage-making emphasise the process of heritage creation as being transformative: when objects, places, or sites are formalised as authorised heritage, they change from one state (non-heritage) to another (heritage). Instead of viewing heritage as an end product to be attained, this study has shown that everyday heritage does not *become* heritage from something else, at which point this 'process' of heritage-making ceases. It embraces the reality of a continuous (re)creation and (re)negotiation of heritage, as well as the fact that there is no 'outcome' of heritage as a consequence and (physical) result.

As opposed to everyday heritage 'becoming heritage' in the final throes, it may be argued that it may never represent and reach such a final version of itself. This is due to the constant (re)evaluation of what *makes* it heritage as well as people's continuous engagement with it in the everyday. It is an ongoing process of becoming and unbecoming, one that may never quite be done. Throughout this thesis, I argue that everyday heritage cannot attain a specific and widely recognised 'status' as is observed with official interpretations of heritage. When assessing how it is created in the context of my case studies I realised that it is embedded in a much more holistic, as opposed to a formal, process of heritage creation. Several factors and elements are central to this cycle, including memory, aspects of performance, as well as the complex matter of sharing and shared heritage. As I advance into my exploration of everyday heritage, its expressions, forms, and ways of (re)making, I will explore these themes through case study data, which will enable me to address and illuminate its peculiarities and intricacies.

Memory and Heritage Creation

Apaydin emphasises the role of (cultural) memory and heritage as active, living processes that "engage the social, economic and political life of the present" (2020, 14). More so, Harrison et al. (2008, 8) argue, heritage is created in a complex process in which decisions over "what to remember and what to forget, what to preserve and what to discard" (Virloget 2019, 27; see also Harrison 2010) are continuously made. In line with these statements, this research identified memory in its active and passive forms as a driving force behind the creation and constant (re)negotiation of heritage as part of people's daily lives. The case studies consistently demonstrated that everyday heritage is created through remembering, reminiscing, and imbuing objects, places, and spaces with new memories and meanings. This will be outlined and discussed at length in chapters 7 and 8.

One aspect of these processes of heritage creation through memory appeared particularly significant, namely that some places that had been torn down or remodelled beyond

recognition were being ‘kept alive’ through active, shared vocal remembrances. In doing so, they remained part of people’s everyday lives and even transmuted into a somewhat selectively shared (inherited) and constantly renegotiated heritage, despite the specific long-gone physical forms individuals chose to remember it by. This applied to very mundane places and spaces as well, including those that are not or no longer listed as official heritage buildings. The significance of this sits in the implications for the nature, relevance, and wider positioning of everyday heritage. It suggests that matters of authenticity and materiality may need to be investigated differently within the phenomenon of the everyday and mundane, as will be discussed here at a later stage. Moreover, it shows that everyday heritage tied to the tangible environment may not require a (formerly) authorised heritage ‘core’ or element. Lastly, it opens up the question of whether heritage may also be created and upheld entirely in memory and with no physical form whatsoever – and still hold immense significance and be shared among and between individuals and communities.

From my case studies, it became evident that in rural towns such places were specifically those that had carried agriculturally or economically oriented functions and therefore had served as the villages’ ‘unofficial’ meeting spaces for hundreds of years. An example of such a place commonly found in towns that had grown out of smaller agricultural hamlets and loosely connected farmsteads is the *Stierstall* building complex. The original purpose of the *Stierstall* (transl.: bull stable) had been to bring together people who sought to breed and sell cattle; this function ceased no later than the advent of World War I (Hansert 2020). These buildings or complexes then fell out of use and sometimes even became derelict before a surge in adaptive reuses from the 1960s onwards (Hansert 2020; Hansert 2021), which sought to breathe life into them again. Nowadays, *Stierställe* may serve as community centres, amateur theatres, fire stations, lifeguard centres, refugee homes, or children’s daycares. Therefore, and despite the long-term change in function and fabric, these places remain a vibrant and central part of village life under their original name, albeit to most people mainly in mind rather than in applied function and use. This is because few people today directly and physically need to engage with *Stierställe* due to their adapted and often very specific new functions. Nevertheless, their wider importance is reflected in their roles as spaces for the community, often housing and facilitating altruistic or voluntary efforts. Through routine and everyday referrals to the label of *Stierstall*, the historic name prevails against all change in the current day, merging the past and present in a manner that emphasises its role as a continued (im)material marker of community.

The *Milchsammelstelle* (transl.: milk collection point) seemed to be another such central point of reference in a variety of towns and villages (n=10). Now converted into

homes or corner shops, the original place only lives on in people's (inherited) memories and in the names being carried forward. In a few cases, and when prompted to elaborate on why they kept referring to this place still, people would explain their relationship to these places through smaller narratives about their personal history.

What struck me most in compiling those referrals to place and memory was that participants did not remember the fabric of the place itself ("I remember the clinking of the metal milk churns like it was yesterday", Rudolf). Even more so, its function did not seem to matter – neither in the past nor the present. Individuals would emphasise habitual engagements with such mundane places which, over time, became central markers of people's personal histories ("When I was a little boy, my mother would send me to the *Milchsammelstelle*", Horst). Almost immediately following this, they would make reference to the relationships with people that were remembered through the name of the place ("My friends would wait for me there and they would always be up for shenanigans", Gerald). These references suggest that the physical aspects of sites may be less important to the participants than the memories of personal interactions and communal life that they associate with the place. Ultimately, these conversations illustrated that the key function of this place in the past was mainly to enable the formation and maintenance of personal relationships within their local communities and with one another.

A now physically bygone place had evolved into a palpable marker of personal history and identity through the name itself: "The *Milchsammelstelle* was one of the key places of my childhood", Markus. This statement in particular shows how memory and place are closely connected in the formation of people's identity. In its recollection, it is not the act of going to the *Milchsammelstelle* that matters, but what it symbolises instead – namely the engagement in everyday rituals that fundamentally shaped people's sense of belonging and social cohesion. In frequently conjuring up memories through its label and name, these narratives of personal and communal heritage are still reworked and (re)engaged with in the present day, thus creating another form of everyday heritage.

Whereas the former purpose of these sites and even the physical places themselves appear to matter very little to people, they are nonetheless firmly embedded in the daily lives of individuals and communities. None of these sites or buildings harboured a 'wider purpose' to the town or the community as a whole. However, in playing both smaller and bigger roles in people's personal histories, places like these became central to their lives – and remained part of the individual and collective memory throughout the years, despite the changes or disappearances that followed.

While the *Denkmalschutzamt* does not acknowledge any of these buildings as places of significance by listing them as heritage or ‘under review’, they are a prime example of individual and shared everyday heritage which evolved and was transformed with time – while simultaneously remaining an integral part of people’s daily lives in its varied forms, no matter the historic fabric or continued function of the place. Chapter 7 will further thematise this phenomenon of transformation and reuse of everyday heritage, and discuss how and why authorised and personal perspectives may differ from each other. Considering this everyday heritage in question, one may ponder Shakespeare: What’s in a name? How may such holding on to the label of a place, one that no longer reflects its function, impact the creation of everyday heritage? Should this be considered heritage at all? With the premise of heritage being ‘the past in the present’, however, I argue that such verbal accounts and recollections of what was once there do ‘qualify’ as heritage in its own right.

Some of the verbalisations also seemed to reflect an ignorance towards or even deliberate dismissal of the ‘new’, which was voiced by 12 participants. For example, individuals and local groups would ignore modern names, adapted functions, and transformed architectural features in favour of what it was formerly known as or what was connected with it. Such recollections take place in very mundane forms and for everyday purposes, such as giving directions, describing where certain recent events have taken place, or discussing where people live or work. These verbal rememberings of places no longer in existence also result in a heritage created and maintained through active, everyday recollections of places or spaces. This is often done by people who had never actually witnessed the buildings when they were present, either because they had not yet been born or were too young to truly remember. However, people moving to a town or area from outside did not, or not frequently, engage in this practice. This practice of everyday heritage formation and negotiation through (often inherited) memory was most commonly observed or overheard (n=34) in interviews with people from older generations, i.e. participants above the age of 40.

While some may interpret this as a stubborn denial to ‘let go of the past’, one could also argue that it is the outcome of drastic urban and demographic changes to Germany’s city- and townscapes after World War II, and particularly during the *Nachkriegsboom* (transl.: post-war boom) era between 1950 and 1973. During this period and with an average of 5% annual economic growth, Germany was ranked fourth in European countries with the largest economic expansion (Crafts and Toniolo 1996, 6). As an immensely economically and socially impactful event in post-war history, this phenomenon was even coined the *Deutsches Wirtschaftswunder* (transl.: German Economic Miracle). It was a period of unprecedented transformation in recent German history with massive implications for people’s everyday

lives and individuals' financial and social circumstances and will have been witnessed either fully or in part by most elderly people still alive today.

Although none of the participants explicitly refer to or recall this period of growth and change – 'the golden days' – as an era they actively or fondly remember, these drastic changes to people's lives will likely have shaped their perspective on the world. This particularly seems to apply to those who have grown up (Anita, Christoph, Heike, Helga), first settled down (Markus, Marie-Luise, David), or started families (Albert, Reiner, Armin, Olaf) during this time; it is the places, buildings, and spaces from this period that are commonly being referred to in this particular form of everyday heritage creation.

As this form of everyday heritage is rooted in repeated practice and communication between groups and individuals, some participants (n=12) had expressed the worry that this knowledge and practice will fade away when those of a certain age will eventually be gone. Although I witnessed, and was told by other interviewees, that some of the younger generations engaged in these practices of everyday heritage formation too, they do not tend to weave their lives around places and spaces that no longer hold a physical anchor in the world – as opposed to older or elderly individuals. Through such articulations, older participants in particular implied that younger individuals did not practise the same kinds of everyday heritage as they did. My data, however, offered a different narrative: namely that people's engagement and maintenance of these everyday heritage practices remained relatively stable among all age groups. Yet, they differed in the sense of community and the significance attributed to such recall and memory; it seemed that the longer these practices had been ongoing, the more strongly individuals would feel towards wanting to continue these practices of remembrance – and also wishing for others to embrace it as well.

This may suggest that the nature of everyday heritage may have some generational as well as sociological characteristics to consider; while this is not central to this particular study, it is nonetheless vital to related future research.

While the authorised discourses often advocate for the safeguarding and conservation of heritage, I argue that there is no issue *per sé* with everyday heritage forms eventually disappearing. However, we do need to recognise and acknowledge the existence and underlying processes of such everyday heritage which can be formed with or without a physical anchor and which may purely be based on the shared and regularly upheld memory of formerly existing places and spaces. This form of everyday heritage-making relies solely on interpersonal communication; it becomes and remains heritage mainly from

its verbal exchange between different individuals and groups, or it is simply an individual perspective (see also chapter 8).

Most importantly, emphasis needs to be put on the fact that these sites or spaces may not at any point have held an official label of 'historic' or 'heritage' and largely represent mundane, everyday places in people's lives. The form of everyday heritage that emerges from such practices exists and lives on purely in people's minds, who, interestingly, often also cannot quite remember them in vivid detail. For most individuals, it is the names or the attributes associated with these places of memory that remain central to the heritage that is created, referred to, and upheld, both individually and collectively. Although this everyday heritage makes clear reference to the past, it is firmly embedded in and adapted to the present, both withstanding and being part of an ever-changing, modern world. It is valued and understood across several generations and presents both an individual, personal, as well as communal everyday heritage.

A different, more individual/personal perspective on memory and everyday heritage-making presented itself in the spheres of the familial. These heritage processes tend to fall under two sub-practices: 1) those which are actively linked to material and/or bound in place for practices of remembrance, or 2) those which are predominantly based on the spoken expression of memory and remembering, or personal recollections in thought.

Especially for those forms of heritage rooted in personal or familial histories, the essential role of using physical cues or material/spatial anchors for creating everyday heritage through memory was evident in the majority of case studies (n=37). Some of these tangible elements or places may serve as mere reminders of memories held and communicated, whereas others may be engaged with in a more ritualistic, habitual, or otherwise actionable manner; the latter will be discussed further below.

Evidence for the former in the process of everyday heritage formation was observed in several instances during the interviewing and data collection process for this research. Memories appear to be stored mainly in places ("childhood home", Sabine, Charlott, Horst, Olaf, Patrick, Anja; "our family hearth, our common room", Helga), photos, heirlooms, or furniture, and heritage is created by remembering and reminiscing, by referring to stories, ideas, and people, or all of them combined ("Because as soon as you pick something up, the memories come back", Hedwig; "Here is where my father used to sit and work, as long as I can remember", Christiane; "This old trough was my grandma's favourite piece in the entire house", Beate). Whereas some people would refer to these objects or places freely to explain their role and how they evoked memories in the everyday, some only spoke of the importance of this familial, personal heritage when prompted during the interviews.

Whether or not those latter individuals actually actively thought about this in the everyday is therefore difficult to tell. Nonetheless, considering the memories and personal histories tied to objects and places, most expressed a strong sense of worry about losing them.

What is particularly interesting is the range and diversity in how these objects or places are remembered and interacted with. For some, the connection is immediate and profound, as seen in the examples of Sabine, Charlott, Horst, Olaf, Patrick, and Anja, who all referred to their “childhood home” or in Helga’s mention of “family hearth”. As such, the participant’s focus on place may serve as a means of grounding their memories and narratives in physical spaces that symbolise continuity and stability. These may be particularly crucial in light of major life changes.

For others, memory is evoked by smaller or seemingly more intimate objects or sites. For instance, Beate’s recollection of her grandmother’s trough or Christiane’s statement on her father’s workspace underscores the emotional weight these objects or places may carry. Here, they appear to move beyond being passive symbols but instead become active participants in familial narratives. They serve as tangible connections to loved ones by continuously anchoring them in the physical present. As such, objects or sites may become placeholders for those who have passed, embodying the memories of interactions, relationships, but also simple notions of dwelling and ordinary, everyday life.

Furthermore, Hedwig’s statement also illustrates the sensory dimension of such memory-making practices. Touching an object or being in a particular place does more than simply evoke memories, it creates an opportunity to relive the past. This, in turn, emphasises the deeply embodied nature of everyday heritage in these instances where memory is felt and experienced.

This form of memory-based everyday heritage differs significantly from the one presented previously: it requires a physical component to be meaningful, with tangible elements serving as a constant reminder of the past – be it other people, one’s history and growth, or simply the times bygone. Whereas the material loss of sites and spaces does not hinder the upkeep of everyday heritage and memory in the first instance, and may even support personal and communal identities, the prospect of being parted from the object or place that evokes memories and forms everyday heritage, or even having these anchors destroyed, often conjures deep anxiety in those who ascribe familial connotations to certain objects, places, or spaces (n=30). This suggests that these tangible elements are seen as irreplaceable links to the past. Their material loss may be felt as a simultaneous loss of an immaterial, yet direct connection to the personal and familial histories and identities they represent. Such destruction or loss may also disrupt deeply ingrained notions of continuity and stability

However, this form of memory-based everyday heritage differs from the communal examples discussed earlier, where the collective memory of spaces such as the *Stierstall* or *Milchsammelstelle* remains despite changes in use or form. In familial contexts, the material element appears essential in anchoring memories to the physical presence of an object or place. This suggests an important distinction in how everyday heritage may be created: in communal settings, memory may transcend physicality, but in personal or familial settings, the object or place is likely essential for engaging with and upholding memory and identity.

Further, this everyday heritage is dominated by the role of the individual, both in *who* remembers and in *what* is being remembered – it is often either an ancestor, close family member, or oneself who is rooted in and connected to this everyday heritage (“All I care about is our family history and heritage. The [surname redacted] family, to carry on that legacy.”, Helmut). While it may be shared between members of the family or inner circle, it is firmly linked to and maintained through notions of identity and the respective memories of an individual. Deeply interwoven with remembering and creating everyday heritage through memories which are explicitly tied to an object, place, or space, are so-called performances of heritage; these can be observed in daily habits and rituals, as well as (in)frequent actions.

Habits, Rituals, Actions – On Performing Heritage

What constitutes heritage performances? Beyond referring to a range of officially recognised practices of intangible heritage, for example folk dance or oral traditions, it encompasses any other form of action which contributes to and impacts the creation, (re)negotiation, and transmission of “knowledge, memory and/or identity” (Smith 2021, 29) in an (often) unknowing attempt to bring the past into the present. As already hinted at in the previous sections, this is strongly the case in everyday heritage environments, where a multitude and variety of actions generate, dismiss, and (re)negotiate ideas of heritage on a daily basis. As Jones (2017, 5) states, heritage performances and practices are “mediated by various forms of embodied and sensory experience” (see also Cox 2008; O’Connor 2011).

As part of these actions and experiences, “abstractions (such as identity, and sense of place)” are materialised, and may directly impact people’s everyday lives and experiences (Smith 2021, 28; see also Butler 1990, 1996). Through these performances, individuals continuously weave a web of personal, individual, familial, or communal narratives which are frequently (re)negotiated, attributed (in)significance, and communicated – internally and externally, among the self and others (see chapter 8). Everyday heritage may be created, for instance, through actions of renovation, restoration, or transformation of the historic home,

as well as covering up and preserving heritage substance and elements. Part of this will be discussed in chapter 7, which thematises the physical alteration or adaptation of (everyday) heritage environments and outlines the challenges associated with these practices.

Serving as ‘theatres of memory’, “heritage artefacts, sites and places [...] facilitate, mark as important and help authorise the heritage meanings, identities and values that are constituted through heritage performance” (Smith 2021, 28; based on Samuel 2012 [1994]). Although the term ‘authorise’ immediately conjures up notions of the Authorised Heritage Discourses and ‘official’ heritage designation and evaluation processes, I want to put emphasis on including personal authorisations of heritage. Thus, in the context of this research, I interpret the word ‘authorise’ very loosely – in that it encompasses any means of personally and/or communally justifying and strengthening forms of everyday heritage through certain heritage performances; examples for some of these can be found in the following sections below.

At first glance, the term ‘theatres of memory’ may appear predominantly passive; one may envision a room full of passive spectators following a scripted play presented on a distant stage. In this case, there is little to no opportunity for interaction and discourse. The central aspect of the theatre, i.e. what is presented to a wider audience, rigorously remains within the bounds of its own trajectory and aims towards an irrevocable *grande finale*. Under the light of everyday heritage as explored in this thesis, however, theatre becomes an interactive experience. A play may be presented to an empty audience by a one-person-troupe, just as much as it may be enacted in front of a few by a large and diverse cast. The scope and aim of both audience and performer may change at any point in the theatre’s production and will alter the experience of both spectator and actor. Even further, the roles of the performer and audience may be swapped at any point during the play. In short: with everyday heritage serving as the theatre of memory, the sky is the limit.

Concretely, this metaphorical excursion conveys a single truth within the exploration of everyday heritage in light of memory and performance: it is multifaceted and can be created, dismissed, transformed, and challenged through practices and performances by a range of actors and in different relational constellations. Moreover, within everyday heritage practices and performances, there seldom exists a top-down, sterile approach to conveying a specific heritage ‘truth’ or ‘value’ as seen in authorised notions of official cultural heritage. Most everyday heritage is created through performative action by one or more individuals or communities and will always hold diverging and differing values, definitions, consequences, and realities to people. I particularly thematise this in chapter 8, where I critically reflect on the relationship between value and insignificance in everyday heritage.

Everyday heritage can be created by many and differing people alike. Because it is a lived and continuously ongoing process, heritage performances as well as their outcomes will never remain the same. With heritage performances, as seen in habits, rituals, or other actions in the everyday, varying forms of heritage are brought into life, and may further be transmitted and (re)negotiated between and within individuals and groups. Chapter 8 addresses the sharing and communication of everyday heritage among individuals, groups, and communities and how actions and performances are central to the (re)evaluation of its significance and relevance.

Besides the outcome of heritage performances, the way in which certain objects or places are used and become part of the process of heritage creation is also crucial to our understanding of heritage formation overall. By looking at how things or sites are used and engaged with in continuous action, we can begin to understand how the value, meanings and consequences of (everyday) heritage creation through daily performances may change and be (re)determined over time (see also Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010; Jones 2017; Smith 2021, 36).

Following Hodder's entanglement theory (2012), objects play a significant role in the formation of everyday heritage. Whether or not they possess agency or "performative abilities" of their own (Smith 2021, 36), they are crucial factors in the facilitation of heritage performances: If it were not for the object itself, everyday heritage in some of its forms may not exist or be actively kept as part of people's lives. A prime example of this is reflected in what I refer to as the 'grandfather clock case'.

One participant, Nils, described the close relationship with his father's grandfather clock, which entered into his possession once he moved back into his childhood home. Because the clock was his father's "most beloved item", which he "cared for and treated like his first-born son", the object became a central part of everyday family life during his childhood and early teenage years. It particularly conjured an association between object and person, making it a tangible and visible representation of his father. To Nils, the clock's presence in the home made it feel like an extension of his father's persona.

Following the early death of his father, the clock was no longer being tended to. Nils described how it functioned well for some time, but eventually stopped ticking and chiming – "it was like losing him all over again, [...] the house felt so silent and empty". For Nils, the object's non-functioning reflected and heightened feelings of his father's absence. His notion of a sense of emptiness illustrates the felt effect on everyday heritage when the material anchor of memory ceases to fulfil its expected role. Thus, he took over custodianship over the grandfather clock, which also sparked a new sort of family tradition: whenever Nils

would go to “wind it up like his father used to do”, or whenever “the clock chimed noon and family was around”, they would talk about their loss and remember his father’s life.

Whereas this forming of everyday heritage is strongly tied to memory, it is done so and expressed in the (habitual) interaction with an object in the home (read, for example, Sørensen 2009). While strong memories of the loved one engaging with this object existed at any point in time, its functioning/non-functioning ultimately evoked the possibility and fear of a repeated (symbolic) loss of this person. Because the grandfather clock was engaged with through regular actions and under the eyes of the rest of the family, it sparked not only the memory of this person but also triggered the participant’s own engagement and performative actions with the same object. Over time, this became an everyday heritage of its own, which is in part due to the continuous re-engagement with the item itself, but also in the frequent remembering of the loved one in the context of the clock and how it was similarly tended to by the remembered person in the past. Again, this everyday heritage is familial and multifaceted in that it exists and is being upheld individually and communally, through both the participant himself as well as the inner family circle. Such habitual actions may also encompass small practices, such as lighting candles in memory of a deceased loved one or relative (Beate) to include them in daily life – and, in doing so, create and maintain an everyday, personal heritage of kin and (ancestral) remembrance.

These small-scale daily performances and practices highlight how everyday heritage is maintained through repeated interactions with objects that serve to connect individuals to their personal and familial histories, and by extension, their sense of identity and belonging.

Sharing and Shared Everyday Heritage

The everyday heritage explored in this research is often (continuously) formed and expressed through verbal or visual sharing. Based on my primary data, I argue that this is usually targeted towards either those who are directly related to the person creating and upholding this heritage through family ties, or to those who come from similar backgrounds and experiences. While I discuss this further in chapter 8, the following section initially outlines the relevance of sharing and shared heritage in everyday heritage formation.

For example, the case study centring around Henry and his genealogical research showed that everyday heritage may be shared in an attempt to carry on one’s own legacy and strengthen family bonds, but also affirm notions of personal identity which are deeply interwoven with the creation and upkeep of this individual heritage. Looking at the margins between what was said and done in interactions with me as well as several of Henry’s family members allowed for a glimpse into how and why everyday heritage was further

created through sharing it with people, and how it was communicated differently depending on the individual 'recipient'.

While this particular (everyday) heritage, in its essence, was created and maintained only by Henry himself, it was done so in the hopes of having this heritage extended beyond the confines of his person. Because he was ultimately at the heart of it all, fears of this heritage being lost or dismissed after his departure someday surfaced in a myriad of ways. This fear was communicated fairly subtly to family members, for instance by way of encouragement. Phrases like "this is your family history, too!" were dropped almost like an afterthought, but contained a deeper wish to see a continuation of their legacy – both in similar as well as novel forms of heritage-making. This urge to engage, particularly descendants, in the continued formation and maintenance of this personal (and simultaneously perceivably shared) heritage was often reflected in the suggestion of others investing their own time in conducting additional research, compiling information that he had not managed to attain, but especially delving into their 'branches' of the family tree to explore individual versions and perspectives on this heritage.

Beyond the urge to share it with his relatives – and, especially, his descendants who are, in some way, the 'positive products' of parts of this narrative and potential future stewards of this heritage – Henry strongly voiced his wish to further share it with people whom he considered professionals in the study of the *Sudetendeutsche* diaspora.

As an active member of the *Vereinigung Sudetendeutscher Familienforscher*¹, Henry shared his recollections and discussed sources, methods, ideas, and findings with people who had gone through similar experiences. Beyond this, he particularly sought out experts and scholars from the *Sudetendeutsches Museum* in Munich with whom he could share his materials. Henry framed this as an attempt to communicate this information so it could be reviewed further and, hence, elevated by those professionals for scientific use by other genealogists. In doing so the subject of everyday heritage would be moved beyond his personal interest and narrative and gain wider relevance to the public – or, in other words, become authorised heritage.

For Henry, this (everyday) heritage began with the displacement of a few (including himself) and grew into an expanded family unit, creating an entirely different reality in another place. Although 'initiated' through his individual efforts, recollections, and history,

¹ The *Vereinigung Sudetendeutscher Familienforscher e.V.* (VSFF) is a genealogical association that primarily deals with research on the history of German families in the former Austrian crown lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. The association was established as a continuation of the former *Mittelstelle für Familienforschung* (Center for Family Research), founded on October 18, 1926 in Dux. Its current seat is Munich (*Vereinigung Sudetendeutscher Familienforscher e.V.* 2022).

he sought to extend this heritage of displacement, diaspora, and new beginnings, by sharing it with others. Sharing his heritage with an expert audience, however, was also accompanied by a sense of worry over losing relevance in the 'grand scheme of things', especially in the context of similar stories and heritages on a regional or (inter)national level.

Such creation and affirmation of a sense of heritage and one's place in the world through the active inclusion of and sharing with 'others' as witnesses of everyday heritage, can also be seen on a much smaller scale. It also does not necessarily stem from traumatic histories and personal narratives, such as displacement or loss.

One participant, Helga, took part in her town's 750th anniversary celebration which included public tours of historic buildings and heritage sites, which were given by those people who inhabited them. As part of this, she proudly presented her home, its architectural history and historic substance, but particularly emphasised the long-standing family history and kinship within the village which dates back to the 1840s. By letting people into her house and highlighting the original features of the historic building as well as changes implemented by her ancestors, she sought to verify her personal heritage through external affirmation. Interestingly, however, only selected aspects of this tangible heritage were presented to the public – all of which were heavily informed by the authorised discourses. This further implies that a closer look at what is *not* shared with others will give an indication of how everyday heritage is created and the role of external validation in this process (more on this in chapter 8).

Another communal effort reflecting the creation, confirmation, and communication of everyday heritage was seen in the celebratory initiative of a local *Heimatverein* (club devoted to the maintenance of local/regional heritage and traditions) which installed plaques and banners in places of 'local significance' (Figure 5.1). Some of these, such as the one presented in Figure 5.1, also pointed out historic quirks, for instance engravings hinting at the original builders of a building (see Figure 5.2). Led by interested individuals, these signs denoted the relevance of these places for the town's development and particularly highlighted the impact of individuals and their roles within the community. This project proved especially popular among the townspeople who subsequently exchanged memories and personal stories about these places and people (insofar as they could personally remember them) while wandering about the village in an effort to explore these signposts. Differing notions of everyday heritage, originating from both the collective and personal, were amplified in this active communication and sharing of ideas, memories, and tales.



Fig. 5.1 (left): Plaque indicating a house of local significance with a particular focus on its builder's history. Fig. 5.2 (right): Historic name engraving on a formerly listed house in Schutterwald.

Conclusion

I contextualised my understanding of everyday heritage within previous research of similar nature or subject of study and existing work referring to this term specifically. Various studies explored ordinary people and their engagements with the past as part of their everyday lives. While I situate my research among those works, I also argue that my exploration of everyday heritage in this thesis may provide new insights into people's relationships with 'authorised' pasts in their home environments. In this research, I particularly seek to understand how living with(in) listed buildings and environments may affect individual perceptions of heritage, which is what none of the studies outlined in this chapter have addressed.

The section on previous relevant research emphasised how my research differs from existing studies. For instance, unlike Poullos' continuity-based living heritage approach that suggests an inherent, communal valuation of heritage or Merriman's focus on public attitudes towards museums and heritage sites, I argued that this work mainly explores individual engagements with the past. These may be mediated by living in and around

Denkmale and create alternative, non-authorised heritages beyond these protected and managed through the local authorised discourses. While Miller's work, for example, explored the relationships between things and people by examining the objects kept in their homes, he did so in the context of a random street in modern London. This creates a different reality to the predominantly historic and officially sanctioned *Gesamtanlagen* in Baden-Württemberg, where my case studies are located. An exploration of the relationships between listed home environments and people's perceptions of heritage and heritage formation has not been conducted in any of the related research presented in this chapter.

Equally, while specifically focusing on the direct home environment in his investigation of socialist housing in Soviet Russia, Buchli's research differs from mine in that it focuses on the experiences and everyday life of people impacted by dominant governmental ideologies. While the regulations imposed on *Denkmal* homeowners by the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* authorities are impactful in their own way, they do not enforce certain lifestyles or engagements with the past. This matter of potential clashes arising from the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages will be a central theme of chapter 6. As will be further discussed in chapter 7, I also contend that the everyday heritages presented in this thesis may also be characterised by its embracing of change and the disruption of continuity. This differs to the living heritage approach discussed above and the objectives of managerial practice in Germany.

In this chapter, I further outlined the few works that directly refer to the term 'everyday heritage'. Mosler defined everyday heritage as a tool for place-making and spatiality in urban landscapes, particularly focusing on how people moved within and beyond heritage spaces. She did so in a study of wider urban landscapes in inner cities, whereas my work revolves around the immediate home environment of individuals. Giombini built on this research and argued for everyday heritage as practices of heritage creation enabled by the 'use' of tangible authorised heritage sites. She explains this in the context of residents visiting designated sites and places in their hometowns and engaging in mundane activities while doing so. This differs from my approach to exploring everyday heritage in that I seek to move away from deliberate, active engagements with the past as has been studied in the role of the visitor. Further, unlike me, Giombini conflates everydayness with repetition and equates it to banality and loss of value. She argues that frequent engagements with the past may result in its underappreciation. In chapter 8, I will discuss the role of insignificance in everyday heritage and contend that mundanity and irrelevance are not reflective of the importance and significance of people's engagements with the past in daily life.

Everyday heritage has also been defined in the context of rural communal heritage on the island of Naxos. Lekakis and Dragouni's study on this particularly emphasises the threat of increasing tourism to communal heritage which is not a concern in my research. Further, their research is predominantly community-centred and explores heritage formation in relation to landscape and ruined or abandoned structures. The role of communities and shared practices are relevant in some forms of everyday heritage explored in this work, as will be discussed in chapter 8. However, most are centred around individual narratives and small-scale groups such as families.

Within the English AHDs, Historic England emphasised everyday heritage in an initiative promoting communal-based knowledge-sharing of working-class histories. Their definition and approach differs fundamentally from mine in suggesting a very specific idea of class-based heritage (environments) that may be brought to the fore and preserved accordingly. Throughout this chapter and thesis, I situate my understanding of everyday heritage in the notion that it is created beyond the confines and practices of managerial practice. As such, it cannot be preserved and managed by the authorised discourses without becoming part of them and, therefore, losing its essence of everydayness and mundanity. Bonnin and Moore-Cherry also propose the preservation of market trading livelihoods as a form of everyday heritage to aid working class and marginalised communities and individuals in challenging urban transformation and gentrification. As stated above, my exploration of everyday heritage is neither grounded in the study of oppressed or marginalised groups nor centred purely around community-based heritage-making.

Following this, I outlined notions of everydayness and how these informed my situating this work in the term of 'everyday heritage'. Here, I referred to the German concept of *Alltagskultur* which denotes mundane, everyday objects, domestic buildings, and neighbourhoods as representative of an 'everyday culture'. As stated throughout this work, my idea of everyday heritage centres around the exploration of people's engagements with the past in daily life through such objects or home environments. It refers to personal heritage that is common and mundane, often only acknowledged by its creator (see chapter 8). Unlike Mosler or Giombini, I situate 'everydayness' within participants' immediate homes or living environments. However, I will discuss the role of wider locality in constructing a sense of place or place attachment later in this work (see chapter 8).

Lastly, I contextualised everyday heritage formation within the concepts of 'heritagisation' and 'theatres of memory'. Here, I argued that the material *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen* administered by the local AHDs, the individual and familial narratives and stories, as well as communal practices may constitute such theatres in which heritage is

created. In this section, I also moved away from 'heritagisation' by arguing that it outlines a process of 'becoming' heritage which culminates in a finite form of heritage. As I will demonstrate and discuss on the basis of my primary data throughout this thesis, I view everyday heritage as an ongoing process of (re)making relationships with the past.

Moreover, in this chapter, I identified memory, performance (in the form of habits, rituals, and actions), and sharing or communicating as central to everyday heritage formation. The role of memory in the creation and upkeep of everyday heritage will be addressed in chapters 7 and 8. Performance was observed and evident particularly in communally-oriented forms of everyday heritage. These include heritage events and celebrations, folk dance and costumed parades, among others. However, performances are also part of the individual forms of everyday heritage observed in this research, such as the display and habitual engagement with heirlooms and photographs, or the continued hosting of familial traditions. These performative acts of heritage creation and valuation will be discussed in chapter 8. Further, I highlighted the role of sharing (notions or expressions of) heritage and suggested that this may take place in various ways. This includes the verbal communication of stories and memories, but also the physical exchange of objects or hosting of local food heritage events, to be outlined in chapter 8.

In conclusion, I seek to address a gap in knowledge concerned with understanding how ordinary people engage with the past as part of their home environments, exploring this from the perspective of living in and around listed buildings and sites. While participants' perceptions of heritage are likely subconsciously biased towards authorised definitions and statements of significance, I explore everyday heritage within and beyond the authorised discourses. This differs from earlier studies, as these examined everyday heritage with the AHDs at their core: Scholars and practitioners advocated for including (previously) unauthorised individual or communal heritages in managerial practice, thus preserving everyday heritage and transforming it from unauthorised to authorised. I oppose this focus and instead investigate everyday heritage as existing both within and beyond the AHDs, but as rooted in non-expert individuals and emerging from their relationships and engagements with the past in the (semi-)authorised present.

CHAPTER 6: THE INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN THE AUTHORISED AND EVERYDAY

Introduction

This chapter thematises the intersections between the authorised and everyday heritages discussed in this dissertation with the aim of understanding where both worlds may overlap or diverge. A Critical Discourse Analysis of the secondary data consulted (see chapter 3) revealed that material preservation, heritage obligations, temporality, and the notion of *Denkmale* for the public are defining and dominant themes within the local Authorised Heritage Discourses. These will be addressed on the subsequent pages and further contextualised in light of my data throughout this thesis.

This chapter first outlines *Denkmalschutz* as an institution and practice in Baden-Württemberg, presenting their general definition of heritage and discussing its perceived significance based on official reports and state-issued publications. Further, it sheds light on how the local AHDs perceive and justify their mission with regard to the general public, as this public element is firmly anchored in their legislation.

While analysing and discussing the intersections between the heritages of the authorised discourses and individuals, this chapter predominantly centres around the local *Denkmalschutz*. In light of this, I present their definitions and approaches to heritage and its management. Further, I outline and critically reflect on the dominant notion of heritage as being ‘for the public’ that is communicated by the local AHDs via their policy papers and reports. Since this is deeply rooted in German heritage legislature (as discussed in chapter 4), I consider this relationship between heritage management and the public vital for understanding the intersections and, potentially, diverging perceptions between authorised and individual-personal heritages.

In this chapter, I also present general public attitudes towards *Denkmalschutz* in Germany to contextualise the respective information gathered in the interviewing process. I then outline some of the issues linked to authorised policies and practices that have been brought forward by participants. Beyond showcasing how the same ‘object’ of heritage may be perceived and valued from both authorised and individual perspectives, it also highlights how participants engage with (or wish to do so) the listed buildings and environments they inhabit. In doing so, I further draw connections to local heritage tourism facilitated by the AHDs and how these inform and impact both people’s relationships and attitudes towards local *Denkmalschutz* but also their perceptions of the tangible heritage in question. Overall,

this aids in situating listed tangible heritage objects, buildings, places, and spaces within these blurred boundaries between simultaneously ‘belonging’ to both the authorised discourses and private individuals or local communities.

For this case study area, some intersections between the authorised and everyday may be seen in the material manifestations in the day-to-day. In many regards, aspects or elements of what is deemed official heritage from a managerial perspective also become interwoven with people’s engagements with everyday heritage in their daily lives. This may include, for example, the inclusion of a listed building into perceptions of personal heritage and familial histories. Due to this, there may be an overlap between what both perspectives consider to be heritage and of significance, though with different foci, reasonings, and values attributed to them. In my case study area, it is tangible heritage in the form of objects, buildings, and places onto which values, statements of significance, or emotions and memories are attributed by both the ‘experts’ and individuals. On this note, it is important to clarify that specific sites or places such as museums or monuments may not be embedded in people’s lives and do not in some way constitute part of the everyday heritage perspective explored in this dissertation.

In discussing whether official and everyday expressions of heritage are mostly separate constructs and phenomena or whether there is some degree of overlap or interconnectivity, this chapter aims to demonstrate how the authorised and individual perspectives relate to each other in the context of my research. Analysing what is described and valued as heritage respectively, as well as how it is created and engaged with officially and in the everyday will serve as the stepping stone from which to establish how heritage is understood and (re)negotiated respectively. This will also illuminate the challenges that may arise from differing understandings and approaches to such heritage in daily life; this particularly informs the discussion on authenticity, materiality, and change in chapter 7.

Authorised Perspectives on Heritage

In this subsection, I will address the characteristics of the authorised discourses in their local expressions by outlining the *Denkmalschutz*’s heritage policies and practices in Baden-Württemberg. The most recent comprehensive report on heritage preservation in Baden-Württemberg, brought forward by the state’s Ministry of Economics and the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* in 2007, remains one of the most widely cited and representative examples of the values, initiatives, and standpoints of the authorised discourses in the state. It is still frequently referred to by the *Denkmalschutzämter* as a current account of their

practice and philosophy, further presented as such on their websites (see Landesamt für Denkmalpflege 2016a, 2016b, 2019, 2020). From this report arises a dominant understanding of heritage: *Kulturdenkmale* are thought to shape and characterise cities and landscapes, feeding into matters of identity because they facilitate identity formation. In his introductory statement, Ernst Pfister, the former Minister of Economic Affairs in Baden-Württemberg, described the role of *Denkmale* as being “of considerable importance for people to identify with their immediate and wider surroundings” (Pfister 2007, 4).

This notion of the relevance of heritage to the public is strongly emphasised throughout the report itself as seen in the managerial and conservational initiatives presented, e.g. “Stadt und Kulturlandschaft als Denkmal”, “Konservieren und Restaurieren am Freiburger Münster”, and “Erhaltung durch Umnutzung” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 27ff.). Here, heritage conservation and management are presented as a “joint responsibility” (transl. from: “gemeinschaftliche Aufgabe”, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 26) which is where the *Denkmalschutzamt* situates the relevance for the wider public. From this text also emerges that this collaboration is deemed to take place between heritage professionals and members of the public, particularly heritage homeowners (ibid., 26ff.). Its dynamics are outlined fairly straightforwardly: professionals employed by the *Landesdenkmalamt* provide expert knowledge and guidance in matters of preservation and restoration while individuals take on the passive role of the informed. Such top-down managerial practices align with the overarching characteristics and approaches of the Authorised Heritage Discourses – discussed at length by scholars such as Avrami and Mason (2019), Poullos (2014), Smith (2006, 2021), and Waterton and Smith (2010), and discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

Quotes such as: “Auf diese Weise können diese Objekte auch für den Ort, für die Region oder sogar das ganze Land von Wert sein.” – “In this way, these objects can also be of value for the place, the region, or even the whole country.” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12) suggest the promotion of local and overarching regional or national relevance and value which has also been discussed by Harrison (2010) as a dominant narrative and focus of the authorised discourses. To the Baden-Württembergian AHDs, the objective of heritage management is the preservation of tangible pasts and raising awareness of the “spaces, buildings and structures worthy of protection” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019a). Inventarisation of *Denkmale* and semi-authorised buildings and places yet under consideration constitutes an essential part of local managerial practice, “because only that which is known and appreciated can be protected and preserved” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, 2020a).

This is further supported by the *Landesdenkmalamt's* online presence and public initiatives (for example Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016b, 2019a, 2019b, 2020a), as well as through the creation and dissemination of *Historische Ortsanalysen*. As reflected in my interview data, similar understandings of the significance of official heritage have also been widely communicated from an individual perspective, as has become evident from the majority of interviews conducted as part of this research (n=31). Both within the authorised and everyday perspectives, the conservation and management of *Denkmale* that are considered relevant to regional, state-wide, and national narratives is widely supported. The local AHDs define these as “historical testimonies with commemorative value for a community, a region or even the entire state/country” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, 2020a). From interviews with participants and the online presence of the *Landesdenkmalamt* emerged that the heritage in question may refer to a broad range of objects, buildings, and spaces, including “churches, castles and palaces, town houses and farmhouses, settlements, gardens, factories, bridges and crossroads” (ibid.). While these will be delved into further in the upcoming chapter 8, it is important to note that it appears to be the recognition and subsequent attribution of value to such authorised heritage where official and private perspectives largely overlap.

Looking at these local Authorised Heritage Discourses in conjunction with people's engagements with *Denkmale* as part of everyday heritage, one may initially conclude that this is where the overlap between the authorised and everyday lies. When asked about officially sanctioned heritage objects, almost 90% of the participants (n=36) voiced their support of having *Denkmale* managed and conserved as part of an organised heritage institution such as the *Landesdenkmalamt*. They particularly referred to this with regard to their everyday environments, as most of the heritage buildings managed and protected within the local authorised discourses also constituted the ‘fabric’ or ‘backdrop’ for their daily lives.

These particular heritage objects and contexts referred to by participants also overlapped with those *Denkmale* that the *Denkmalschutzamt* addressed in their reports and initiatives – to be assessed, preserved, and used (ideally in their original function) “in their surroundings wherever possible” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 10). The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* supports efforts of managing these specific forms of heritage, which include “churches, monasteries and castles, but above all [...] residential buildings, farms, handicraft buildings, [...]” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 10). Residential buildings and farms are often in use in this current day and age and have often been part of longstanding familial heritages and lineages, mainly being passed on to the younger

generations through inheritance. Their continued use and inhabitation (in their varied forms) present a prime example of everyday heritage environments in which heritage is made, negotiated, abandoned, and re-formed on a daily basis.

Exploring authorised definitions and understandings of (tangible) heritage, a common thread was found in that *Kulturdenkmale* are often anthropomorphised as material witnesses of the past. In line with this, it is suggested that through their materiality and literal palpability, heritage objects “speak a different, more direct language than words and images” (Pfister 2007, 4). Rather than picturing heritage as part of – or even central to – dialogue and discourse, Pfister conjures a more passive image, where *Denkmale* are straightforwardly being presented to a passive, even distant audience instead. He continues to strengthen his implication of instant access to heritage by emphasising that this combination of tangible elements and what he appears to coin as ‘truthfulness’ enables people to explore their history, cultural roots and traditions in a more genuine, “special” manner (2007, 4). This is further supported in statements such as “Only if the *Denkmal* is preserved in its historical substance can it be directly re-interrogated and re-interpreted as a source of historical circumstances today and in the future” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016a).

To the attentive reader, there is a clear contradiction here: On the one hand, heritage is an active, anthropomorphised entity and able to convey meaning and history directly, whilst on the other, it merely serves as a passive vehicle for people to be used for an ‘authentic’ exploration of the past. Irrespective of this discrepancy, this focus on materiality and the past presents its heavy undercurrent, namely authenticity, as one of the pillars of the (German) authorised discourses. This, and particularly its relationship with and impact on different expressions of heritage as well as heritage formation in the everyday, will further be discussed in chapter 7.

Call of Duty: Heritage ‘Obligations’, Preservation, and Custodianship

This aspect of preserving the ‘authentic and material’ is where one may further scrutinise the overlap between heritage and the everyday. Considering the “obligation to maintain” and “treat [*Denkmale*] with care”, the individual is considered a mere custodian of the tangible elements of heritage (Pfister 2007, 6; see also Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014, § 6 DSchG). This ‘responsibility’ towards the fabric of heritage inevitably causes a certain degree of entanglement between people surrounded by heritage in daily life and heritage management. Individuals will eventually be impacted by this in one way or another. This especially applies to those individuals who reside in and around heritage considered

significant from a managerial perspective, as they will need to follow specific conservational guidelines, should any need for renovation, restoration, or transformation arise.

Pfister's language also strongly suggests that there is a strict hierarchy which is to be followed: "The *Denkmalschutzgesetz* imposes on [...]" (Pfister 2007, 6). This notion of top-down heritage conservation and (e)valuation is further confirmed by the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* (2007, 11) which argues that efficient monument protection requires efficient communication of "professional decisions and their background" to both the public as well as the owners of heritage buildings (see also Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2020a), for example via publications. On the note of rhetorics, heritage practice in Germany is often considered "*hoheitlich*" – sovereign (Goer 2009, 80), leaving little space for investigations into everyday heritage expressions or "civic engagement" (Goer 2009, 80); these are meant to serve as 'supplementary' additions to professional practice (Goer 2009, 80).

Whether or not these obligatory entanglements with *Denkmale* may have any implications on the creation and perception of everyday heritage will be determined and explored in this chapter and dissertation overall. With regard to the responsibilities and sense of stewardship that are somewhat imposed on heritage homeowners, it may be particularly insightful to assess how these may affect the individual valuation of this *Denkmal* as a physical component of everyday heritage practices and expressions: Does the obligation to preserve impact the forms that non-authorised heritages in the everyday may take? Do certain facets of the significance of heritage vary or align in its authorised and everyday conceptions? If so, how is this expressed? What may this tell us about how non-authorised forms of heritage are constructed and (re)negotiated in contexts and instances that are nonetheless tangential or overlapping with authorised notions of heritage?

It, again, heavily implies that there is one 'correct' and 'true' way of defining and protecting heritage, and one that is based on heritage experts "as a centre of competence for [its] responsible treatment" (Goer 2009, 81). Accompanying this perception of competence is a sense of objectivity appertaining to the authorised evaluation and definition of heritage, as well as the resulting measures for preservation (see Mörsch 2013, 22). Such self-appointed "complete objective preservation" of heritage (ibid.), however, is neither realistic nor evident from any thorough investigation of the written aims and objectives of the (German) authorised discourses. I argue that heritage work can never be fully objective and expert-informed from a 'professional distance'. To a certain degree, heritage management, too, is driven and motivated by personal (though often subconscious) processes and experiences. Despite this, there seems to be no room for individual expressions and notions

of heritage from a non-official standpoint, and no need for questions to be asked and dialogue to be held between the authorised and the personal. Instead, the *Landesamt* (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege 2007, 11) takes this even further: By stating that “after all, the loss of cultural monuments or careless treatment of them is often based on simple ignorance of their significance as well as their endangerment”, the Authorised Heritage Discourses seem to distance themselves from the potential loss or destruction of tangible heritage in suggesting that it ultimately is at the hands of the ‘uneducated’, ‘ignorant’ non-expert public (Pfister 2007, 11). Still relevant today and first presented back in 1921 at the fourteenth *Tag für Denkmalpflege*, a symposium organised by and for heritage management professionals in Germany, the famous art historian and conservationist Ernst Gall argued for science as the only way to establish what heritage is. He further suggested that “the official care of *Denkmäler* can only take place on a scientific basis” (Gall 1921; Osteneck 2003, 19).

This preference for expert-based custodianship of heritage objects and environments is firmly anchored in German heritage practice to this day (see, for example, Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2023c; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016a; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012; Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011), for it is “ultimately nothing other than research in order to preserve” (Osteneck 2003, 24). Former Head of the Inventory Division at the *Landesdenkmalamt* Baden-Württemberg, Volker Osteneck, justifies this approach by contending that “with more knowledge about [heritage objects] they can be cared for more prudently and effectively” (Osteneck 2003, 24). Although it may be true that the public and interested individuals may not hold the managerial and conservational expertise to preserve heritage according to the authorised standards set, people’s knowledge and insights regarding the creation and significance of everyday heritage should not be dismissed as quickly. This will be thematised throughout the rest of this work and particularly discussed in chapter 9.

Temporality in the Local Authorised Discourses

According to the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*, the fundamentals of heritage management lie in the preservation of *Denkmale* “as evidence of past times and cultures” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 9). Despite being presented as ‘evidence’ and thus firmly anchored in the present, heritage is still largely thought of as a thing of the past (Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2023b; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012; Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011). As such, heritage is mainly considered significant as something that is *from the past* but not in its potential impact on, or

transforming nature for, the present. Through this definition, the existence of everyday heritage and the role of heritage buildings, places, and spaces in people's daily lives in the present, is often disregarded in its local and communal importance due to its dominant focus on regional, national, and societal interests (read, for example, Karl 2016, 2020; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2019a, 2019b; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007; Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011).

At best, this authorised notion of heritage looks to the present and future as realms in which the past is allowed to reside – albeit as untouched or spoiled as possible so as not to disturb the past's 'authentic' eternal slumber. Any connection between the past, present, and future is ignored as well; these are separate entities in the perceived linear progression of time. From an authorised perspective, the past is passively significant in and for the present and future. The vital role of the present in upholding and forming a connection to and continuation of the past and present, however, is largely overlooked within the *Denkmalpflege*. In this constellation, too, their experts deem any impact of the past on the present to be good, whereas present and future impacts on the past are simultaneously considered bad. These attitudes are reflected in the conservational policies and guidelines (see, for example, Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014), and, for instance in statements such as "Historic buildings are irreplaceable – and that's why they are so worth protecting. Rarely have monuments been as threatened as in our time: due to construction measures that intervene more deeply than ever before [...]" (Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2023c).

Heritage (and, hence, the past) are ever-so-present in the current day, but connections between people from the past and present are not accounted for; small-scale ancestral links may not exist in official heritage – unless, that is, the heritage in question is related to a historical figure of greater significance. This further strengthens the disconnect between the past and present, and ignores the fact that heritage may not need to have an obvious connection to the 'true' and 'authentic' past to be meaningful to people. Most importantly, it dismisses that heritage is a process and can, therefore, never be only a product of the past, as it is continuously (re)defined, made, and (re)negotiated in the present. Since 'the present' is only ever a brief episode within the larger timeline of human existence and is continuously transformed into 'the past', where does one draw the line? Where and how does a thing or place become part of an (officially) valued past? While the boundaries between authorised understandings of heritage and its relationship with the present may be fairly rigid, this less so applies to everyday notions of heritage.

Heritage, the 'Bigger Picture', and the 'Public Interest'

As the central authorised heritage institution in Baden-Württemberg, the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* suggests that humans, inherently, are “historically conscious beings, often attach[ing] their memories to things” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12). Whilst I disagree with the first sentiment and the logical conclusion that follows – namely that some sort of ‘historical awareness’ is inherent in every human being who therefore ascribes significance to history and heritage –, the latter half of this statement is true in many respects, and especially with regard to everyday heritage as is presented throughout this thesis. The role of memory in the construction and perception of (unauthorised) heritages has been discussed in chapter 5 and will further be addressed in chapter 8.

The ultimate professional assessment and subsequent (re)definition of heritage and its values, however, does not take into account these multifarious strands of heritage. Whilst the *Landesamt* seemingly acknowledges heritage as something which is imbued with memories and thus has its roots in the minds and (everyday) worlds and lives of (past and present) people, it continues treading the familiar path to what is deemed “of value for the place” or significant “for the region or even for the whole country” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12). Again, this notion of heritage serving a larger, often governmental or nationalistic, purpose or being part of ‘the bigger picture’ is not unique to southwest Germany, or the German Authorised Heritage Discourses in general. It is a widely known, longstanding understanding of authorised heritage across the world (as discussed in chapter 2; see also Smith 2021; Solli et al. 2011; and Virloget 2019). In arguing for a larger purpose for heritage, the *Landesdenkmalamt*/AHDs seek to extend the “initially private interest” in the preservation of heritage places and spaces “by a public interest”. This refers to the ‘upgrading’ of buildings or neighbourhoods in ascribing them an official *Denkmalstatus*, therefore placing them under the jurisdiction and management of the authorised discourses.

In short, *Denkmale* are taken from a private, everyday origin to be transformed into something public. Following this argument, the authorised discourses appear to justify a shift of importance away from the individual, the personal, and the everyday, since “the object of personal memories is at the same time a cultural monument” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12). Considering their previous emphasis on heritage significance as, above all, ranking higher when serving a larger purpose (to the people, to the public, to the country), once again reinforces the idea of hierarchy in what heritage is and who should care for as well as (e)valuate it. While there is the recognition that heritage can be personal and individual to people in the everyday, and this holds value if particular aspects are given,

the ‘true’ and ‘dominant’ value lies in its service to and role for the general public, the nation, and the authorised discourses (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, 2020a). Heritage is thus extended and elevated in its significance through an artificial ‘from zero to hero’ moment.

Though to some extent, the *Landesamt* acknowledges the challenges or even worries experienced and expressed by (current or future) heritage homeowners – especially due to the lack of guidance and guidelines following *Denkmal* ownership, as previously mentioned in the fourth chapter– this is not addressed and revised in greater detail by the institutions. Rather, the authorised discourses ‘comfortingly’ point out that this heritage object holds deeper significance, namely in its relevance to the public (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 74).

In chapter 4, I outlined that German heritage legislation and management are anchored in the idea of heritage ‘serving’ or ‘being for’ the public (see also Karl 2020 and Strobl and Sieche 2010, 49). In his exploration of the history and evolution of *Denkmalschutz* in Germany and Austria, Karl (2016; see also Karl 2020) states that heritage management and conservation is rooted in deeply hierarchical thinking which stems from the eras of the *Vormärz* (transl.: pre-March; c. 1815-1848) and the German Empire (1871-1918). In these societies, “what was deemed to be the “public interest” was imposed [to the public] from above”, by peoples or bureaucracies “invested with imperial authority and in possession of “special expertise” (Karl 2016, 1). Karl (2016) further affirms that the emergence of democracy has enabled societies to become increasingly egalitarian and argues that this has led to a reconceptualisation of approaches towards determining the public interest. As part of this research, I have not discovered any such (officialised) notions in my analyses of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*’ policy papers and reports. In fact, the approaches I was able to determine as part of this work were closely aligned with those centuries-old, top-down impositions of the value and, hence, the public interest of tangible authorised heritage. This will be addressed in this subsection and further contextualised with the interview data collected. The latter is discussed in the *Public and Private Attitudes Towards Denkmalschutz* section in this chapter.

Despite acknowledging that the *Denkmal* may hold individual-personal relevance for its inhabitants which may differ from their authorised notions, this everyday perspective is immediately dismissed for the sake of emphasising that this heritage serves a more significant role in being a public representative of certain authorised notions and values. Doing so not only immediately establishes a top-down order, but also reinforces a very specific understanding of heritage – suggesting that it requires expert stewardship and that

its relevance and significance are established and communicated by experts rather than those individuals engaging with it in the everyday. In this, *Denkmale*, even if they are part of people's everyday lives, are presented as something that almost does not 'belong' to individuals; it may even appear that the individual and their 'heritage-related needs' are subservient to the public image and, thus, an external relevance of *Denkmale*. From several interviews with participants arose that this notion of authorised heritage as not belonging to the people is felt deeply by many. This will be emphasised further in the *Public and Private Attitudes to Authorised Heritage* below.

Hence, this suggests that any issues or uncertainties encountered by individuals in relation to 'their' (everyday) heritage object are 'worth it' for the greater good. Even more so, this signals that matters of "why your property is a *Denkmal*" and "what distinguishes it" are strictly defined and propounded by experts (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 74; see also Boyd et al. 1996, 123 who argue that this has "several serious implications").

Applied *Denkmalschutz* seems to draw from a range of what they refer to as "historical branches of scientific disciplines", which span the fields of archaeology, architectural and building history, cultural studies, art history, and so forth. It is these fields of expertise that the authorised discourses make reference to when "prov[ing] the significance of a *Denkmal*" (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13), suggesting that heritage has inherent value to it. Moreover, it is generally simplified – or even argued – that this heritage merely needs to be discovered, extracted, and distilled by experts for the public to consume (see, for example, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016b). This reinforces the idea of top-down heritage practice and suggests that heritage is not made in the present through engagements between individuals or communities with and in their everyday environments; instead, heritage is considered both somewhat immanent and immutable – a static entity in slumber, waiting to be understood, advocated for (Goer 2009, 81), and presented by the professionals to the distant, unaware, unrelated public (see also Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2022). Even in those instances where people are engaging with and surrounded by heritage in everyday life, such as heritage homeowners, Osteneck argues that "more knowledge about *Kulturdenkmale* among the public [...] promotes awareness of their value" (2003, 24). This outlines a clear objective of the *Denkmalschutz*, namely the promotion of their particular expert-based assessments of the relevance and significance of *Denkmale*. Official values attributed to heritage must be significant to such an extent that they elicit public interest in the object's preservation (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13). Public interest, hence, appears to be at the forefront of what makes heritage 'heritage', and worthy of preservation.

From many of the statements presented by the *Landesdenkmalamt* online surfaced a strong impression that the local authorised discourses were keen to present the meaningfulness of *Denkmalschutz* as reflected, for example, in statements such as “For only that which is known and appreciated can be protected and preserved” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2020a) or “*Denkmalpflege* is a social responsibility, to which many contribute their part” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2020b). This appeared to be directed particularly towards the public, and particularly politicians or heritage homeowners – with the ultimate goal of “[them becoming] willing to commit themselves to it” (ibid.). Similarly, in 2011, English Heritage proposed the concept of a “virtuous circle” which was based on the concept of “constructive conservation” (English Heritage 2011, 10-1), which Clark (2019, 76) summarised on-point: “By understanding the historic environment people value it; by valuing it they will want to care for it; by caring for it they will help people enjoy it; [and] from enjoying the historic environment comes a thirst to understand it”. To achieve this, the authorised discourses aim to provide as much information about what constitutes heritage and how it should be preserved accordingly. The *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* states that it offers an abundance of opportunities for ‘engaging’ with those matters at various levels, including at exhibitions, conferences, training events, guided tours, and press events – as well as at the *Tag des offenen Denkmals* (transl.: open monuments day), an initiative where private heritage buildings and places can be visited by the public (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2022). Such initiatives tend towards public outreach and a top-down communication of heritage values and definitions; this ‘engagement’ of the individual in heritage matters is a mere inclusion based on the need for people’s commitment towards heritage preservation.

The Authorised Perception of Non-Authorised Heritages

Ranking low in significance within official heritage discussions are non-authorised expressions of heritage linked to local histories, traditions, or narratives – those “must also be scientifically substantiated” and do not hold sufficient significance on their own (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13). While such smaller-scale, locally important heritage is imbued with “emotive-commemorative value, which can justify [its] preservation” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13), it is not ‘enough’ on its own – this presents a prime example of where and how everyday heritage is neglected within the local Authorised Heritage Discourses. Despite stating that heritage management and preservation is not only aimed at “works of outstanding importance”, but also at heritage objects and places of local importance, the condition of “if they have the significance

prescribed by law” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13) once again leaves an aftertaste of justification. In this light, the *Landesdenkmalamt*’s assertion that “this results in a wide range of what can constitute a *Denkmal*” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13) certainly raises the inevitable question of how diverse, broad-ranging, inclusive, and conscious of the everyday, lived experiences of heritage-making the authorised discourses’ approaches and definitions of heritage are.

Generally, I argue there is nothing inherently wrong with not officially investigating, as well as recognising and preserving the full range of varied and nuanced forms of constantly developing and redeveloping aspects of (everyday) heritage as part of the authorised discourses. As I will continue to demonstrate throughout this thesis, in many forms, everyday heritage is made and engaged with on a fundamentally separate level from official heritage practices; consequently, there is no need for it to be accounted for and acknowledged as part of the authorised discourses. In fact, and with reference to the previous chapter in which I discussed Historic England’s stance on everyday heritage and their initiative for projects to be supported and communicated via their authorised platform, I argue that everyday heritage cannot (and should not) be viewed in the context of such official and institutionalised standpoints. It simply transforms it into something that may not actually *be* everyday heritage anymore. Instead, my main issue lies in the narrative of inclusion through ‘working with and alongside’ people who engage with heritage in their daily lives; at first glance, it may suggest an overlap between those *Denkmale* (or other forms of heritage) and values that are relevant to both the authorised and everyday. This is not the case, however, since the *Denkmalpflege*’s ‘inclusive’ narrative is still firmly grounded in authorised notions of heritage management and *Denkmal* significance. The objective of these initiatives is to explore wide and varied nuances of heritage, an endeavour that is supposedly facilitated by the interdisciplinary work of the ‘experts’. The heritage considered as part of this ‘inclusive’ approach is nonetheless an inherently authorised one – whether referring to objects, buildings, sites, or complexes listed, yet under review, or *Denkmale* tentatively deemed ‘of interest’ for heritage management.

Falling by the wayside in those inclusive initiatives with the public are a large portion of unauthorised heritage in everyday life: heritages which are created in between longstanding familial pasts and the daily engagements with certain objects or items, heritage related to local food or drinking culture, the heritages that arise from the alteration of the material, or those heritages that emerge from the vocalisation of kinship with overarching communal or regional identities. Particularly underrepresented and not or little acknowledged are individual and communal heritages which are not (any longer) tied to a

physical anchor in the present. Further, heritage within the everyday is reduced to emotion and commemoration, which may well be enough under certain circumstances – but certainly not in others (see also chapter 7).

In short: the *Denkmalschutz*'s main objective is to preserve the appearance and "historic substance" of heritage "as testimonies of history [...] for future generations" (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 26). This aligns with one of the dominant and overarching AHDs-based tropes of conserving heritage 'for the future', which attempts to justify its focus on the past and the preservation of 'historic substance' (DeSilvey and Harrison 2019, 2; see also Harrison 2013a, 2015; Harrison et al. 2016; Stainforth 2017; Stainforth and Graham 2017).

This aim is concisely articulated in their maxim "Substanz erhalten – Erscheinungsbild bewahren", meaning 'preserve substance – maintain appearance' (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 32). Goer (2009, 80) emphasises this focus on the substance itself in arguing that there is an inherent "source value borne by [it]", which can be interfered with. Heritage as defined by the authorised discourses is something inviolable and singular, tangible and unchanged in its original material. It suggests an ignorance towards the existence of intangible heritage (or any other forms of heritage that cannot be carried into the future in their 'authentic' substance). Relevant conservation measures are therefore not in place. This gives an indication of what is considered significant within the German authorised discourses – the main premise being that any form of heritage other than specific tangible manifestations is non-existent, or at least not worthy of acknowledgement, public communication, preservation, or management. This includes and affects most forms of heritage which fall under the umbrella of everyday heritage as outlined in this thesis.

Public and Private Attitudes Towards *Denkmalschutz*

"Help – my home is a *Denkmal*!". This is how the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* addresses often-encountered attitudes of "many an owner, inheritor or potential buyer of a *Denkmal*" towards heritage management and conservation (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 74). Almost instantly, this quote invokes a touch of difficulty, of questions and concerns yet to be addressed for those who are directly involved with heritage in everyday life. It hints towards the potential for disagreement and dissonance, an issue that has been vindicated through this research as well; this will be discussed in this section.

Some advocates for the authorised discourses in Germany, however, vocalise their dissatisfaction with what they perceive to be 'wrongful claims' against heritage practice. In a

strongly worded text, heritage expert Sigel (Sigel 1997 in Mörsch 2013, 31) makes reference to a reportedly felt and thus frequently voiced ‘abyss’ dividing heritage practice and the public. She argues that the perceived divide between emotionally charged “old things around us” and “historical [heritage] objects” managed by the authorised discourses does not exist at all. Especially with Uzzell’s hot vs. cold interpretation concept (see Abelson 1963; Ballantyne and Uzzell 1993; Uzzell 1989a, 1989b) in mind, this reads oppositional – as if these ‘old things’ people are surrounded by in the everyday are subjectively perceived and emotionally laden (‘hot’, after Uzzell), and hence different from the ‘objectively’, thus less emotionally charged “historical objects” (‘cold’) listed by the AHDs. I contend that addressing the absence of this divide like this may involuntarily stress its existence instead.

Even further, she dismisses a common point of criticism, namely that emotional ties between individuals or the public with *Denkmale* as part of their daily lives are not addressed adequately. Tauntingly, Sigel outlines her view on the public notion that “scholarly” heritage management “insensitively” imposes the conservation of heritage buildings due to “legal obligations” (Sigel 1997 in Mörsch 2013, 31). In her confrontational manner and by emphasising labels such as “doctrinaire” and ‘insensitive’ (ibid.), she unintentionally highlights exactly why some individuals may consider the practices and outward communication of the authorised discourses to be ignorant towards their needs and feelings. In fact, her words only seem to expand further and cement in place a fissure between ‘heritage experts’ and the public.

That such a divide may exist and be felt truthfully by the people is strongly reflected in the interviews of this study, as voiced by Helmut, for example: “there is this conflict between their aspirations and the reality of what can be implemented, [...] what inhabitants can be expected to do and endure”. What is more, it is also witnessed in public displays of dissatisfaction with heritage management and *Denkmalschutz*, as is seen in Figure 6.1.

Translated, the rhyme written on the exterior of a listed residential building reads “May god protect me from dust and dirt, from fire, war, and heritage preservation”, thus equating catastrophes with heritage management, and especially conservation practices. While the format and phrasing may imply a certain comic perspective on the matter, the reality and impact of preservation efforts and managerial regulations on people engaging with and deeply entwined with *Denkmale* in the everyday are, more often than not, serious. Such public utterances of dissatisfaction are also not rare, with resembling expressions having shown up in a range of different towns and places (n=13). I first came across the sense of tension between individuals and heritage authorities/professionals when, during an outreach phone call, my soon-to-be participant Olaf earnestly exclaimed “My home is not

yet listed and I hope it stays that way. I never want to have to deal with them [the *Denkmalschutz*]. They only ever cause trouble and worry ... I really do not want to deal with that. My house is adequately historic for me.”

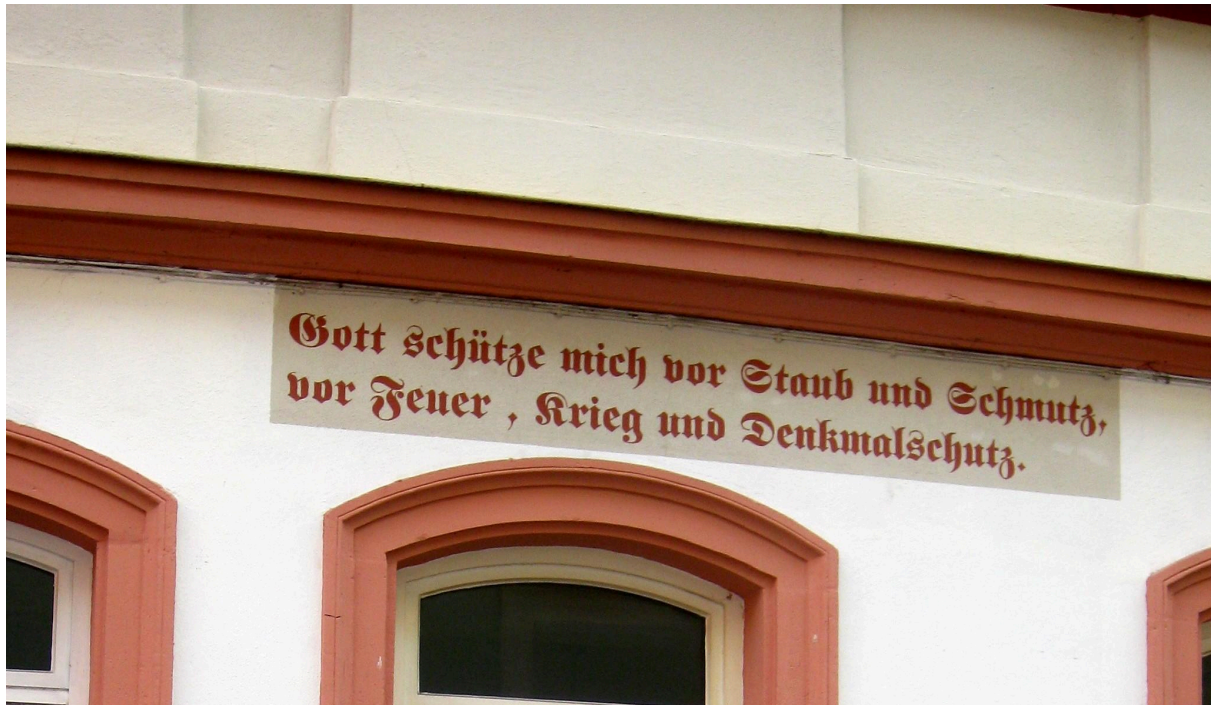


Fig. 6.1: Inscription thematising the issue of *Denkmalschutzbürde* (transl.: *Denkmal* protection burden); photograph taken by Arnold Plesse, 2010.

On the surface, Olaf’s statement appears as a straightforward, direct rejection of managerial regulations. On a deeper level, however, particularly his notion of ‘historical adequacy’ suggests a more nuanced perspective, implying that he values his own perception of heritage over that of the local authorised discourses. His reaction may also be rooted in a wider social context. As someone involved in the local *Heimatverein* – an organisation dedicated to preserving local culture and traditions – he is strongly attached to the local history and heritage the organisation recognises. His disapproval of the *Denkmalschutz* may be seen as a defence of this more community-based perception of local heritage which he perceives to stand in conflict with the more official and top-down policies and approaches by the local AHDs. Olaf’s identity as a longstanding community member may further inform his scepticism of heritage management because he sees it as distant and detached from the lived realities of people like him.

To more than half of my participants, it also appeared that heritage preservation practices and what is deemed valuable to the *Denkmalschutzamt* are largely based on political thinking and the respective interests of the stakeholders involved. Here, Olaf, again, remarked that different “levels of strictness” seemed to have been imposed on residents of

heritage buildings, largely based on where exactly in the city they were located: “If you live in the Engelgasse, you are in trouble. This is where they want to show tourists around, so people have to have matching roof tiles even if these are not historically accurate at all.” Others, including Ruben, seconded this impression: “Sometimes there is truly no historic fabric left at all.” This reveals a deeper criticism of managerial practice that goes beyond mere frustration with bureaucracy. These remarks all hint at a broader dissatisfaction with how heritage value is assessed and attributed by professionals, who may emphasise the preservation of certain aesthetics or the external appearance of heritage sites for tourism, at the expense of more personal or communal perceptions of local pasts.

In other instances during the interviewing process, a different issue regarding the intersections between managerial practice and the public would emerge, namely people’s concern of an overall lack of transparency in the evaluatory processes of the local AHDs. As several participants (n=14) argued, they felt excluded by the lack of communication regarding public reports or initiatives that included their homes or neighbourhoods: “I have never before heard of [*Historische Ortsanalysen*]. You say my house is included in this? No one ever came over to ask me about it. Where did they get the information from? I don’t like this at all!” (Gerald). Such statements suggest a deeper unease with the approaches of local managerial practice, namely without consulting, engaging, or acknowledging the people who live in the spaces they evaluate. This lack of communication reflects a fundamental disconnect between the public and heritage professionals.

Others, such as Joachim argued that this presents a common issue which is known and shared by the wider town community: “There are people who are still alive or whose families have lived in the town or the area for decades. Sometimes even more than a hundred years. You know, those are the people who would *know* about the local traditions, or workmanship, and just generally the meanings of the things from the past. No one is being asked and people are angry.” This comment on local, generational knowledge being disregarded in favour of more formal and external expertise hints at a deep sense of displacement within the community. Joachim’s frustration reflects the broader, underlying dynamics of social exclusion that constitute a common by-product of local managerial approaches. From this also arises a general questioning of the legitimacy and correctness of the information and interpretations provided by the local AHDs.

In line with this, Werner remarked specifically on the plaques installed by the local *Denkmalschutzbehörde* in his town: “I don’t know anyone who enjoys looking at the new information boards [the heritage professionals] put up recently... and why would we? We are never asked about any of this. But this is where we live!” Elsewhere, Hans felt

particularly strongly about these: “All of a sudden, there is a new banner or plaque or city tour, trying to lecture us and everyone else about our homes, and our local history, and our region. They sell it all as the truth when they have no idea. Does this mean I can go around pretending that I know how to be a major and run a city? Because I have been to one and because, technically, I should know how local governments work? But if I have never spoken to a major, or walked in his shoes, or even considered learning anything about it from those who have actual experience with it – why would I pretend? There is no value in this.”

His criticism of the lack of consultation of those who live and engage with local heritage on an everyday basis further affirms the overarching sense of mistrust against the authorities. Like many of the participants, Hans perceives heritage professionals as outsiders who impose their interpretations of local pasts without trying to understand or include the lived realities of locals. Further, his remark also suggests a deeper appreciation and valuation of local and experiential knowledge held by individuals, families, or communities, preferring it over formal heritage education and experts’ credentials. This general tension between lived experience and professional expertise emphasises the wider conflict between local communities and the authorised discourses, where the former feels utterly disregarded by the latter’s top-down approaches.

Whenever this divide arose in interviews, it became evident that people not only felt excluded from the dominant narrative of local heritage and history that was presented in reports or public heritage installations, but also often perceived it to be rooted in incomplete, or even wrong knowledge. Further, as Sabie summarised it concisely, participants found this to be particularly indicative of “a deep sense of entitlement that none of us here like”. Ultimately, my participants’ responses revealed a deep anxiety regarding managerial practices which are rooted in perceptions of exclusion, loss of autonomy, and having external narratives imposed onto their homes and communities. The frequent criticisms of the *Denkmalschutz* show a general rejection of the power dynamics at play. Following Karl (2020, 139), I argue that such exclusion of “segments of society from participation” is very much reflective of the “former, authoritarian-hierarchical system of social organisation” that prevails in the managerial practice of Germany and Austria.

Adding to these negative perceptions of the local *Denkmalschutz* authorities was the problem of insider-outsiderness, as heritage experts were, by some (n=8) perceived to be foreign, almost invasive entities: “They [the heritage professionals] come here from Stuttgart or Karlsruhe or Freiburg or where else they come from... and they try to make this a shiny thing. And sometimes they don’t even speak our dialect.” (Felix) and “Their rules and laws and restrictions are not doing any one of us any good.” (Christian). Christian’s use of the

collective 'us' emphasises the sense of a shared, communal identity that stands in direct opposition to the policies and regulations imposed by the *Denkmalschutz*.

In line with this, Felix's remark also seems to be more than a mere complaint about outsidership; instead, it reflects a deeper concern about cultural disconnect. In this sense, the inability of heritage professionals to speak the local dialect is metaphorical for their broader failure to engage with local identities and people's lived realities. His choice of words indicates that he perceives experts to be fundamentally disconnected from the local culture and heritage, since they are unable to communicate in ways that resonate with local-communal understandings of place and past. On an individual level, this also suggests that Felix's sense of self and perception of everyday heritage is deeply intertwined with notions of locality, language, and community.

Another participant concretised his worries concerning the lack of inclusivity in stating: "I just don't like that the *Denkmalbehörden* create these reports about our city and our homes without our input and consent... and then use them to go ahead with large town planning projects. We should have a say in this, because we have to live with the consequences." (Ralf). His comment captures well the dissatisfaction and discomfort induced by generally felt power imbalances as discussed previously. Moreover, his emphasis on consent underlines the widely shared notion that managerial practices and their outcomes are imposed on communities rather than developed in collaboration with them.

People's disengagement and dissatisfaction with authorised approaches to heritage interpretation and presentation was also evident in other statements, such as: "Sorry, but who do they think they are? And whom do they write these empty texts for?" (Claudia). This emptiness seemed to reflect the lack of contextualisation and input with and by individual and communal stories and memories tied to certain places. Claudia, as did a few (n=5) other participants, dismissed these official texts and information presented by the AHDs as not reflective of their individual and communal relationship with the past and place. The authorities' failure to contextualise officialised heritage within the lived and everyday experiences of residents and communities creates a disconnect that, to my participants, is reflective of a fundamental misunderstanding of what heritage means to the people who live (within) it. The absence of non-authorised knowledge and perspectives from the official narratives results in a void, an emptiness, that has been addressed both explicitly and implicitly by my participants.

One may argue that these are intersections that emerge from a lack of inclusion of individual everyday heritages or perspectives. People feel both part of and alienated by the authorised discourses. Albeit not being acknowledged or included in the dominant

narratives, they feel that they or their knowledge or sense of the past and community belong. It represents a paradox of belonging and exclusion that lies at the heart of people's dissatisfaction with the *Denkmalschutz*. In the context of Karl's (2020) criticism of the German and Austrian heritage discourses, my participants' dissatisfaction with managerial practice does not just reflect individual resentment. Instead, it highlights an overarching struggle for control over the narratives about heritage as part of people's everyday life. It also hints at the underlying wish for more inclusive and participatory approaches to its management, (e)valuation, and interpretation.

Throughout this research, I observed different levels of critical personal attitudes towards the authorised discourses in Germany. Some people may simply not like the *Denkmalschutzbehörde*, despite never having been in contact with them or been affected by their managerial practices before. Others have had their 'fair share of experiences' with heritage management and are opposed to them because of that. Then some people are knowledgeable in heritage conservation due to their educational background or profession and who criticise very specific aspects of managerial practice. Lastly, contrasting to this, there are people with no specific knowledge of heritage practices who acknowledge and agree with the need for material heritage preservation, but who see issues with how *Denkmale* as part of people's everyday lives are approached from a managerial standpoint. Former long-term state conservator at the *Landesdenkmalamt* Baden-Württemberg Michael Goer (2009, 81) fittingly summarises this relationship in presenting German heritage management as being rooted in a "critical-constructive [...] sense of advocacy for the monument" and acknowledging that its practices are simultaneously "partly unloved [and] partly rightly expected" by the general public. While definitions of what such 'critical-constructivism' may entail are not provided, his account of the "conservatorial mandate" (Goer 2009, 81) suggests that material preservation – or, rather, the 'custodianship' – of heritage is the primary priority of the Authorised Heritage Discourses in Germany. In some ways, this has been both confirmed and strongly challenged by my interviewees during the data collection for this dissertation, as will be discussed subsequently.

Outward Appearance and 'Surface-Heritagisation'

Since the end of World War II, which had seen the large-scale demolition of entire cities, towns, and their historic buildings, *Denkmalschutz* approaches have put emphasis on preserving façades in environments with an originally high density of historical substance; these buildings would still be labelled as heritage and listed accordingly. Though delivering a restored, remodelled, or fully preserved 'historic' exterior and "ensuring the survival into

the future of at least the external fabric" (Carman 2002, 45), these houses would mainly consist of modern building complexes and structures. While this may guarantee a comparatively high living standard due to updated interior facilities, several participants have heavily criticised this practice. Helmut, who was trained as an art historian, contemptuously coined this practice 'surface-heritagisation', implying that managerial practice is mainly concerned with maintaining an illusion of historical authenticity.

His background in art history and archaeology will have influenced his sensitivity towards matters of authenticity and historical integrity. I also believe this to reflect a more generalised intellectual antipathy against what he perceives as conservational approaches that lack a certain substance. Helmut's use of the term 'surface' further implies that appearance appears to be valued over historical accuracy – resulting in an aestheticised form of heritage that emphasises a certain public narrative and thus serves tourists and stakeholder interests – rather than residents or local communities. This tension between form and substance, between outward appearance and perceived authenticity, is central to participants' frustrations with the *Denkmalschutz* (see also chapter 7).

There was a sense of dissatisfaction with many participants (n=24), all of which expressed concerns about "over-restoration" (Anita) and that local heritage initiatives or practices were targeted towards tourism rather than serving and considering the people who lived in these environments. This commonly expressed concern, again, highlights the prevailing perception of superficiality that seems to be a key interest of the local *Denkmalschutz* practices. This was not a phenomenon arising in only a few places, it spanned across the majority of case studies and towns covered in this research. Issues related to this range from smaller matters, e.g. restricting personal design choices – "you are not even allowed to paint the window frames in a different colour" (Claudia) –, to more serious concerns with financial and practical implications, such as the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* prohibiting the installation of solar panels on the roofs of listed buildings. In many instances, such energy efficiency-related measures are now a federal requirement for home renovations and may therefore cause significant issues for the owners of residential heritage houses. Further, authorised restrictions placed on seemingly small personal choices, such as window frame colours, reveals an additional dimension in the clashes between residents and managerial practice. People feel limited in their expression of personal preferences but also identity, resulting in overarching feelings of living within a museum exhibit rather than their own homes and neighbourhoods.

There is a common belief that the *Denkmalschutzbehörde* only wants to 'maintain an impression', rather than preserving or helping to maintain old buildings: "If you walk down

[the street] with a trained eye, you see that only half of the buildings are actually old. The rest are some kind of replicas from the 1980s. There's more and more of them coming" (Werner). This conception of the appearance of heritage-dense environments being prioritised by the authorities is widespread among the public, as has been evident from almost all dissertation interviews (n=38). Werner's distinction between 'real' heritage and modern replicas reflects a wider scepticism about matters of material authenticity (see also chapter 7). His comment also seemed to imply a sense of loss – namely that of a time when more buildings in his neighbourhood were genuinely materially historic rather than merely made to look that way. Such increases in replicas appear to contribute to feelings of inauthenticity and, for some, to a sense of their home and community becoming disconnected from its past.

That such 'surface-heritagisation' (also referred to as "Disneyfication" of heritage and tourism by Smith 2006) can also lead to deep anxiety about the dynamics of neighbourhoods and towns, or may even cause personal distress has been voiced by Klaus: "You never really know whether big changes will affect the town or the dynamics... not so much how it all looks in the end, but just what the place feels like. A few years ago, [the authorities] approved the demolition of parts of the old historic school which was replaced by massive housing blocks. They are nice and are made to kind of look like it is older, so it melts into the surroundings and the old architecture of the street, but it still feels artificial. Like a misshapen limb or a prosthetic. And I think it would just feel more right if any one of us had been asked." Such desire for involvement or acknowledgement in local heritage evaluation, interpretation, preservation, and presentation practices, has been vocalised by several participants. This will be addressed accordingly in chapter 7.

Klaus's metaphor also reflects a deep emotional response to the physical changes in his town's landscape. His use of medical imagery suggests that these represent not only an aesthetic disruption to a familiar environment, but also how these are felt on an almost visceral, bodily level. In anthropomorphising place, it seemed as if the town itself had been wounded by having been altered in an unnatural way. As discussed above, his call for being consulted as part of the managerial approaches of the *Denkmalschutz* mirrors an overarching desire within communities for more participatory practices.

More generally, some participants (n=19) complained about the "reductive image painted by the *Denkmalschutz*" (Anne) through their projects and initiatives. The general consensus among those who perceived this issue was that local heritage authorities seemed to predominantly market three types of *Denkmale* to the public, and particularly tourists: 1) visually pleasing, 'nice', town centres, 2) *Schwarzwaldhäuser* (transl.: Black Forest houses),

and 3) half-timbered houses. This was seen as a way of neatly packaging regional heritage and history into a touristically marketable product. Anne's criticism of this "reductive image" suggests that the local AHDs tend to not only manage this tangible heritage, but also actively shape and control narratives about the past. In prioritising certain forms of heritage as aesthetically pleasing or 'sellable', they create a specific version of local pasts which participants felt to be disconnected from their complex and mutable relationships and engagements with their homes and wider historical landscapes.

Using Traditional Techniques and Materials

Related to this, a few participants (n=13) expressed their anger over the *Denkmalschutzbehörde* as a specialist heritage authority, as they argued that many interior construction or renovation measures did not rely on the use of original or historically similar construction techniques and materials. Although a few of these people were knowledgeable in these matters due to their current profession or academic education (n=4), not all participants were trained in these aspects. Some of them could not quite explain why they disliked the idea and practice of heritage buildings being gutted entirely, "only to be rebuilt with concrete and polystyrene on the inside" (Markus). Despite often not being fully able to articulate their feelings, my conversations with participants hinted at a sense of betrayal by institutions that were meant to adequately protect heritage, but instead appeared to prioritise modernisation over preservation measures.

Especially among those without formal training, preferences for historical construction techniques may suggest a deeper, perhaps more instinctual, discomfort with what people view as a loss of authenticity. Participants' unease with certain approaches seemed anchored in an emotional and cultural attachment to particular building methods. Here, *Denkmale* were perceived as more than simply architectural structures, but as representatives of continuity, as links between the past and present that are materialised in the workmanship of previous generations. Markus's distaste for modern materials, for example, may be representative of a broader concern about the physical loss of material authenticity, connecting buildings to both their historical and, for many, personal contexts.

Others made the case for their belief in the proven superiority of traditional building methods ("our ancestors knew what they were doing", Christiane; "these houses have kept up so nicely over hundreds of years", Patrick; "concrete just doesn't ventilate a house like our decent multi-layered Duttlinga brick does", Horst). These statements mirror a clear appreciation for historical knowledge as well as the belief that older techniques may have stood the test of time exactly because they were better suited to their immediate

environments. Here, the durability of heritage buildings is, in itself, proof of the value of these methods. Others, for example Joachim, suggested that the use of certain materials is “part of the local tradition and we should proudly invest in keeping it alive” and expressed sadness over their impression of the authorised institutions not caring about regional building customs. Underlying these arguments is a deeper cultural and emotional connection to traditional craftsmanship, which many participants viewed as integral to their local identity and sense of belonging. Joachim’s argument for needing to maintain these traditions suggests a desire to preserve both the tangible aspects of *Denkmale* but also the cultural knowledge embedded in their construction. As such, his comment also reveals his view of heritage as a living practice that should be actively maintained and passed down through generations.

Various participants suggested that applied heritage management should centre around the use and preservation of historic building techniques and materials. They felt that not only should the authorities support individuals in these endeavours (“what else are they here for?”, Armin), but they should also be able to present cases where such methods and techniques had been reintroduced, implemented, and “successfully conserved to a high standard” (Hans). Edgar, who seemed particularly fascinated by the benefits of traditional wattle and daub infill used in local half-timbered buildings, expressed his deep annoyance at what he perceived as “simply [the] laziness and disinterest of the authorities” in failing to partner with local firms who specialise in the historically accurate restoration of heritage buildings using traditional materials and techniques. He also argued that “doing so is part of our duty to ourselves and our past”, both for the sake of preserving knowledge of local building practices and for “maintaining a connection to our ancestors and appreciating what they have accomplished with little to no resources”. This suggests that Edgar perceives heritage conservation and management not only as a professional responsibility but especially as a moral and cultural obligation for the community.

This challenges the more passive and aesthetically-oriented approaches of the *Denkmalschutz*, instead presenting heritage as an active and ongoing process in which knowledge is passed on and shared within the community and, as such, revived.

Guidance and Increased Pragmatism

The lack of guidance in conservation processes and personal renovation or restoration projects, which are often necessary for the upkeep of lived-in heritage buildings, has been commented on by the majority of participants (n= 27). Heike, a former conservator, admits that “rules and practices have become very nonsensical at times” and the lack of guidelines

or justifications for certain measures made it difficult to ‘come to an agreement’ with heritage experts overseeing the renovation procedures. This emphasises a broader issue that has been a recurring theme throughout all interviews, namely the dissonance between authorised policies and the daily realities of people living in officially sanctioned homes.

One participant, Christoph, raised an important point when he argued that “[the authorities] are so little hands-on and accommodating because they, themselves, simply are *kaputtgespart*”². This perception presents a shift in criticism, away from individual heritage practitioners and towards broader, underlying institutional issues. At the same time, there is a general consensus among most participants that the existence of evidence-backed guidance (“an intelligible rulebook of sorts”, Maria) would make it much easier for the public to relate to and understand why certain preservational aspects matter from an authorised perspective (“I am wishing for only one thing: that decisions are justified using facts in a comprehensible manner”, Hildegard). An overarching frustration with what people perceive to be ‘needless’ measures quickly surfaced in almost all interviews, demonstrating that communication between heritage institutions and private individuals has been insufficient (“All they care about is that there's a cross in the window. [...] Their assessments can actually be reduced to window crosses and plain tiles”, Reiner).

Further shared by many participants (n=19) is the notion of the *Denkmalschutzbehörde* as an “absolutely dysfunctional authority”, as Gerald summarised it during our interview. While not all interviewees phrased their impression with quite such a bite, there is a great sense of trying to “avoid the authorities” (Felix) whenever possible. In part due to long waiting times for appointments “even at urgent construction sites” as Christian emphasised, in part due to matters of feasibility and functionality, heritage management professionals are circumvented and sometimes even antagonised in their philosophies and approaches. This antagonisation has also been evident in participants’ clear vocalisations of experts as (almost invasive) outsiders discussed above.

“What’s the point of expensively preserving this baroque staircase when my mother can no longer walk? She needs a stair lift, not some new gold coating.”, Sabine said to me during our conversation. “What’s she going to do – move out? Who is going to buy the place anyway? What are we expected to do? It just doesn’t make sense, for heaven’s sake!” Although not always as serious, such problems arising from clashes between preservation aims and matters of functionality for residents are a widespread cause of discussion and upset among the public, as my interviews have shown (“I understand that [the authorities]

² *kaputtgespart*: Loosely translates to something which receives increasingly less attention, money and resources in an attempt of economisation, which ultimately leads to failure, or in extreme cases the end, of all related activities and services.

are only doing their job and it's important for all of us, but there must be a solution to make our lives easier too.", Horst). Whether feasible or not, many participants are hoping for the authorised discourses to become more pragmatic and be open to discussing alternative options to publicly communicate the importance of tangible heritage while also acknowledging change over time – "Do we always need to keep everything as it was? I mean, generally speaking, the historic house is still standing. Can't we put a sign in front that says: 'It used to have a thatched roof and no skylights'?" (Nils). This ties in with the new understandings and approaches towards authenticity discussed in chapter 2 (see, for instance, Foster and Jones 2019; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Jones 2010; Macdonald 2013). While the matter of 'authentic' heritage will be explored more deeply in the subsequent chapter, some participants have asked and argued for alternatives to the strict preservation of heritage fabric. This further emphasises the role and relevance of discussing how authenticity is viewed from both an authorised and everyday perspective.

Among others, Anja called for a "reasonable authority [...] that can provide pragmatic assistance and also financial aid", not only with regard to renovation and restoration but also considering tax and energy efficiency regulations. The depth at which clashes between regulations and the reality of life can be felt by people was particularly evident from my conversation with Erika. She expressed profound emotional pain at the idea of moving elsewhere because she was unable to fulfil the relevant energy efficiency regulations while adhering to the rules of the *Denkmalamt*: "This house bears a substantial part of who I was and who I am. I suffer from its loss already, and I have not even begun packing my things". This and her pondering of "where does my past self go if it cannot live here any longer?" greatly emphasised ideas of rootedness of a sense in place which seems to affirm and strengthen her personal identity and history. It suggested that some homes may serve not only as the dwelling for memories, but entire (former) personalities. At several points during the interview, Erika vocalised her conviction that her 'past self' could only reside in this particular place. This sentiment surpasses feelings of rootedness, the fond recollections of memories, of childhood and family. It demonstrates how everyday heritage may also not be consciously constructed and only felt and valued deeply once its loss is imminent.

Participants generally believed that increased guidance and support would empower more people to 'properly care for' their listed home and enable people to "afford and deal with such a complicated project" (David) – "this way, most heritage buildings would not fall into disrepair or even have to be demolished" (Helga). Alexander also recalled the deterioration of his neighbour's former *Denkmal* home after the death of its owner, stating that "no one

claimed the house because ... frankly, it was really old and so expensive to renovate, and the regulations were harsh, and no one wanted to bear the responsibility. Anyway, he passed and the house stood empty and crumbled, more and more."

As mentioned above, some participants (n=4) suggested that the local authorities may also look into cooperating with specialised construction firms to support heritage homeowners in their projects, with participants such as Markus suggesting that "these self-proclaimed *experts*" (a word he emphasised using air quotes) "may actually learn something about *actually* living with listed buildings and dealing with their upkeep in an appropriate way". The latter notion seemed to be present among those participants who asked for sensible and feasible support and measures by the local *Denkmalschutzamt*: Most people were more than keen to assume the role of 'custodians' and 'stewards' of the past and its tangible heritage by caring for the materiality of their heritage homes. However, from respective interviews with them emerged a sense of being "left to [their] own devices" (Armin) while simultaneously "being either criticised or imposed additional unrealistic measures" (Reiner) by the local AHDs. This sense of alienation from *Denkmalschutz* authorities further reinforces overarching criticisms of the local AHDs as being disconnected from the lived experiences of heritage that have been discussed throughout this chapter.

Conclusion

Much of what the authorised discourses in Baden-Württemberg consider heritage can be part of people's everyday lives and experiences. This includes, among others, homes, streets, industrial buildings, neighbourhoods, farmhouses, or *Gesamtanlagen*. Because of this, I argue that new insights may be gained from exploring potential intersections of the authorised discourses and everyday heritage. Doing so will provide a baseline to reflect on the relevance of officially sanctioned heritage in the formation and valuation of everyday heritage. This chapter hence serves to investigate whether any intersections, interconnections, or overlaps between authorised and everyday forms of heritage exist and how this may impact the individual perception of heritage in people's daily lives.

To do so I first examined how heritage is understood within the German, specifically Baden-Württembergian, AHDs. As discussed in chapters 2 and 4, their definition and practices surrounding heritage are rooted in materials-based approaches. Heritage is thus considered to mostly revolve around material markers of the past that hold certain values and are therefore to be preserved for the benefit of the public. The values and factors of significance considered relevant within these local authorised discourses will be discussed in chapter 8. As I argued in earlier chapters, authenticity (despite not being directly referred to

within *Denkmalschutz* policy papers and reports) constitutes a central aspect of local heritage management and its evaluatory processes. Considering the overlap between the realms of the authorised and individual in the case studies discussed in this thesis, authenticity and materiality are closely linked to changes and adaptation to the material fabric. By living in and around listed heritage places and spaces, alterations to the physical fabric of homes, for instance, are a common reality of my participants. Examining the intersections between the local AHDs and the individuals engaging with tangible, authorised heritage in their daily lives fundamentally informs my exploration of authenticity within and beyond the local authorised discourses. This will be addressed in greater detail in chapter 7.

In this chapter, I also outlined the dominant narratives of the local authorised discourses, which emphasise the importance of locals as stewards and custodians of heritage. These also suggest that heritage is not active and mutable, but fixed in its meaning and significance; it is up to the respective heritage professionals to determine their value and present it to non-experts. Further, this chapter shed light on the *Denkmalschutz's* notion that the value and relevance of officially sanctioned *Denkmale* should be presented to the general public, including those who live with(in) and around them.

Although the local AHDs communicate that heritage is 'for the public', many participants expressed feelings of alienation and exclusion from heritage interpretation and presentation practices. These include official reports as well as heritage installations. Participants also felt angered by the lack of transparency in evaluatory processes, suggesting that the lack of inclusivity may cause tangible changes to their living environments. It may also present a sense of the past and regional heritage that is not in line with how locals and residents actually perceive and express it.

So how may the authorised and everyday intersect? Firstly and most simply, people live in listed homes. Here, I argue that the tangible 'core' of authorised and everyday heritages may more often than not be the same. As I will discuss throughout this dissertation, not all forms of everyday heritage observed in this work are directly and solely linked to the material fabric of the home, but participants do construct a sense of place around their home environments (see also chapter 8). I also suggested that further overlaps between the realms of authorised and everyday may be seen in the value and significance each attributes to officialised heritage. Since the preceding pages were not deeply concerned with investigating the (e)valuatory processes of the local *Denkmalschutz*, chapter 8 will highlight potential intersections between managerial practice and the public.

Considering the legislature of heritage management in Baden-Württemberg, it may further be argued that authorised heritage can only exist as such (i.e. is justified in its preservation and management, its listing) if it serves the public: *Denkmale* as defined and presented by the *Denkmalschutzgesetz*, official publications, events, or in *Historischen Ortsanalysen* de facto is inherently interwoven with the public. Based on this logic, tangible heritage as presented by Baden-Württembergian heritage management (in the form of buildings, streets, towns, monuments, et cetera) always is part of the personal and everyday. Moreover, the Critical Discourse Analysis conducted on the *Denkmalschutzamt's* papers and policies showed that their policies consider individuals living in domestic heritage buildings to assume the role of custodians of said heritage. This imposes a certain form of relationship with the material past and interconnectedness with the concerns of the local AHDs.

From the everyday, individual perspective, some participants voiced awareness of such intersections in that they made direct referrals to the listed status of their home, expressed their wishes for the *Denkmalamt* to 'leave them alone', or stated that they had been in contact with local experts as part of renovation or construction projects. Others commented on the perceived lack of pragmatism or guidance by the *Denkmalschutz* authorities and described the impact this had on their lives, naming consequences such as having to relocate, not being able to afford energy efficiency updates, or being left to their own devices in the (mandatory) upkeep of their historic home.

As discussed above, participants also vocalised that they felt these intersections with the local authorised discourses in being excluded from the dominant narratives and/or the evaluatory or interpretative processes. Although the public was not acknowledged in the heritage information on display, participants considered themselves part of it and condemned the lack of transparency and opportunities for involvement in the documentation and presentation of what they perceived to be part of 'their' heritage. Further, many participants discussed the aspect of custodianship over material heritage as is communicated by the local AHDs. While many are willing to take on this role and responsibility, people appear to feel abandoned and misguided by the authorities and its experts, often questioning their approaches to 'sensible' and 'appropriate' heritage conservation and restoration measures. This shows another area where the authorised and everyday clearly intersect, but which also harbours potential for dissent and negative consequences which participants perceive to mostly affect them and their communities rather than impacting local heritage management.

CHAPTER 7: A CLASH OF TITANS – AUTHENTICITY VERSUS CHANGE IN EVERYDAY HERITAGE

Introduction

Although certain perceptions of ‘authentic’ heritage, especially in the context of transformation, have been central to the authorised discourses and the German *Denkmalschutz* in particular, they do not necessarily (holistically) reflect or address individual conceptions of authenticity within everyday heritage. This emerged from the Critical Discourse Analysis of the documents and reports outlined in chapter 3 and was further encountered during the subsequent interviewing processes. Here, the topics of material preservation (especially with regard to their materiality) and temporality (concerning the relevance of time and materiality in defining ‘authentic’ heritage) identified during my CDA of the *Landesdenkmalamt*’s and related publications are particularly relevant for the discussion of authenticity and change in this chapter. Due to this, this chapter thematises the varying perspectives on official and personal notions of heritage and authenticity. It also addresses the impact of adaptation and change on these, as will further be outlined in the subsequent sections. This will serve to further explore and explain the multifaceted and fluid nature of everyday heritage in comparison to the relatively rigid understandings and presentations of heritage by and within the German and Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses (the latter which has been discussed in chapters 4 and 6).

The central role of the point of view in evaluating and acknowledging authenticity and how it influences respective understandings of heritage and significance is concisely brought forward in the following quote by Terry Pratchett; in his fictional novel *The Fifth Elephant*, he thematises matters of legacy and heritage, and how material change may indeed be vital in maintaining it – without diminishing its authenticity:

"Fakes." said Vimes. "They were *all* fakes?" Suddenly the King was holding his mining axe again. "This, milord, is my family's axe. We have owned it for almost nine hundred years, see. Of course, sometimes it needed a new blade. And sometimes it has required a new handle, new designs on the metalwork, a little refreshing of the ornamentation ... but is this not the nine hundred-year-old axe of my family? And *because* it has changed gently over time, it is still a pretty good axe, y'know. *Pretty* good. Will you tell me *this* is a fake too?" (Pratchett 1999, 409)

This commonly observed discrepancy, putting notions of authenticity on one and changes to the material form of heritage on the other end of the spectrum, will be discussed in depth throughout this chapter. It constitutes a frequently encountered issue during the data collection process of this research. Its exploration will further aid in contextualising the study of the potential intersections between the Authorised Heritage Discourses and the personal expressions and perceptions of heritage discussed in this work. In those instances where forms of everyday heritage do not touch on officially managed and preserved heritage, new angles on how else we may begin to think about notions of authenticity come to light, as will be illustrated towards the end of this chapter.

This chapter presents and discusses the role of authenticity in creating, acknowledging, and maintaining heritage from an official and personal perspective. It first outlines the overall significance of authenticity in heritage management and conservation practice. Following this, I present an overview of regionally specific definitions of what constitutes ‘authentic’ heritage in the eyes of the German and Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*. It will draw from a range of sources, including policy papers, interviews with heritage professionals, online communication, public papers and reports, as well as personal observations. Direct participant quotes will further illustrate the central position of authenticity within the AHDs and question whether it holds similar levels of relevance to people in their creation and expression of everyday heritage. As will be discussed to a greater extent later here in this chapter, public notions of which (tangible) heritage may be considered authentic – and why – are often closely interwoven with officially sanctioned values and definitions.

In the course of this chapter, I will also theorise that authenticity – as defined by the Western AHDs through, for example, the Nara document or the Riga Charter – may not necessarily be a relevant element in the creation, performance, and experience of everyday heritage. Because of these factors, we need to A) understand how authenticity is broadly defined and approached within the authorised heritage discourses, B) examine how the participants interviewed relate to authenticity overall, C) assess the difference between those two positions, and D) investigate what their implications may be.

Authenticity Within the Local AHDs

As discussed in chapters 4 and 6, there is a preference within managerial and conservational practices to depict tangible heritage as a fixed entity in the current day. While the preservation of buildings, places, monuments, or (archaeological) sites, may showcase a palimpsest of change and continuity over time, transformation is officially mainly recognised

as having taken place in the foretime and that is deemed acceptable for the conservation and communication of the past in the present. Through conservation practices, hence, those palimpsests are frozen in time and used to exemplify 'relevant' authorised heritage.

In their portrayal of how past life or places used to be, these formally sanctioned heritage objects, places and buildings are deemed 'authentic', despite the long-standing and often clearly evident change that is held within them and that has made them the heritage officially presented today. In contrast, current or recent changes to these heritage objects or places that 'modernise' and thus impede the 'historic accuracy' or 'character' of heritage are considered invasive or destructive (Arlotta 2019; Mörsch 2013; Pfister 2007). In the authorised eye, transformation is often viewed as the catalyst of a negative trajectory as part of which heritage is changed 'beyond recognition' until it no longer *is* heritage (Goer 2009). But, to quote Alfred Schmid (in Seidenspinner 2007, 6): "Where does authenticity stop and where does *Verunechtung* [i.e. falsification, forgery] begin?"

While the authorised stance on authenticity is relatively universal and clear-cut, we have yet to understand how authenticity is perceived outside the Authorised Heritage Discourses, and how it factors into heritage creation, expression, and meaning-making overall. To broadly approach potential differences between official and non-authorised perspectives on authenticity, we may look into the following questions: Why does this debate on authentic versus non-authentic heritage hold such relevance, especially within the authorised discourses and for officially designated *Denkmale*? What does this tell us about the role of authenticity in the creation of heritage? Where does this authentic nature or element lie within the object or place? Who decides when heritage loses its authenticity, its 'essence' and thus no longer serves its designated purpose? How do notions of authenticity impact our individual understanding and engagement with heritage? It may also be useful to explore whether binary or transitory states of authenticity often prevalent in the Authorised Heritage Discourses – i.e. from 'authentic' to 'fake' – also exist within everyday heritage, and subsequently evaluate their potential impact on heritage formation and valuation.

Further, some of these topics may best be explored in the context of everyday heritage because it presents a unique angle in its considerable overlap and, simultaneously, strong differentiation between the official and individual. For example, whereas a historic building may be considered official heritage based on a range of 'authorised' factors, such as historic substance, architectural style, or age, the same building may play a central role in everyday heritage for entirely different reasons. The building itself may not be valued or even perceived as heritage at all. Instead, it may evoke certain feelings or memories which, in turn, facilitate the creation of a very personal and individual heritage that is not acknowledged or

seen within the authorised discourses or the rest of the general public. From an outside view, it is the same material vessel of heritage. However, upon closer inspection, its significance to people and where its authenticity lies or how it may change over time can vastly differ.

In 2010, Poullos succinctly outlined the prevailing dichotomy that lies at the heart of authenticity debates in heritage. He argued that this split was most evident in considering classic values-based authorised heritage approaches compared to his living heritage concept. While for the former, authenticity was deemed “to lie in the past and to be associated mostly with the (tangible) fabric of a site”, the latter linked it to “communities’ (intangible) association with a site” (Poullos 2010, 181). As I will outline in this chapter, there is a similarly clear distinction between authorised and personal perspectives; however, this research also illuminated that there is no universal either/or division (such as tangible/intangible or past/present) or framework on what, how, and why heritage may be considered ‘authentic’ within the everyday.

Similar to most of the authorised discourses in the Western world, German conservation practices emphasise materiality, “the past and its tangible remains/the fabric” as well as “the notion that authenticity of heritage is non-‘renewable’”, and that it should be taken care of for the benefit of future generations (Poullos 2010, 171; see also Jones 2006, 122; Smith and Waterton 2012, 159). In line with this, the *Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger* (transl.: Association of State Monument Conservators), a nationwide authority on the German authorised discourses’ overarching objectives, further emphasises this: “*Denkmäler* are three-dimensional, usually accessible [i.e. able to be walked into] sources that convey our history materially” (Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011, 1).

This further reflects AHDs-based notions of authenticity as being inherent in the physical fabric of objects and places (see Djabarouti 2020; Jones 2017; Smith and Waterton 2009), as has been discussed in chapter 2. Although the exact terms ‘authenticity’ or ‘authentic’ are seldom found within texts of the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses, the *Landesdenkmalamt* (Obmann 2007, 156) stated that it largely bases the definition of authenticity on the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity* (Larsen 1995) and the 2000 *Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage* (Stovel 2001). Both proceedings are similar in output and agree on a general definition of authenticity “used in the Nara meeting but not included in the document” (Stovel 2008, 24).

According to this outline, “authenticity is a measure of the degree to which the attributes of cultural heritage [including form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other

factors] credibly and accurately bear witness to their significance” (Larsen 1995 in Stovel 2008, 24). Further, the German authorities align their notion of the relevance of authenticity for conservation policy and practice with the Nara document as well (see Obmann 2007, 156): “Authenticity, considered in this way and affirmed in the Charter of Venice, appears as the essential qualifying factor concerning values. The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories” (Larsen 1995, xxi-xxii). In line with this, the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* Baden Württemberg (2016b) argues that the authenticity of *Denkmale* constitutes a prerequisite that qualifies heritage as a tangible “source of historical facts”. This allows for the continuous reinterpretation of the past and its meaning “today and in the future” (ibid.). This argument emphasises not only the central role of authenticity in local evaluatory processes but further emphasises its perception as immutable and fundamental to the significance of heritage. The ‘authentic’ nature of authorised heritage, here, is presented as providing a factual basis from which managerial practice may draw accordingly.

As has been criticised by international experts, however, the Nara document failed to provide a more practical strategy for approaching authenticity within heritage management (see, for example, Jokilehto 1993, 59-75). Overall, Stovel (2008, 16) criticises that “they have not moved the authenticity discourse down the path toward practical application or beyond understandings in place before Nara”. This absence of specific definitions and managerial guidelines for assessments of authenticity in both the Nara document and the Riga Charter is reflective of authorised heritage policy and practice in Germany as well, specifically in Baden-Württemberg. How ‘authentic’ heritage is officially defined, managed, and conserved in southwest Germany thus remains to be extrapolated from the context of official reports and regulatory practice, which is what I have done during the initial phase of my research. Overall, there is no issue *per se* with this lack of clearly formulated definitions for authenticity in the Authorised Heritage Discourses and I contend with Lowenthal in his conclusion that “Authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative” (1995 cited in Larsen 1995, 123). Nonetheless, it complicates the process of trying to concretely understand how authenticity is dealt with in an official managerial context.

Evaluating the authenticity of tangible heritage within policy and practice provides a guiding thread based on which the authorised discourses may define what may subsequently be protected and conserved (Will 2006). In discussing what constitutes ‘authentic’ heritage, professionals may outline examples of such heritage which can further

be showcased and communicated to the public through tourism, regional (heritage) festivals, or similar events (see, for example, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2022; Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2023a).

Despite the lacking presence of explicit terminology (i.e., ‘authenticity’ or ‘authentic’) in most official heritage literature in Baden-Württemberg, the values or points of interest driving conservation and management and evaluatory processes mentioned in official policy papers and reports clearly refer to aspects that are generally linked to matters or notions of authenticity.

One key policy document outlining evaluatory processes regarding the heritage status of buildings and *Denkmale* is the so-called *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste* (transl.: Administrative Regulation of the Ministry of Economy for the registration of cultural monuments in a list). This list outlines how and why heritage buildings should be assessed and registered officially. According to this document (Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Wohnungsbau 2018, section 2.3.2.), “an assessment of the rank of its significance in terms of the preservation of cultural heritage/monuments is necessary with regard to the specific object of protection. In this evaluative decision, the following criteria must be taken into account in particular:

- the rarity value of the object of protection in relation to other comparable objects;
- its importance for the environment (townscape, cultural landscape);
- its scientific-documentary and exemplary value;
- its exemplary character representing a tradition;
- its age;
- the degree of its originality and integrity;
- its artistic rank;
- the weight of the relevant grounds for protection.”

Although these specific criteria refer to assessments of the value and relevance attributed to heritage buildings in Baden-Württemberg, matters of authenticity and significance are inextricably linked in the German authorised discourses. As part of the *Denkmalschutz*, the value and significance of officially sanctioned heritage are evaluated based on the same criteria that apply to their assessment of authenticity: Following the proceedings at Nara (Larsen 1995), the German AHDs similarly emphasise evaluating authenticity based on form and substance, original material, traditional uses and building techniques. Considering the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste*, for example, this is reflected in the importance ascribed to the “scientific-documentary and exemplary value”, the “exemplary character representing a

tradition", "the degree of [...] originality and integrity", and the "artistic rank" of heritage buildings, environments, and monuments (Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Wohnungsbau 2018, section 2.3.2.). In a way, one could argue that authenticity may sometimes even be considered its own factor of significance within Baden-Württembergian heritage policy and practice.

Similar indirect references to authenticity as discussed in the Nara document and Riga Charter could be found in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* as well. Of these, I examined 29 in total; all reports were comparatively recent, with the oldest dating back no longer than 2012 (see Appendix 2 for a full list). In these, every officially sanctioned (or 'under review') *Denkmal* is listed in great detail, explaining the history and architectural or historical intricacies of respective buildings or monuments. These individual reports always conclude with a closing statement or paragraph on why this particular example is worthy of conservation and management, for example: "There is a public interest in preserving it for scientific and local history reasons" (Numberger 2012, *Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim, Deutschordenplatz 1*). It also clearly states whom this preservation and protection will serve, although the most common references are simply made to "the public" (n=539) (see also chapter 3).

On 'Authentic' Heritage and Change

Authenticity has been outlined in the 1977 UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (OG) as the key factor to be considered in the inscription of heritage onto the World Heritage List (Silverman 2015). According to these guidelines, "'properties' [...] must pass a test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting" (UNESCO 1977, Section I, Part B, Paragraph 9). However, this document further states that such evaluations of authenticity "includes all subsequent modifications and additions over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values" (ibid.). While decisions on whether or not material alterations to tangible heritage possess such qualities remains in the hands of heritage professionals, UNESCO as one of the key representatives of the global Authorised Heritage Discourses acknowledges that the presence of modifications and additions to heritage may not hinder its confirmation as 'authentic'. Therefore, change may generally be accepted in the evaluation of the value and status of 'authentic' (tangible) heritage.

The Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* appears to view the implications of change on material authenticity more strictly. To them, heritage conservation serves to "safeguard [the] documents [of history/heritage] as unaltered as possible" (Landesamt für

Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 9; see also Poullos 2010; Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2012; Waterton and Smith 2010). There is a strong sense of loss of heritage in its 'authentic' form, i.e. tangible, un-changed heritage, or, according to the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al., "genuine" cultural heritage" (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 9; see also Pye 2001). The *Landesdenkmalamt* further expresses a fear of a "standardisation of our world" (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 11) associated with globalisation. In their eyes, this leads to a loss of the "independence and distinctiveness of the region" (ibid., 11), because certain markers of what is considered part of the regional identity are obliterated in this process; this may include heritage buildings, local monuments, elements of building techniques drawn from locally specific resources, regionally unique building materials, et cetera. This notion has further been emphasised in a public online course titled *Cultural Heritage in Transformation* by RWTH Aachen University which holds the UNESCO Chair in World Cultural and Urban Landscapes: "Cities face a loss of local character due to an expanding global style. The natural space and its relation to cultural heritage can be explored as a tool to reclaim local distinctiveness." (RWTH Aachen University, Faculty of Architecture and the Cultural Heritage Group 2020)

From the analysis of aspects factoring into assessments of authenticity in the Baden-Württembergian Authorised Heritage Discourses surfaced another compelling insight: The authenticity of a *Denkmal* is only given in the presence of original "form and design" (following Nara and Riga) or "for artistic reasons" (as it is phrased in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*) making reference to a particular architectural style. There was no exception to this rule: not a single individual heritage building or *Denkmal* report in any of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* examined was considered authentic and worthy of preservation and management without the existence of a significant amount of original form, design, or artistic evidence (n=2858). However, the degree to which such material proof of a specific architectural style had to be present for this heritage to qualify as 'authentic' was never concretely stated in any local official reports or policy papers. Furthermore, in those rare instances in which the term 'authentic' was used – e.g. "The building, which has been very authentically preserved, is a good example of an inner-city residential house from the 18th century." (Numberger 2012, *Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim, Ochsenegasse 29*) – the degree of authenticity was inextricably linked with the amount of original material building substance still in place.

In the case of the *Denkmalschutz*, approvals of authenticity as rooted in tangible expressions of local and regional heritage and identity are given in two seemingly paradoxical instances:

1) for *Denkmale* exhibiting high amounts of ‘historic’ material or ‘original’ fabric as well as for, in some cases, 2) the imaginary or illusory, as seen in restoration projects and replicas (see, for example, Numberger 2016, *Historische Ortsanalyse Waldshut-Tiengen*; Will 2006). As has been established throughout this work, the dominant aim of the German authorised discourses nonetheless aligns well with what is usually seen within the Authorised Heritage Discourses around the world: its priority in policy and practice is firmly directed towards the physical, unaltered conservation of original form, fabric, and function of tangible heritage (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014, § 6 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Erhaltungspflicht*). As with most authorised discourses, therefore, authenticity in German heritage is mainly tied to something palpable. Similarly, it is a key factor to be considered in evaluatory processes and assessments of heritage by professionals. From a managerial perspective, authenticity is key and central to gauging the relevance, significance, and ultimately the ‘status’ of heritage (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 9; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2020a; Will 2006).

Within German heritage preservation and management, changes made to tangible heritage which are not in line with heritage policies usually lead to the delisting and devaluation of the respective *Denkmal* (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014, § 12 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Kulturdenkmale von besonderer Bedeutung*, § 19 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Gesamtanlagen*); this fact surfaced from both the local *Denkmalschutzgesetz*, the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste*, and the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* as well as my discussions with heritage practitioners (such as Keller 2020 and Thiem 2020). This is in large part due to the policy and practice of evaluating the significance and, hence, ‘worthiness of preservation’ which is deeply anchored within the German *Denkmalschutz* (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014, § 2 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Gegenstand des Denkmalschutzes*, § 12 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Kulturdenkmale von besonderer Bedeutung*, § 19 *Denkmalschutzgesetz: Gesamtanlagen*; Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Wohnungsbau 2018, section 2.3.2.). As stated above, the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses also lean on the results from the Riga Charter which put particular emphasis on the (in)authenticity of reconstruction (see Stovel 2001; Stovel 2008). In line with the Nara document, it was concluded that the “replication of cultural heritage is in general a misrepresentation of evidence of the past, and that each architectural work should reflect the time of its own creation, in the belief that sympathetic new buildings can maintain the environmental context” (Stovel 2001, 244; also supported by Habich 2013). Considering intangible heritage, this document concluded that its authenticity may be “justified on the basis that this was constantly being recreated” which is why it “could not be seen in the light of historical authenticity, which was understood as ‘static’” (Jokilehto 2006, 7). Officially

sanctioned buildings that have recently undergone reconstructive or restorative measures, on the other hand, are critically evaluated for their authenticity as part of the *Denkmalschutz*'s managerial process (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007, 26).

Transformations made to tangible official heritage, therefore, hold the power to determine what is and what is not, or no longer, heritage. As will be discussed in the following chapter 8, the significance of heritage buildings, places, and spaces is mainly tied to material factors and whether or not they are considered 'authentic' representations of local culture and history. Within the authorised discourses in Germany, and Baden-Württemberg specifically, authenticity and, associated with it, the idea of an 'unspoilt' and (largely) unchanged *Denkmal* is the key factor in assessing whether or not tangible heritage is significant (see, for instance, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, 2016b). Interestingly, however, the authorised discourses and heritage professionals also seemed to be somewhat flexible about which replicas, renovation, or restoration projects they deemed 'truthful' and which ones they condoned as inauthentic and, thus, secondary in significance and representativeness (see also Foster and Jones 2019, Will 2006). Pliability often appeared to be given in those instances where (partially non-authentic) transformation initiatives stemmed from the authorities themselves, whereas rigid standards and measures seemed to be applied and weighed against those building or restoration projects that came from members of the public (see also Dehio in Will 2006). Yet, the official discussion over restoration and replication versus truthfulness in heritage conservation is a highly debated and internally controversial one (Silverman 2015, 84; see also Foster and Curtis 2016; Lending 2017; Lowenthal 1985), particularly in light of the large-scale rebuilding and restoration of formerly historic buildings, towns, and cities demolished in World War II (see, for example, Baller 2005; Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2011; Magirius and Böhme 1991; Paul 1988; Stiftung Denkmalschutz 2019). Though it exceeds the scope and aim of this dissertation, I draw from the ideas presented in debates on the significance of replicas (for example as discussed by Foster and Jones 2019) to contextualise participant perspectives on authenticity and situate them within the existing body of knowledge on alternative understandings to material authenticity. This will be discussed further within the *Authenticity in Everyday Heritage* section below.

Despite being a somewhat vaporous and, in the case of the German *Denkmalschutz*, ill-defined concept, authenticity related to the 'unchanged fabric' of heritage remains one of the pillars of their authorised discourses. My analyses of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* (see Appendix 2 for an overview) yielded that 56% of the total *Denkmale* (n=2858) presented in

these reports were considered preservation-worthy due to their ‘materials and substance’, i.e. the amount of unaltered building fabric present, thus giving evidence of their age and authenticity: “[...] das bemerkenswert authentisch überlieferte Gebäude” – “The remarkably authentically preserved building” (Numberger 2012, *Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim, Ochsen-gasse 11*) or “wegen ihrer vollständig überlieferten Gebäudestruktur erhaltenswert” – “worth preserving due to its completely preserved building structure” (Baier 2013, *Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim Markelsheim, Hauptstraße 74*).

From the analysis of the official reports, it also became particularly evident that in 44% of cases where authenticity was considered to lie in a *Denkmal*’s ‘form and design’ (n=2858), it was also tied to factors of its former use and function (n=1246 *Denkmale*). This evaluation indicated that the ‘representative visual character’ of a *Denkmal* factored heavily into the assessment and declaration of authenticity, and strongly suggested that it was considered most authentic – and hence significant – when sufficient evidence for the original function and use of the tangible heritage object was present as well. ‘Form and design’ and ‘original function’ are thus closely linked in authenticity assessments of the local AHDs. Such continuation in terms of use (or at least the visual depiction of the earlier function of said *Denkmal*) is immensely important within Baden-Württembergian heritage management; language and rhetorical analysis are key to fathoming the authorised stance towards these matters: Pfister, for example, writes about “buildings that are often deprived of their original function”, and whilst the English translation already gives a decent outlook at some potential, underlying bias towards this sort of change and (re)adaptation, the German original quote uncovers it in full: “der ursprünglichen Funktion enthobene[n] Gebäude” – “enthoben” literally translating to “ousted”, “discharged”, “deposed”, his perspective on the inadequate nature of functional discontinuity taking centre stage (Pfister 2007, 6).

Whereas this importance attributed to physically unchanged official heritage became evident from interviews with my participants and heritage experts, I wanted to examine whether this was alike within everyday heritage. Was the matter of authenticity similarly omnipresent, a matter (sub)consciously felt, addressed, expressed, and negotiated by individuals? Further, within the Authorised Heritage Discourses, heritage experts were respectively tasked with defining and declaring what was authentic or not. Who would be the one to make such assessments within everyday heritage – if this was the case at all? Would people express a certain set of standards or expectations of an ‘authentic’ everyday heritage to be matched? And if so, would these differ across participants, communities, regions, and cultures? Would the relevance and personal assessment of authenticity within everyday heritage be tied to a specific ‘set’, ‘idea’, or ‘expression’ of (tangible) heritage? In

this light, it may also be useful to explore whether such binary or transitory states are prevalent within the authorised discourses (i.e. from 'authentic' to 'fake', from 'realistic representations' to 'forgery', or from 'authentic and valued' to 'inauthentic and dismissed') also exist within everyday heritage. Is there such a thing as an 'authentic' form of everyday heritage? I believe that exploring these questions will be particularly beneficial for our understanding of the role of authenticity in the creation and valuation of more individual, mundane forms of heritage.

People's Attitudes Towards 'Authorised' Authenticity

As a public exercise, *Denkmalpflege* inevitably leads to people becoming aware of, relating to, or even dismissing it in one way or another. Because it holds such a prominent position in people's lives, particularly in the regions and towns investigated in this research, my interview data also included information on how participants felt about the *Denkmalschutz* and their practices. This gives an insight into individuals' perceptions of the AHDs and their claims to authenticity beyond everyday heritage, to be further discussed in this subsection.

In addition to sharing notions of everyday heritage, participants commented on authorised heritage during our interviews which gave glimpses into their attitudes towards authenticity in light of officially sanctioned *Denkmale*. This section will therefore draw from interview data with participants revolving around the *Denkmalschutz* and managerial practices in Baden-Württemberg. It will outline two concrete issues on authenticity and material change brought forward by a majority of interviewees in this context. Further, it addresses people's attitudes towards authorised approaches to authenticity with regard to officially sanctioned local buildings, neighbourhoods, and town- or cityscapes.

In the previous chapter, I briefly outlined the issue of 'surface-heritagisation' which has been widely criticised within my pool of participants (n=33). During the analysis of these interviews, I figured that this issue may be related to authenticity because it addressed the original fabric of tangible heritage: Several participants complained that "the key point is that it looks old" (Alexander), but that officially sanctioned heritage buildings were oftentimes only a replica or remodelled "on the surface, with no real historic substance" (Anne). In a similar vein, Edgar frustratedly shrugged: "It's just not the real thing, you know?". These expressions suggest a strong attachment to the notion of 'authentic' material. Yet, they also raise a deeper question: Why do participants express such concern over material authenticity, particularly when many also adapt their heritage homes in ways that might be considered similarly inauthentic?

Upon closer inspection, however, it became clear from a range of interviews (n=13) that people's dissatisfaction stemmed from a feeling of being a 'prop' rather than an actual person living in and engaging with official heritage buildings and environments: "We know what we value about this place, so we don't need them [the heritage experts] fabricating this grand new idea of rural life and old-school traditions and presenting it to anyone. They turn our life and our homes into ancient things and so they are also making us a thing of the past, but then again not really, because we are not part of their equation." (Hedwig).

Whether or not the fabric of tangible heritage itself was 'authentic' did not matter because of the building material itself. It seemed to matter because participants felt somewhat erased from this environment ("It's as if this is not our home and our communal history at all", Rudolf; "They put up signs about the house itself, but not about us, the people who built it. We kept it safe over the hundreds of years. It is our history as much as it is theirs!", Charlott) and from the 'lives' of these heritage buildings and sites ("This house has been in my family's possession for centuries. We are central to this town and its history, so why do they [the authorities] not care?", Beate). Even more so, I believe that these statements do not only reflect people's feelings of erasure but also (and maybe most importantly) their desire for belonging and ownership, as these participants also referred to themselves as serving in a custodian role for 'their' *Denkmale*. Especially for those individuals with multigenerational connections to these homes, the 'authenticity' of a building is inseparable from the lived experiences and familial histories that continue to shape these places and spaces.

With regard to the previous chapter, such statements also highlighted the intersections between the authorised and everyday: Custodianship over the materiality (and, therefore, authenticity) of heritage is a prominent theme within the local authorised discourses (see Goer 2009; this has also been addressed in chapter 6). Whether participants' phrasings were based on a subconscious mirroring of the local managerial discourses or not, the theme of custodianship is clearly present and significant within the *Denkmalschutz*. While presenting an intersection, my interviewing data suggested clear dissonances arising from them as well, particularly in people's perception of being central to the 'lives' of their *Denkmal* homes while simultaneously feeling excluded from the dominant discourses and its practices. This was also evident from how people phrased their dissatisfaction (i.e. 'them' versus 'us') which emphasised a clear distinction between insider and outsider. I also discussed this as a local tendency in the context of my research methodology (chapter 3).

Despite in no way advocating for everyday heritage to become in any way managed or preserved by the AHDs, I nonetheless want to make mention of the instances in which

individuals expressed strong emotions over the worry of losing control over ‘their’ heritage and narrative, viewing it as a core aspect of local life and the wider town community. Some participants (n=11) asked for the immediate and obvious option for ‘preserving’ their heritage and familial legacy in suggesting that it may somehow become part of the heritage promoted and safeguarded by the *Denkmalschutz*. Such requests were often hidden between the lines – “They might as well just mention our [family] name too, you know. We are part of this house’s history. Even the town’s legacy... if you want to make a case for that. Do we not deserve to be up there [in the register and the official reports]?” (Klaus).

These various statements highlight a connection between individuals (and their families) and the *Denkmale* that constitute their homes that is rooted in a sense of place. In some instances, as seen in the participant quotes above, this is interwoven with notions of personal pasts and histories that are considered inseparable from the authorised, tangible heritage itself. In light of the previous chapter, this further emphasises how intertwined the realms of authorised and everyday heritages are in many instances. Moreover, their concerns about authenticity are less about preserving the physical fabric of the building for its own sake and more about maintaining a continuity between past, present, and future. This continuity is often dismissed or simply not acknowledged within the common *Denkmalschutz* practices and policies, due to their focus on material conservation.

Further, these statements are mostly focused around ideas of place and locality, and show how “place shapes and is shaped by people’s sense of identity and belonging” (Foster and Jones 2019, 11), which I discussed as relevant for the exploration of everyday heritage in chapter 2. One may argue that people’s calls for wanting to be included in public heritage signs and reports may be an attempt of “getting involved in their heritage” (Jones et al. 2017, 8) beyond their non-authorised engagements. Participants appear to be particularly bothered and affected by local *Denkmalschutz* practices focusing on maintaining the ‘authenticity’ of heritage buildings through the preservation of their original fabric because it emphasises a certain disjointedness between managerial objectives and their lived realities. I have discussed this earlier in chapter 2 where I referred to Poullos’ (2010, 18) statement that managerial approaches focusing on the conservation of unchanged heritage fabric create a discontinuity – both between authorised heritage and the public, and the past and present.

There is also the matter of façade preservation which has surfaced in many of the interviews (n=28); it describes the conservational emphasis on preserving façades, with modern building complexes and structures behind them (see Figure 7.1 for an example of what this can look like). This issue has come up in 9 of the 15 cities and towns I encountered during data collection and has been highlighted as a managerial concern by Keller (2020) and Thiem

(2020) too – “I think this is characteristic of the attitude here towards the preservation of historical monuments. The key point is that it looks old. You could also say *Europa Park*³ style” (Horst). Although often containing some ‘authentic’ building fabric, it was to the dismay of several of my interviewees (n=28) that these building exteriors are often officially showcased as “the complete and utter real thing” (Albert), despite technically not being materially fully ‘truthful’ (this is also in line with Jokilehto 2006 or Will 2006). One participant felt particularly strongly about the lack of ‘material reality’ and truthfulness, complaining that “[the authorities] care about having or somehow creating the backdrop for their stupid Christmas market and the windows are lit and it all looks like Santa Claus and romance” (Alexander). Some participants asserted that “this is where [the authorities] need to draw the line” (Charlott), arguing that “really... it’s just a lie” (Erika) and that such façade renovations or reconstructions should not be presented as ‘truthful’ heritage to the public and the community. Even more so, Hedwig describes the local town centre and especially those streets and alleys presented to tourists (seen in Figures 7.2 and 7.3) as “over-restored”. This notion was echoed by roughly a third of the other interviewees from different towns.

In a similar vein, Marie-Luise, who has been giving historic city tours to tourists for the past three decades, strongly criticised such “façade *Denkmal* conservation” – in her opinion “this is too much and almost exclusively done in many places”. As a tour guide, she somewhat operates within this very authorised system she criticises. However, Marie-Luise’s longstanding role as a guide also provides her with deeper insights into how local heritage is presented and engaged with by tourists. Most likely, this enhanced her awareness of how *Denkmale* are ‘repackaged’ for public consumption, and how this is often done at the expense of the authenticity and meanings attributed to them by locals. Marie-Luise’s attitude seems to reflect a tension between her personal, everyday understandings and engagements with this heritage, and the differing perceptions and demands of managerial practice and its approaches to tourism.

This is similar to Carman’s general observation that mostly the exterior of buildings are protected and altered in the process of managerial practice (2002, 45), arguing that this may

³ The *Europa Park* is a world-famous amusement park in Baden-Württemberg known for its locally themed areas and attractions. It aims to somewhat authentically represent different European countries, for example by selling regionally specific foods. It also serves typical cultural stereotypes in terms of how countries’ architecture and craftsmanship are presented. They tend to capture well the overall atmosphere and essence of what is known about a specific country by the general public, e.g. representative of Germany would be staff dressed up in Bavarian *Lederhosen* and *Dirndl*, serving beer, pretzels, sausages and Black Forest cake, paired with façades of half-timbered houses and Black Forest architecture for restaurants, cafes, rides, etc. Nonetheless, the representation of cultural values, traditions and typical architectural elements is largely based on stereotypes and therefore only scratches the surface of respective regional cultural heritage.

be due to modern standards having to be met. In this light, *Denkmalschutz* practices appear to be almost bipolar: On the one hand, authenticity is deemed to lie within the (predominantly) original material (as discussed above). On the other, it may also reside in a replica or largely restored *Denkmal* (see, for example, Historische Ortsanalyse Waldshut-Tiengen; Will 2006).



Fig. 7.1 (left): Typical example showing a building with a restored façade, Gengenbach. Fig. 7.2 (centre): Street in Malterdingen, usually popular with tourists and city tour guides. Fig. 7.3 (right): Buildings in the Engelgasse in Gengenbach, one of the touristic hubs of the city.

I found it difficult to get to the core of people's emotions and reasonings: Authenticity and materiality seemed to be tied to an inherent moral code – but why? Why was such (semi-)restored authorised heritage considered a fraud and, sometimes, even an offence? This was particularly vexing in light of the continuous transformation and change people implemented in their own heritage-sanctioned homes and which would strengthen or even fuel their personal notions and creations of everyday heritage (this will be addressed to a greater extent later in this chapter). Why did certain degrees of material 'inauthenticity' or 'incorrectness' negatively affect people's responses towards official *Denkmale* while appearing much more acceptable within people's everyday heritage relationships?

Where and how people would draw the line with changes to physical (official) heritage, however, was one facet of this phenomenon I wanted to investigate further during interviews. I aimed to do so by asking questions on what participants perceived to be heritage, how they defined it, how they felt about the local and regional *Denkmalschutz* authorities, whether they had already been entangled with managerial practice, whether they had implemented any changes or transformations to their own homes, and how this unfolded in those cases where these homes were officially (partially) listed houses. In the latter instance, the *Denkmalschutz* would always need to get involved in order to assess whether any adaptive or transformative measures could be implemented in line with current

policies and practice, and what people would need to do to fulfil the set of criteria linked to maintaining the heritage status of their home (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007). In trying to pose such relatively unbiased questions, I found that people were more open to discussing their impressions of the relationship between materiality, change, and adaptation, which eventually factored into the topic of authenticity.

Officially implemented transformation was largely connoted as something bad, “fake”, unnecessary, or unacceptable (n=34). The term ‘authenticity’ was also used interchangeably with ‘truthfulness’ or ‘reality’. This notion is also underlined by Silverman (2015) who refers to Andrew Potter’s popular book *The Authenticity Hoax* in which he states that authenticity “is something people definitely want” and that “when something is described as “authentic”, what is invariably meant is that it is a Good Thing” (Potter 2010, 6). Reflecting on the introductory quote from Terry Pratchett which emphasises the ambiguous nature of ‘fakes’ in heritage, the resemblance in attitudes is uncanny. It further seemed that by being materially authentic and communicating such representations of heritage to the public, the authorised discourses would retain a certain element of honesty which most participants appreciated, but also somewhat demanded of the local heritage practitioners (n= 8).

Authenticity in Everyday Heritage

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the importance of authenticity arose very soon within participants’ discussions of ‘official’ heritage. In more than two-thirds of the cases, this was brought up by the interviewees themselves without any prior prompting. Further, there was a stern focus on whether or not officially designated heritage buildings and places were “truthful in substance and style” (Sabie) – an issue that never arose with individual accounts and recollections of everyday heritage. In the public and individual eye, notions of whether *Denkmale* are ‘authentic’ or not are predominantly a matter of debate in the framework of the authorised discourses. As may be expected, the sphere of influence of the *Denkmalschutz* as well as its policies and practices reaches into the minds of the non-expert public, emphasising physical forms of ‘the past’ as something that requires a level of authenticity to qualify as heritage; this notion has been voiced by over half of the participants.

Even though the Nara document addressed intangible heritage as having the potential to be considered ‘authentic’ – despite not being able to fulfil the historically ‘static’ criteria set for tangible heritage (Jokilehto 2006) – everyday heritage may not easily be sorted into the either/or division of tangible and intangible and may instead be grounded in both:

Whereas general notions of the 'authentic' are largely bound to physical substance, expressions of everyday heritage often do not hold any tangible elements. Generally, I contend that many forms of heritage cannot easily be sorted into either category, as the boundaries between tangible and intangible may often be or become blurry (see also Bouchenaki 2007). It is partially because of this that Silverman (2015, 69) highlights new approaches to authenticity, defining it "as dynamic, performative, culturally and historically contingent, relative [...]". She portrays authenticity as more fluid and performative, thus moving away from the focus on substance that has previously been propagated and which is still central to heritage management in Germany and elsewhere in the Western world.

Within personal conceptions of heritage, whether these were acknowledged as such or not, it seemed that authenticity was often a mere afterthought, and frequently not even considered or brought up at all. However, this observation does not imply that authenticity holds no importance to people regarding everyday heritage; individual, everyday perceptions and 'forms' of heritage may still be deeply 'authentic' in their reality and relevance to certain individuals. It is also possible that personal attitudes towards (in)authentic everyday heritage may well have slumbered within the subconscious of the participants. If this is the case, I have been unable to nudge people to bring it to the surface and verbalise their stance on the significance of authenticity in the everyday. While this study alone cannot provide any conclusive statement on its relevance within the formation and experience of everyday heritage, it is nonetheless intriguing that authenticity appeared to be less prominent within our conversations about unofficial, individual heritage: In contrast to our discussions of authorised heritage and heritage management, where over 85% (n=35) of the participants openly elaborated on how they felt about and understood authenticity as part of heritage conservation, only one of the interviewees brought up the subject of authenticity while talking about everyday heritage.

Whenever the topic of authenticity came up during the interviews, people would instantly move away from talking about everyday heritage and, instead, refer back to authorised tangible heritage, such as individual (domestic) buildings or other listed architectural features/environments, for example public places and neighbourhoods, or historic wells and channels. Because participants' principal understanding of what heritage means seemed tied to an authorised definition, their conceptualisation of heritage was immensely impacted by this dominant notion and background knowledge. In turn, this also meant that in many cases, the relationship between heritage and authenticity was grounded in authorised valuations of the 'historic fabric and substance'; hence, people's perspective on the relevance of 'authentic' was much more closely linked with authorised views on the matter. As

mentioned before, here the line between the authorised and everyday may become blurry. While the officially sanctioned and individually created heritages may not intersect overall, they sometimes contain shared elements onto which respective understandings and valuations of heritage may be projected. In most instances within everyday heritage (n=36), however, authenticity did not seem to be a point of concern at all.

This peculiarity sparked the urge to investigate and examine the reasons behind this. Is the 'authentic' nature of heritage not important within everyday heritage because authenticity is not up for debate? Is it because these personal expressions of heritage are not actually considered to *be* 'real' heritage or that they are, of course, authentic? Is it due to the, oftentimes, lack of physical substance that sits at the heart of everyday expressions of heritage? Individual-personal expressions of heritage must surely have felt 'authentic' to my interviewees; otherwise, they would not constitute such important parts of their lives and beliefs. There is a certain truthfulness in authenticity which has been raised by other researchers before, including Jokilehto (2006) and Jones (2009). In this context, the concept of authenticity is unquestioned – things just are what they are. Therefore, one may argue, they must be authentic by definition. Does such 'authenticity by default' carry weight, though? Is it bold to assume that everyday heritage is authentic simply because people do not question their individual expression of it or elaborate on its importance? Or may the ignorance of the term 'authenticity' simply indicate its irrelevance? Although these questions go beyond the scope of this research, they are crucial for further investigations not only of everyday heritage as a concept and phenomenon but also into how we may understand and even (re)define authenticity in differing circumstances.

Authenticity is, first and foremost, a construct of the mind based on internalised beliefs and (previous) education. It is a learned construct mainly influenced by heritage management and the authorised discourses. I argue that, especially because of this, it may be a concept fundamentally distant from everyday heritage. Rather than centring around being materially 'truthful', everyday heritage may instead be about internal and external acceptance – namely the acceptance of the heritage in question as something significant to the person(s) at its core; this will further be discussed in the next chapter.

Although the everyday heritage(s) presented in this thesis are unrelated to replicas (in that they usually revolve around the material presence of listed *Denkmale* or *Gesamtanlagen*), I consider Foster and Jones' (2019) work on the value and significance of replicas relevant for this research. They state that within traditional debates on authenticity, replicas have been "attributed a distinct and secondary nature" (2019, 2). In recent years,

such debates have been challenged by several researchers (e.g. Holtorf 2013; Jones 2010; Labadi 2010; Macdonald 2013), as discussed in chapter 2. While their studies were mainly concerned with the authorised replication of objects, such as the St John's Cross at a heritage site in Scotland, I argue that drawing from their findings and observations can inform our understanding of authenticity regarding the everyday heritage(s) discussed in this study

In contextualising the overarching idea of replicas within the local authorised discourses (as discussed in the section above), I suggest that replication or restoration that is not mediated or approved by heritage management may simply be regarded as some form of 'unauthorised' heritage. Similarly, considering the evaluatory processes of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*, the legal status of an officially listed building or other *Denkmal* may be revoked if it no longer fits into the heritage criteria set by the *Landesdenkmalamt* and its representatives. Therefore, as I have also argued elsewhere in this work (see chapters 2, 4, and 6), authorised heritage may become unauthorised. Situating my work in the approaches and findings presented by Foster and Jones, I exchanged textual referrals to 'replicas' with the notion of 'unauthorised' heritage.

In the context of my research, I consider this terminological swap an extension of the underlying AHDs-based perception of replicas. What seems to be applicable to the consideration of the value and authenticity of replications and renovations in the German and Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses also appears to fit into considerations of other non-authorised engagements with the past. The findings discussed by Foster and Jones (2019 often significantly overlap with observations I made throughout the data collection and interviewing processes. However, their discussion of authenticity also is deeply interconnected with value and significance, similar to the dominant discourses held within the AHDs. Therefore, I will substantiate them through direct interview quotes in chapter 8 which thematises the valuation and (in)significance of heritage more deeply.

Most importantly, though, Foster and Jones argue that replicas (or, in this instance, everyday heritage) acquire authenticity and significance over time, thus countering some of the dominant materials-based authorised narratives on authenticity as being inherent to the fabric of heritage. Here too, I draw parallels to everyday heritage as made in continuous engagements with and renegotiations of the past in the present. Any attributions made to it hence are made as part of this ongoing, discursive process of heritage-making (as outlined in chapter 2). Further, I draw from their understanding that "experiencing authenticity in past things are bound up with networks of relationships between people, places, and things" (Foster and Jones 2019, 17; see also Jones 2009, 2010). For example, they consider the "process of building up experiences" fundamental to authenticity and significance, which

they rest in the immediate spatial environment as well as people's "desires, expectations, and experiences" of the heritage in question (Foster and Jones 2019, 11).

As I have (and will continue to argue) in this chapter, authenticity as defined in dominant, AHDs-based debates, does not appear relevant in the everyday heritage engagements observed as part of this work. However, drawing parallels to other studies on unauthorised heritage(s), may allow us to rethink our approaches to examining authenticity in contexts where heritage is not rooted in its traditional delineations, including assessments of original fabric or age. Insights from existing work such as the ones presented above also suggest that such rethinking or re-approaching of authenticity may be done by exploring themes such as place attachment or sense of place, identity and narrative, or memory and recollection, as have been addressed in chapter 5 and will further be discussed in the following chapter.

On Everyday Heritage and Change

It arose from my interviews that in everyday heritage, change and its consequences of altering the fabric of heritage were not actively linked to authenticity in any way, with no participant expressing this as a point of concern. Whether heritage was deemed authentic or not – and whether this was a factor of importance – in the participants' eyes was primarily a topic of concern within the context of official heritage. It, therefore, stands in stark contrast to how participants felt about authenticity and officially sanctioned changes in authorised *Denkmale*, with transformative measures being perceived as inherently negative by the majority of interviewees (n=34).

In interviews, participants would often jump back and forth between reflecting on changes applied to *Denkmale* due to managerial practice and personal transformative measures that were related to 'their' expressions of everyday heritage. Interestingly, none of my participants, with the exception of one who was trained as an art historian and archaeologist (Helmut), made the conscious connection between transformation and authenticity in the everyday. He described the refurbishing process as difficult because he often felt torn between the decision to preserve past architectural elements as an authentic layer of use or to "make it beautiful for myself".

Helmut's struggle between wanting to preserve and wishing for the personalisation of his living space reflects how internalised the values and approaches of the local AHDs are. His perspective on authenticity was strongly influenced by his professional training which led him to more critically rethink matters of material preservation. However, Helmut's internal conflict further underscores the underlying reality that transformation is an

inevitable reality when living with(in) heritage places and environments. Unlike Helga and Anja, who seem embrace change as an essential aspect of their everyday heritage practices, Helmut's specialist education makes him more conscious of the tensions between transformation and authenticity.

In most cases (n=32), change was attributed mostly positive emotional significance or even labelled "an inevitable necessity" (Stefan) within everyday heritage, especially when authorised heritage buildings were the physical vessel for different forms of everyday heritage. This clearly suggests that participants view 'their' heritage as inherently flexible. As such, transformation and adaptation is not considered detrimental to its significance but rather a fundamental aspect of keeping it alive and relevant as part of everyday life.

In some cases, everyday heritage manifests in the establishing and upkeep of traditions related to transforming historic homes. One participant, Helga, strongly emphasised the familial legacy of adapting and reusing old elements in their (formerly listed) homestead to fit their current needs. As had her parents and grandparents in the past, she felt the deep need to document processes of renovation or restoration in binders and photographs, and connected with her deceased family members through prayers for approval in maintaining their tradition according to "how they would have wanted it". "The family name ends with me", Helga sadly stated, "but I can pass on our history and legacy to my nephews. As long as they keep engaging with the place [i.e. the homestead]... what I mean is... so long as they leave it as it is in some and change it in other places, then our family history lives on." Through such statements, she seems to recognise the temporal fragility of her heritage but also expresses her hope for continuing her legacy through the continued balancing of continuity and change. Helga put firm emphasis on the continuation of family tradition: "we have always been changing up this place, even though the authorities did not like it", arguing that "it's in our family DNA" and "this is what anchors us as a historic name in our town".

For her, these acts of adapting and reusing elements from her homestead centred around honouring her family's legacy and maintaining an ongoing relationship with her ancestors, rather than preserving the farmhouse in its historical accuracy. Thus, Helga's engagement with this everyday heritage is anchored in a sense of belonging and relational continuity. As such, the value of her *Denkmal* home is not dependent on the authenticity of the building fabric. Instead, it is rooted in its adaptability that enables a deeply personal performative approach to heritage creation. Helga attributes significance to continuity – not in preserving the past as it was, but through the ongoing transformation of its tangible remnants, allowing her to keep alive her family history in a way that feels authentic to her.

Similarly, Anja and her family made it a ritual to continuously restore and adapt their historic home, despite having been officially de-listed many years ago. It was her biggest hope “that our four children will be interested in preserving the building for the fourth generation, just like we and our ancestors have been doing for almost a century”. She further affirmed that she did not like the “fuss and fanfare that comes along with having your house officially listed” and presented to the public – “it is much more *ours*, now that the authorities have decided to take it off the register”.

The way Anja described it during our conversation, I almost felt that she had an impression of the building having been held hostage by the *Denkmalschutz* and that their family had felt relief over having been “handed it back to us, in a way”. To her, this act of continued restoration and adaptation did not reflect the need to preserve her home’s ‘authentic’ fabric. Rather, it seemed to serve as a performative practice that allowed her to actively re-embed the building in her family’s everyday life, but also ensure the continuation of a familial legacy. The emotional and relational significance of personally controlled continuity and change mirrors Helga’s experience. It also suggests that for many participants, everyday heritage is something that lives and evolves.

This passing from one heritage state to another – from an authorised, officially managed one to an unmanaged, personal, everyday one – has been voiced by several participants (n=13). They also articulated, in some form or another, that this process of delisting and thus ‘returning’ the tangible heritage to their families had empowered them to ‘reinstate’ the building or complex in question by actively embedding it into the heart of their everyday lives and actions – resulting in a variety of everyday heritage practices and expressions. Most of these forms of everyday heritage held transformative or restorative actions at their core, which were particularly embraced after having been “handed back the sceptre to finally deal with our home as we please” (Edgar). The latter statement highlights the felt empowerment that comes from a sense of personal stewardship over one’s own heritage, which stands in sharp contrast with the rigidity often imposed by *Denkmalschutz* policies and approaches.

The main insight that surfaced from engaging with this data on everyday heritage and change in the context of authenticity was that it resulted in something that was very much different from what I had expected: namely that none of what I just outlined and discussed in this subsection is actually related to authenticity. This issue is the direct result of my approach to understanding authenticity within everyday heritage, firmly rooted in an attempt to draw direct parallels between the authorised and everyday. Within the Authorised Heritage Discourses, deliberations on the presence and nature of authenticity in

Denkmale are inevitably concomitant with discussing material preservation versus change, in part because – from a managerial perspective – transformative measures to tangible heritage often appear to diminish or even wholly eradicate its authenticity. I attempted to transfer this debate on authenticity in opposition to change from the authorised to the everyday, which simply did not work. Why may this be the case?

During my data collection and analysis, I have found that authenticity – especially when linked to changes in material – may not be as omnipresent (or at least not as directly vocalised as relevant) within everyday heritage as it is within the authorised discourses. Even in our general discussion of ‘the past in the present’, only four of the participants directly and consciously addressed matters of ‘authentic’ heritage and what constituted authenticity from their perspective. What arose from our conversations instead was a perspective on transformation in the everyday that very much contrasted common concerns and debates surrounding change and authenticity in the authorised discourses: Most participants (n=37) expressed a strong sense of (material) change as an inevitable – or often even fundamental – part of everyday life.

Because everyday expressions of heritage do not conform to ideas of the ‘authentic fabric’ as advocated for and anchored in heritage management and conservation practice, participants did not consider changes to the material of non-authorised heritage to be an inherently negative thing. In fact, in some of these instances, the opposite could actually be the case, as the interview data suggest that transformative measures may constitute a fundamental aspect of heritage creation and meaning-making in the everyday. Reflecting on change in light of everyday heritage does not lead to debates on preserving materiality as is common within the Authorised Heritage Discourses. Instead, my data seems to point towards and illustrate the nature of people’s attachments to ‘their’ heritage. As will further be discussed in the following chapter, it is likely that authenticity reflects certain values and feeds into the attribution of significance to heritage. This particularly applies to authorised *Denkmale*, onto which these values are projected by the non-expert public.

Transformation, adaptation, restoration, and reuse, therefore, appeared to be an underlying and unquestioned current driving everyday heritage creation. This notion of incorporating the past into the present in personally meaningful ways through changes to the material fabric may not correspond with authorised notions of authenticity. As part of everyday heritage, however, transformation may often be integral for creating individual understandings of heritage and attributing value to it, as has been observed in more than two-thirds of my case studies; this is, again, fittingly summarised by Terry Pratchett:

"This will become, in time, the axe of someone's grandfather," said the King. "And no doubt over the years it will need a new handle or a new blade and over the centuries the shape will change in line with fashion, but it will always be, in every detail and respect, the axe I give you today. And because it'll change with the times it'll always be sharp." (Pratchett 1999, 451)

Discussion: A Clash of Titans?

The title of this chapter may appear misleading, as *A Clash of Titans* suggests a continuous collision between the two worlds of the Authorised Heritage Discourses and the private-public. It implies fundamental challenges regarding views on authenticity at every corner. In reality, individually authentic expressions and practices of heritage often exist and are (re)made daily without even the faintest hint of interference from, or even relevance of, the authorised discourses. Some aspects and forms of 'authentic' everyday heritage are so far removed from anything listed or 'official' that there is simply no tension, danger, issue or challenge at hand whatsoever – from any point of view.

The section on *People's Attitudes Towards 'Authorised' Authenticity* above, however, shows a particularly interesting case of the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages: Whereas the tangible heritage in question, for example someone's home or neighbourhood, was an officially sanctioned *Denkmal* within the German AHDs, it was also central to people's own creations of everyday heritage and their individual and communal identities. It also factored into aspects of transformation, continuity and change over time. Due to this, it seemed that common practices of reuse, transformation, restoration, demolition, and renovation – all representing nuances of change – were well-embraced by individuals within everyday heritage, but also frowned upon within the (German) authorised discourses (see also Arlotta 2019).

Further, and as outlined in chapter 6, the ever-changing reality of when, how, and to which degree material-based authenticity was defined and valued by management professionals was to the dissatisfaction of many a study participant, *Denkmal* homeowner, and community member (n=29), as was the fact that there was "too much arbitrary scope for interpretation" (Ruben).

Whereas the German *Denkmalschutz* seamlessly aligns with elsewhere widely acknowledged institutionalised notions of authenticity similar to what has been suggested by Poullos, the subject of 'the authentic' is not easily definable within the everyday. In many cases, matters of authenticity are not even addressed from a personal perspective. Does this automatically

suggest that the matter is irrelevant to my participants or other members of the general public? Surely not. Instead, I suggest that it points to the necessity of taking a new angle and adopting a different mindset towards unravelling the role of authenticity in heritage and potentially challenging its currently universally agreed-upon significance overall.

As my study of Baden-Württemberg's *Denkmalschutzgesetz* and *Historische Ortsanalysen* emphasised, the official outlining of which *Denkmale* are 'actually' heritage, and which ones are not (Will 2006) is most central to the evaluation of authenticity. In Germany, as in many other countries, this goes hand in hand with the inscription of such tangible heritage onto special lists and registers which regulate their current and future management and conservation (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014). Based on the data collected in this work, it appears that everyday heritage is removed from such evaluatory practices and managerial concerns. Therefore, it offers a unique opportunity to explore the role and relevance of authenticity in non-authorised expressions of heritage.

However, I also realised that within the *Denkmalpflege*, there is almost an embodied, automatic reflexivity in that they grant authenticity to heritage based on assumed qualities – without being deeply reflective about them. The same may be seen on the personal level in a widespread notion of 'this is how I see the world, and this is why it is true'. In this sense, both as part of authorised and everyday heritages, authenticity is a non-discursive presence, but for different reasons: Practitioners and experts seem to almost blindly follow rules and regulations without reflecting on their substance (a practice some may ungroundedly vilify, as I have discussed earlier in chapter 2). Individuals similarly appear to heed a taken-for-granted sense of self and an unreflexive impression of the world around them and the pasts that are embedded in it. No matter the label attributed to it – be it authenticity, truthfulness, pastness, historicity, or reality – people within both the authorised and everyday are equally scarcely reflective about what an 'authentic' representation of the past, heritage, or *Denkmale* may be grounded in.

Therefore, within this exploration of everyday heritage, I would like to avoid the term 'authenticity' as it has been outlined traditionally through the narratives of the authorised discourses; indeed, it does not seem to matter to people all that much in this context. What appeared more relevant was how the idea or expression of everyday heritage was embedded within a personal and communal narrative (this is also in line with Holtorf's idea of pastness; see Holtorf 2013, 434). In this research, it seemed that communal narrative was often more small-scale and tended not to go beyond the scope of a town, as can be seen in the instance of recollections of bygone places discussed in the *Memory and Heritage Creation* subsection of chapter 5.

Narrative, however, may be considered in two ways: 1) narrative directed inwards, towards the self and 2) narrative presented outwardly, to others. These options are not mutually exclusive, and those narratives mainly serving the individual may also be communicated and shared with others (this has been particularly evident in the case of Henry). The importance ascribed to personal and communal narratives, also embedded within a sense of pastness, will be discussed further in chapter 8.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter is central in approaching my third research question on the overlaps and differences in how notions of the 'official' and 'personal' are perceived. Concretely, it investigated whether authenticity was perceived differently by the authorised discourses and non-expert individuals.

I first discussed how 'authenticity' is addressed in the Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses and how this relates to wider debates surrounding this concept. Authenticity is deeply anchored in German heritage legislation and constitutes a key part of its materials-based (e)valuatory practices. These are largely based on the factors of authenticity and significance determined by the Nara document and Riga charter. According to the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*, the value and status of heritage is determined based on its authenticity which is found in its form and substance, original, material, traditional uses, and building techniques. In this chapter, I argue that 'form and design' appear to be the most central factor for the local AHDs in determining whether or not a *Denkmal* is 'authentic'. Yet, from my data also emerged that managerial reports did not quantify the material proof required in order to confirm its authenticity. In general, notions of authenticity within Baden-Württembergian heritage policy and practice align well with its dominant understandings in other Authorised Heritage Discourses (see chapter 2).

In this chapter, I also addressed the impact of adaptation and change on perceptions of authorised and everyday heritages. Within my outline of the local *Denkmalschutz*, I placed 'authenticity' and 'change' on opposing ends of the spectrum of heritage management. Due to the German AHDs' dominant focus on preserving the material fabric of officialised heritage 'as unchanged as possible', alterations to the materiality of authorised heritage impact their definition of being authentic. Yet, I also showed that only recent or current changes deemed to 'modernise' the look of tangible heritage are considered to impede or destroy its 'character' and non-renewable historic accuracy as determined by local heritage management. Implementing alterations to the physical fabric of *Denkmale* generally leads to

its devaluation or even delisting by local heritage authorities. Within local *Denkmalschutz*, authenticity is considered in terms of binary, transitory states, namely that heritage may go from 'authentic' to 'fake' and thus from 'valued' to 'dismissed'.

To further expand my exploration of the intersections between authorised and everyday, I then examined whether authenticity and material transformations were similarly incongruous to non-experts. Here, I particularly showed that participants' definition of whether or not heritage was 'authentic' solely depended on its context and denomination as authorised heritage. In discussing 'their' everyday heritages and engagements with the past, participants would not use the label of authenticity. However, once referring to an official *Denkmal*, authenticity was suddenly a matter of concern. This aligns with arguments brought forward by Lowenthal, among others, who suggests that authenticity is always relative, not absolute, and largely based on perspective. As such, it is in line with constructivist approaches to authenticity as discussed in chapter 2, which also suggest that it is highly dependent on social and cultural contexts.

Based on this I further affirmed that authenticity stems from learned and internalised beliefs which are closely tied to the AHDs. While highly relevant in discussions of *Denkmale*, it seemed to not be considered at all within people's personal-individual heritages – even when those revolved around the material fabric of a listed *Denkmal* home. Although this study is not fully representative of the general public in Baden-Württemberg, nor the wider populace in Germany or abroad, I argued that authenticity in the material-centric definition followed by the local *Denkmalschutz* appears extraneous to the everyday heritage(s) I seek to explore and outline in this thesis. I rooted my exploration of authenticity from an everyday perspective in earlier studies and debates on the significance of replicas. These appeared to align with the valuation of unauthorised, everyday forms of heritage based on the engagements with them; matters of significance arising from this will be discussed at greater depth in chapter 8.

Instead, the data presented in this chapter suggested that acceptance may be more relevant here: everyday forms of heritage revolve around internal and external acceptance of them being important to the people at their core. Material 'truthfulness' as defined by the authorised discourses has not been mentioned as a concern for participants. Acceptance is closely linked to the significance or insignificance of everyday heritage, which will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8: ATTRIBUTING VALUE AND (IN)SIGNIFICANCE TO EVERYDAY HERITAGE

Introduction

“The study of material culture is ultimately a study of value and values” (Miller 2008, 296). This statement is not only reflective of the aims and objectives of this research but also the findings derived from it. As I have established throughout this thesis so far, and especially in chapter 6, most forms of everyday heritage explored in this work are intertwined or intersect with the material fabric of official *Denkmale*. Within the German Authorised Heritage Discourses, assessments of value and significance to determine the authenticity and relevance are central to its policies and practices – this will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. However, in light of the interview data collected, I also contend that heritage bears differing meanings, values, and definitions for those who engage with it in their everyday lives (see Apaydin 2017, 493). This holds not only for places, as has been the central point of argument for Apaydin (2017) but also for other forms of non-authorised, everyday heritage, as I will outline and reflect on in this chapter. Based on my research data, I theorise that processes of valuation and meaning-making may differ in many ways between authorised and everyday heritages, which is what this chapter seeks to illuminate and explore.

Discussing the relevance of value and (in)significance is central to this research as it allows us to understand how perceptions of the same physical *Denkmale* may differ between experts and individuals. It allows for a deeper examination of how authorised heritage is engaged with and reinterpreted when it constitutes part of people’s everyday lives. Therefore, this chapter explores where personal and official attributions of value and relevance may intersect or diverge, and how attributions of significance take place within non-authorised contexts. This enables us to further our understanding of people’s relationships with the past in the present, especially in those environments that are governed by the local AHDs. Does the value of everyday heritage overlap with the significance attributed to the authorised *Denkmale* at its core? Is the respective listing status and the values attributed to people’s heritage homes relevant to their perception of everyday heritage?

I seek to explore the role of value and (in) significance in the context of my work for two reasons: Firstly, as discussed in chapter 6, *Denkmale* constituted the main intersection between the authorised and everyday from the inception of this research. In chapters 4, 6,

and 7, I outlined the relevance of categorisation and evaluatory processes for the local AHDs which is partially rooted in the country's history and partially in their adherence to the Nara document and Riga charter. As such, the attribution of factors of significance by experts is central to the authorised definition, interpretation, and presentation of *Denkmale* in Baden-Württemberg. In the introductory chapter of this thesis, I stated my aims and objectives for this research which include an exploration of the intersections between the local authorised discourses and people's engagements with the same authorised heritage as part of their daily lives. Further, one of my research questions is explicitly concerned with understanding the role of value and significance in official and unofficial forms of heritage investigated in this work. Hence, value constitutes a core element of my research.

Secondly, both during the piloting stage and from initial interviews arose that people appeared to value authorised and everyday heritages differently. Further, my data suggested that perceptions of insignificance seemed to fundamentally differ between the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* policies and practices and the individuals consulted in this work. Therefore, I considered the exploration of not only value but also insignificance specifically insightful in my exploration of how heritage is engaged with – but also constructed around listed buildings, places, and spaces – as part of everyday life. This will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter.

Moreover, a Critical Discourse Analysis of the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege's* official papers and reports and other related publications (as outlined in chapter 3) emphasised the themes of material preservation, heritage obligations, temporality, and *Denkmale* for the public as being relevant for discussions of value and significance. These will be addressed respectively throughout this chapter.

From the previous chapter surfaced that value and significance in everyday heritage contexts may also overlap with how authenticity is considered more broadly by the general public. My earlier outline of the relationship between authenticity and significance partially mentioned *what* people valued about heritage – but less so addressed *how* they attributed significance to it. Therefore, value and (in)significance are addressed as a separate dimension in this chapter. I will do so with a particular emphasis on the processes of meaning-making, and whether, how, and why people communicate value imbued onto heritage with others.

On the following pages, I will first outline those values and categories of significance presented by the German authorised discourses; this will provide a baseline of understanding (in)significance within the wider region and from an official perspective and how it is evaluated for *Denkmale*. Since some of the tangible heritage managed by the AHDs in Germany may simultaneously be part of people's creation and expression of everyday

heritage, it is important to understand how the same object, neighbourhood, or building may be valued from an authorised and personal perspective. Accordingly, as part of my interviews with participants, I aimed to understand whether official values may interfere with or impact people's ideas of the (ir)relevance and (in)significance of their 'own' heritage in those cases where officially sanctioned and everyday heritages were interconnected in one way or another.

Value and significance in heritage can be approached by considering several dimensions that all factor into and are entangled with each other. We may investigate *what* is valued by looking at the heritage object or *Denkmal* at its core to define the material/tangible component onto which specific values may be attributed, but also the specific characteristics of significance that are consciously linked to it. Further insights may be gained from assessing *how* values are imbued onto these tangible things, not only by examining how this is verbalised but ideally by assessing the physical engagements with them as well. Examining these multifarious, passive as well as active, interactions with heritage leads us to explore what this heritage evokes in people and how this relates to how they may (re)negotiate or (re)evaluate their perception of its (in)significance. Moreover, we may also analyse whether and how the importance of heritage, particularly in the everyday, is communicated, which ideas of value and significance are emphasised in conversation and presentation, and which may be omitted. The central question here is: Whom are certain aspects of significance shared with (or not) – and why?

Attributing and Recognising Value Within the *Denkmalpflege*

Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 471) succinctly stated that “nothing can be identified as heritage without an assessment of significance being made, however implicit or informal”. Though mainly aimed at discussing authorised perspectives it holds equally true for any other forms of heritage, including its more individual and everyday expressions.

While significance and value are in one way or another central to all forms of heritage *per sé*, approaches towards it differ very much between the authorised and everyday. In line with Fredheim and Khalaf, I have found that the German *Denkmalschutz* practices (likely as most other Western countries) rest and rely on three pillars in their initial analysis of heritage value and significance: identifying 1) “what the heritage in question is”, 2) “why it is valuable”, and 3) “how valuable it is” (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 470). The rigid following of these steps is reflected in any managerial reports and policies, including the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*. Although a great variety of sites, places, and spaces may be

classified as heritage under the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* – including memorials, architectural monuments, archaeological sites, industrial spaces, et cetera – there is no specific period or time from which a given *Denkmal* should originate (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12). Nevertheless, the *Landesamt* presupposes that expert-based, “scientifically sound evaluation[s] requires a certain temporal distance to the time of origin of an object” (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 13); this is thoroughly reflected in the *Denkmäler* the authorised discourses manage and preserve, as well as the significance that is widely attributed to the age and historical substance of *Denkmale* (see the section below).

Based on the information provided by the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege*, the (e)valuation of *Denkmale* is a continuous process in which the criteria for preservation and listing must “be constantly reviewed, amended and changed”; according to them, this must be done through “interdisciplinary cooperation” – though they do not address the scope and design of such cooperation efforts (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 10). Between whom is this collaboration taking place? Considering the official publication record of stately heritage management in Baden-Württemberg and beyond, it appears that the evaluation of heritage status and ‘worthiness’ is, to date, solely expert-based; this is a common trend within authorised discourses all around the globe, as has been previously discussed at length in chapter 2.

Throughout all German states, evaluating the “*Denkmaleigenschaft*” (transl.: *Denkmal* property/characteristic) of a potential heritage object or place always follows a similar scheme (see Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011, 3 ff.). At the centre of this evaluatory process lies the recording of “material evidence of human life in the broadest sense” (Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011, 1):

- **Objekterfassung:** This is the first step in which the (potential) heritage object is identified. This may be done via a direct viewing or inspection of the property in question (if its presence is known) or via an initial study of literature and other sources related to the respective locality. The Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger (2011, 3) argues for this as such “prior knowledge makes it easier to find historically significant evidence on site and minimises the risk of overlooking structures that initially appear insignificant but are worthy of preservation”. As part of this identification and inspection process, an initial assessment is made “of the age of the building, its construction history and the extent of the historical building fabric” (ibid.). These qualities highlight an overall focus on materiality and temporality (as discussed in the previous chapters and including this one).

- **Vertiefung der Recherche:** The next step of this evaluatory process is concerned with “clarifying, specifying, and narrowing down the findings gained” via additional literature and archival research (ibid.). In doing so, experts seek to examine the potential *Denkmal* within a wider context of its building history (including previous restorative measures), historic fabric, and age.
- **Bewertung:** Based on this, practitioners will evaluate the potential heritage object “in accordance with the *Denkmalschutzgesetz*” (Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011, 4). This involves an outline of the “significance criteria (historical, scientific, artistic, etc.) specified in the respective state law” (ibid.) which culminates either in the official listing of the object as a *Denkmal* or not. Moreover, the attribution of value to heritage also leads to it becoming relevant to the public: “If the *Denkmal* status is granted, a public interest in its preservation is given” (ibid.).
- **Vermittlung:** Lastly, the publication and dissemination of the “scientific findings” of this evaluatory process is considered a “core task of inventarisation” (ibid.). According to the Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger, the success of such public relations work is crucial for fostering an understanding of *Denkmäler* among the public which leads to the widespread acceptance of “managerial concerns” (2011, 4).

While my CDA of the legislation and publications of the local AHDs did not yield any explicit references to this exact evaluatory process outlined by the Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger, it did reflect a general adherence to this structured approach towards the identification, valuation, and (where applicable) listing of potential *Denkmale*. All individual steps outlined above were followed in creating *Historische Ortsanalysen*, which was confirmed in my conversation with Thiem (2020) and Keller (2020). Firstly, these reports were based on an evaluation of *Gesamtanlagen*, including the (potential) *Denkmale* that comprised them. Secondly, the objects and places identified as potentially relevant were further contextualised within their locality and respective history. Thirdly, these potential *Denkmale* were individually evaluated for their significance based on a range of factors (see chapters 3 and 4) which will be further detailed later in this chapter. Lastly, the creation and public provision of *Historische Ortsanalysen* as reports widely accessible to the public and urban planning stakeholders reflects the final step of this evaluatory inventarisation process.

For Baden-Württemberg specifically, the analysis of my secondary data suggested that the idea of (neatly) categorising factors of value and significance presented one of the most common themes of local *Denkmalschutz* practices; this will be concretised on the following pages. This corresponds to Fredheim and Khalaf’s pillar number two outlined in the previous section, which is concerned with “why [heritage] is valuable” (2016, 470). This

attempt to sort significance into different categories and boxes is reflected in the characteristics of value presented within *Historische Ortsanalysen*, but also in the factors considered in the listing or delisting of heritage objects, places, and spaces as denoted in the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* and the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste* (Landesrecht Baden-Württemberg 2014; Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Wohnungsbau 2018). While some of these variables are loosely defined, none of them are explicitly explained, nor do they come with specific instructions that outline how they are identified in the process of official heritage evaluation. Although these value categories are continuously referred to in managerial reports, their wording is often unclear in outlining what these particular values refer to; this is neither the case in the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* itself, nor the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste*, policy papers, *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, or any of the publicly available informational texts presented by the *Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg* online. For example, statements of heritage significance may address value as resting in a building's "documentary significance" or "high evidential significance" (see the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* listed in Appendix 2), but especially without context or clear definitions, such comparatively nebulous terms may be difficult to differentiate from each other; in this case, both criteria may be interpreted similarly, but there is no way to confirm their actual meaning for managerial practice.

Further, it is almost impossible to tell if specific sets may be tangential or related to each other, whether some of them are assessed in conjunction, or how decisions are made in favour of addressing the presence of one particular value over another, potentially similar one: for instance what is the relation between "exemplary significance" and "representative significance" – and how does it relate to "evidential significance" mentioned before? May they all be referring to a very similar aspect of significance? Where does the difference lie? In this work, I was unable to discern the differences between these categories of values, as neither my Critical Discourse Analysis nor conversations with local heritage experts provided any clear definitions or suggestions as to their delineations.

The importance of categorisation and compilation of what one may perceive to be 'hard data' (that is value criteria laid out by a specialist in the field during official evaluation processes to be drawn upon and consulted – and potentially re-evaluated by a successive professional in the future) and presenting this as an expert-based and peer-reviewed measurement is not a mere state phenomenon. Instead, it appears to be best practice in all other German states as well (Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger 2011). The hyphenation of 'hard data' is meant to demonstrate that objectivity within heritage does not exist, despite sometimes being presented otherwise. Within heritage, and particularly the realms more strongly influenced by the authorised discourses, prevails an idea of rationality and the right

to decide on values as rooted in the expert (for a reflection on this read Avrami et al. 2019; Carman 2002; Poullos 2014, 18; Smith 2006; and Waterton and Smith 2010) – though I argue that this is an illusion (this is supported by Darvill 2005, Mason and Avrami 2002, and Poullos 2010, among others).

During my initial analysis of policy papers and reports, I realised that authorised practices revolving around the conservation and management of (tangible) heritage in Baden-Württemberg are heavily influenced by best practices. Evaluations of significance are neither based on a rigorous scoring system nor universal value registers. In fact, my analysis of both the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* and other policy papers in Baden-Württemberg, as well as the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* revealed that there is no such thing as a catalogue or register of values for the individual evaluation and attribution of authorised heritage significance. At the time of this doctoral research, no pre-set, authorised and uniform value categories existed which may have been consulted for the exploration of conservational and managerial practice. Among those confirming my impressions on this matter were Keller and Thiem, two heritage management officials appointed by the *Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg*; they are also responsible for the conceptualisation, creation and distribution of *Historische Ortsanalysen*. In personal conversation (Keller 2020; Thiem 2020), both heritage professionals further confirmed that despite this lack of ‘official’, pre-set values, all assessments made and presented by experts from the *Landesdenkmalamt* are legally binding; thus, they reflect the authorised valuation of heritage buildings of a particular town, city, or region.

Although there is indeed no set of specified values of significance defined by the *Landesdenkmalamt*, a textual analysis of the *Historische Ortsanalysen* consulted as part of this research (see Appendix 2) nonetheless indicated a range of particular values which are frequently referred to and assigned to *Denkmale* by professionals. Considering the total amount of *Denkmale* (n=2858) assessed in this regard, the values outlined particularly included characteristics linked to age (n=649), rarity (n=892), scientificity (n=359), artistic and architectural style (n=2858), craftsmanship (n=386), location and context (n=1297), local or regional history (n=221), and sense of historicity overall (n=568; this more closely resembles notions of pastness as outlined in chapter 2). I contacted both Keller and Thiem to confirm whether my initial compilation of those values was correct and whether those were indeed categories widely assumed in assessing the status and significance of *Denkmale* (despite being more or less unofficial). I also hoped to gain clarification of their definition, since no policy paper or report provided a clearer outline or explanation of the factors of significance attributed to officially sanctioned heritage.

They agreed on those rough categories and further informed me that official assessments of significance follow a repeated, expert-led evaluatory process: the *Denkmal* as a whole is analysed and interpreted by an expert under consideration of a range of criteria following the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* and the *VwV-Kulturdenkmalliste*, further supported by professionals' estimations based on best practice. Consequently, the degree of overall relevance and preservation-worthiness of this potential *Denkmal* is determined, which largely rests on evaluating such individual factors and criteria. This *Denkmalschutz* system rests on a firmly established (best) practice, where certain people are granted the ability to make decisions; naturally, this holds implications for how heritage is valued and managed. Regarding this, I particularly wonder: when a system of evaluating value is so firmly based on specialists, how are value and attributions of significance agreed on? How do these experts adjust to and respond to changes in society? Based on the information publicly available at the time of writing this thesis, these questions may currently not be answered with regard to the *Denkmalpflege* in Baden-Württemberg. From the data collected as part of my Critical Discourse Analysis emerged that society and its potential impact on the use, perception, and interpretation of authorised heritage are simply not considered within the Baden-Württembergian managerial discourse.

One phenomenon encountered in my analyses of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* is that these assessments present no standalone statements of value; instead, the evaluation and presentation of why heritage is significant is always accompanied by a statement of *whom* it is valuable for, or rather whom it may serve (as discussed and quantified in chapter 3). By default, therefore, assessments of value are made with a clear audience in mind (see also Landesamt für Denkmalpflege 2016b; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege 2018; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012): How are attributions of significance in line with regional or city-wide objectives, including the fostering of tourism or the promotion of a well-preserved historic town- or cityscape? The existence of such audience- or benefit-oriented assessments clearly outlines the relevance of wider values, such as tourist management, that also factor into official evaluatory practices. While these are not explicitly stated in such reports, the existence of *Historische Ortsanalysen* alone signifies that catering to specific stakeholders is a central concern of the local AHDs. As discussed previously, the relevance and benefit of *Denkmale* to the public are emphasised in legislative papers and such official reports, but this relationship does not appear to be mutual. While the value of heritage is communicated to members of the public through a range of initiatives and publications (see chapter 6 for a discussion on this) in hopes of gaining support for its conservation, the impact of individuals and

communities on it is not considered. The only exception is the local AHDs' emphasis on the obligation of care and custodianship for (the 'authentic' material fabric of) *Denkmale* through their respective owners, where applicable (see chapters 6 and 7). This research seeks to close this gap in knowledge by examining how people perceive and value authorised heritage when it simultaneously constitutes their homes.

Given that one of the *Denkmalschutz*'s 'foci of significance' is centred around the benefit of certain stakeholders suggests that the reality of assessing and attributing significance and value to heritage may be a little convoluted within the Baden-Württembergian Authorised Heritage Discourses – and that these processes may not wholly and purely be concerned with value and significance. Moreover, this official presentation of heritage as predominantly positive and beneficial reflects a dominant narrative within the Authorised Heritage Discourses (discussed in chapter 2) which I critically engage with in this thesis. As discussed in chapter 6, such perceptions of authorised heritage and managerial practice as overwhelmingly positive and affirmative are not shared by the public or many participants interviewed as part of this work. Instead, from my data, general dissatisfaction with how listed *Denkmale*, neighbourhoods, and town centres are conserved, interpreted, presented, and managed emerged. Public attitudes to *Denkmalschutz* are often fundamentally negative, as the authorities are considered invasive and hindering expressions of individual and familial relationships with and understandings of home and the past. Whereas participants often recognised and confirmed the importance of preservation itself, they largely disagreed with authorised policies and practices. Their relationship with and opinion of the *Denkmalschutzamt* was problematic and complex, therefore challenging the local AHDs' notion of heritage (management) as fundamentally positive and favourable.

The subsequent sections will address how these practices and definitions of determining (in)significance of heritage may compare and contrast with those processes of valuation in everyday heritage.

Attributing Value to Everyday Heritage

Because there is no universal agreement on how value is attributed to everyday heritage, its processes of meaning-making are much less transparent than they are within the Authorised Heritage Discourses. Therefore, the key question to be addressed in this section is how value and significance are ascribed to everyday heritage. To open up this explorative process, I draw from two approaches, namely the observations made as part of my visits to the individual towns analysed and presented in the *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, and the interviews

with my participants. Findings from both will provide an overview of the different processes behind attributing (in)significance and value to everyday heritage, and outline the degree to which certain objectives and rationales may be involved as well.

The first offers insights into people's overall attitudes towards (local) heritage in towns, cities, and specific neighbourhoods as is reflected in local initiatives, heritage projects or festivals, and more permanent markers portraying and thematising local and communal heritage. These projects, initiatives, and signposts are all run by local societies, communities, or individuals and are not in any way sanctioned or otherwise initiated by the authorised discourses or any of their expert members. From my observations of these initiatives, I aimed to gain insights into what kinds of heritage were valued and how it was done. Complementary to this were brief conversations with townsfolk and local individuals at festivals or gatherings, inquiring into the general reception and attribution of personal significance of these initiatives. In short, I sought to understand what communities and their members deemed significant local heritage and how they communicated this

The second approach aimed to gain more concrete insights into personal – as opposed to communal – expressions of everyday heritage. I wanted to delve into forms of heritage that were not shared and communicated as widely, and that may, therefore, be more closely related to (inter)personal and familial concepts. What was valued as everyday heritage in this context and how? How would this relate to the (in)significance attributed to other forms of everyday heritage observed during my visits to towns and festivals?

Valuation of Everyday Heritage Through Community Initiatives

Different forms of *Heimatvereine*⁴ and similar local associations are, in many ways, closely related to low-key and informal expressions of heritage in local communities. Due to this, I believe that looking at these societies and their initiatives can help to understand how non-authorised, mundane heritages may collectively and collaboratively be assigned value. As such, exploring the valuation of everyday heritage through community projects may be somewhat of a halfway house in that this approach is helpful as a prelude to understanding the more private and personal. This subsection will, therefore, outline communal-based initiatives and investigate how they attribute value and significance to those mundane heritages; in doing so, I hope to subsequently build on these insights to explore whether and

⁴ A *Heimatverein* is an association or society which has set itself the goal of cultivating, preserving, and promoting the particularities and traditions of a locality or region, and whose members feel connected to their homeland or region. Often these clubs are also associated with fostering community. These societies are mostly run by interested individuals; no particular education or expert knowledge is required to join.

how such non-authorised, communal-based heritage valuation may be connected to the attribution of significance to other forms of everyday heritage.

Some *Heimatvereine* formally attribute significance to historic townscapes and their buildings, highlighting their ongoing role and importance within communities in villages and cities. This is emphasised in signposts, permanent informational banners, blog posts, or the advertisement of guided tours. Their campaigns to raise awareness of historical places often revolve around former historic substance and the relevance for the development of towns and communities, rather than their current functions (see, for example, Heimatverein Mosbach 2023; Historischer Verein Schutterwald 2023). In June 2018, for instance, Schutterwald celebrated its 750th anniversary, as part of which the local *Heimatverein* started a heritage initiative researching various historic buildings within the town centre, resulting in the installation of small plaques (see Figure 8.1) displaying the Alemannic name assigned to a house, a small paragraph describing its history, as well as a QR code which passers-by could scan to read up on more information online.

The name depicted on those signs would usually be based on the surname of the original builder/family who lived in these buildings, the Alemannic word for the profession of the respective patriarch, or a combination of both (Historischer Verein Schutterwald 2020). Due to a lack of official street names until the turn of the 20th century (Herrmann 2020), locals would refer to houses and locations in towns and villages by the Alemannic name of their (original) owner which is also based on stories centring around this specific family or person – “this knowledge is increasingly eroding, and new residents are often not familiar with these traditions” (Herrmann 2020). Such attribution of communal value and significance to places through (oral) narratives and genealogical connections and associations has also been brought forward by Jones (2017, 4). Referring to this as memory practice, she particularly emphasised the oftentimes fragmented and temporally non-linear creation of such heritages and significance, thus placing this in the realm of social memory studies (Jones 2017, 5). Intriguingly, neither individual participants nor those people I spoke to as part of local heritage festivals, nor the communally organised heritage initiatives paid significant attention and relevance to place events, people, practices, or buildings in any linear order; the progression of time overall simply appeared not to be an issue. Everything and anything simply was ‘from the past’, but not any particular point or period in time. The only temporal marker encountered at times (n=4) was the event of World War II, as this appeared to have ripped apart any sense of order and community: “one day, our fathers and uncles got

drafted and left for war [...] and some of them came back, but our village never ever returned to normal again" (Albert).



Fig. 8.1: Plaque indicating a home historically connected to the Schdidi, a person of local significance.

Further supported by Smith (2006, 59-60) and her earlier work (2010, 119-120), Jones contends that these practices consist of “a dynamic collection of fragmented stories that revolve around family histories, events, myths and community places” (Jones 2017, 5). Based on my observations during data collection and in line with Smith, I agree that such memory practices relate to the attribution of significance in that they actively engage “with the working out and creation of meaning” (2006, 59). This valuation is then presented in many ways: from the signposts and banners mentioned above to frequent vocalisations of places no longer in existence (as discussed in chapter 5), or the continuous sharing of narratives surrounding certain people and practices within the local community. While I have particularly witnessed this as a fundamental part of communal everyday heritage practices and creations, such memory practices have also surfaced in interviews with individual participants, as will be discussed in the following subsection.

Another focus of these initiatives therefore frequently lies in presenting individual persons and their role in local communities, with initiatives attributing significance to a range of people who erected or transformed historic houses, influenced the economic or political trajectory of towns and hamlets, or were simply well-known and popular figures in (mostly) pre-World War I village life (see also Hansert 2018). Through these initiatives, local figures become embedded at the very heart of everyday heritage creation. They particularly

reveal that people were often not remembered only for their achievements but for their representation of certain ideals or values that resonate with communal identity. As such, heritage on this very fundamental, individual level revolves less around monumentality or materiality and more about individuals who embody a shared understanding of the past or collective memory. The key question here, albeit going beyond the scope of this work, lies in not only who is remembered, but also why their memory holds weight within the community, and how their story fits into wider narratives of belonging and identity.

In some towns, *Heimatvereine* and individuals emphasised initiatives that highlighted former 'ways of life'. In 2016, the town of Waldshut celebrated its 1000th anniversary, as part of which some people offered activities such as hosting traditional wine tastings while wearing local *Trachten* (i.e. garbs) and "serving meals as they were common around 300 years ago" (Anja). Schutterwald also included historical wedding processions (Santo 2018) and several families held 'open houses', showing visitors around their historic homes, and presenting restored or repaired agricultural machines and tools that used to be part of their homes' or estates' former functions; Helga, Markus, Heike, Albert, and Anja, for example, reported comparable activities in their hometowns during our interviews. Similar festivities were held in Bräunlingen, Freiburg, Hildrizhausen, Illingen-Schützingen, Korntal-Münchingen, and Neidenstein between 2015 and 2022. While on the surface these events seemed to focus mainly on tradition, they also represented deeper connections between people and place. By engaging in these shared activities, participants actively maintain a sense of continuity between past, present, and future, and project a specific image of their community – both as it is presumed to have been in the past, but also as it may want to be perceived today.

These communal initiatives all revolved around creating and ascribing importance to a shared 'sense of place' (Johnston 1994), in that they promoted certain significance and identities attached "to specific localities", all of which referred to and were more firmly embedded in micro-local understandings and valuations of heritage and community than in bigger regional or even national ones (see also Harrison 2004; Jones 2017; and Waterton 2005). While many of these activities originated from the mundane and individual, some did not fit into and stem from notions of everyday heritage. Staged events and activities, such as processions or guided tours, were predominantly performative and held within them a certain per-set significance that transcended the ordinary and personal.

Although these do not technically 'belong' to or represent everyday heritage, I nonetheless consider them to be entangled in a communal sense of pastness and local identity which may reinforce individual attributions of significance to everyday heritage – as rooted in perceptions of the home, local community, history, and tradition. These

performative and collectively initiated events exist in an intriguing limbo, as they neither conform fully to everyday, nor authorised heritages. Due to this, I argue that such liminal forms and valuations of not-quite-everyday but also not-quite-official heritages may provide additional, nuanced insights into how heritage is made and attributed meaning, both collectively and individually, beyond the Authorised Heritage Discourses.

Attributing Significance to Individual Everyday Heritage

On a general level, the 'everyday individual' does not appear to make conscious connections between the historical-material and modern-day communal relevance, let alone reflect on officially sanctioned buildings as 'heritage'. In those rare instances where such connections may be seen, these had always remained on a purely personal-familial level. A good example of this can be seen in the previous chapter in which people expressed dissatisfaction and sometimes disappointment about being 'forgotten' by the authorised discourses in their public presentation of local tangible heritage. Interestingly, the attribution of value to everyday heritage on an individual level, and especially its tangible anchors, is often done twofold:

- 1) If an officially sanctioned *Denkmal* lies at the heart of familial heritage, or everyday heritage in the form of memory and tradition, significance may be attributed to the building in question through the status it holds within the authorised discourses, the *Denkmalstatus*.
- 2) At the same time, the individual, personal form of heritage is also attributed value separately as well as simultaneously.

One example of this is represented in my conversation with Charlott, who inherited a manor house built in the early 1800s. What initially surfaced from our interview was that she seemed to attribute value to the house based on the high interest of both acquaintances and strangers expressing interest in purchasing it after her mother's death. This ties in with Lowenthal's theory that the possession of 'tangible history', which I here equated to historic buildings, structures or architectural features, "can enhance life and augment one's worth", as well as serve as a way of personal validation (Lowenthal in Harvey 2000, 2). The building is something in her possession which is externally valuable or sought-after and over which she holds power. Further, it was imbued with statements of significance from the *Landesdenkmalamt* through their former assessment of its value and worthiness for preservation, which Charlott frequently referred to during our conversation. Her attachment to the house was partially shaped by external interests in its historical prestige, as well as her

longstanding role as its steward and safeguard. As such, the building itself also became a means of asserting her power and social status.

She also took pride in a “family secret” which she disclosed to me under the confidence of anonymity, namely that she had had the house officially deregistered from the *Denkmalschutzamt*’s heritage list several years ago – “but no one knows about it because we have kept it from everyone so well. From the outside it looks just like it always has. Old and stately ... and just worthy of our family legacy, you know?”. While having made major transformations to the house’s interior, modernising it and making it accessible for one of their disabled family members, Charlott and her family had publicly maintained the ‘facade’ of living in an officially sanctioned (and therefore externally valued) home. Maintaining the public illusion of the house as an officially sanctioned heritage site, enabled them to further leverage the social and cultural capital associated with it.

They also strongly advocate against making obvious changes to the villa’s exterior because “while the world around us will change, as will our family, this place will always stay the same for everyone to see”. This continuity was essential to maintaining the image and identity she projected to the outside world, with the house serving as tangible evidence for her family’s perceived greatness and stability. It seems that Charlott’s attribution of significance to the continuity of the house lay not only in the high familial status she desired to portray to the public but also in the stability that it evoked “it will always be the way it was”, laughing that “if my great-great-grandfather was to rise from his grave tomorrow, he would feel right at home again”. This statement in particular reflects an overarching idea of the house as a static anchor in an ever-changing world.

Giving me a tour of her home, she directly led me to all the things that had not changed, presenting a range of heirlooms and memorabilia as well as ancestral portraits, prominently on display in key points of the house. Charlott also explained her staying true to certain family traditions, such as having their weekly *Kaffeestunde* with their maintenance staff “at the same day and time each week for the past two centuries” and “serving them coffee and cake only on our finest silverware” – then pointing out the family crest embossed on the plates. This ritualistic adherence to tradition further embedded her everyday heritage in a sense of continuity and unbroken familial legacy. Nonetheless, these traditions were highly curated by Charlott, demonstrating the selectiveness with which she upheld certain (performative) elements of her familial heritage while adapting or dismissing others.

I found it particularly interesting that she created a sense of heritage with certain audiences in mind. Through withholding information from both the public and her inner circle, she held firm control over her personal and wider familial narrative. In choosing

which aspects of ‘her’ everyday heritage to present and which ones not to share, Charlott also confirmed and continuously consolidated ‘her’ everyday heritage. Furthermore, those elements presented to the wider public were heavily informed by authorised notions of officially valued heritage – also hiding the fact that the house no longer held any *Denkmalstatus*. On a different level, Charlott had also created her own form of everyday heritage, one that was strictly removed from any authorised conceptions of heritage, namely the recollections of familial greatness and legacy as stored in and evoked by heirlooms and paintings, and the continuity of a tradition that had stemmed from the time of deeply established feudalism in Western and Central Europe. These she shared more widely with members of her staff, acquaintances, or even strangers such as me visiting her home.

Charlott’s case study also shows how individuals may manipulate and curate the expression and experience of ‘their’ heritage, presenting certain aspects of it for external validation while keeping other elements hidden or transformed for personal reasons. Here, the malleability of heritage as part of everyday life becomes particularly evident. Navigating between the official and personal, public perceptions and private realities, Charlott continually reshapes what heritage means in her specific context. This dynamic relationship between individual agency and authorised heritage reflects how people can actively reinterpret and manipulate heritage to suit their identities and personal needs.

Moreover, the participant’s deep sense of pride in her family history suggests a background rooted in an aristocratic or upper-class milieu, where heritage and status are closely intertwined. Her emphasis on external perception, namely preserving the house’s facade while modernising the interior – also showcases her keenness on maintaining a public image by upholding certain values and expectations associated with her family’s social standing. As such, the secrecy surrounding the *Denkmal* status of Charlott’s home reflects an interesting combination of both rebellion and conformity.

On one hand, having her home removed from the *Denkmalschutzamt*’s heritage list demonstrates her desire for personal autonomy. On the other, her insistence on maintaining an AHDs-based exterior reflects the adherence to a particular set of perceptions, linked to the traditional image of wealth and historic familial status that she feels necessary to uphold in the public eye. This duality suggests that Charlott is navigating two identities and approaches to everyday heritage creation that are rooted in both personal freedom of expression and external validation. This is shaped by a need for continuity and stability, as is seen in her attachment to family traditions (i.e. the weekly *Kaffeestunde*) and its heirlooms and portraits. It is also influenced heavily by the participant’s social background. Her engagement with home as a reflection of continuity, change, and control emphasises how

everyday heritage can be complex and contradictory at times, shaped both by individual preferences and wider societal expectations.

Sense of Place or Place Attachment

Above, I outlined communal everyday heritage significance as firmly rooted in the notion of 'sense of place'. While this phenomenon was also evident in personal forms of everyday heritage (n=6) as seen in the interviews, it is less an overarching theme within these individual accounts and expressions of heritage. Most participants spoke about the importance of place in light of its (perceived) wider relevance which presented itself in statements such as "living in an old, former Free Imperial City immensely resonates with me" (Olaf) or "I enjoy being part of the bigger history of my town, and like my forefathers before me, I will remain here forever and contribute to it while I can" (Marie-Luise).

Heike, for example, expressed her attachment to place as being grounded in an overregional, even international significance, focusing particularly on atmosphere and historicity: "I have always yearned to live in a town like this, where there is a deep sense of past and serenity, but where I also feel that I am part of the bigger picture, you know? One of our neighbours down the street is practically related to Dutch and English royalty." Such emphasis on being part of broader European history suggests that she places value on such connections to a more international, historically significant community. In doing so, Heike intertwines her narrative and sense of identity with elements suggesting a certain cultural prestige. Her sense of place appeared to centre around possibilities and historical (past and future) relationships: "There is still so much modern history-making going on ... us trying to build a better relationship – friendship – with France. Straßburg is around the corner, as the capital of Europe." As such, Heike's sense of place is shaped not only by the notion of historical importance, but also by her desire to belong to something larger than herself, namely a place of continued relevance to European history. Her statements reflect not merely a nostalgic or romantic perception of the past, but the notion of wanting to become part of a place of overarching (transnational) significance.

Others, such as Sabie, appeared to construct a sense of place around their appreciation for the overall heritage, even 'lineage' of their hometown: "This town and this area, they have deep roots and I like to think that, although I do not hold an imposing family name or a long history, I can be part of it all. There are things going on beyond my humble, little life, and I am right beside it all." Sabie's statement suggests modesty and humility but also the wish to be connected to a history that transcends her individual narrative. In a way,

her construction of everyday heritage is rooted in aspirational thinking, wanting to be connected to and validated by a larger collective history and heritage.

Here, place appears to be significant because participants feel that they may contribute to the palimpsest of past, present, and future engagements with place simply by living in and engaging with its historical environment and town community: "Living in this house and in this neighbourhood, which feel and look so old, where there is a sense of kinship among the townsfolk, it gives me the feeling that I, too, am part of it. I am contributing to this long history of the people who have lived here and created a very specific idea of community and what it means to be a Malterdinger." (Ralf) Ralf's statement suggests a sense of pride in being part of an inherited community. However, this pride is not based on individual achievements but on a kind of collective narrative and communal heritage. His use of the word "kinship" indicates that his identity and sense of place is heavily influenced by the relationships he has formed within the town community. By living in a historically significant space, Ralf seems to believe that he, too, may inherit a certain legacy and heritage that is rooted in place, allowing for communal recognition and acceptance as a 'true' Malterdinger.

These expressions all appeared to feed into broader personal narratives, but less so into concrete practices of everyday heritage that I had observed with other participants (for example as discussed above). Place attachment seemed to be vocalised mostly through metaphorical statements such as "I am so firmly anchored in this village, I could never leave" (Anne). Such expressions further hint at place attachment being formed due to a desire for stability or even underlying fear of displacement. The participants' sense of self here seems closely interwoven with the physical space they inhabit. Attachment to place, here, is not merely nostalgic or sentimental. Instead, it is deeply intertwined with people's understanding of identity, often anchored in or catalysed by their individual (social) backgrounds and life experiences, which often seem to have instilled in them a need for permanence and rootedness in the world.

Whereas the value and significance of sense of place in communal heritages were closely linked to the creation of everyday heritage, it was mostly not the case in individual-personal expressions. In only four instances, participants (i.e. Charlott, Marie-Luise, Claudia, Henry) attributed particular significance to 'their' everyday heritage due to rootedness in place.

Marie-Luise, for example, was born in Knittlingen and grew up in what she perceived as "a modern childhood home", the "looks and feel of which [she] utterly despised". During our interview, she explained that due to her local upbringing and personal interests, she considered herself "fundamentally a part of the town and its past". As

I will detail in the *Sharing Everyday Heritage* section below, Marie-Luise got interested in local food heritage during her teenage years and has been committed to its upkeep via a range of volunteering engagements ever since. Because of this, she considered herself “rooted in our communal traditions” and particularly stressed how she was “at home in our past” numerous times throughout our conversation. Without being prompted, she explained that during her teenage years and throughout her early 20s, she felt that her perception of being “intricately interwoven with the town” did not match the way she was living. Therefore, Marie-Luise chuckled, she had urged her husband to move into a traditional local half-timbered house together after they got married. “It was, essentially, my doing and my choice and so I decided that we needed to relocate to this beautiful house which is exemplary of the local architectural and artistic craftsmanship”. The architectural-artistic significance of her home is also noted in the respective *Historische Ortsanalyse*. This move to a locally representative house was a conscious one, as she considers herself a “truthful Knittlinger” and wanted to further affirm this through a home that was as typically and strongly *of* the town as she was herself. In doing so, Marie-Luise cemented her sense of place in this attachment to a local traditional building that she considered “almost an extension of myself. [...] In living here I truly feel part of our community and our past. Ever since we moved into this home, I really believe that I deserve to belong here [i.e. to Knittlingen]”.

Her background, rooted in a local upbringing and a commitment to preserving regional traditions, is central to shaping her perception of heritage as something she may both actively embody and contribute to. Marie-Luise’s move reflects a symbolic act of anchoring herself in the town’s architectural and cultural heritage. In living in a home that she deems representative of Knittlingen’s identity, she not only seeks to affirm her individual perception of heritage, but also cements her place and role in the community’s broader historical narrative. Her creation and attachment to heritage is thus deeply linked to place and physical, mainly architectural representations of local identity.

In a different vein, Henry’s case was particularly fascinating because he was part of the *Sudetendeutsche* diaspora and attributed significance to place based on where he originated from as opposed to where he currently lived – and had done so for the majority of his life at the point of interviewing. His form of everyday heritage rested in his recollections of the journey he and his family had taken (“The journey was a memorable experience for us children”), but also in continuously reconnecting with a place he had not physically been present in for many years and that he had only sporadically visited during his lifetime. He also admitted that, back in the day, “we [the children] did not feel the tragedy that way”, reflecting on the changes in attitude towards the relocation he had felt over time. While it

originally had merely been an adventure of sorts, remembering and sharing his experiences, knowledge, and research about *Sudetenland*, his birthplace and lineage became Henry's passion and a firm part of his identity later in life. This further demonstrates how place attachment may go beyond physical presence and how a sense of place can be actively constructed through memory, diaspora identity, and maintaining a connection to ancestral history. Henry's everyday heritage is mainly created from memory and imagination, which is central to upholding his sense of cultural identity even in the absence of direct and frequent experiences of his homeland.

Claudia also presented an interesting case: From our conversation emerged that she had grown up in a regional orphanage and that much of her identity is built on and derived from a wider sense of belonging, first and foremost, to the region. She explicitly voiced this during the interview, but also continued to define herself by using local terminologies of regional affiliation; this was evident from the frequent use of "Schwarzwälder" (someone originating from the Black Forest area) or "Badner" (a person from the Alemannic-speaking region of Baden) rather than referring to "Königsfelder" (from the town of Königsfeld). Moreover, it seemed that Claudia's place attachment not only stemmed from feelings of regional belonging but was consciously and deliberately constructed on several levels of place. For instance, she told me that she had purchased a "very history-ridden home" which had been inhabited by the same large landowner family since the mid-18th century. During our conversation, she frequently emphasised the desire for "true belonging" (although this always remained very abstract) and her hopes for being part of a past, a heritage that exceeded her personal boundaries: "I was not born into this home and I have no relationship to its former owners, but somehow I am bound in spirit to its past."

In line with this, Claudia also voiced that from this continued inhabitation and upkeep of 'familial' traditions – albeit those are, strictly speaking, not hers – she extracts a deep sense of "having found [her] place and, in turn, [herself]". When showing me around her home, she particularly pointed out objects that had belonged to the house's former owners, as Claudia had put some of their remaining family portraits and possessions on display. It almost seemed as if these were part of her familial past, as if she truly belonged. Her attachment to place is rooted in this idea of (invented) continuity and the construction of an identity borne from a desire to belong and be "anchored in a known past". Everyday heritage, here, is shown in Claudia's sort-of cuckoo behaviour, in deriving a greater sense of personal past and history (partially) from someone else's, and in building a relationship with her home's former owners through their simultaneous absence and presence.

The participant's background, as someone whose upbringing in an orphanage deprived her of the experience of familial continuity, may explain her desire to take root and create a sense of self within the house's past. As such, the materiality of the home's past, found in the portraits, objects, and trinkets left behind by its former owners, may serve as a tangible means for Claudia's own self-creation. This further shows how everyday heritage may be anchored in performative acts of appropriation and sense of place.

In this instance, sense of place is rooted both in Claudia's fundamentally regional identity (being a Schwarzwälder, a Badner) and in her attachment to a specific idea of home. The latter appeared to primarily revolve around the house's unauthorised, familial past and its material markers, such as photographs and random trinkets. This presumption is based on the quantities of objects shown to me, but also in the immediacy with which this was done – and that she happily presented and thoroughly discussed the former owner's belongings before showing her own. Throughout our conversation, I kept wondering whether and how someone could find 'true' belonging in a place that appeared to still be home to and loudly echo the lives of total strangers.

On the Significance of Pastness in Everyday Heritage

Within everyday heritage, as seen in my case studies, there is a shift from attributing significance to authenticity towards valuing something resembling Holtorf's proposition of pastness (see Foster and Jones 2019; Holtorf 2013). He argues that this concept may be understood and approached in two ways: pastness may "result from a credible determination of the age of an object's material construction or manufacture", but it may as well be derived from "other perceptions or experiences" (Holtorf 2013, 431). The latter leaves room for interpretation and open-minded exploration, which I attempted to do in this work.

Holtorf's conceptualisation is based on an assessment of people's relationships with historic environments, the latter of which appears to be rooted in the authorised discourses. It presupposes that individuals 'meaningfully' engage with their surroundings, which assumes that people innately attribute significance to heritage environments. While, at first glance, this may primarily be related to the authorised discourses, it applies to notions of 'sense of place' in everyday heritage contexts as well, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Moving away from the strict focus on places and spaces, it is generally argued that "pastness requires material clues" (Holtorf 2013, 432) and that "touch and patina are deemed to contribute to authenticity" (Foster and Jones 2019, 9; see also Douglas-Jones et al. 2016), which may not always be the case within expressions of everyday heritage. Of course, many mostly immaterial practices or memories are nonetheless tied to or elicited by a physical

anchor; for example, Henry stored and communicated his experiences and memories linked to diaspora and identity via the reports and scraps of information stored in binders, charts, and photographs. Similarly, Nils felt reminded of his father by the presence of the grandfather clock in his home, which sparked new family rituals of maintenance and remembrance. From the majority of my interviews (n=37) surfaced a clear notion of the significance of memory and pastness, but also in having tangible connections with it, for example by feeling, smelling, touching, and visually connecting with the past in the present.

The value of pastness or something 'being of the past' has surfaced in every interview. In the same breath, however, participants often indicated that this element of the past being carried over into and taking hold in the present through their engagements with its physical markers was what provided its right to exist. Not only did this feeling of pastness enable and encourage such everyday heritage to be a meaningful part of their lives, but it simultaneously eliminated any conscious doubt as to whether this unofficial expression of heritage had the right to exist as such. The strong sense of an object, memory, architectural element, photograph, idea, habit, building, heirloom, tradition, or place being 'of the past' – no matter how distant – immediately and undoubtedly allowed for its unwavering presence in people's lives and engagements.

This idea of pastness is central to how many participants perceive 'their' everyday heritage as meaningful; it is not just the past *as it was* that matters, but the active way in which it remains in their lives, in the form of physical markers. People's strong feelings about such tangible and emotional continuity between past, present, and future reflect not only a connection to individual, familial, or communal history but also a sense of responsibility for maintaining these links as part of their personal narratives.

When I asked Claudia, for example, about her displaying photographs and trinkets of her home's former owners, she said: "Well of course I keep them around. These things are from the past and they belong to the past. They are the history of this place and so I would never dare to remove them!" As discussed earlier in this chapter, her expressions and creation of everyday heritage are likely rooted in her upbringing and childhood in a regional orphanage. The careful preservation of these objects and their role in shaping her sense of identity and belonging suggest that Claudia may use pastness as a means of grounding herself. Through these practices, she creates a sense of inherited continuity that may compensate for the lack of her own familial history.

Similarly, the upkeep of longstanding traditions as seen in Charlott's hosting of the *Kaffeestunde* discussed earlier is also anchored in the sense of pastness it evokes: "I celebrate it because I want to honour our past. This is how we have handled things in our family for

more than two hundred years... It stands for our values and steadfastness and so I intend to continue this tradition until my bitter end." From Charlott's explanations, it appeared that pastness was felt not only in the continued upkeep of a certain practice but also in the materiality and use of the original silverware.

Whereas participants frequently wondered about the authenticity and, therefore, *raison d'être* or value of particular official heritage buildings or *Denkmale* – as well as the policies and practices associated with it, everyday heritage would not similarly be challenged and debated in our interviews. Instead, people would strongly feel towards the relevance or value of 'their' everyday heritage based on notions of pastness, which have been expressed in most instances as something being 'from the past' or reminding people of 'something or someone in the past' (n=21).

There was only one instance in which this was not the case: When I asked Alexander about his thoughts on the past of his house, he said: "Honestly, I don't even think this house is really *from* the past. Because I live in it now, and things change every once in a while, and as long as I am not standing on the outside, looking at a dead thing, a museum piece, I don't think it is a historic object." When I stated that, technically, his home was an officially listed historic building, he countered: "Maybe, but to me, a thing must be frozen in time to be a part of the past. Or at least it cannot be used anymore, in a way." When analysing these implicit statements after our conversation, my mind drew connections to the practices of the local authorised discourses: In his definition of past and pastness, Alexander referred to 'museum pieces' and the perspective of an outsider 'looking onto' a thing frozen in time.

This made me think of the strict preservation of original material fabric and the issue of surface-heritagisation brought up by other participants (discussed in chapters 6 and 7) which were reflective of the practices and policies of Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz*. As outlined in the previous chapter, authorised debates argue that the materiality of the original fabric of heritage is constitutive of its authenticity and significance. *Denkmale* may, hence, be considered frozen in time in conserving their original building materials. While such preservation practices are deemed important and beneficial within the local AHDs, Alexander strongly argued against tangible heritage being conserved in this way. To him, this was not positive, meaningful, or valuable. Instead, such material evidence evoking ideas of the past or feelings of pastness was equated to alienation in that it conjured images of 'standing on the outside'. Further, Alexander deemed that such presentations of heritage and the past were unrelated to him because of their distant and lifeless nature, firmly anchored in its mirroring of 'the past'.

Further, his referrals to the continuity of use as indicative not of the past but of an ongoing present were particularly interesting. In Alexander's case, pastness was connected to notions of discontinuity and even death in the present. To him, the past surfaced only once people's engagement with a place or object ceased: "On your way here, did you walk past the old farmhouse near the river? [...] One and a half years ago, Mr Wenger lived here, he was an old, friendly man. [...] Anyway, he passed and the house stood empty and crumbled, more and more. The more it deteriorates and is this lifeless thing, the more it becomes the past to me." This mirrors the arguments on pastness outlined above, as notions of the past are evoked by material clues (see Holtorf 2013) and patina or signs of wear (see Douglas-Jones et al. 2016; Foster and Jones 2019). In its deterioration, this house increasingly looks like it belongs to the past which Alexander connotes as something lifeless and dead.

Memory in particular seemed to be what kept the past at bay, what kept places alive: "It's not just because [the house] is old and dilapidated, but there are no fresh memories to be made." Alexander argued against the past as central to his daily engagement with heritage. To him, continuous meaning-making and memory creation were crucial in maintaining an ongoing present. As opposed to most other participants, it seemed that Alexander did not think about his home in terms of past-present-future. To him "memories are for the living and the things that are alive and in the present... they are not for the past".

Sharing Everyday Heritage and How it Relates to (In)Significance

As suggested in the preceding chapter, authenticity and significance are often closely interlinked in officially sanctioned heritages, whereas everyday heritage may centre around internal and external acceptance instead.

There is certainly some element of truth in this for communal forms of everyday heritage as seen during my data collection: the sole purpose and objective of, for example, *Heimatverein* initiatives and heritage festivals is to share recollections of the past with the community in the present, and for members of this community to communicate their ideas, memories, emotions, and knowledge among each other. In this sense, sharing some forms of communal, non-authorised heritage within the wider social group seeks to verify and gain approval or endorsement from other members of the in-group, amplifying the significance of heritage in the process. This form of creating and attributing significance to non-authorised heritage in everyday life is anchored in internal and – particularly – external acceptance and approval of significance. This is gained by sharing and communicating certain values and associations among peers. This was also evident from my interviews and observations, as several interviewees (n=7) positively referred to large numbers of visitors and participants in

such local festivities, further affirming that this “strengthened the idea of our village community and shared local history” (David). This focus on external acceptance suggests that, in these communal settings, heritage is not valued merely for its intrinsic historical qualities but for its capacity to foster group cohesion and identity. Local news outlets and online presences of the *Heimatvereine* organising such initiatives also focused on listing the number of participants and contributors, as well as the range of activities offered (read, for example, Heimatverein Mosbach 2022; Herrmann 2020; Historischer Verein Schutterwald 2020; Kleiner and Köhler 2019; Maier 2023; Mühlacker Tagblatt 2023; Santo 2018).

In these instances, non-authorised, communal (and only somewhat tangentially everyday) heritage is deemed more significant the more people agree with and share it within their wider community. While this appears true for the specific communal-oriented examples analysed here, it may not always be the case within everyday heritage overall. In a sense, everyday heritage(s) as presented in this thesis simultaneously constitute a private and secret thing for some, and require wider acknowledgement of its value for others. In embracing and celebrating communally overarching significance through these festivities, it appeared that any expression of insignificance and dismissal of this shared heritage was avoided. In these festivities alone, the relevance and importance of heritage to everyone were celebrated – as opposed to mentioning practices or individual local figures or stories that did not conform to this generalised attribution of value and shared significance.

On a more individual level of everyday heritage sits an interplay between value stemming from personal attribution of significance to heritage and the fundamentally human desire to share what is important to us with others. In most interviews and case studies (n=36), I was shown around people’s homes and homesteads, being presented with a range of objects which held deep personal significance to the participants (for example Charlott mentioned above). Another interviewee, Helga had placed her heritage objects (particularly heirlooms) on very prominent display in the hallway of her home – “so that every person entering my house would immediately see them”. This indicates the need for external recognition and validation of the significance of these items. Such externalising of personal, everyday heritage reflects a deeper human desire for connection and acknowledgement. Here, participants such as Helga derive meaning from ‘their’ heritage not only in private acts of engagement (e.g. touching objects or cleaning photographs), but also in those public acts of display, through which this heritage can be seen and shared.

Some elements exhibited served as memorials or testimonies to bygone people. In these cases, value was especially derived internally by personal practices of remembrance, such as touching and cleaning photographs, lighting candles next to them, or even offering

little gifts, including flowers from the garden and stones, or shells the participants deemed particularly beautiful. Such gift-giving was practised by a few interviewees, including Albert, Rudolf, Beate, David, Erika, and Maria. It presents an intimate form of ritualisation – acts of remembrance and care that may be interpreted as a kind of continued dialogue with the past. These do not rely on external validation, but on the ongoing performative relationship upheld by individuals, although it cannot be fully dismissed that such practices may be further elevated by external acknowledgement.

On an individual, yet communally oriented level, Marie-Luise firmly anchored ‘her’ everyday heritage in practices of the local food heritage and culture. She first did so within the confines of her own *Denkmal* home and later expanded this in the scope of her day job at a historic tavern. Later in life, she also organised “cultural meetings with the elderly” to talk about local food culture. First and foremost, Marie-Luise perceived this part of her own heritage, given that she was practising and sharing it with the wider local community, but also attributed to it a larger, overarching sense of importance for communal identity: “I see myself as a messenger of our local heritage, maybe even as a steward of community knowledge” As such, she considered her everyday heritage engagements “a service to the local town community” which she derives great personal meaning from. Marie-Luise also emphasised this by proudly showing me the award letters which commended her commitment to the town’s heritage. Here, personal fulfilment and communal validation are closely intertwined, as she considers this external recognition to further amplify the significance of her everyday heritage practices.

Another participant, Christian, and his wife had bought an abandoned listed tavern and renovated it: “We are obviously no longer using the old tavern for what it was, but we still want to give something back to the town and our community. Because it was a place where people would meet and chat and be together as Malterdinger, we wanted to create a space where communality could still happen... even though we converted most of the place into our family home.” He attributes significance to this everyday heritage not only in the sharing of a space to foster communal togetherness but also in enabling a certain continuity in “feel and function”: “We felt that the cellar would work best because there is this atmosphere of closeness and togetherness. I mean... maybe this comes from it being more or less confined [laughs], but my wife and I felt that we could build on that. Now we host local wine tastings and culture or cuisine nights, and we make sure that everyone is welcome to be together and experience and build on the past. In this way, it also feels that nothing has changed from how it was, really.” When asked how they felt about mixing family and community by opening up some of their private spaces to the public, Christian said: “It feels

good and also takes away some of the guilt that I used to feel. When we bought the house, it still was an abandoned tavern, but because of its history and its role as a place for gathering and sharing, we felt bad about simply eradicating its past. For a while, I even contemplated remodelling only the upper storeys of the house to live there with the family, and then opening up the tavern again, but I am not an inn-keeper [laughs] ... although it would be fun to give it a try.” Like Marie-Luise, Christian and his wife extend their individual interests and engagements with the past to include members of the local community. They do so by building on local food heritage but also the atmosphere and pastness of the renovated space. This further ties into my previous discussion of the unauthorised nature of replicas and renovations and how these may be viewed and contextualised beyond the dominant debates on authenticity within the AHDs (see chapter 7). Based on the information obtained on the building from the relevant *Historische Ortsanalyse*, the restorative measures are not relevant to the local *Denkmalschutz* and are, thus, not mentioned in the report; instead, value is ascribed to the building based on the architectural elements of its exterior. Although the renovation of the tavern and the shared practices that are now part of Christian’s everyday heritage are not mediated and valued by the local AHDs, they appear immensely significant on an individual and small-scale communal level.

In chapter 7, I contextualised my exploration of the authenticity and significance of everyday, unauthorised heritage within the works of Jones (2009) and Foster and Jones (2019). Christian considered his everyday heritage (practices) not only valuable on a personal but also a communal level. He derives comfort and meaning from the continuity of performative actions, for example in hosting, but also in the renovation process itself, as he referred to it as “cathartic, seeing the old tavern slowly come to life again – and through my own two hands!”. During the interview, he voiced awareness that the tavern “merely resembles the past” (being a “renovated almost-replica on the inside”). However, this did not diminish his value and perception of it: Christian attributes particular significance to the creation of a space which fosters the gradual building of shared experience; this has also been deemed relevant in the debate on the significance and material authenticity of replicas by Foster and Jones (2019; see also my discussion on this in the previous chapter). Here again, value is not inherent in the *Denkmal* fabric itself. In enabling the resurrection of a space that used to bring together the local town community – and now continues to do so – it elevates and re-makes the meaning of Christian’s everyday heritage.

Other practices of sharing everyday heritage were executed more deliberately and communally within families: Helga, whose family tradition of reusing and adapting historic elements of their home I discussed in chapter 7, attributed particular significance to the

procedure of documenting the renovation processes in binders and photo albums. More importantly, however, this served as a material anchor from which the entire family would derive significance – “every few years or so we would get together to remember the progress”, dwell in memories and revisit “how things changed and where we came from”. Helga ascribed particular value to this notion of a shared tradition, in which everyone could see where and how they had “contributed to the physical legacy of our lineage.” The emphasis on contribution – every family member adding to the physical expression of their shared heritage – suggests that the significance attributed to this heritage is reinforced through collective memory and participation. Helga’s case shows how physical spaces can become embodied representations of everyday, familial heritage. The boundaries between past and present are blurred through the continual adaptation of the home, as each generation physically contributes to the tangible manifestation of a shared sense of identity and belonging. In doing so, this form of everyday heritage is both lived and performed, anchored in being continuously engaged with. The documentation of different stages of renovation and adaptation serve as an evolving narrative and physical manifestation of the process. This collective engagement reflects the overarching notion of (everyday) heritage as a performative and dynamic act, where meaning is created through interaction, renegotiation, and reflection rather than mere inheritance.

On this note, I would like to revisit the case of Henry, whose everyday heritage of genealogical research and sharing his knowledge on Sudeten Germans with family, friends, and even the *Sudetendeutscher Verein* I had outlined in chapter 5. Talking about his heritage work in the context of wishing to share it with ‘professionals’, he would always refer to himself as an *Ahnenforscher* (transl.: genealogist); this label was predominantly used to communicate his role in this heritage to ‘outsiders’. When talking about his research, ideas, findings, feelings, and heritage with family members and close relatives, however, he did not use this term to refer to himself. To the outside world, this label attributes “a level of significance and professionalism” to his work and legacy. I theorise that this may stem from the need to be understood and have his efforts and personal narrative as well as experiences, acknowledged and validated by someone who may not know him well. Considering this, I wondered whether such attempts to ‘verify’ his heritage were not only oriented outwardly but also inwardly in the process.

In the familial spheres, this heritage seemed to be mainly validated by him and through the connection he experienced with his relatives, who are, in his mind, all part of this legacy, history, and narrative. Henry’s narrative, research and discoveries were shared with his family and friends as an almost irrevocable truth, only to be challenged or

expanded on by his colleagues at the *Vereinigung Sudetendeutscher Familienforscher*. Listening to his stories of how he collaborated with his peers, I strongly felt that this association served as a place to meet “kindred spirits” and as a vessel for collaboration to create more ‘authorised’ and ‘verified’ narratives of diaspora and shared trauma.

The Relationship Between Approval and Significance

Unlike these examples, however, I also encountered stories from participants who had put similar value and effort into communicating ‘their’ everyday heritage to others, but who were less ‘successful’ in creating similar shared understandings of significance. It is important to note that there is a lot of diversity in the relationship between approval and (in)significance within everyday heritage. While some examples of these efforts for approval are very low-key, there are other examples where people explicitly strive for external, and often expert approval; my interview data indicated a lot of diversity in this regard.

Here, Henry’s case is an interesting one, again. As mentioned previously, he also sought to share the compiled information of his research with experts and institutions, such as the *Sudetendeutsches Museum* in Munich. Stating that he would ultimately “entrust [his] work in professional hands”, Henry suggested that this final sharing of his heritage and work would entail the last step in creating his legacy – ensuring its “expert preservation” and enabling further research in the future. In our conversation, however, he also expressed worries about not having put enough ‘scholarly effort’ or ‘accuracy’ into his genealogical studies and the written recollections of his experience with relocation and diaspora. Ultimately, Henry suggested that it would be entirely up to those professionals to validate or dismiss the ‘usefulness’ or ‘relevance’ of his work – and, by extension, heritage.

Although such worry of his everyday heritage and work being potentially dismissed by ‘experts’ was quite present during our conversation, it did not seem to diminish the strong feeling of importance and significance Henry ascribed to it on a low-key, personal, and everyday level. His concern of presenting ‘his’ heritage in a larger historical context emphasises the challenging nature of this study, and one may wonder whether this still constitutes everyday heritage. This particularly highlights the psychological-social slippery nature of non-authorised forms of heritage; this stems from people’s vastly differing motivations and engagements with the past.

There may be arguments for and against this practice being part of ‘true’ everyday heritage. In some way, Henry’s efforts for external, professional approval of his heritage and research findings move beyond the initial definition of everyday heritage as a mundane and individual practice. In his striving for authorised acknowledgement, the nature of his

heritage practice shifts from the predominantly personal and everyday to a bigger, even more officialised and professionally managed heritage. But where does the 'everyday' begin – and where does it transform into something else? One may contend that Henry's expression or 'performance' of heritage ceased to fit into the idea of everyday heritage the very minute it began to reach beyond the confinements of his home and his personal, mundane efforts of constructing and attributing significance to it on his own. Here, however, I wonder: Is it not still, at its very core, a personal and highly individual construct of heritage? While some of its overarching themes or narratives may fit into authorised notions of the *Sudetendeutsche* diaspora, not all of them had inherently been deemed significant from an official point of view. Its 'status' may shift in the process of gaining official approval and significance, as part of which the overall construct may (at least outwardly) constitute a heritage that is more or less removed from the everyday and individual.

Nonetheless, sharing his personal story strengthens his sense of identity and affirms the significance of his heritage, rather than transforming it into something that is no longer fundamentally everyday heritage. I argue for this due to the performative processes that lay at the heart of his heritage- and meaning-making: Henry continued to return to his home office, the archives, or, more infrequently, his birthplace to find information, to attribute meaning, and to make sense of who he was, where he came from, and how he felt connected to a larger community of like-minded people. Very fundamentally, he created 'his' heritage through actions of remembering, noting down, looking through photographs, and exchanging memories and stories with family and friends. These activities remain very much low-key and mundane, and are temporally an (almost) everyday task.

Henry also made constant efforts to communicate his research findings, memories, and feelings towards his studies and, by extension, his identity as a Sudeten German and *Heimatvertriebener* (transl.: expellee) to his family – whom he regarded an essential part of his personal and familial narrative. This, however, was frequently faced with disinterest, boredom, or even mild annoyance. One of his relatives told me: "his stories go on and on ... for hours, sometimes [...] but there is no way to leave the conversation". Despite his sharing of information coming to nought, Henry continued to communicate his thoughts and feelings. It seemed that he knew about his relatives' disinterest, but this did not diminish the importance he attributed to his narrative and heritage in any way. His experiences as an expellee likely heightened his sensitivity to the fragility of memory, creating an attitude towards heritage that is rooted in notions of survival, legacy, and a sense of personal obligation, regardless of external validation or acknowledgement.

From a few other conversations I held with participants arose similar stories – though on a much smaller scale. Anne, for example, remembered the death of her father and how the family had cleared out his home, only to have her brother loudly claim “this tattered beret my dad used to wear [...] well, lo and behold, he’s now wearing it every day too!”. According to her, he firmly stood against any of his relatives’ claim that he had not cared about the headgear in the past, that it did not suit him, and that it “was essentially worthless”, indicating that its insignificance to the others did not strip the item of the importance he attributed to it. Anne’s story initially seems to reflect a regular family squabble over a mundane object. Her framing of the story suggests that she saw the beret as unimportant. The retelling of her brother’s actions also carries a note of condescension or bemusement. However, this response may also indicate Anne’s discomfort with the dissonance arising from this situation. In presenting the different ways people may claim objects to validate their own relationships and engagements with the past, it shows the contested nature of everyday heritage even among smaller groups and families. This is especially interesting when viewed in the context of loss and sudden inheritance. It appears that the attachment to the beret shown by Anne’s brother is not only a matter of physically preserving it, but also a means of creating and maintaining a connection to his father that is tangible and rooted in daily life and ordinary clothing.

I was presented with a similar story by Hildegard, who relayed how her two sisters “[fought] almost to the death, by the looks of it” for an old painting that had been dear to their late mother. “It’s such an ugly piece, honestly, but I thought they would tear each other to pieces [...] and all because ma loved it so much”, she laughed. The painting ended up in one sister’s living room, though “it’s now subject to mockery by all of the extended family and friends”; Hildegard also rendered uncomprehending as to why her sister persisted in “defending its honour”. To the participant, the painting’s aesthetic or market value is practically non-existent. Hence, she cannot understand how someone may care for it despite its lack of inherent worth. However, similar to Anne’s case above, her sisters’ behaviour may reflect a deeper wish to engage with and create connections with the deceased.

In both instances, such seemingly trivial disputes over ordinary objects may allow for deeper insights into how such everyday heritage may be used to create relationships with the past, but also how it may conjure a certain dissonance. Both Anne’s brother and Hildegard’s sisters may be using these items to negotiate their identities within the family, despite being met with disapproval or a lack of understanding. In claiming them, they may further assert their roles as custodians of their ancestors’ memory. Though insignificant

overall, both beret and painting become tangible markers of everyday heritage that are deeply intertwined with individual identities and memories.

Hildegard's perspective may be shaped by a more pragmatic or detached approach to heritage, in which she evaluates objects based on their external value rather than their emotional resonance. Her sisters, on the other hand, seem to align with a notion of heritage that prioritises emotional connection and personal memory over objective value. Their conflict over the painting therefore mirrors broader debates within Heritage Studies about what constitutes 'significant' heritage and who gets to decide what is worth preserving.

Apart from such interpersonal disagreements on (in)significance, similar effects may be seen when everyday heritage (or some of its aspects) are confronted with authorised perspectives on valuation. Towards the end of all interviews where everyday expressions of heritage were somehow related to the authorised discourses (n=37), I told participants about the authorised *Denkmalstatus* of their 'heritage home'. I listed the official values associated with it, explaining why the authorities deemed their house significant – or why the *Denkmalschutzamt* did not yet consider them 'preservation-worthy'. I then asked about their opinions on these evaluations to see how they would react to these statements and categories. Would they relate to those evaluations? Would they dismiss them? How would interviewees react to assessments of insignificance, especially when it was a consequence of their own choices (for instance, renovation or restoration measures)?

As it turned out, most participants (n=32) were quite indifferent to these expert evaluations of (in)significance. Even more so, in 13 cases, homes had actually regained value and significance in the eyes of my participants after having been officially deregistered and taken off the *Denkmalliste* and, hence, devalued as heritage by the authorities (this has already been addressed in the previous chapter). While transitioning from one 'heritage state' to another constitutes a clear statement of insignificance within the AHDs, it actually results in increased significance from an everyday heritage standpoint.

Another 8 out of 19 interviewees outright declined the idea of having the official *Denkmalstatus* of their home 'upgraded' from an *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude* or *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall* to a 'real' *Kulturdenkmal* – "Their opinion of why this house is important is so incredibly far off our viewpoint. What's that going to do for us, having a new status and all?" (Christoph). The bottom line of these brief excursions into authorised versus everyday heritage valuation was that in no single instance would changes in authorised attributions of heritage value lead people to alter their perceptions on the (in)significance of 'their' everyday heritage or the tangible elements at its core.

All these examples show a remarkable stubbornness in people's valuation of 'their' individual everyday heritage. In all instances, some form of acceptance is sought through the wider sharing and communicating of the importance and notions linked to everyday expressions of heritage. Yet, even in those cases where participants strongly wished and sought to share thoughts and emotions connected to their heritage with loved ones (or the wider public), other people's (dis)approval ultimately turned out not to be all too relevant in their understanding and definition of significance.

Contrasting to this are more large-scale and communal-oriented forms of everyday heritage where the mere possibility of insignificance is disregarded whenever possible. Factoring into this seems to be a notion of who the respective 'audience' is – the significance of communal expressions of non-authorised heritage in everyday contexts is deeply anchored in shared knowledge or memories, local dialects, public figures and historic events, or former ways of life that were felt and lived by most people in the community. Because these (oftentimes nostalgic) ideas and recollections are communicated to like-minded people who deem them relatable, the mere process of sharing this heritage amplifies its significance. It is hardly a reflexive process, similar to the non-discursive understandings of authenticity outlined in the preceding chapter 7. However, it is central to the attribution of value in communal everyday heritage regardless.

With individual attributions of significance to everyday heritage, the audience appears to be less relevant which may explain why exclamations of insignificance by others may bear no consequences for its practice and valuation. While the majority of everyday expressions of heritage are in some way shared with others (n=28), they are created mainly from the self and internal-personal conceptions of identity and place in the world. As such, they seem less geared towards an audience and external acceptance.

Discussion: Value and Insignificance in Everyday Heritage

In light of the data collected, the relationship between value and insignificance in the context of everyday heritage presented in this thesis is a complicated one. Within the German authorised discourses, this is relatively clear: Heritage practitioners attribute value to *Denkmale* which are, therefore, considered significant and relevant to the general public. Once expert evaluations determine that certain values are no longer inherent in – or reflected by – said heritage, its status may be revoked. This culminates in an official statement that this (former) *Denkmal* is no longer deemed significant. Thus, as outlined previously in this work, the attribution or revocation of value and significance reflects a process of (un)becoming and (re)defining heritage. Moreover, the (in)significance of *Denkmale* is always

determined with an audience in mind (see chapters 3, 6, 7 and earlier in this chapter); this includes heritage experts, scientists, urban planners, 'the public', but also governments and other external stakeholders. In the context of everyday heritage discussed throughout this work, how (in)significance is attributed to and influences people's perceptions of heritage is less straightforward. This subsection will briefly explore this relationship by focusing on communal everyday heritage and individual everyday heritage as discussed in the previous pages of this chapter.

Within communal contexts, such as town-wide heritage events (in the form of anniversary celebrations) or initiatives executed by local *Heimatvereine*, value is constructed through shared practices that seek to evoke and create collective memories. Based on the information collected in this research, the overarching aim appears to be to gain approval and endorsement from the town's community. This amplifies the significance of the heritage presented, as these are substantiated by collective memory and recollection through the physical environments, objects, and practices at their centre. During some of the heritage festivals I attended, this was also partially grounded in reconstructions of 'ways of life' in the form of traditional feasting and drinking practices, dress, dancers in traditional costume, or parades and wedding processions. While such activities are not part of the daily life of individual members of these communities and are not commonly shared in the everyday, I argue their significance may, again, be contextualised within notions of pastness as discussed above. The objects and practices involved in these festivals and events conjure an overarching sense of past in creating links between materiality and memory. Here, again, the perception and relevance of materiality do not appear to correspond to that of the local authorised discourses, as little importance is attributed to the original fabric of the garments or feasting objects (cups, silverware, et cetera) – all clothes and objects used in festival activities were replicas, except for the traditional garb of folk dancers. Instead, significance is attributed to the evocation of links between the past and present through the reconstruction of the past. This closely relates to what Foster and Jones (2019, 7) had observed during their research on replicas: "For islander Malcolm, the value is that we're seeing what was there long ago". In partaking in these events, value would be attributed to memory and recollection through material markers of the past (whether or not 'authentic' or officially sanctioned). I also contend with Foster and Jones that "location and setting are also important considerations when considering the value [...] of a replica" (2019, 10). Local festivals took place in town centres that also constituted authorised *Gesamtanlagen* and thus presented a high degree of historical building fabric in the architecture that provided the setting for those celebrations. This constitutes yet another example of the intersections

between authorised and everyday heritages, as non-authorised expressions were set in previously sanctioned places and environments. Fundamentally, however, I suggest that locality will have aided the attribution of collective meaning to the (replicated) practices and objects that comprised these events.

Further, there is a deliberate avoidance of expressions of insignificance, as these events celebrate the relevance and importance of a shared heritage and past by highlighting only widely accepted narratives and practices. Which histories, objects, and activities are deemed relevant to the community is pre-determined and mediated through committees and organising bodies such as *Heimatvereine*. In avoiding contradictory, inconsistent, or individualised narratives, a shared significance of heritage is created as a means to strengthen communal identity and history. That local *Denkmalschutz* authorities place such identities, performances, and festivals beyond their definitions of heritage and significance is irrelevant. I contend that internal significance tops external insignificance.

Here, notions of insiderness-outsiderness appear to be a central, albeit not conscious, concern. The community and its individual members form their own, distinct ‘insider’ bubble, whereas external stakeholders (i.e. non-locals or *Denkmalschutz* authorities) are not considered due to their ‘outsider’ status. I argue for this subconscious divide based on my interview and observational data: During conversations with attendees of these events and celebrations, frequent referrals would be made to these festivals serving as “opportunities to celebrate our history”, or hosting events and activities “for ourselves”.

On an individual level, everyday heritage is deeply personal and individualistic, and significance is derived from personal memories, narratives, and practices of remembrance and the emotions this evokes. Objects such as heirlooms, trinkets, and photographs are often displayed prominently in homes and thus constitute an essential part of personal everyday heritage practices. While my data suggests that people wish to share their personal heritage with others, its dismissal or general disinterest by others does not appear to diminish the significance participants attribute to ‘their’ heritage. This indicates that such individual everyday heritage may be rooted more firmly in personal-internal validation instead.

Case studies emphasising this relationship between value and insignificance, for example, are those of Marie-Luise and Christian: Both extend their personal heritage practices and perceptions to include the wider town community. In doing so, they bridge individual and communal heritage, deriving personal meaning and significance from the idea of contributing to communal identity. Their practices of sharing heritage, such as hosting cultural or culinary meetings or renovating historic spaces for communal use, show how individual everyday heritage may be interwoven with community as well.

Interestingly, however, during our interviews both Marie-Luise and Christian did not talk about the reception of their 'everyday heritage'; whether or not this sharing of everyday heritage was considered significant by the community members it involved was simply irrelevant. From conversations with several individuals (n=12) from Marie-Luise's hometown arose that, generally, people considered her food heritage practices a 'lovely sentiment' and her strong connection to local history and heritage a 'quirk' rather than attributing it the same significance for communal cohesion and heritage that she did. From our interview, it seemed that Marie-Luise was not interested in gathering communal feedback and impressions on her everyday heritage practices, as she only ever described her perspective on its importance and wider relevance. Insignificance, therefore, was simply not a factor of consideration in the valuation of 'her' heritage; although it was certainly present in some members of the community.

Henry's case also emphasised this relationship between everyday heritage and value: His practices of heritage creation are based on internalised and independent attributions of significance (rooted in recollections of his childhood home, the journey to Germany, and his subsequent experience of life in diaspora) and the desire for external validation. Despite the deeply personal nature of his genealogical research – a key part of his everyday heritage – Henry seeks recognition and approval from professional institutions to ensure its legacy. Yet, concerns about the scholarly inaccuracy of his work and perception of the past frequently arise, emphasising the relevance and worry about the potential insignificance of his heritage and work. Further, his engagement with the past and his (familial) heritage is somewhat dismissed by his family members who do not ascribe similar value to it. Nonetheless, Henry's connection to his past and heritage, and especially his identity as a Sudeten German remains unwavering. This shows how insignificance may be a constant companion to everyday heritage, yet not diminish its value to the person at its core.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined how value and significance are attributed to heritage from an authorised and individual perspective. First, I reflected on the universal relevance of significance to heritage itself, contending that individuals, communities, and experts alike all ascribe meaning to the past in the present. However, how these statements of value are expressed differs fundamentally between the local AHDs and the people I interviewed.

To examine this, I presented the evaluatory processes of the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalenschutzamt* which centre around the categorisation of heritage based on specific factors of value. While this constitutes a core aspect of the German authorised discourses,

statements of significance are seldom clear. While the values attributed to listed buildings or places are often stated in *Historischen Ortsanalysen*, the reasonings behind their *Denkmal* status and relevance are not presented. Further, processes of official heritage evaluation and subsequent listing do not follow universal instructions. Instead, the assessment and sanctioning of *Denkmale* occur on an individual expert-by-expert basis. In line with this, I critically discussed the perceived objectivity of such evaluatory processes and contended that Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* is heavily informed by best practices.

Following this, I discussed the textual keyword analysis of the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* consulted in this work and how it informed my understanding of the range of values relevant in official evaluatory processes. It outlined age, rarity, scientificity, artistic and architectural style, craftsmanship, location and context, local or regional history, and historicity as key considerations. As discussed in previous chapters, I also identified the value of heritage to the public as central to the definition of heritage significance by the local AHDs. Moreover, I discussed how the *Denkmalschutz* as a representative of the authorised discourses puts substantial emphasis on how and why heritage is significant. It allocates equal relevance to whether or not heritage is *not* meaningful in their eyes and why it, therefore, does not serve the wider public. In the eyes of the German authorised discourses, *Denkmale* cease to exist and serve a public purpose once their status and significance are officially revoked. Therefore, in determining whether or not something *is* heritage and is, therefore, valuable, insignificance is an equally central factor of consideration. Yet, by omitting the simultaneous evaluation and importance of insignificance, the *Denkmalschutz* practices communicate and emphasise heritage and its values as something inherently positive.

Within everyday heritage, matters of (in)significance vary depending on whether or not the past is engaged with individually or communally. In the initiatives brought into being by local *Heimatvereine* discussed above, the main objective is to share memories, knowledge, and recollections of the past to create and maintain a 'sense of place' as well as connections within the local community. Such communal approaches to everyday heritage are more similar to the practices witnessed within the AHDs: In putting up signposts and emphasising local heritage as integral parts of the town's history and community, it becomes somewhat 'officialised' as well. This is also supported by the omnipresence of councils and boards in organising any of these festivities and *Heimatvereine*. As the interview data showed, members of these committees simultaneously locally serve as 'experts' who drive the initiatives to be presented as part of the celebrations by putting in the necessary research

and creating output to 'justify' their valuation and presentation of what constitutes local, everyday heritage and why.

This is somewhat different within individual expressions of everyday heritage: Although sharing the emotions and memories attached to personal heritage is often a central part of its creation and upkeep, its respective significance is somewhat separate from external value judgments. While the need for communicating its importance and emotional associations to smaller circles, including family members and close friends, may be strong, the significance of everyday heritage does not decrease when others do not attribute it (as much, or any) value. Generally, I contend that within the everyday heritages explored in this chapter and this thesis overall, insignificance is often relevant – albeit not constitutive – of the existence and value of the heritage in question.

From my analysis of the *Denkmalpflege* and the interviews on everyday heritage arose that both approaches to attributing significance majorly differ regarding temporality. Although the local authorised discourses have not defined a clear chronology on which evaluations of significance should be rested, its experts strongly value temporal distance and relationality in a historical context. Almost opposing to this is everyday heritage where such temporal distance is not always relevant. Here, linear chronologies are seldom considered important in creating and sharing individual forms of heritage.

I also thematised sense of place beyond its communal expressions: My primary data suggested that place attachment or an overarching sense of place was important and present for most individuals. However, only few linked it directly to concrete practices or engagements with 'their' everyday heritage. Overall, sense of place appeared to substantiate wider personal narratives of rootedness. Place seemed relevant primarily in contextualising the importance of the town's history or its (inter)regional or even (inter)national relevance.

In this chapter, I suggested that everyday heritage sits at the centre of an intricately woven web of (in)significance, where clashing or conflicting ideas of value and relevance rarely interfere with each other. Individual heritages may exist even in the absence of a wider attribution of significance – even from those in a person's closest circle of family and friends. This challenges, for example, Poullos' essentialised notion of heritage as being inherently relevant to a majority of people in a given group or circle. In doing so, these findings affirm why the everyday heritages explored and outlined in this work do not neatly fit into existing approaches and concepts on unauthorised heritages, such as the living heritage approach. As such, this assessment of the differing perceptions of heritage value and significance is central to my expansion of the idea of everyday heritage.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this dissertation, I examined how people living in heritage-dense (and thus AHDs-controlled) environments construct meaning and non-authorised forms of heritage in their daily lives. How do ordinary people form heritage in these surroundings and to what degree does the material vessel of (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* impact these forms of heritage-making?

This chapter will outline everyday heritage as explored and encountered in this work. I first address the dominant themes that emerged from this research, namely memory, authenticity and materiality, the relationship between (in)significance and approval, pastness, narrative and identity, place attachment, and how sharing is essential in everyday heritage formation. Further, I discuss everyday heritage in its intersections with the local AHDs and address its inclusion in public discourses. Lastly, this chapter outlines the significance of this research and how it contributed to filling gaps in knowledge and understanding. Here, I also comment on the expansion of existing conceptualisations of everyday heritage.

Everyday Heritage in the Context of this Work

Attributions of (in)significance, pastness, narrative, and identity are central to the creation and expression of everyday heritage. These resonate with key discussions and concepts outlined in chapter 2 which form the theoretical framework of this research. For instance, the concept of 'pastness' as articulated by Holtorf (2013) informs the distinction between authorised material authenticity and the subjective experience of the past emerging from personal engagements with it, thus highlighting the divergence in how differently heritage may be perceived and valued. In addition to summarising the typical processes of everyday heritage formation below, I will also discuss how this research may be useful for turning the spotlight on individual-personal understandings of authorised heritages, but also how this may have impacted the delineation of everyday heritage in this study.

Everyday heritage is (per)formed and expressed in continuous processes of remaking, loss, renegotiation, and subconscious attributions of (in)significance. This notion of subjectiveness and ongoing change to both the nature and valuation of everyday heritage stands in oftentimes polar opposition to the static preservationism promoted by the Authorised Heritage Discourses (see Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996; Holtorf 2013), especially the

German *Denkmalschutz*. Their objectives in practice and policy run along the lines of “Erfassen – Erkennen – Erhalten” (i.e. Record – Preserve – Conserve; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012), implying that heritage should be protected from loss and destruction. It further paints heritage as a fixed and stable entity rather than as something that exists as part of an ever-changing world. As discussed earlier in this dissertation, such notions have been criticised by various scholars, including Harrison (2013) who asserted that heritage must be understood in relation to its wider socio-political landscape and Holtorf who argued that “cultural heritage is the continuous manifestation of change over time not its victim” (2015, 417; see also Holtorf 2018). Yet, the *Denkmalschutz* maxim presented above is representative of the Authorised Heritage Discourses’ materialist approaches which have been criticised, among others, by Smith (2006; see also Smith and Waterton 2009). In chapter 2, I discussed how heritage should be understood as an active, embodied process rather than a static object (following Harrison 2015; Lowenthal 1996; Smith 2021; Wetherell 2012 for example), especially considering this exploration of everyday heritage.

The authorised evaluatory processes of the *Denkmalschutz* often reduce heritage to material properties such as age or architectural exemplariness. This follows a common trend in authorised managerial practice and has been criticised by a range of scholars (for example, Araoz 2011; Avrami and Mason 2019; Carman 2002; Smith and Campbell 2015). Brought forward in chapter 8, the German authorised discourses follow a universal evaluatory process in which certain values and criteria inform the attribution of significance to official heritage. Whenever some of these characteristics and values are no longer met, this heritage may also lose its significance and become devalued by being taken off the *Denkmalliste* or having its official *Denkmalstatus* changed to a ‘lesser’ one. While such authorised evaluations of significance may appear more or less holistic, I contend that they may actually be more reliant on individual factors of significance as informed by best practice. As has been observed and overheard during my data collection and interviews and further confirmed by a range of policy papers and reports (as seen in chapters 7 and 8), there is a frequent and moderately realistic chance that officially sanctioned heritage may indeed lose its value and be removed of its protected status in the eyes of the *Denkmalpflege*.

However, my data suggests that the significance attributed to heritage on an everyday level is deeply tied to personal connections and is, thus, frequently reshaped by individuals who interact with and reinterpret heritage beyond the authorised and managerial frameworks. This aligns with the social constructivist approaches detailed in chapter 2, which challenge the idea that heritage significance is inherently tied to materiality

(Lowenthal 1996; Smith 2006; Waterton and Watson 2015). Here, everyday heritage offers a contrasting perspective in being centred less around the materiality or the object at the heart of individual engagements, expressions, and perceptions of heritage. Based on the primary data discussed throughout this thesis, it also seemed that many non-sanctioned changes to the *Denkmal* fabric made by participants or their ancestors are ultimately viewed as a form of retrospective heritage-making: At the moment, these actions of transformation or remodelling appeared to be purely necessary acts to maintain or expand the building, or transform economic building wings into inhabitable parts of the home. Given the Baden-Württembergian emphasis on preserving original, ‘authentic’ fabric, such changes often were followed by an official delisting of those houses from the *Denkmalliste*. In some of the cases, it appeared that this is where the process of heritage-making in the everyday was able to commence, being now ‘freed’ of the rules and regulations of the AHDs that were often perceived as nonsensical and not fit for modern life (as addressed in chapters 6 and 7). Beyond illustrating the diverging perspectives on the significance of ‘original’ material, these findings also suggest a point of departure from the authorised focus on ‘authentic fabric’. This echoes what Holtorf (2013) refers to as the importance of pastness over material authenticity. In contrast to the rigid material criteria employed by the local AHDs, this research showed how non-authorised heritage practices are often characterised by flexibility and transformation. This resonates with and emphasises the role of affective relationships in non-authorised heritage practices and heritage formation which has been discussed by Jones (2009).

This retrospective view on everyday heritage formation and performance is interesting – at the moment, it was not labelled as such whereas it is done so when looking back. While not concerned with authenticity or the preservation of ‘original’ heritage fabric, Smith’s research at Castleford also revealed “how the tensions between ideals of preservation and intangible cultural expression also matter for tangible heritage” (Smith 2006, 274). Similar to what I have observed during community events or interviews with participants, she argues that the value of heritage lies in its use – and use requires change. As discussed in chapter 2, this tension between the ‘official’ and ‘personal’ constitutes a recurring theme in Heritage Studies, where scholars emphasise the socially constructed nature of heritage and argue that its significance is not inherent in the materiality of an object or place – but instead produced through engagements and relationships between humans and the past (Arlotta 2019; Carman 2002; Fairclough 2009; Harrison 2010, 2013; Rogers 2019; Smith 2006, 2009; Waterton and Watson 2015). Rather than being defined by its tangible

qualities, heritage is valued through emotional bonds and narratives, a theme that has emerged consistently in my interviews and observations.

In short, these forms of everyday heritage do not constitute heritage *because of* the object or its particular properties, i.e. age, aesthetics, or form; rather, they frequently serve as a vessel for everyday heritage to *become* heritage in the first place. An heirloom initially passed down from one person to another, for instance, is not valued and embedded in the everyday because of its shape, size, colour, or other material properties. It is valued because it represents and evokes certain memories or emotions, affirms personal attachments, and conjures notions of familial legacy. As such, this is in line with constructivist notions, including those of Graham et al. (2000) who argue that heritage must be understood as a dynamic construct shaped by human engagements. Further, it aligns with Holtorf's notion of 'pastness' as central to individual attributions of significance to heritage and contrasts with the AHDs' emphasis on material preservation of original form.

Although everyday heritage does not require authorised heritage substance *per sé*, it may well be formed in one way or another by incorporating it into the daily life of an individual or group: Examples such as the *Stierstall* or the *Milchsammelstelle* (see chapter 5) indicated that everyday expressions of heritage may not need a physical vessel or much of the original fabric of a building or site to continue serving a meaningful purpose in evoking and maintaining personal and communal narratives. Such case studies also showed that, in some of its forms, everyday heritage is more closely tied to individual people or smaller, local communities than to the 'historic material' itself. While the latter is strongly echoed and valued in authorised notions of *Denkmale*, it is much less so in personal and individual forms of everyday heritage. Thus, my research demonstrated that everyday heritage often transcends the material, instead relying on intangible and emotive qualities and factors, such as memory, attachment, and identity to build and maintain its significance (see also Byrne et al. 2003; Jones 2017; Poulios 2010; Smith 2006). This is in line with notions of social value as outlined in chapter 2, where heritage has been conceptualised as a dynamic construct that is shaped and reshaped through human experiences. It further aligns with the constructivist approaches noted earlier which help explain the formation of everyday heritage as a continuously evolving expression of personal and communal meaning-making (see also Arlotta 2019; Smith 2006).

Expressions of everyday heritage are so multifarious and, oftentimes, subtle that I cannot confidently and comprehensively list them in this chapter, as I will certainly have missed many of them in the data collection process. Some of them may have been lost in translation

and some may simply have been undiscoverable via Zoom and telephone calls in the later stages of this research due to the constraints imposed on data collection by the pandemic. However, four typical, overarching processes of everyday heritage formation have emerged from this study:

- 1) Heritage creation through active remembering of places that no longer physically exist, either at all or in the form they were being referred to.
- 2) Heritage creation through active practices of remembering using cues from objects, spaces, or environments; these may also be shared with the wider community as part of larger festivities.
- 3) Heritage creation based on verbalisations of memory and remembering, or personal recollections in thought, not evoked by or directly linked to any tangible items.
- 4) Heritage creation via active transformations made to the physical environment or objects, mostly justified as the repetition of former practices or personal/familial traditions.

Driving these processes, I consider attachment, memory, and emotion as the underlying currents and catalysts of everyday heritage formation. While certain objects, buildings, or recollections sit at the heart of people's engagement with and creation of everyday heritage, it is the emotive importance of memory and attachment imbued onto individual and communal expressions of heritage that constitute its very foundation. Such performative processes have also been observed by Lekakis and Dragouni in their study of everyday heritage which they call a "heritage in the making" (2020, 90) or *mnemeiosis*. I align with this notion in my previous arguments for everyday heritage as a continuous process which does not 'arrive' at one final form of heritage (see chapter 8 on heritagisation). This transforms people into active agents in heritage formation, as is supported in the various processes of heritage creation and meaning-making observed as part of this research. Lekakis and Dragouni suggest that everyday heritage-making is "observable but uncharted", with the idea of *mnemeiosis* presenting "an irregular, inconclusive, volatile, plural and bottom-up process of defining socially and culturally significant goods that embody the sense of place and the spirit of the local identity" (Lekakis and Dragouni 2020, 85). As such, everyday heritage is placed beyond the realms of the AHDs. While their notion of everyday heritage is largely related to communal identities situated in the wider landscape, my understanding of everyday heritage as explored in this work is closely aligned with the idea of *mnemeiosis*, or a 'heritage in the making'.

The role of attachment for heritage has been noted by several scholars (for example Avrami et al. 2000; Byrne et al. 2003; Smith et al. 2003) and summarised by Giombini who states that “[official] heritage sites represent strong purveyors of attachment feelings” (2019, 53). As suggested in chapter 2, I consider attachment, memory, and emotion as central to everyday heritage formation because it turns individuals into active agents in their formation of heritage. This perspective is echoed in Lekakis and Dragouni’s concept of *mnemeiosis* (2020) discussed above, which sees heritage as an ongoing and unfinalised process of socially relevant heritage creation.

In this thesis, attachment is shown in a range of behaviours and practices related to the creation and upkeep of everyday heritage. These may include taking care of heirlooms and other (portable) objects, putting them on display in highly visible places in and around the home, adhering to personal or familial traditions, vocalising the emotive connection linked to a particular town or community, or expressing worry over the loss of a place, heirloom, tradition, memory, and individual or communal practices and knowledge. The emotions stored in and evoked by these objects, buildings, environments, local festivities, or exchanges with like-minded communities and peers, however, are what fundamentally encourage and give meaning to these practices and expressions of everyday heritage. Strong emotive bonds conjured and reinforced by individuals’ attachments to objects, places, or memories may even override people’s desire for a wider approval of ‘their’ heritage, as will be explored below.

This research also revealed that temporality proved a decidedly universal and important factor for everyday heritage, though it was not perceived in the same way: For some participants, everyday, almost routine interaction with objects, places, or memories was vital to the formation and renegotiation of heritage. For others, sporadic engagement or recollection was at the heart of it. In other instances, the relevance and existence of everyday heritage was evoked only on certain (often rare) occasions – for example when a specific building or place was under threat of adaptation or destruction, or when the loss of home or some of its elements was imminent. Moreover, the past was also perceived differently by people: Some did not consider something to be ‘of the past’ unless it fell to ruin or out of use. Others perceived the very distant ancient past – one with little connection to family or the self – as ‘the past’. Some voiced clear historically significant markers, such as the onset or end of World War II, others did not think about the past at all and appeared to perceive all of daily life as a continuous present. Some participants seemed to live in the past, as expressed in dominant references to familial history, ancestors, former traditions or ways of life – so

much so that they hardly ever made reference to their own role and identity in the now-and-here.

Memory

Memory is central to the creation and experience of everyday heritage, shaping how individuals and communities engage with their past. Drawing on Connerton's (1989) distinctions between personal, cognitive, and habitual memory, my primary data showed how participants expressed personal and cognitive memory in relation to their heritage environments, while habitual memory was largely absent. In situating everyday heritage within Samuel's (2012 [1994]) concept of "theatres of memory", this research illustrates how physical and social spaces – such as homes, neighbourhoods, and communal areas – along with communal festivities and practices, constitute the theatres in which heritage is created. These spaces allow individuals and communities to actively engage with their past, shaping and reshaping their memories through lived experiences and shared narratives.

Personal memory, which reflects individual recollections of one's life history, was evident in participants' narratives about familial pasts, key life events, and personal relationships with homes, objects, and places. These personal memories were not only vital in shaping individual identity but also in how participants perceived and engaged with their everyday heritage. Samuel (2012 [1994]) argues that memory is ever-changing, progressively altered across generations, and this research affirms that participants' relationships with their past are continuously reshaped through their interactions with their heritage environments. Home environments in particular, as Tolia-Kelly (2004) suggests, are key sites for constructing personal histories and memories, becoming theatres where both individual and collective memories are performed and reaffirmed.

Further, personal memory is deeply tied to the emotional and sensory dimensions of heritage and identity, shaping participants' understanding of themselves and their connections to their heritage. This has been emphasised as part of Jones' (2009) and Harrison's (2010) work surrounding the emotive and affective dimensions of heritage. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, everyday heritage is often constructed through sensory and emotional connections to the past. Here, personal memories enable individuals to create and reaffirm their identities and relationships to their environment. As such, memories are fundamental to how people create (meaning from) 'their' everyday heritage, which reinforces Holtorf's notion of pastness – a sense of emotional attachment to the past that moves beyond material authenticity, centring around sensory and narrative experiences. In

this way, personal memory is not merely a repository of past actions and experiences but an active, performative process that transforms how heritage is created and perceived in daily life.

Cognitive memory, on the other hand, was expressed through participants' ability to recall factual information related to authorised heritage, such as knowledge about local heritage sites, museum exhibits, or tourism initiatives led by the local *Denkmalschutzamt*. This aligns with Connerton's (1989) definition of cognitive memory as the ability to remember meanings or facts, including those tied to official narratives of cultural memory (Assmann 1995). Heritage institutions often rely on cognitive memory to communicate authorised narratives and shape collective memory. This factual, sometimes externalised recollection contrasts with personal memory as it revolves around broader, often officially sanctioned, heritage narratives rather than individual, lived experiences. In the context of this work, cognitive memory serves as a bridge between personal experiences and broader heritage approaches implemented by the authorised discourses.

While personal and cognitive memory were significant in shaping everyday heritage, habitual memory – defined by Connerton (1989) as the unconscious and automatic performance of learned actions – was not prominently observed in this research. This is likely due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in much of the primary data collection being conducted remotely. This limited opportunities to observe participants in their home environments or their interactions with specific objects. While the focus of this research centred on conscious recollections and emotive connections to heritage, the potential for habitual memory to influence participants' everyday heritage engagements remains. Therefore, although habitual memory was not a significant factor explicitly emerging from participants' narratives, it cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. Future research, particularly with in-person observations, may reveal how habitual memory, combined with personal and cognitive memory, can shape everyday heritage and its lived experience.

In this study, the concept of social forgetting, as discussed by Beiner (2018), is also relevant, particularly in relation to the AHDs. Social forgetting refers to the active process of omitting certain elements of the past, whether through intentional exclusion or as a result of institutional priorities. The *Denkmalschutz's* focus on material preservation and officialised histories often leads to a form of social forgetting, where personal, lived experiences of the past are sidelined in favour of more authorised interpretations. The *Denkmalschutzamt*, for

example, tends to emphasise the conservation of specific, material aspects of *Denkmale*, which can lead to the neglect of more personal or communal narratives.

Scholars such as Viejo-Rose (2015) have argued that the connection between heritage and memory is frequently overlooked in Critical Heritage Studies, despite the central role of memory in shaping how heritage is experienced and perceived. My dissertation contributes to this by highlighting the interplay between personal, cognitive, and institutionalised memory in the formation of everyday heritage. It examines how participants navigate between personal memory and the cognitive/cultural memory frameworks promoted by the *Denkmalschutzamt*, revealing the tensions that often emerge from clashes between lived experiences and official heritage narratives. The personal memories recounted by participants often diverged from the official, cognitive memory-based narratives represented by the local AHDs. This reflects Ashworth and Tunbridge's (1996) concept of dissonant heritage. They argue for the inherently contested nature of heritage because it always belongs to certain people or groups while excluding others. It further underscores how everyday theatres of memory, such as *Denkmal* homes, neighbourhoods, and townscapes may function as sites of negotiation. Here, participants frequently navigate both their personal engagements with the past and the wider cultural memory presented by the *Denkmalschutz* institutions.

In the context of everyday heritage, such dynamic and complex engagements with the past through memory further emphasises that heritage-making is a multifaceted process shaped by both personal and institutional recollective practices (see Harrison 2013a). In situating this research within Samuel's notion of theatres of memory, this work illustrates how heritage is constantly performed, adapted, and reinterpreted in response to the intersections between authorised and everyday – but also beyond institutionalised definitions of heritage.

Authenticity and Materiality

Within the Authorised Heritage Discourses, and particularly seen in the practices and policies of the *Denkmalschutz* in Germany, there is often a 'hunt' for value and significance rooted in notions of authenticity and materiality. This reflects the materialist perspective on authenticity criticised by various scholars (for example Barthel-Bouchier 2001; Djabarouti 2020; Foster and Jones 2019; Holtorf 2013; Jokilehto 2006). As discussed in chapter 2, such a managerial focus on preserving 'authentic' heritage fabric reinforces the perception of

Denkmale as a static entity requiring protection against loss and destruction (Arlotta 2019; Harrison 2010; Poullos 2010), maintaining a reductionist status quo (Smith 2021).

In chapters 7 and 8 I outlined that these evaluations of authenticity may also lead to an official revocation of the *Denkmalstatus* of tangible heritage. This initiates a shift in the authorised conception of heritage: from 'authentic' and, therefore, valued, the perception shifts to 'fake' and, thus, no longer relevant. In Baden-Württembergian heritage management, authenticity, once lost, cannot be regained. This change in status is non-reversible and constitutes a final curtain call on officially sanctioned heritage. It reflects the common material-based approaches to heritage management present in the authorised discourses and has been criticised, among others, by Waterton and Watson (2015). Here, the physical presence of original material is seen as central to determining the value and significance of heritage. Notions of 'authenticity' as they are defined in authorised heritage management, however, appear to not apply to everyday heritage, as (re)evaluations of authenticity and ensuing changes in the valuation or perception of heritage have not been observed in this work. As outlined in chapter 2, this has also been suggested by Smith (2006) and Jones (2017) who argue against such materialist perspectives in non-authorised engagements with and experiences of heritage.

Authenticity as anchored in materiality, and the objective to preserve the fabric of tangible heritage, lies at the heart of official heritage management; this is vastly different from everyday heritage: There is a range of heritages created in the everyday that are not oriented towards the conservation of the material, as seen, for example, in the upkeep of traditions or recollections of places that no longer materially exist. Often, too, everyday heritage formation is engaged with and expressed subconsciously and is seldom (explicitly and predominantly) concerned with the material preservation of things or places. While family photographs, heirlooms, or historic homes, may hold a material 'status' in everyday life, people do not engage with them in the sole effort of materially preserving them. One may argue that the preservation of heirlooms falls under a different category, since their upkeep is central to their being in the world and because they evoke memories and emotions that lie at the core of everyday heritage. I contend, however, that even the conservation of these objects is not done with the same conscientiousness and fabric-oriented motivation as may be seen in authorised practices of heritage management and preservation. This is in line with constructivist authenticity as discussed in chapter 2, which recognises that the value of heritage is not inherent in an object or site itself (Cameron 2008) but is constructed through social presses and individual interactions (Barthel-Bouchier 2001; Foster and Jones 2009; Holtorf 2013; Jones 2010; Starn 2002).

As such, it appears that everyday heritage is less perceived within the frame of materiality as defined and emphasised by the AHDs. Yet, materiality clearly plays a significant role in its construction and perception through the engagement with heirlooms, tokens, photographs, but also the palpability of home (buildings and environments) that adds to an overall sense of place. Materiality is relevant because of its tangibility and because it evokes certain memories for some. In being palpable and material, its presence allows for active engagement, recollection, commemoration, but also change and adaptation where desired. In their materiality, objects may be put on display in certain ways or be shared among groups (e.g. at community events where people showed their homes and old agricultural tools, but also family gatherings which include looking through photo albums). In the forms of everyday heritage observed in this work, materiality does not stand and fall with certain factors, meaning that only if criteria A, B, and C, are present, objects, places, or homes are considered meaningful. As such, everyday heritage often aligns with experiential authenticity, which focuses on personal experiences and emotions associated with objects or places. Participants' interactions with their homes and heirlooms, for instance, but also the shared practices arising from them, centred less around the materiality of objects or sites and more around the memories and feelings they evoked. This is consistent with Reisinger and Steiner (2006) who emphasise the importance of subjective, emotional connections in defining and perceiving authenticity.

While memory-based authenticity, or nostalgia, appears to have factored into communal forms of everyday heritage as observed during heritage festivals (see chapter 8), such attempts of re-living or re-experiencing the past did not appear to stem from a sense of dissatisfaction with the present day (as suggested by Poullos 2010). Instead, the practices or performances carried out at these events sought to strengthen communal ties and create temporary, shared experiences that brought the past into the present. Folk dances or traditional wedding processions, for instance, were perceived as important elements of local history that helped to define a sense of shared communal or regional identity. However, these were also considered somewhat removed from daily reality and thus not relevant to everyday life.

This stands in contrast with some of the *Denkmalschutz* approaches discussed in this work – see, for instance, the surface-heritagisation criticised by my participants in chapters 6 and 7 (this corresponds to the Disneyfication discussed by Smith 2006). While the local AHDs often prefer to present an externally focused, romanticised version of historical and material authenticity, such notions do not exist in everyday heritage. Here, the past is lived and thus intricately intertwined with daily life in a way that may require change and

adaptation – or it may not be perceived as ‘the past’ as long as it is being actively engaged with and, thus, embedded in personal-familial or communal narratives. In the case of communal heritage practices that seek to re-create former ways of life, moreover, people seemed to hold no illusion as to their modern reinterpretation of these practices. Hence, unlike some of the *Denkmalschutz* approaches discussed as part of this work, communal heritage practices do not reinforce and conform to ideas of ‘the past’ as separate from the present and future. As outlined in chapter 2, such notions of discontinuity are considered prevalent within the Authorised Discourses. This has been criticised generally by scholars such as Jones (2006), Ucko (1994), Poullos (2010, 2014) as well as specifically for Germany and Austria by Karl (2016, 2020) and Strobl and Sieche (2010).

Moreover, and similar to Smith’s research at Castleford (2006), changes to the physical fabric were often embraced or allowed for alternative forms of heritage to emerge (see chapter 7). Based on my primary data, I contend with her as she describes heritage “as a cultural tool of remembering an meaning-making” (Smith 2006, 273) which, both at Castleford and in the everyday heritages explored in Baden-Württemberg, “is more about change than cultural stasis” (ibid.). In fact, changes to the physical fabric of place and the discontinuity of form or function were often considered constitutive of non-authorised, personal heritages by participants. In these instances, certain ideas of heritage and the past as well as its role in and for the present were emphasised. These may include different ways of life, adhering to modern living standards, but also a personalisation of place that enabled its adaptation to suit participants’ personal narratives. From my data emerged that alterations to *Denkmal* homes also served to present facts of personal and familial identity that were not otherwise visible. In some instances, transformations were vocalised by participants as necessary to ensure the continuation of familial life at home. In others, it appeared that merely the idea of being able to alter the physical fabric of the ‘past’ in and for the present sparked certain memories or activities that enabled participants to renegotiate their past in light of their present – both within themselves and their wider family. Silverman’s concept of contemporary authenticity (2015) becomes relevant here as well, as it acknowledges and allows for the understanding that authenticity may exist even when physical changes to the material fabric of heritage objects or sites have occurred. Alike constructivist notions of authenticity, this idea challenges the AHDs’ emphasis on materiality and suggests that adaptations may enhance rather than diminish heritage authenticity and significance. This is reflected in my primary research data as outlined above.

From my interviews, it also surfaced that authenticity, with regard to official *Denkmale*, was considered an element describing value and significance – it was often used synonymously with other authorised value factors, such as rarity, age, or to describe the presence of original building fabric by the participants. It appeared that the concept of authenticity, even in the context of authorised heritage, was too abstract to be fully graspable for most individuals. I suggest that this is because people did not quite seem to know how to define and transfer the idea of authenticity to the tangible world around them, they used it as a verbal vessel to convey more concrete values they attributed to *Denkmale* instead, including materiality, workmanship, age, representativeness, et cetera. This reflects a somewhat materialist understanding of authenticity which is likely rooted in the prominence of the local authorised discourses as well as participants' high levels of education as discussed in chapter 3.

Almost all interviewees shared with me their understanding of authorised heritage objects as tangible markers of the past which represent a certain status and significance. Due to this presumed gravitas, people actively reflected on whether and how *Denkmale* held value for them. Within everyday heritage, however, this was not the case. As suggested earlier, this may be due to an equally inherent and personally undisputed significance attributed to these mundane forms of heritage, but it may also be rooted in the lack of a professionally pre-defined, public relevance. The most important takeaway from my exploration of significance in everyday heritage, however, is that – at least based on the examples and interview data discussed in this work – one cannot distinctly formulate how everyday heritage is valued and how significance is generated, simply because it varies so much across people and case studies.

While materiality plays a role in grounding heritage in everyday life – through objects, photographs, traditional dress, homes, or historic townscapes – it is the emotional and narrative associations rather than their physical preservation that define and emphasise its value. This largely supports the constructivist notions outlined by Graham et al. (2000) who contend that heritage is meaningful because of its ability to foster connections between people and the past. This also ties in with Hodder's entanglement theory (2012) mentioned in chapter 5. In the context of this research, this concept helps to explore how material objects, such as heirlooms or houses, are embedded within broader networks of social practices, memories, and identities. By acknowledging the active nature of such material markers of the past in shaping how individuals perceive and engage with heritage, it allows us to understand and examine them not as isolated and passive artefacts, but as components of a dynamic web of relationships and identities. This includes both material and immaterial

elements of 'the past' which influence the individual and communal meaning and relevance attributed to heritage as part of everyday life.

As such, this combination of largely constructivist, contemporary, and experientially-based authenticity and, following Hodder, the entangled nature of everyday heritage objects and places suggests that – while many participants view *Denkmale* from a materialist perspective – notions of authenticity in these mundane and domestic, yet authorised, heritage environments are plural and mostly subconscious. Furthermore, acknowledging these material aspects of everyday heritage as non-static and active markers of the past and heritage creation enables us to move away from the dominant stance of the authorised discourses that seeks to portray heritage as passive monuments which hold inherent value, only to be uncovered by the respective experts (see Holtorf and Fairclough 2013; Smith 2021; Solli et al. 2011; Waterton et al. 2017; Wetherell 2012).

Authenticity, in one form or another, resides at the heart of heritage. Yet this central, even foundational theme within heritage is largely obscured by intangibility and subjectivity. This reality is not inherently bad: as is human understanding of the world, life, and the self, heritage is purely subjective and ever-changing. By extension, so is the concept and significance of authenticity. In its ideational flexibility and individual-ordinary perspective, everyday heritage may present new opportunities for reflecting on how people define and attribute authenticity to heritage from a personal, affective, and emotive point of view.

This research has shown that individuals and the public predominantly ignore 'their' expressions and engagements with everyday heritage as a heritage in its own right. Because this is the case, it suggests that this may further extend to other case study areas and differing forms of personal, mundane, everyday forms of heritage – a theory that is yet to be proven or dismissed. It also presupposes that authenticity may be rethought in a way that may be separate from the authorised discourses and their realms of influence.

At the end of my examination of the relationship between authenticity and everyday heritage, I concluded that it is not a fitting term. The 'authentic' is a term too deeply entrenched in authorised discourse and debate, carved from preconceptions, expert knowledge, and conservational policy. Because of its firm bindings and biases (which nonetheless significantly and meaningfully serve managerial practice), it is not verbalised by participants in everyday heritage contexts. However, this does not mean it is firmly non-existent, rather that it is not consciously engaged with to evaluate the significance of non-authorised heritages.

On the Relationship Between (In)Significance and Approval

The attribution of value and significance to heritage is always influenced by personal knowledge and beliefs, and people's unique backgrounds. This applies to heritage experts just as much as to people in the everyday. In the authorised discourses, however, such valuation is formalised and purposefully directed, with specific objectives and ideas of heritage in mind that often align with national or institutional values (as discussed, for example, by Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996 and Smith 2006; see also Landesamt für Denkmalpflege et al. 2007, 12). Authorised forms of heritage thus inherently involve a process of selective inclusion, where significance is constructed through an authoritative lens that seeks to communicate an object's or site's importance to a broader public audience. The focus on communicating 'worth' to non-experts suggests that tangible, official heritage requires an audience to whom the authentic nature and, subsequently, 'worth' of the *Denkmal* can be communicated and which can appreciate and validate its respective characteristics (Waterton and Smith 2009). This has also been observed within the Baden-Württembergian *Denkmalschutz* practices (see chapters 6 and 8).

With everyday heritage, this is different in many ways. Everyday heritage frequently dwells in a passive or subconscious, yet seemingly content, realisation of 'significance in insignificance'. This resonates with Holtorf's (2013) notion of pastness, where the importance of heritage lies not in its materiality or officially sanctioned significance but in the way it resonates personally and emotively with individuals and evokes the past in a meaningful way. Although some communal forms of everyday heritage may strive for overall acceptance within local society, individual expressions often are removed from the desire for widespread, public approval or even acknowledgement. Generally speaking, everyday heritage does not require wider significance or external approval in order to be relevant for people.

In Chapter 8, I explored how the idea of insignificance is often central to everyday heritage. Unlike the AHDs, which emphasise clearly defined criteria of value (such as age, rarity, or architectural quality), everyday heritage often embraces those elements of the past that may appear mundane or even insignificant from an institutional perspective. This resonates with constructivist understandings of heritage (Holtorf 2013; Waterton and Watson 2015), where value emerges from people's engagements with heritage, rather than being derived from the physical or historical qualities of an object or site alone. As such, constructivist notions emphasise that value is socially constructed through individual and communal practices rather than through adhering to predefined, static criteria of significance.

It thus differs fundamentally from materialist approaches to heritage (see Harrison 2013a), where physical authenticity and historical continuity are seen as central to heritage value and significance, especially within authorised practices such as those of the *Denkmalschutz*. The emphasis on material preservation as a marker of authenticity is evident in how heritage objects are managed, where strict criteria are applied to determine their value and whether they should remain protected. These evaluatory practices, discussed in Chapter 8, often overlook the complex and multi-faceted nature of personal engagements with heritage, which do not necessarily fit neatly into these established categories of significance.

Authorised evaluations of *Denkmal* significance are typically made from a perspective of the heritage object as a holistic entity. What I mean by this is that rather than acknowledging the different dimensions which inform its current state and significance, heritage is viewed and presented as representative of overarching, and nicely aligning, ideas and values. These align with the interests of the *Denkmalschutz* authorities. Official assessments of heritage significance follow a quick and dirty scheme: clarifying what the heritage object represents, working out the value characteristics and criteria associated with it, and analysing whether these criteria of significance are adequately reflected in the *Denkmal* in question at the point of evaluation. In doing so, the authorised discourses do not take into account mismatching or even potentially conflicting values. Instead, they seek to emphasise a holistic image of the *Denkmal* – most likely because it simplifies associated managerial and conservational processes.

This mirrors what Harrison (2013) describes as the institutional tendency to categorise and simplify heritage to fit into preservation frameworks, which often ignores conflicting or mismatching perceptions of value. The criteria used in such official evaluations are inherently reductive, focusing on elements that can be easily catalogued and managed, such as physical integrity and representativeness (Avrami and Mason 2019; Darvill 2005; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). In doing so, other, perhaps more intangible dimensions of heritage that might hold significance for individuals may often be overlooked. This is further supported by Fairclough (2009), who argues that such reducing of heritage significance to a set of specific criteria can diminish the multifaceted ways in which people engage with and value heritage.

I make mention of these evaluatory practices not to exert criticism of them. In fact, they serve an important practical purpose in heritage management in allowing for a simplification of decisions regarding conservation and policy implementation. However, these practices are not well-suited to understanding the significance of non-authorised forms

of heritage as they may manifest in daily life. Everyday heritage, as explored in chapter 8, is formed based on values that are often conflicting or subjective, shaped by personal histories and affective connections. These may not conform to institutional criteria of consistency or significance. Everyday heritage, therefore, often exists in a state of flux, where its value can change over time depending on personal and familial circumstances, making it difficult to fit within the static frameworks applied by authorised heritage evaluations.

This reflects the idea of insignificance (Ireland et al. 2020) that permeates my exploration of everyday heritage (see chapter 8), where the perceived lack of formal value does not detract from its meaning for individuals and communities. The notion that what is deemed insignificant by institutional standards can still hold great importance in personal contexts aligns with Jones' (2017) argument that heritage is often embedded in emotional and social narratives rather than strictly in its material characteristics (see also Liberty-Shalev 2011; Ireland 2020 et al. 2020). However, as discussed in chapter 2, Smith (2021) also argues for an improved understanding of the insignificance of heritage because it allows us to move beyond the common idea that heritage must inherently be important and meaningful to people (see Byrne et al 2003; Jones 2017; Jones and Leech 2015). This research showed that, at least in the ordinary domestic contexts investigated here, the varying forms of heritage formed as part of everyday life are largely irrelevant to experts and the general public.

My examination of the relationship between (in)significance and approval also highlights a key difference in how authorised and everyday heritages are treated in light of their perceived value over time. Officially sanctioned heritage can have its significance and status revoked as part of standard evaluatory processes when it no longer meets the criteria set by the relevant *Denkmalschutz* institutions. As discussed throughout this dissertation, this constitutes a central aspect of the AHDs generally, but is also well-reflected in the Baden-Württembergian managerial processes. Such possibility for re-evaluation and revocation of heritage value aims to ensure that only those *Denkmale* deemed 'worthy' of preservation are conserved and managed.

However, as demonstrated by the case studies outlined in chapter 8, the significance attributed to everyday heritages is far less likely to be formally revoked or diminished. Instead, it remains anchored within the personal narratives and attachments of individuals, and is largely unaffected by external assessments of its worth or authenticity. This shows how everyday heritage is rooted in a highly individual and consistent sense of significance that is deeply resistant to external devaluation. This is evident, for example, in the numerous

case studies where personal forms of heritage were outright dismissed or disputed. Even further, insights on its overall creation and upkeep demonstrate that everyday heritage unwaveringly exists in a web of broader public and managerial insignificance and ignorance.

This examination of the differences in (e)valuation also brings an experiential dimension to the fore, as everyday heritage is shaped by lived experiences, relationships, and emotive engagements. Unlike the AHDs' focus on preserving historical material for future generations (Harrison 2010, 2013), which is often motivated by a sense of stewardship of a collective past (Holtorf 2013), the significance and value of everyday heritage emerges from its incorporation and creation in daily life. Thus, everyday heritage is made an active and lived experience. This form of engagement centres less around curating authentic historical narratives – as is often the aim of the authorised discourses – and more around constructing personal meanings that contribute to a sense of identity, continuity, and place.

Insights from chapter 8 also illustrate that everyday heritage, while often ignored or deemed insignificant by most, holds intrinsic value for those who engage with it. This memory-based aspect of everyday heritage highlights how people maintain and re-negotiate their connections to the past through personal recollections, everyday practices and performances, or familial traditions. These intangible aspects are often lost within authorised evaluations due to their prioritisation of materiality. The fact that everyday heritage does not require public approval or an audience for validation underscores its intrinsic significance, which is independent of formal recognition or institutional endorsement (see also Holtorf 2013; Jones 2017). While several participants wished for increased acknowledgement of 'their' heritage or their role in the dominant authorised narrative, as presented in chapter 6, this did not diminish their valuation of it.

Thus, while authorised heritages often rely heavily on expert or external stakeholder validation, formal criteria, and the preservation of material authenticity, everyday heritage as explored in this dissertation is situated in personal and communal attachment where significance is internally constructed and maintained. As such, this work contributes to the broader field of Heritage Studies by highlighting the diverse and often informal ways in which heritage is valued in everyday life. This perspective is crucial in understanding the broader implications of how heritage functions not only as a public and institutional asset but also as a deeply personal and lived experience that is engaged with, remembered, and valued on an individual level.

Pastness, Narrative, Place Attachment, and Identity

Instead of authenticity or pre-set value criteria emphasising the significance of everyday heritage, it appeared that notions of pastness, narrative, and identity featured more prominently in its creation and expression. These findings align with discussions in chapter 2, where I discussed Holtorf's (2013) notion of pastness as a central theme in Heritage Studies. Rather than focusing on preserving material authenticity, pastness reflects a sense of connection to the past that may not require physical objects or places to remain unchanged. Holtorf thus challenges the materialist perspective by arguing that heritage is a process that actively engages individuals with the past, emphasising emotional and temporal connections over physical conservation.

Some of the overarching themes that arose from this study were matters of belonging and descent, a sense of place and community, and deeply emotive notions of memory and attachment, particularly to people, but also seen in an attachment to place, names, ancestry, objects, and former ways of life. These themes are crucial to understanding how heritage is constructed in everyday contexts, echoing various scholars (e.g. Jones 2017; Rogers 2019; Silverman 2015; Smith and Waterton 2008) that heritage is fundamentally about social relationships and connections to the past. All those themes held in common the individual 'self' at its epicentre, which was defined by frequent and deliberate engagements with the quality of pastness – both simultaneously captured and evoked by those memories, objects, shared knowledge or recollections, and places. Smith (2021, 36) concisely summarised this significance attributed to pastness and narrative in stating that these things and practices “stand in for, authorised and ‘make real’ abstract feelings and expressions”. This further strengthens the idea of memory and narrative as a social practice (Rogers 2019; Jones 2017), where personal and collective memories inform identity construction as part of everyday life (see also Harvey 2001).

Everyday heritage, as explored in this work, influences personal narratives and is formed as part of them; as such, it is inextricably linked to the creation and communication of the self. This notion of self-identity has also been discussed by Byrne et al. (2003) in their exploration of how heritage practices contribute to the formation of personal and collective identities. Further, participants in this research often treated heritage as an extension of their own personal narratives. For example, in some instances, participants were preparing to detach a certain facet of 'their' narrative from themselves, cement it in written and specifically edited form, to pass it on to others who would thoroughly 'inspect', publicise, and, subsequently, institutionalise this personal heritage. While these constitute officialised extensions of

everyday heritage, they are also still firmly a part of the everyday. Even further, they do not result in a change of status or significance as may be observed within the authorised discourses: People's everyday heritage remains 'theirs' and continues to be performed, maintained, and valued in their original, ordinary forms despite its additional existence and approval in an authorised realm. While individual narratives may sometimes gain a boost of significance from such external valuation, they did not change them at their 'mundane' core. This underlines the distinction between the authorised discourses and everyday heritage, where the former often involves a shift in status through external validation, while the latter maintains its personal significance regardless of official or external recognition (see Harrison 2013a; Smith 2006).

Everyday heritage is frequently used to explain one's place in the world and shed light on personal journeys and stories. In line with Smith's (2006) argument of heritage as a performative practice, this research demonstrates that objects, buildings, and environments often become active participants in personal storytelling and everyday heritage formation. This way, they serve as anchors for personal identity and narratives.

This further ties in with Arlotta (2019), who discussed the social lives of objects (see also Appadurai 1986), noting that material culture often holds biographical significance for individuals: In this study, heritage objects or buildings were often anthropomorphised in this process of storytelling and heritage formation, considering them as active agents in their personal and familial histories. As such, they present a driving force in people's histories and everyday habits. As Arlotta (2019, 9) noted, "the storytelling ability [of objects] has been widely examined" and material culture has, therefore, been deemed to hold 'social lives' (see, for example, Appadurai 1986 and Macdonald 2013). In this work, participants often made biographical claims to certain objects or places to facilitate individual life stories; such attachments were more or less obvious: "as in a family heirloom passed down through generations" – a common example of the everyday heritages observed in this study – "or [...] an oak desk, purchased for its reminder of a childhood classroom" (Arlotta 2019, 9). I argue that the anthropomorphisation of tangible elements (or reminders) of the past further stressed its central role in people's lives: Throughout data collection, I have heard of non-authorised tangible heritages being defended in their honour, having witnessed life stories, or having been people's childhood companions. Here, homes and environments were particularly anthropomorphised in subtle statements along the lines of "this house has seen our family's past" (Helga) or "it has been with us through the good and bad" (Albert). Such expressions were made frequently and variously, suggesting that in their personification, objects, sites, and places become active and present entities in the lives and

narratives of participants. In several instances, they appeared to serve as substitutes for people who have passed, for familial bonds that do not (or no longer) exist, for former homelands, or identities. This supports the broader argument that objects and places can serve as substitutes for people or familial bonds, as discussed by Rowles (1983, 1984) in his works on place attachment and identity.

In multiple instances, I observed that participants created narratives in the everyday to strengthen subconscious ideas of their wider purpose or place in the world. In some of these stories, people expressed notions of personal heritage by reflecting on where they came from (both physically and spiritually) and how they envisioned their past in the present and future. This aligns with the sense of narrative continuity (Harrison 2015; Holtorf and Högberg 2013) and communicative memory (Assmann 2011) discussed in chapter, and how it fostered a form of heritage that maintained and even elevated personal and collective identities through time. Participants would often contemplate, explain, and sometimes also justify their everyday actions and beliefs by drawing connections to how they fed – and would continue to feed – into an overarching narrative of personal and/or familial identity and legacy over time. This resonates with Holtorf (2013), among others, who argues that heritage is a dynamic process, constantly renegotiated in the present to reflect contemporary identities and values (see also Bartolini and DeSilvey 2019; Harvey 2001).

From an authorised standpoint, such forms of heritage(-making) may not be deemed relevant to heritage as an overarching concept and discipline due to their ordinary and purely emotionally based nature. Yet, as also argued by Smith (2006) and Harrison (2013), these expressions of pastness, narrative, and identity, woven into mundane performances, objects, or stories, have strong implications for the role of heritage in the daily lives of people. Smith (2006, 3) also argued for heritage as a performative practice that “embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present”. In light of this work, heritage performance is seen on various dimensions: As Smith contended, local *Denkmalschutz* practices of management, evaluation, communication, and interpretation all constitute forms of performance on an authorised level (2006, 6). Everyday heritage performance from the perspective of the individuals and case studies discussed in this work are observed in the reconstruction or remodelling of historic homes, the engagement with heirlooms and photographs, hosting communal events, engaging in regional food heritage practices, remembering long-gone people or places, or delving into genealogical research and sharing its findings with family and friends. Other non-authorised engagements with the past as part of performative practices have also been studied by Smith (2006): Her work on the

Waanyi women in Queensland revealed that the dissemination of oral histories and traditions constituted a form of heritage formation, but she especially noted the role of context and locality in which this was done. Smith stated that these “range of heritage acts or actions [...] in themselves conveyed and carried meaning, but took on particular force because of the context in which they occurred” (Smith 2006, 46). Similar to the case studies discussed in previous chapters, particularly those of Marie-Luise, Claudia, Henry, or Christian (see chapter 8), she argues that such “acts, or performances [of passing on meanings and values are] not only concerned [with] keeping cultural heritage and knowledge alive, but also involved asserting a sense of their identity” (Smith 2006, 47). Such practices illustrate the active role of heritage in shaping personal and collective identities, as discussed by Byrne et al. (2003). Further, I contend with Smith in her argument that heritage objects and places become meaningful and relevant not only through these performances themselves, but also the “broader sense of identity, sense of place or belonging” (Smith 2021, 36) they construct. In the case of my research, this includes both the (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* that constitute the tangible homes of people, but also any other forms of everyday heritage explored in this work.

The role of sense of place for communities has also been addressed in several studies of post-apartheid Cape Town (see, for example, Field 2015; Joffe and Shepherd 2020). Sean Field explored how different Capetonians used memories and oral histories to remember and imagine communities of the past to “move beyond conceptual practice beyond the closed concepts and spaces inherited from apartheid” (Field 2015, 582). Here, memories laden with loss, displacement, and trauma and “idealized images of a past community” (Field 2015, 588) are used to create ‘imagined communities’ to “provide coherence to communities that were fragmented and/or violated in the past” (ibid.). Some of the memory work discussed in his research somewhat relate to notions voiced by my participants, including displacement which is strongly linked to Henry’s case, or a sense of loss of home and identity rooted in practices and policies of the local AHDs (as discussed in chapters 6 and 8). However, this study, too, is removed from both the objectives and demographics of my work, as I primarily focused on individual heritage formation in everyday life. In those instances where I observed communal forms of everyday heritage, communities had not been displaced, marginalised, traumatised, or excluded in any way. With my exploration of everyday heritage as done in this dissertation research, I sought to look not into forms of heritage arising from such experiences, but instead into those that emerged from mundane, non-authorised engagements with the past as part of daily life. Now, one may argue that no one person or community is truly removed from trauma or hardship. However, I contend

there is a difference between systematic marginalisation and oppression and individual hardship – the latter which penetrates every aspect of human life. As outlined in the introductory chapter of this thesis, I specifically sought to study ordinary, non-marginalised individuals and communities in southwest Germany. Hence, most studies on communal memory work in post-apartheid Cape Town are largely inapplicable to this research.

Moreover, this exploration of everyday heritage in its varied forms and nuances has proven that it can hold significant power in establishing, re-affirming, or remembering individual identities and a sense of place in the world. Indeed, sense of place or attachment to place surfaced as a central aspect of everyday heritage formation in this work. This echoes my discussion of the relational and emotive dimensions of place attachment in chapter 2, which highlighted these as fundamental to people's engagement with heritage (following Giombini 2019 and Rowles 1983, 1984). My research findings align with this, as participants repeatedly made references to their sense of belonging – not only to specific homes or buildings but also to broader localities and cultural landscapes, which they viewed as integral to their identity.

Giombini (2019), for instance, argued that the everyday aspect of performances and practices is central to place-making and place attachment. However, she argues for this in the context of people's visitorship to official heritage sites in their hometowns. In contrast, in my case studies, place attachment is not restricted to official *Denkmale* but extends into everyday, domestic environments. As such, it reveals how personal narratives and memories may transform ordinary spaces into individual or communal heritage landscapes.

Following Proshansky (1978), Giombini further suggests that locality and place may turn into "a *symbol* of the self" (2019, 53) through daily interaction as part of which personal-individual values and significance are attributed to the heritage in question. As discussed in chapter 8, I have observed this in several case studies presented in this dissertation. From this research emerged that sense of place and place-making on an everyday heritage level has been instrumental in confirming and creating identities and personal narratives. This is in line with psychologist Graham Rowles (1983, 1984) who argued that strong identification with a place as a physical and social setting can be autobiographical, particularly in familiar and routine-based settings (such as home environments) set in "a context of community life and social exchange" (Giombini 2019, 53) and within a locality representing a palimpsest of personal memories. Rowles argued for such settings as catalytic for place attachment and sense of place, as has been observed and confirmed by the primary data of this work. This idea of places becoming layered with personal and familial history resonates with Holtorf's (2013) notion of pastness, where

emotional and temporal connections to the past may outweigh the relevance of material continuity of the place itself.

Rowles (1983, 1984) and Giombini (2019) widely approach 'place' within the frame of home or city environments. While also concerned with broader notions of 'home' and 'place', this research emphasised the different dimensions in which everyday heritage and place attachment were intertwined. As discussed in chapter 2, the boundaries between tangible and intangible in everyday heritage are often blurred, and sense of place is created not just through physical environments but also emotional and narrative connections (Byrne et al. 2003). Here, the case studies discussed in chapter 8 especially highlighted that sense of place was not necessarily only linked to direct home environments, such as buildings, sites, or neighbourhoods, but could also include regions and entire cultural areas, for example the Alemannic-speaking parts of southwest Germany.

In this research, this idea of place identity materialised as participants expressed their strong identification with their homes and domestic environments, often even as extensions of themselves. In one instance, place attachment was vocalised more abstractly, yet it emphasised the important role of place as a 'vessel' or container of past selves (see the Erika case study discussed in chapter 6). Again, this aligns with broader constructivist notions of heritage outlined in chapter 2. Thus, sense of place and place attachment are not solely rooted in the physical characteristics of a location but are constructed through emotional, social, and narrative engagements with a given space (Byrne et al. 2003; Rowles 1983). In several case studies presented in chapter 8 the physicality of the home or wider region acted as a tangible anchor for participants' memories and stories, further reinforcing place attachment as a central element of their identity.

Sense of place or place attachment as discussed in this thesis needs to be further contextualised with notions of allegiance as observed by Miller (2008) in his study of the inhabitants of Stuart Street, London: Based on his case studies, he argued that people's attachment or allegiance to place may "not necessarily [be] related to the place where they happen to live and whose laws they feel thereby constrained to obey" (Miller 2008, 285). Instead, Miller (2008, 285) suggests that these may lie elsewhere, in different countries, "may increasingly be split between several different locations", or may even be "either fluid or unimportant". While relevant to this study of modern home environments in metropolitan London, his observations fundamentally differ from the data collected in my research on (semi-)authorised home environments in predominantly rural southwest Germany. During interviews, participants often voiced strong ties to this specific place and home, as has been demonstrated in vocalisations of rootedness, anchoredness, or referrals to the grounding or

foundational character of place. I argue that these disparities may be due to the differing demographics of our participants: While Stuart Street folks presented a mix of people from various countries and backgrounds, most of my participants (or, rather, the people living in the towns I investigated) are a relatively homogeneous group. This only differed in the one instance where I examined people living in Freiburg, one of the largest cities in the state. Most people hold strong alliances with the place they live because many are the product of longstanding lineages. Their ancestors had lived and died there, and most participants were on track to follow suit. Most had grown up in either the respective town or street in question. If not, almost all came from the immediate vicinity, having moved to a place from a few villages over. Sense of place or place attachments were, therefore, strong factors in the creation and upkeep of the forms of everyday heritage outlined in this research.

During interviews, participants often voiced strong ties to this specific place and home, as demonstrated in vocalisations of rootedness, anchoredness, or referrals to the grounding or foundational nature of place. These expressions of attachment reflect the autobiographical nature of place attachment, as discussed by Rowles (1984), where the locality acts as a repository of personal memories and stories, thus shaping individual and communal identities. In my work, this sense of attachment was reinforced by mentions of continuity of place across generations. Here, participants often described their homes and regions as spaces where their ancestors had lived and where they themselves were embedded in multi-generational narratives. This was frequently created and reinforced through individual and familial heritage practices.

Whether or not everyday heritage and notions of pastness felt and expressed as part of it are inherently materially or locally bound remains to be explored in larger and more diverse studies conducted fully in person. In chapter 2, I noted that while material objects or places often serve as anchors for expressing pastness and narrative identity, they are not strictly necessary for constructing 'alternative', non-authorised forms of heritage. Instead, intangible practices, such as oral histories and folklore, may also form the basis for place attachment and heritage-making (Byrne et al. 2003). In future studies, it would be particularly interesting to explore these in the context of everyday heritage and how they may relate to feelings of pastness.

This research demonstrated that while physical substance, such as the home or heirlooms, often served as helpful reference points for sharing heritage, it was the emotional and symbolic meanings attached to these places and objects that formed the basis for everyday heritage. With regard to narrative, it appeared that physical substance, despite not being a necessity, served as an anchor to communicate complex ideas of sense of self and

identity; I suggest that it may aid in strengthening these personal and intangible understandings of oneself and one's individual narrative by providing physical points of reference for those who may not find this heritage similarly relatable or palpable. This intersection between the material and immaterial further reflects the multi-dimensional nature of everyday heritage in shaping people's sense of identity and place.

Practices of Sharing and Shared Everyday Heritage

Most examples of everyday heritage encountered during this research were personal and mainly rooted in individual experience. It may thus appear counterintuitive to address how it is communicated and shared with others on a larger scale. The relevance of discussing this lies in assessing the characteristics of everyday heritage in those instances where it spills and extends beyond the individual. As explored in chapter 2, heritage is often negotiated and reshaped through interactions with others and through various (dis)engagements with the past (Bouchenaki 2007; Carman 2002; Harrison 2010; Jones 2009; Kolesnik and Rusanov 2020; Sørensen 2020; Waterton et al. 2017). Following Smith (2006), among others, sharing or communicating heritage can also be considered a performative practice. During my data collection, I came across two main approaches to sharing and shared everyday heritage:

- 1) Sharing an already formed and firmly established individual expression of everyday heritage, mostly within smaller, familial circles.
- 2) Shared everyday heritage as a mostly collaborative and affirmative practice, in which notions of what constituted this heritage were continuously renegotiated as part of a group; this was mainly done with a communal-facing initiative or objective in mind.

While the former radiated outward from an individual or a small, undefined core group, the latter stemmed from a deliberate association of people and followed more clearly organised principles that reminded me of the Authorised Heritage Discourses. Sharing previously established notions of everyday heritage was usually done with no particular aim in mind, whereas collaborative and creative processes of everyday heritage formation predominantly strived to achieve an overarching goal – for instance organising festivities, sharing communal knowledge, maintaining a supportive network of like-minded people, exploring personal, yet collectively relatable, recollections, and discussing shared trauma.

The first kind of sharing practice involves an outward expression of individual heritage, which is often rooted in personal memories and notions of identity and place. This aligns with the idea of heritage as a means to construct and communicate identity, discussed in

chapter 2. Here, heritage-sharing practices are not necessarily aimed at external validation but often focus on reinforcing social bonds within familial or small community circles. This performative aspect of everyday heritage, even at the individual level, reflects how personal narratives are shaped and communicated through heritage practices. It particularly resonates with Jones (2009) and Skrede and Hølleland (2018), who highlighted the affective dimension of heritage in shaping identity, memory, and sense of place.

In contrast, collaborative practices of shared everyday heritage often resemble more formal heritage processes (see chapter 8 as well as my outline of the Authorised Heritage Discourses in chapter 2). They are often oriented towards communicating a specific notion or narrative of the past and shared history, which is frequently rooted in tangible markers of the past. However, differing to the *Denkmalschutz*'s approaches, such collaborative heritage sharing centres around strengthening collective identity. As such, it aligns with the notion that heritage can aid community-building and collective remembrance, as explored in chapter 2 (Fojut 2009; Mydland and Grahn 2012; Jones 2017). In these contexts, heritage is not simply a reflection of personal memories but is actively shaped and reshaped by the group to serve communal objectives. My findings suggest that this process of renegotiation and shared meaning-making is an essential characteristic of communal heritage practices. Communal forms of everyday heritage involve deliberate engagement with heritage as part of group identity formation, showing how heritage practices can shape social relationships and a sense of belonging (Apaydin 2017; Jones 2017; Rogers 2019; Smith and Waterton 2008).

How everyday heritage was typically communicated appeared to follow an almost hierarchical gradation. Individual and already established expressions of everyday heritage usually held some object or physical fabric at their core, serving as 'anchors' for these practices (see Appadurai 1986; Jones 2017). However, the communication of personal notions of heritage, identity, history, and significance was mostly aided by verbalisation and stories rather than material items; the latter mainly served to emphasise a statement, particular memory, or idea. This emphasis on storytelling rather than materiality aligns with Harrison (2010), who argues that heritage is largely created from stories and social practices, reinforcing the idea that everyday heritage fundamentally revolves around memory and narrative.

In some cases, I further noticed and observed the wish to communicate personal stories and heritage with professionals – also aimed at seeking their validation. Here, material markers of pastness and narrative held much higher standing than in those instances where such everyday heritage was communicated to peers and non-experts. The more public, large-scale, and expert-dense the intended audience became, however, the more

physical ‘proof’ or substance was presented (and deemed necessary) to receive approval from others. This was the case within both communal and individual expressions of everyday heritage, albeit communal-oriented heritages were always, by default, constructed with an audience in mind.

Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 8, the hierarchical organisation surrounding the communal sharing of everyday heritage, for example as part of heritage festivals and events, to some extent mirrors the top-down structures inherent in the AHDs. The power dynamics arising from these dominant discourses and hierarchies has been criticised by various scholars for the authorised discourses generally (Smith and Waterton 2009), and for Germany and Austria specifically (Karl 2020). However, these hierarchies likely reflect deeply ingrained notions of heritage and how the past should be presented to broader audiences. For instance, people are familiar with the use of banners and information plaques to communicate local histories, which was picked up as a heritage practice during shared communal festivals (see chapters 5 and 8). The assembly of committees and communal experts on local history who, among themselves, collaborate on the dominant narratives to present as part of the festivities resembles some of the more structured, expert- and fact-based approaches by the authorised discourses.

Yet, these heritage festivals were fundamentally not aligned with traditional managerial notions of materialist authenticity and value as upheld by the *Denkmalschutz* (see Djabarouti 2020; Walter 2013). Instead, events centred around specific practices or traditions that are frequently overlooked by the local authorised discourses and thus exist outside their policies and practices. While such communal festivities occasionally employed the use of physical markers of the past, i.e. banners depicting buildings or information, but also agricultural tools, *Denkmal* buildings, or otherwise historic settings, their primary aim seemed to be the celebration and communication of non-authorised, everyday forms of heritage. This was done through active participation and performances rather than strict adherence to material continuity and authenticity. Alike Penrose (2020), I argue that such shared practices create and are rooted in experiential authenticity (see also Chabra et al. 2003; Knudsen and Waade 2010; discussed in chapter 2). Everyday festivals and events as explored in chapter 8 thus present a totality of heritage experiences which emerges from collaborative, active, and sensory engagements with the past.

This reliance on materiality as a powerful element in communicating heritage demonstrates how tangible objects and sites may enhance everyday heritage narratives by drawing from and evoking individual and collective memories. The use of such material-visual markers serves to evoke a sense of nostalgia (Poulios 2010) and connection to

the past, even if these markers do not align with traditional authorised values or factors of authenticity. Here, shared everyday heritage practices, particularly on a communal level, are rooted both in experiential and memory-based authenticities as brought forward by Penrose (2020) and Poullos (2010).

Intersecting Worlds: Authorised and Everyday

I want to begin this section by presenting an anecdote from this research which I deemed fairly eye-opening in my approach to understanding how people would view authorised and everyday heritages in relation to each other. As outlined in chapter 3, interview questions were designed in a way that did not suggest any particular idea of heritage so as to avoid feeding participants certain answers or ideas. I have explained before that this was further borne out of the etymological challenges in translating the term 'heritage' into German, where they hold strong linguistic connotations to the Authorised Heritage Discourses (see chapter 4). In avoiding authorised terminologies for heritage in conversation with participants, I wanted to abstain from potentially influencing their responses by linking non-authorised and officially sanctioned heritages where there may initially have been no (conscious) overlap.

At the end of my interview with Henry, however, I unintentionally diverged from this rule. His everyday heritage was tied not only to his personal history and experiences but also deeply related to and interwoven with the Sudetendeutsche community and diaspora. In this instance, I therefore asked him: "Would you describe your own story, the story of your family, or the story of the Sudeten Germans as a form of *Kulturerbe* [i.e. cultural heritage]?" I immediately regretted posing this question because I had clearly swerved from my intended methodological path, thus suggesting a potential link between the authorised and everyday. He, however, responded most interestingly: "If you want to ... sure." Henry's answer was delivered with an indifferent, nonchalant shrug.

This response was eye-opening to me in the sense that I had firmly believed people would immediately conjure up a mental bridge between official and everyday heritages. Only then it dawned on me how completely removed some everyday conceptualisations of heritage may be from the authorised discourses, and how little people may actually care for official labels, i.e. *Denkmal*, being attributed to 'their' heritages. This story, however, merely presents one particular anecdotal example and may not be reflective of other participants' potential responses. Nonetheless, to me it raised the question: Are there intersections and overlaps between authorised and everyday which may not be consciously felt or expressed by people, both experts and the public alike? This research does not attempt to provide an

answer to this, but I do want to emphasise the potential for future investigations on this matter.

As I have shown through a variety of examples drawn from my case studies, everyday heritage in some of its tangible manifestations is, oftentimes, thoroughly interwoven with matters of concern to the Authorised Heritage Discourses. In constructing their everyday heritages around the material place of 'home', participants had sought to have their homes delisted, others complained about the Disneyfication of their home environments (following Smith 2006) and feeling alienated as inhabitants as they made their claims to being 'part of this heritage'. This reaction mirrors Smith's (2006) criticism of the AHDs' top-down practices, which often ignore the personal and emotional attachments of the people who inhabit heritage spaces in favour of its material aspects. Others felt a certain interconnectedness with the officialised status of their home as listed under specific criteria, which they sought to enhance through restoration projects. In this process, their conceptions of identity and family were also interwoven with this intersecting activity in that they took over the role of custodians and sought to maintain this active stewardship through making conservation a family tradition.

In the majority of instances in which officially designated heritage embedded in people's daily lives was discussed with participants, they said that they viewed heritage as something difficult. Particularly the frequent engagement with *Denkmal* buildings was emphasised as something to stay away from, as it would 'summon' the authorities which were essentially considered to make life harder. During the initial set of interviews, I wondered whether this preconception would relate to and translate towards everyday heritage. Would firmly embedded prejudices against (official) heritage automatically brand other forms of heritage as something similarly problematic? With increased data collection, however, one major research finding surfaced: As I have emphasised several times, everyday heritage expressions were not consciously viewed as heritage comparable to what people considered 'actual' heritage – official *Denkmale*. Whether or not this is predominantly rooted in the German etymology of the word itself ("heritage" translating to an already officially sanctioned, specific form of predominantly tangible form) remains to be determined in future studies.

The authorised and everyday heritages explored in this work highlighted the oftentimes clashing nature of the intersections between the AHDs and members of the general public (addressed specifically in chapter 6). In line with this, the importance of 'dissonant heritage' has been emphasised by Ashworth and Tunbridge in 1996 as intrinsic to heritage (see also

Graham et al. 2000, 2005; Tunbridge 1998). They contend that “all heritage is someone’s heritage and therefore logically not someone else’s” (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996, 21). This division between ‘theirs’ and ‘ours’ has been strongly vocalised by many of my participants, as I demonstrated in the main chapters of this thesis. Ashworth and Tunbridge further argued that in acknowledging the “contested nature of heritage [...] the tensions that underlie heritage can be encapsulated and understood, and subsequently managed and mitigated” (Smith 2006, 80). In this thesis, I delineate everyday heritage as inherently personal and individual-communal, but also fluid, oftentimes fully embracing or even rooted in (physical) change, notions of discontinuity, or wider insignificance. Therefore, I argue that the dissonance of everyday heritage (whether or not arising from the clashing intersections between authorised and everyday) cannot be approached with the idea of mitigation in mind. Here, I also fully contend with Smith (2006, 82) who argued against this by stating that heritage is fundamentally dissonant: “it is a constitutive social process that [...] is about regulating and legitimizing, and [...] about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings”.

As has emerged from some of my case studies, there are two sides to everyday heritage which cannot always be viewed separately. Parts of it may somewhat ‘belong’ to the Authorised Heritage Discourses whereas others, namely the individual formation and attribution of heritage and personal significance, do not. They are kept in close interlinkage with the officially sanctioned heritage object at the centre (the *Denkmal* building, for example), but are also viewed individually and cut off in their relationship to the authorised discourses. It is an odd thing, a Frankenstein creature of sorts. On this note, it is important to recognise that the heritage object itself may be subject to both the authorised discourses and everyday heritage; the distinction lies in how it is used and engaged with. While it may seem counterintuitive that both realms look at the same building or thing as heritage, this is exactly the point I try to extract with the idea of everyday heritage: both may overlap or be tangential, but neither in terms of their effect on people nor in how individuals constitute heritage overall.

Especially in the context of the case studies and participants presented, everyday heritage appears to still be somewhat impacted by and connected to the authorised discourses. Whereas everyday heritage may not (always) be fully separate from other notions of heritage, it fundamentally differs in the ways it is understood and engaged with. Therefore, there will be an overlap between different heritages at times, albeit one that does not necessarily undermine the existence of both the authorised and everyday perspectives.

What has surfaced from this research is that recognising and reflexively engaging with these intersections of different heritages is a challenging feat. Yet, it also emphasised heritage creation and meaning-making as practices that cannot always be neatly placed into (traditionally dualistic) boxes.

As for the examples highlighted in this dissertation, the intersection between authorised and everyday may have several causes: it may be a purely regional phenomenon – or a linguistic one as discussed above. It may also stem from the fact that most people in this region build practices of everyday heritage around buildings and environments that are *also* officially recognised as tangible heritage within the *Denkmalschutz*. As buildings and homes are often protected under heritage law and policy, any personal expression of everyday heritage that may lead to changes in the material substance of the authorised heritage will be connected to and influenced by the regulations posed by the Authorised Heritage Discourses. In this sense, it would be ideal for future studies to look at instances of everyday heritage that are not (or only tangentially) connected to the authorised discourses, or where the idea of centralised and governed heritage may not be as deeply embedded in society and education. Perhaps this research may also focus on examples from the English-speaking world to attempt to remove possible linguistic biases towards the idea of heritage.

Including Everyday Heritage Perspectives in the AHDs

This segment discusses the relevance and benefits of including everyday heritage perspectives in the authorised discourses. I consider it particularly insightful for managerial practice concerning the interpretation and presentation of heritage in environments which are lived and engaged with in people's daily lives. The issue of exclusion of public narratives in the Authorised Heritage Discourses in Germany and Austria has already been addressed in depth by Karl (2020). Due to the lack of managerially incentivised initiatives to add people's voices to these authorised narratives, he questions the sensibility of advocating and advertising heritage as a practice 'for the public' which has been framed to be rooted in the 'public interest' (also discussed in chapters 4 and 6; see also Karl 2016, 2020; Kemper 2017; Strobl and Sieche 2010): "the public is the one for whom the *Denkmale* are to be kept accessible. They are the "cultural beneficiaries" whose identity is to be shaped" (Kemper 2017, 45). This research is therefore significant in adding individual perspectives to this dominant heritage narrative within Baden-Württemberg. It emphasises not only how closely interwoven authorised and everyday heritages are, but also sheds light on the potential for dissent, controversy, estrangement, or even loss of identity among members of the public.

As discussed in chapter 6, while non-expert individuals and local town communities may not be trained and hold expertise in conservation and management practices, people harbour significant knowledge and insights on their historic homes and living environments. In the context of German heritage management, this has been strongly emphasised by Kemper (2017, 49) who states that “it cannot be denied that the interested public [...] also have a considerable amount of expertise outside the official heritage conservation sector, which can sometimes exceed the regional knowledge of the monument conservation authorities”.

While the majority of information and values attached to heritage objects, sites, or places by individuals in the everyday may not be relevant from a managerial standpoint, some corresponding, yet personal input can still be useful. For example, most families who have ‘handed down’ historic houses or landscapes to their descendants hold detailed visual or oral records of the place. Architectural transformations or adaptations over time are often well-documented in photographs and written notes, which can give insight into the physical impact of changing social and economic circumstances during the ages. Often, photographs of places or buildings evoke memories of displacement and ‘starting afresh’ in a new place that slowly became home over time. Traces of larger, communal histories and sorrows or even shared traumatic experiences can be found in the exploration of those memories and stories behind tangible everyday heritage places. It may help understand the heritage of local diaspora communities and how then-foreign places were accepted and transformed into part of people’s individual heritage narratives. Boyd et al. (1996, 124; also Jacobs 1993) have also emphasised the lack of recognition “of the diversity and complexity of constructed meanings” in the Authorised Heritage Discourses, and particularly heritage management; this certainly holds for the German *Denkmalschutz*. From a local and communal point of view, the people and networks connected to places of interest can also shed light on how certain locales, buildings, or neighbourhoods have been embedded in communities. It can illuminate how the significance or perception of aesthetics and traditional craftsmanship may have changed in light of the rise of more modern or accessible techniques and resources. Though not the focus of this work, I argue its findings hint at the opportunities to ‘leverage’ expressions and understandings of personal, everyday heritage for heritage management and preservation. While manifold, these are simply not considered. This is further supported by Kemper (2017, 49) in his argument that “*Denkmal* protection authorities should further realise that they may be strengthened by the public”.

The authorised discourses often advocate for heritage as ‘by and for the people’, as reminders of ‘who we are and where we came from’ (Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz

2023b). Local managerial practice may, hence, acknowledge the presence and relevance of alternative forms of heritage as well as how it is formed in the everyday. There are means of recording and recognising heritage that do not require strict or traditional conservational approaches. Similarly, not all forms of heritage equally require physical preservation or management.

Throughout this work, I argued for everyday heritage as a 'heritage in the making' (similar to Lekakis and Dragouni 2020 in their case study on Naxos). As such, it constitutes a continuous process of renegotiation and reaffirmation. It is subject to change constantly – to smaller and larger, personal and communal, and more or less widely impactful degrees. In their research on Naxos island, Lekakis and Dragouni (2020) suggested that everyday, rural heritage (in their instance) may be anchored in the authorised discourses by protecting or safeguarding it within an official frame of the AHDs. However, as I discussed particularly in chapter 5, traditional strategies towards officialised heritage management usually include conservational approaches which I contend are incongruous with the ever-changing and fluid nature of everyday heritage presented in this thesis. In being listed as something 'extraordinary' or widely important (e.g. by following the German definitions of heritage value and significance, or Giombini's perception of (authorised versus everyday) heritage discussed in chapter 5), everyday heritage as outlined here may thus lose some of its essence as a thing of primarily individual or communal, everyday, and largely mundane relevance.

While my notion of everyday heritage is not aimed at providing solutions for the conservation of individual, mundane forms of heritage, it may aid in the brainstorming process of how we may recognise and communicate such individual, everyday heritage instead, and how experts and researchers may draw conclusions from this to comprehend the deeper and fundamental workings of heritage overall. Its strength lies in uncovering narratives and the formation of communal and personal stories embedded in a sense of pastness that may often not require physical clues.

Because the people at the heart of everyday heritage, namely those creating 'their' individual facets of it in the everyday, often do not define it as heritage, the concept and approach require an 'outside interpreter'. However, I also argue that while it may never be grassroots or truly bottom-up, the concept is based on the understanding that not all heritage needs to be managed and preserved (as is the dominant notion within the authorised discourses). As such, it distances itself from the strict realms of the Authorised Heritage Discourses, but it can nonetheless not be truly bottom-up. Despite such everyday heritage-based research being 'expert-led', it shifts focus from the aim to communicate or preserve a specific form of heritage to simply understanding how and why heritage may be formed and how it is

expressed accordingly in these contexts. I am hopeful that this may provide a more humane, collaborative, and open-minded approach to understanding the (absence of) relationships between (archaeological) remnants of the past and the people in the present.

With regard to heritage management and the Authorised Heritage Discourses, one could further argue that everyday heritage may even counter the occasionally expressed worries of many a local heritage management institution over an ‘excessively globalised’ world (see chapter 7) in which local expressions and forms of heritage and history are eradicated. Through studying how heritage is created in the everyday and how it may be linked to the physical environment or individual places or buildings, the significance of personal or local narrative and heritage may be revealed. Again, this is not to suggest the preservation and, therefore, officialising of everyday forms of heritage, but instead to promote awareness and understanding of what *else* heritage may be in these contexts.

The Contributions of this Work

Although this research is not the first to address everyday heritage as an idea rooted in the investigation of ordinary people’s engagements with the past, it contributes to scholarly practice and knowledge in several dimensions.

Firstly, it examined how people who live with(in) listed buildings and environments perceive and experience heritage. To my knowledge, this has not been studied so far and is particularly insightful regarding the intersections between authorised and everyday heritages. In the case of Germany and Austria, this research is significant in further opening up the discourse on peoples engagement with heritage as part of their daily lives. Drawing mainly from primary data obtained in personal conversations with *Denkmal* homeowners and members of the local communities living in and around *Gesamtanlagen* in Baden-Württemberg, this work is rooted in peoples-based perceptions of heritage and personal, non-authorised engagements with the past as part of everyday life.

Participants’ perceptions of heritage are twofold: On the one hand, there are officially sanctioned *Denkmal* buildings, sites, or environments. Objectively, these are valued and considered relevant as representative of local, communal, regional, and even national histories, but appear to be less connected to personal pasts and identities. While some participants constructed parts of ‘their’ everyday heritage around the officially recognised significance of their *Denkmal* home, most authorised tangible heritage is considered important on a wider cultural or historical rather than personal level. Congruous with the policies and practices of the *Landesdenkmalamt* Baden-Württemberg, their conservation and

management are believed appropriate and timely. Although members of the general public across Germany and Baden-Württemberg have voiced their dissatisfaction with some official approaches to heritage conservation (see chapters 6 and 7), they acknowledge the overall importance of managerial practice.

On the other hand, there is everyday heritage in the various forms of mundane and non-authorised engagements with people's (semi-)authorised home environments. As I have argued earlier in this work, most participants did not consider 'their' heritage actual heritage. It is likely that due to this, people's perceptions of heritage differs between its authorised and non-authorised forms. Even in those instances where everyday heritages centred around an authorised *Denkmal* or aligned with the values or factors of significance officially attributed to it, participants did not draw connections to the realms of the *Denkmalschutz*. As such, everyday heritage appears to fundamentally revolve around personal narratives and identities, either facilitating an understanding of individual legacy or enabling physical environments in which communal or regional heritage and pasts are celebrated and maintained.

In all these instances, however, everyday heritage emanates from the individual, their understanding of their place in the world, and their respective relationship with the past in the present. As I demonstrated and discussed in the main chapters of this thesis, particularly chapter 6, the importance of everyday heritage to a person is most keenly felt when it is under threat of loss. In light of this, I found it interesting to note how present, dominant, and important people's everyday heritages were to them, especially given that participants were often unaware that they had created 'their own' heritage. Often, it was only the loss of this heritage that gave rise to the powerful emotive role it served in people's lives and in their understanding of identity, sense of place, and belonging, and sometimes community. Loss may include the destruction of beloved buildings or spaces, restrictions on the physical transformation of their *Denkmal* home, not being able to continue personal or familial traditions, relocation, not being able to pass on family names and histories, or the loss or decay of heirlooms, trinkets, and photographs. In many cases it appeared that loss of such non-authorised, everyday heritage is directly linked to a loss of self.

Secondly, this research shed additional light on the attribution of value and significance of listed domestic heritage buildings by the local AHDs and non-expert individuals. From the literature review and some of the secondary data collection, it appeared that there is a lingering presumption that the meaning and values attributed to heritage from an authorised versus everyday perspective often fundamentally differ (see Avrami et al. 2000; Avrami and Mason 2019; Poullos 2010, and particularly Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im

Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart 2012; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart et al. 2007; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg 2016b). This reflects Ashworth and Tunbridge's (1996) concept of 'dissonant heritage'. In this context, everyday heritage values often coexist alongside authorised ones, but they may diverge substantially in terms of personal significance and communal relevance.

Non-authorised forms of heritage, or even those suppressed or outright dismissed by the respective authorised discourses are thus often considered to hold significance that is formed and understood differently, sometimes even in opposition to the AHDs. In the German or Baden-Württembergian authorised discourses, for instance, this perception surfaced particularly from the overarching narrative of having to communicate the 'true' values inherent in *Denkmale* as uncovered by heritage professionals to the public. The significance and respective values attributed to these buildings or sites by homeowners, locals, and communities was, for the most part, simply not considered to exist and/or be relevant. As outlined in this thesis, however, findings from my primary data suggest that individual, everyday heritage significance often emerges from an interplay of authorised and personal values. This interplay suggests that the boundaries between authorised and everyday heritage are often blurred, as Smith (2006) argued in her criticism of the often rigid binaries in the dominant discourses. Everyday heritage can exist both within and outside authorised heritage, as people reinterpret and revalue heritage according to personal or communal needs. Hence, the authorised and everyday are not always clearly separate from each other; as discussed earlier in this chapter, I argue that this is likely due to the etymological biases of the word *Denkmal* as a very particular substitute for 'heritage' in the German language.

For instance, while the respective object or 'form' of heritage was not shared by the local AHDs and individuals, the underlying notions often were: These included an appreciation or connection with former ways of life, the socioeconomic or -political relevance of towns, selected people or families of high standing, or the idea of certain traditions or affiliations with local, regional, national, or international identities (i.e. Tuttlinger, Badner, Alemannic, Schwarzwälder, German, European).

While the context of *Denkmale*, namely their embeddedness within or proximity to historical objects, places, or environments, factors into their respective listing during the evaluatory process (see chapters 4, 6, and 7), wider heritage landscapes are usually not considered as they are within everyday heritage. The study of *Gesamtanlagen* as is done via *Historische Ortsanalysen* in Baden-Württemberg presents somewhat of an exception in this.

However, here too, *Denkmale* are mainly considered in their material-visual context, especially for the exterior of buildings and neighbourhoods. While the label of *Gesamtanlagen* denotes the presence and high density of several (semi-)authorised sites, the *Denkmale* buildings, places, or objects themselves are assessed and highlighted individually in these reports. As outlined in chapters 6 and 7, relevant factors of significance are checklisted and an evaluation of the official status made. This emphasises a tendency within German (and Austrian, according to Karl 2016, 2020) managerial practice – of considering heritage in isolation by assessing and interpreting individual sites or places.

Unlike in the creation of everyday heritage in these *Gesamtanlagen*, local managerial approaches exclude the dimension of current or past use and engagements with these (potential) *Denkmale*, or the stories and identities interwoven with and (re-)making these places and environments. As such, individual and local narratives and (hi)stories are not considered within the local AHDs. Memory is dismissed in an attempt to uncover and present ‘hard facts/data’ (as discussed previously in chapter 8). This is diametrical to everyday heritage forms and engagements explored in this research: Here, landscapes and home environments are imbued with memories and recollection, with the weaving of narratives and stories of the self and community – both in the past and present. Therefore, the everyday heritage(s) discussed in this work are embedded in home environments that, naturally, present palimpsests: This includes their physical reality, i.e. the continuous reworking and reuse of places, but also describes the emotional and memorial imprints of people’s engagements with the past in these (semi-)authorised heritage environments.

The *Denkmalschutzamt*’s dismissal of memory as a factor of heritage may be rooted in authorised notions of history as a more ‘trustworthy’, ‘objective’ and ‘complete’ account of the past, which is why experts “destroy or at least transcend memory by creating history” (Gable and Handler 2007, 52 in Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 194; see also Wertsch 2004). It presents the age-old distinction between ‘fact’ and ‘feeling’: In their interpretation and presentation of heritage, the local AHDs attempt to communicate and conserve the past within the bounds of ‘expert-based’, ‘factually-informed’, ‘historically representative’ values and factors, such as craftsmanship, tradition, material fabric, age, historical context. On the (often, though not always) opposing side stand individuals and communities who construct individualised, personal forms of heritage through their daily, emotive and recollective engagement with (semi-)authorised buildings, sites, places, home environments, or townscapes.

Thirdly, this work aided in the expansion of the idea of ‘everyday heritage’ as thematised particularly in chapter 5. In the context of this research, I understand everyday heritage as rooted in everyday, mundane engagements with the past. This includes (semi-)authorised

buildings, sites, and places, ordinary objects such as photographs and trinkets, but also individual, familial, or local-communal traditions and customs, narratives of the self, family, or community, or other forms of communicating and bringing the past into the present and future. This aligns with Merriman who observed that people “use the past in multifarious ways to suit their own particular needs and feelings about the world” (1991, 37).

This study expands notions of everyday heritage to include people’s engagements with the past through daily and mundane engagements with the past by living in and around (semi-)authorised heritage. Unlike other studies (e.g. Mosler 2019, Giombini 2020, or Lekakis and Dragouni 2022), this research is aimed at investigating these non-authorised forms of heritage and their creation from the perspective of inhabitants, rather than visitors. Further, it addresses the intersections between authorised and everyday without the premise of furthering managerial practice or policies. While in the above section I have argued for an opening of the discourse in Germany and Austria to include members of the general public, this work does not seek to provide concrete suggestions for fostering transparency between *Denkmalschutz* and the public, nor does it advocate for the material preservation of the forms of everyday heritage discussed in this thesis. Through this research, I mainly hope to shed light on the multifarious ways in which people engage with (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* in their everyday life, how non-authorised forms of heritage may emerge from these interactions or within these environments, and how managerial and personal concerns may intersect and mutually affect each other. In presenting the ordinary and everyday engagements with heritage and the past through the words of my participants, I aim to give voice to those currently not considered in the interpretation and presentation of what is officially referred to as ‘rooted in the people/public’.

Lastly, based on the findings of this research (as briefly addressed in chapter 7), I suggest that some concepts that are firmly embedded in Heritage Studies and managerial policy and practice may need to be considered more reflexively, as they are currently used and being connected to different phenomena of heritage rather non-discursively. Due to its fluid and subjective nature, everyday heritage may force researchers to more deeply engage with questions on general phenomena. What lies at the heart of heritage formation? What are the catalysts of their creation? Why are such expressions of heritage important to some and wholly dismissed by others? Do common concepts such as authenticity, place attachment, tangible, and intangible heritages firmly and automatically apply – or may these need to be looked at from differing perspectives in the everyday?

I am hoping that this exploration of everyday heritage may raise awareness of the continued need to break down some of the more rigid boundaries that dominate heritage

research and practice. This is not to argue for a watering-down of definitions and methods, but I want to encourage increased open-mindedness and reflexivity, especially considering the ongoing debates on some of the traditionally more binary approaches, especially in the Authorised Heritage Discourses (e.g. tangible/intangible, nature/culture, archaeology/heritage, authorised/individual). As this research has shown, some of these boundaries may actually be quite blurry, and overlaps or intersections between those realms often considered fully separate from each other may be present more often than anticipated.

In this interconnected and ever-changing world, it is almost impossible to clinically dissect one thing from another: authenticity, for example, is firmly entangled with matters of interpretation and significance. Identity draws from an almost endless stream of negotiations between the self and the world around us, informed by memory and attachment, social bonds and cultural backgrounds, education and spirituality, and a vast range of other factors not taken into account here. How people view, define, and value everyday heritage is also highly individualistic – and largely influenced by upbringing, context, and personal circumstance.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the different dimensions of everyday heritage are not clear-cut. From participant interviews in particular emerged that there is a constant flow and back-and-forth between topics and values. At its core, everyday heritage centres around mundane and low-key, non-authorised engagements with the past in the present, informing people's sense of being in the world. Although some of these mundane heritages were shaped by or based on engagements with authorised *Denkmale*, most were not part of the authorised discourses in their ordinary, everyday expressions. In this chapter, I discussed how participants embedded their historic, (semi-)authorised homes or living environments into wider narratives of an interwoven personal and wider sociopolitical past-present(-future). However, these tangible *Denkmale* did not merely function as a passive prop based on which personal and communal stories would be constructed and where memories and hopes for past and future selves would be stored. Instead, these officially listed or recognised heritage objects, sites, or places were part of an active narrative, in many instances even anthropomorphised in the process of heritage formation and (re-)negotiation.

This research demonstrated the difficulty of moving away from the influence of the authorised discourses. It showed that no matter how hard one may try to reframe and approach one's conceptions of heritage, it will always be impossible to fully distance oneself

from the deeply embedded notions of heritage that we have been educated in and exposed to. It has seeped into the nooks and crannies of our thinking, and, similar to spilled liquids, it will be equally impossible to fully and entirely remove. I therefore approached this study with yet another fitting quote by Terry Pratchett in mind: “open your eyes, and then open your eyes again” (2004). A key prerequisite for exploring everyday heritage is to think outside the box to move beyond the deeply ingrained and authorised discourses-informed notions of heritage – if and where possible. Given the vast multitude of different engagements with (semi-)authorised heritage in everyday life and the fundamentally blurred (or often nonexistent) boundaries between official and personal, everyday heritage cannot delineate specific practices that are removed from the authorised discourses. Particularly with the German etymology of ‘heritage’ in mind, I argue that heritage formation processes in predominantly authorised environments, such as listed buildings, neighbourhoods, or historic townscapes, cannot exist without the subconscious influence of the authorised discourses (albeit passive ones). As remarked on in my methodology chapter, it proved virtually impossible to move away from authorised definitions of heritage – the demographics, namely people being highly educated overall, close proximity to heritage legislation and practice, and language did not allow for such clean cuts.

This chapter also thematised everyday heritage as a performative practice, rooted in ongoing processes of renegotiating (in)significance, discontinuity, sharing, and remaking. It discussed retrospective heritage-making through physical alterations of the original *Denkmal* fabric as one of the more active forms of creating non-authorised heritage. Within everyday heritage, use and change are a dominant reality, and are often fundamental to its formation and upkeep. I outlined four overarching processes of everyday heritage formation, all of which are catalysed by attachment, memory, and emotion. Based on this, I also suggest that everyday heritage is fundamentally a “heritage in the making” as has been suggested in previous studies as well. As such, everyday heritage practices differ from local authorised notions of *Denkmale* and their significance as rooted in the authenticity of the original fabric and the preservation of ‘former ways of life’.

I also discussed pastness as vital to everyday heritage, arguing that it is primarily rooted in sense of place or place attachment. However, these also factor into personal narratives and conceptions of identity, which lie at the heart of everyday heritage as explored in this research as it may simultaneously influence and be rooted in individual stories and notions of the self. Here, I also discussed the role of objects in storytelling and how these have frequently been anthropomorphised by participants to become active agents in their individual life stories and engagements with the past.

Following this, I outlined everyday heritage in the context of the authorised discourses, which constitutes a central part of this research. I contextualised the intersections between authorised and everyday with existing notions on dissonant heritage and argued that in the case of everyday heritage demonstrated in this thesis, its clashes and dissonance with managerial policy and practice cannot be approached with mitigation in mind.

Based on my observations as part of this research and previous discourse analyses of the German and Austrian AHDs (Karl 2016, 2020; Strobl and Sieche 2010), however, I contended that the public-oriented discourse and practice propagated by *Denkmalschutz* authorities fundamentally lack true public involvement. Involvement here is to be understood not purely in community-based activities and the like but the inclusion of local individual and communal voices, stories, narratives, and knowledge in the interpretation and presentation of regional (tangible) heritage. Following this, I discussed the potential of including everyday heritage perspectives in the AHDs, yet argued against approaches towards its conservation and management. Instead, following Karl (2016, 2020) and Kemper (2017), I suggested opening up the general discourse and giving voice to people's knowledge and interpretation of the past which is what this work seeks to do.

Lastly, I outlined the contributions of this dissertation in addressing the experience and perception of heritage of people living in and around (semi-)authorised *Denkmale* and *Gesamtanlagen*. Here, I presented the perception of heritage in two differing ways, i.e. authorised and non-authorised, whereas I also note that everyday heritage is not necessarily considered 'heritage' by participants. Instead, its significance emerges mainly when facing its potential loss. Further, *Denkmale* are usually assessed and valued by experts in isolation of their wider context and landscape. This is different within everyday heritage, which is embedded in the physical palimpsest of remade and transformed place, and the mental renegotiation of memory, narrative and identity. In light of this, I argued for the significance of this research in opening up dialogue on and knowledge of non-authorised engagements with (semi-)authorised home environments. This is particularly relevant in the context of this work, where everyday heritage simultaneously sits at and beyond the intersections between authorised and everyday. As such, it encompasses and embraces both these forms of heritage that are removed almost entirely from the authorised tangible heritage fabric as well as those that are deeply intertwined with it.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

Returning to the title of this thesis, *Living (with the) past* mirrors the two perceptions of authorised and everyday: It describes the relevance of engaging with both (semi-)authorised and non-authorised heritages as an intricately interwoven net of past and present, personal, familial, and communal identities, narratives, and practices. As such, living with the past in the form of everyday heritage not only gives meaning but seems instrumental in constructing daily life within and around tangible markers of the past.

In this thesis, I understand and delineate everyday heritage as being formed in ordinary, everyday engagements with (historic) environments of the home. Whether or not these are officially listed as authorised heritage, however, presents a different story. The latter may add a certain dynamic that can consciously or subconsciously affect people's notions and perceptions of heritage, and influence how they, in turn, value and engage with 'their' everyday heritage. The significance of everyday heritage as outlined in this work lies in its embeddedness and reinforcement of mental and physical palimpsests – that is, places, customs, languages and dialects, townscapes, traditional dress, and memories all reworked by a range of people over time. Here, both change and continuity are embraced through mundane and unofficial daily engagements with individual and communal pasts which constitute the formation and (constant re-)evaluation of everyday heritage in Baden-Württemberg. Based on this continuous reworking of and re-engagement with the past, I argue that everyday heritage cannot be situated within existing ideas of 'heritagisation' which suggest a process of 'becoming' and 'arriving at' a final state or 'product' of heritage. These notions are firmly embedded in the dominant authorised discourses and managerial practice and do not apply to the non-authorised forms of heritage outlined in this work. Here, I align with existing studies on everyday heritage which suggest that it, instead, presents an ongoing 'heritage in the making'.

In this exploration of everyday heritage, I also sought to understand the role of authorised heritage as a home and living environment in people's individual engagements with the past, gaining insights into how heritage may be incorporated into and acknowledged as part of the 'real' world. This stands in contrast to some of the dominant perceptions of heritage as separate from the regular lives of people, oftentimes deemed a passive thing, and mainly encountered and enjoyed from a distance, for instance in the role of the visitor. In this way, my study of everyday heritage is similar to values-based approaches, albeit not authorised discourses-led or -oriented. Its explicit strength lies in exploring how people feel towards

and create heritage in their daily lives without any underlying objective or agenda for management and preservation.

In this dissertation, this was predominantly done by investigating people living in and around officially designated heritage buildings, places and environments. These are defined and acknowledged as *Denkmale*, 'cultural heritage', by the local Authorised Heritage Discourses. This presents the main intersection between the authorised and everyday where friction will undoubtedly occur: With lived experience and time always comes the wish or need for transformation and adaptation, which is a matter of hefty debate and concern to heritage management. Common clashes between local *Denkmalschutz* and individuals arise from these intersections and overlaps between authorised and everyday. Most disputes are rooted in the restrictions on people's expressions of non-authorised heritages that are directly tied to physical alterations of *Denkmal* fabric. The officially sanctioned 'object' of heritage (often constituting participants' homes or neighbourhoods) is considered important and worthy of preservation and management by both parties. However, the respective managerial approaches to its interpretation and conservation are often found problematic and, at times, interfering with individual engagements with the past.

Most forms of everyday heritage investigated and outlined in this work are removed from the dominant focus on material conservation as reflected in local *Denkmalschutz* policies and practices. Therefore, and in line with the 'new heritage paradigm', I examined differing forms of unofficial heritage without the premise of material conservation. In broadening the notion of everyday heritage and its varied manifestations, we may approach heritage in its fundamentals and investigate the role and implications of (authorised and non-authorised) heritage in people's daily lives.

Much of this research was based on an initial exploration of concepts and ideas central to authorised approaches and practices to heritage management and conservation, including authenticity or value, but also the notion of heritage itself. This partial focus on the *Denkmalpflege* was also inevitable due to the periodic (spatial and material) overlap between authorised and everyday. Related to this, linguistic intricacies also presented an influential aspect of this study: Although the German language sets rigid boundaries for the term 'heritage' and what it denotes, this peculiarity also emphasised the myriad ways in which people would refer to forms of heritage that were not automatically included in the 'official' terminology. Referrals to familial legacy, personal traditions, sense of place, historicity, the sharing of experiences and knowledge, recollections and remembrances shed light on what people valued about 'their' everyday heritage and how they did so, allowing for insights into the social and personal nuances to heritage creation and meaning-making.

Valuation and attribution of significance in everyday heritage are highly dependent on individual perceptions and circumstances. In its expectation and targeting of this highly personal dimension, the study of everyday heritage aims to shift attention to non-expert experiences and perceptions of heritage and the values attributed to them. Although conservation approaches have increasingly incorporated notions of 'social value' into policy and practice, this exploration of everyday heritage takes this one step further: Its particular emphasis and focus lie on matters of the individual and mundane, venturing beyond community as a whole, exploring how significance is attributed to things and places in the everyday which are widely considered insignificant, and assessing how it is constantly reinforced and renegotiated in AHDs-dominated home environments.

In the case studies presented within this dissertation, the significance or value ascribed to everyday heritage often took place in different dimensions. For once, homes or places may evoke concrete personal, familial memories of the past and present. Homes or their surroundings may also evoke more abstract feelings: Some participants reflected on themselves and their place in the world relative to where they lived, how old their house was, or the generations that previously inhabited it and their connections or status within the local community and beyond. Others attributed significance to their home as being representative of a perceived 'peak' in past times, for example having been erected at a time when the respective city was flourishing or held high status regionally or nationally. Some participants ascribed significance to their house based on more recent sociopolitical events, for instance in emphasising the proximity of their home to Strasbourg across the German-French border, which serves as the capital of the relatively newly born European Union. In other instances, participants attributed less significance to concrete aspects linked to the home, its materiality, or related memories and ideas of the past. Instead, they would somehow 'zoom out' from their homes and living environments to try and embed themselves and their past-present within wider local or interregional sociopolitical narratives. This would result, for example, in statements on identity and affiliation with certain groups or social narratives, including Alemannic or Swabian German. From such utterings emanates a sense of belonging and attachment deeply anchored and simultaneously removed from 'home' as a concrete place.

The forms of everyday heritage and processes by which they were created – as examined and presented in this thesis – differ from those covered by existing approaches. While wider engagements between the public and authorised heritage or museums, or the individual engagement with homes and objects within them were addressed in former works, this study differs from them insofar as it addresses the intersections between official and

unofficial heritages as perceived and formed by individuals in their daily lives. It seeks to understand the intersections of the AHDs and everyday life to understand how perceptions of 'official' and 'personal' may both overlap and differ.

Nonetheless, not all notions embedded in authorised or other pre-existing approaches to heritage fundamentally differ from this study of everyday heritage. Thus, this dissertation also sought to initially grasp the concepts and ideas that matter to authorised or more well-known forms of heritage. I argued that these factors might subsequently be built on to investigate whether or not – and how – they may also play a role in the (re)creation of 'other' heritages.

Besides focusing on how heritage is made, expressed, and engaged with on a daily basis, everyday heritage does not hold a specific or even universally agreed-upon tangible heritage at its centre. Being less concerned with authorised versus non-authorised interpretations and (e)valuations of a pre-existing heritage, its exploration revolves around nuances, shapes, and perspectives that may not necessarily be viewed as heritage and which may not be connected to wider societal or communal values and understandings of a shared and collective history and identity. With most other bottom-up approaches to heritage, whether grassroots or called upon by an authorised institution, there is a pre-defined sense of what the heritage in question may be and what it may mean to people. In contrast, the continued delineation of everyday heritage as part of this work embraces the unknown. It is exploratory in its ambition to observe and listen to people's engagements with elements of the past in their daily lives, and how this may reflect and transmute into heritage.

Everyday heritage sits at the heart of a web of personal, emotional, abstract and concrete, fluid, multifaceted, both hidden and obvious, shared or private notions and expressions of the past in the present. While it may not matter to most, it may also be deeply relevant and ingrained in some people's lives, beliefs, personal narratives, and identities. Everyday heritage is also explicitly concerned with what is *not* seen or discussed, what is often deemed officially irrelevant – if considered at all from an authorised perspective. While attempting to assess heritage from a less hierarchical or top-down and less heavily authorised discourses-informed standpoint, the concept is nonetheless deeply rooted in academic and expert-based thought.

During my studies, everyday heritage presented itself in vast and varied forms. In some cases, it represented family histories as materialised in heirlooms, photographs, or reports on personal genealogical studies. Some everyday heritage was linked to only the self and individual narratives, while some spanned decades or centuries of kinship and, in doing so,

delineated people's wider roles in local communities. Then again, some forms of heritage were consciously created and upheld mainly through authorised heritage markers in the everyday environment, such as officially listed historic buildings.

In all case studies, the sole common denominator in the formation, (re)negotiation, or dismissal of everyday heritage was the self. Through the vessel of (tangible and intangible forms of) everyday heritage, people created and upheld personal histories, reflected on their individual identities, and communicated their (presumed) purpose in the world. What makes everyday heritage unique and worthy of exploration is that it is about the forms of engagement and the value continuously attributed to a certain heritage. What makes it heritage as opposed to mere observations of socioemotional behaviour is that, at its core, it shares the element of the past being carried over into and engaged with in the present. While the baseline of everyday heritage certainly lies in identity and the self, it branches out to cover matters of family, childhood, and memories of coming-of-age. It concerns traditions in personal and communal ways, extending to aspects of the local community and the self. Further, it may also reach deep into experiences of diaspora and belonging, (un)becoming, and notions of the self as being part of a bigger picture.

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APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPANT DATA KEY

This list presents an outline of the participants interviewed as part of this dissertation research (n=41). All participants who requested to remain anonymous have been given pseudonyms. The five options for the listing status of the home are *Kulturdenkmal*, *Erhaltenswertes Gebäude*, *Kulturdenkmal Prüffall*, no longer listed, or not listed.

Name	Age range	Town	Occupation	Listing status of the home
Edgar	45-55	Freiburg i.Br.	Museologist	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Anita	30-40	Freiburg i.Br.	Artist: Painter	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Alexander	50-60	Freiburg i.Br.	Lawyer	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Helmut	35-45	Gengenbach	Art Historian	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Olaf	45-55	Gengenbach	Lawyer	<i>Kulturdenkmal Prüffall</i>
Markus	50-60	Haslach i.K.	Carpenter	no longer listed
Christoph	30-40	Hildrizhausen	Administrator	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Heike	35-45	Hildrizhausen	Accountant	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Rudolf	75-85	Hildrizhausen	Retiree	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Henry	75-85	Karlsruhe	Retiree	not listed
Gerald	45-55	Knittlingen	Business Economist	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Reiner	50-60	Knittlingen	Businessman	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Beate	45-55	Knittlingen	Housewife	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Marie-Luise	65-75	Knittlingen	Tour Guide	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Joachim	60-70	Knittlingen	Metalworker	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>

Armin	40-50	Knittlingen	Logistics Expert	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Sabie	35-45	Knittlingen	Administration Secretary	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Felix	30-40	Knittlingen	IT Specialist	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Nils	30-40	Knittlingen	Policeman	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
David	75-85	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Retiree	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Werner	50-60	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Architect	<i>Kulturdenkmal Prüffall</i>
Claudia	35-45	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Kindergartner	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Stefan	40-50	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Doctor	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Erika	55-65	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Retiree	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Christiane	40-50	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Midwife	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Klaus	45-55	Königsfeld im Schwarzwald	Glazier	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Hans	60-70	Malterdingen	Local Council	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Hedwig	35-45	Malterdingen	Teacher	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Hildegard	40-50	Malterdingen	Entrepreneur	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Christian	35-45	Malterdingen	Shop Owner	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Ralf	45-55	Malterdingen	Consultant	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Anja	50-60	Malterdingen	Housewife	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>

Anne	55-65	Moos-Bankholzen	Landlady	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Patrick	40-50	Sasbachwalden	Factory Worker	no longer listed
Helga	50-60	Schutterwald	Retiree	no longer listed
Sabine	45-55	Sulzburg-Laufen	Veterinarian	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Horst	45-55	Tuttlingen	Social Security Worker	<i>Kulturdenkmal Prüffall</i>
Ruben	35-45	Waldenburg	Forester	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Maria	55-65	Waldenburg	Church Administrator	<i>Erhaltenswertes Gebäude</i>
Albert	80-90	Waldshut-Tiengen	Retiree	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>
Charlott	70-80	Waldshut-Tiengen	Retiree	<i>Kulturdenkmal</i>

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF *HISTORISCHE ORTSANALYSEN*

This list presents an overview of the *Historische Ortsanalysen* consulted as part of this dissertation research (n=29). None of the reports used was older than 2012 to present the most recent official evaluations of heritage buildings and *Denkmale* in the respective towns and cities. The corresponding PDF files may be accessed and downloaded online via the website of the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart*: <https://www.denkmalpflege-bw.de/denkmale/projekte/bau-und-kunstdenkmalpflege/staedtebauliche-denkmalpflege/historische-ortsanalysen>

Please also note that some titles may not refer to *Historische Ortsanalysen* but instead to *Denkmalpflegerischer Werteplan* instead (see the *Methodology and Methods* chapter, subsection ‘*Historische Ortsanalysen* versus *Denkmalpflegerische Wertepläne*’, for a discussion of this).

Title	Year	Author(s)
Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim	2012	Markus Numberger
Historische Ortsanalyse Bad Mergentheim-Markelsheim	2013	Alexandra Baier
Denkmalpflegerischer Werteplan Beuron	2017	Wolfgang Thiem
Historische Ortsanalyse Stadt Bönningheim	2012	Alexandra Baier, Julia Merz
Historische Ortsanalyse Stadt Bräunlingen	2014	Stephan Kaltwasser, Oliver Ungerath
Historische Ortsanalyse Bühlertann	2012	Binkele, Fleischmann, Hahn
Historische Ortsanalyse Eberdingen-Hochdorf	2013	Becker, Hahn
Historische Ortsanalyse Forchtenberg-Sindringen	2017	Hahn, Grohmann, Lorenz, Schramm
Historische Ortsanalyse Gesamtanlage Freiburg i.Br.	2018	Alexandra Baier
Historische Ortsanalyse Freudental	2013	Hauger, Rathke, Hahn

Historische Ortsanalyse Friesenheim-Schuttern	2013	Stephan Kaltwasser, Oliver Ungerath
Historische Ortsanalyse Gesamtanlage Gengenbach	2015	Alexandra Baier, Julia Merz
Historische Ortsanalyse Hausach	2013	Markus Numberger
Historische Ortsanalyse Hildrizhausen	2016	Famira-Parcsetich, Hahn, Schuster, Stimming
Historische Ortsanalyse Illingen-Schützingen	2013	Planungsbüro Nickel
Historische Ortsanalyse Fauststadt Knittlingen	2013	Gerd Schweizer, Dr. Isolde Daudel, Christian Mathieu
Historische Ortsanalyse Korntal-Münchingen	2014	Markus Numberger
Historische Ortsanalyse Leinfelden-Echterdingen Musberg	2020	Hahn, Bilitsch
Historische Ortsanalyse Malterdingen	2015	Stephan Kaltwasser, Oliver Ungerath
Historische Ortsanalyse Moos-Bankholzen	2012	Till Läßle, Tilman Riegler
Historische Ortsanalyse Stadt Mosbach	2013	Alexandra Baier, Julia Merz
Historische Ortsanalyse Neidenstein	2013	Dr.-Ing. Elke Nagel, Tilman Riegler
Historische Ortsanalyse Öhningen	2013	TU München, Lehrstuhl für Baugeschichte, Historische Bauforschung und

		Denkmalpflege et al.
Historische Ortsanalyse Rheinmünster Schwarzach	2014	Dr. Roland Feitenhansl, Verena Ziegler
Historische Ortsanalyse Tett nang	2018	Dr. Annegret Kaiser
Historische Ortsanalyse Todtnau-Geschwend	2017	Markus Numberger
Historische Ortsanalyse Waiblingen Neustadt	2019	Hahn, Folk, Kranert, Riegraf
Historische Ortsanalyse Waldenburg	2018	Felleisen
Historische Ortsanalyse Waldshut-Tiengen	2016	Markus Numberger

APPENDIX 3: EXCERPTS FROM THE *KULTURDENKMALLISTE*

The following pages contain two exemplary excerpts from the *Kulturdenkmalliste*, i.e. the state's official register detailing the reasons behind official listings of *Denkmale*. The heritage objects presented below have been chosen at random from the *Historischen Ortsanalysen* consulted as part of this thesis, yet purposefully exclude any buildings related to my participants.

Since the *Kulturdenkmalliste* has not been consulted in detail as part of this research, this Appendix mainly serves to showcase the official documentation available for the evaluation of authorised heritage significance and listing status. The following pages have been extracted from the *Historische Ortsanalyse* Bönningheim. The corresponding PDF is available to the public on the website of the *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium* Stuttgart:
https://www.denkmalpflege-bw.de/fileadmin/media/denkmalpflege-bw/denkmale/projekte/bau-und-kunstdenkmalpflege/04_staedtebauliche-denkmalpflege/ortsanalysen/ortsanalyse_boennigheim.pdf.



REGIERUNGSPRÄSIDIUM STUTTGART

Referat 86 Denkmalpflege

Liste der Kulturdenkmale in Baden-Württemberg Teil A2

Begründung der Denkmaleigenschaft

Regierungsbezirk: **Stuttgart** Stand: 3/2012
Land-/Stadtkreis: **Ludwigsburg** Bearb.: **Sagol**
Gemeinde: **Bönnigheim**
Gemarkung: **Bönnigheim**
Ortsteil/Wohnplatz: **Bönnigheim**
Straße/Hausnr.: **Kirchstraße 22**
Gewann:
Walddistrikt:
Flurstück: **0-108, 0-108/15**
Maßgeblich ist der markierte Kartenausschnitt.
Karten: TK 25: **6920**
FK: **NO 5103**
DGK:

21M

Objekt:
(Abgegangenes) Stadtschreiberhaus, später Apotheke mit Laboratorium

Status:
§ 2

Das ehemalige Stadtschreiberhaus wurde 1542 an Stelle eines Vorgängerbaus, von dem der heute nach Norden zur Straße hin versetzt liegende Keller in den neuen Bau miteinbezogen wurde, errichtet. Von 1716-1859 diente das Haus als Apotheke, in dessen Hinterhaus sich vermutlich ein Apothekenlaboratorium (Alchemistenküche) befand. Heute Gasthaus "Alte Apotheke".

Literatur:

W. Kenter, Haus Kirchstraße 22, Untersuchungen. In: Ganerbenblätter 11 (1988) 18-32, bes. 24.

A. Bräuning/A. Schwarz, Archäologischer Stadtkataster Bönnigheim (Stuttgart 1996, unveröffentlicht) 66f.

Stadt Bönnigheim (Hrsg.), Geschichte einer Ganerbenstadt (1984) 59, 366-368.



REGIERUNGSPRÄSIDIUM STUTTGART

Referat 86 Denkmalpflege

Liste der Kulturdenkmale in Baden-Württemberg Teil A2

Begründung der Denkmaleigenschaft

Regierungsbezirk: **Stuttgart** Stand: 1996
Land-/Stadtkreis: **Ludwigsburg** Bearb.: **Sagol**
Gemeinde: **Bönnigheim**
Gemarkung: **Bönnigheim**
Ortsteil/Wohnplatz: **Bönnigheim**
Straße/Hausnr.: **Hauptstraße 45**
Gewann:
Walddistrikt:
Flurstück: **0-95/2**
Maßgeblich ist der markierte Kartenausschnitt.
Karten: TK 25: **6920**
FK: **NO 5103**
DGK:

7M

Objekt:
Ehemaliges Sachsenheimer Amtshaus

Status:
§ 2

Dieses Gebäude mit alemannischem Fachwerk (dendrodatiert 1426), ist als Sitz des Sachsenheimer Verwalters anzusehen. Zu diesem Anwesen gehörten neben dem eigentlichen Amtshaus an der Hauptstraße weitere Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude.

Literatur:

A. Bräuning/A. Schwarz, Archäologischer Stadtkataster Bönnigheim (Stuttgart 1996, unveröffentlicht) 60.

K. Sartorius/H. Aspacher, Rundgang durchs historische Bönnigheim. In: Ganerbenblätter 10 (1987) 43-58, bes. 58.

Stadt Bönnigheim (Hrsg.): Geschichte einer Ganerbenstadt (1984) 387.

APPENDIX 4: EXAMPLE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This appendix contains one example of the CDA conducted as part of this research which follows the five considerations outlined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 44).

Author	Volker Osteneck
Year	2003
Topic	"50 Jahre Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg. Inventarisierung."
Geographic region	Baden-Württemberg, Germany
Target group	Heritage professionals
Main aim	Emphasise the importance of inventarisierung for managerial practice and for raising awareness of the value of heritage to the public.
Definition of Heritage	Tangible, listed culturally relevant objects, buildings, and spaces.
Narrative(s)	Increased knowledge about tangible cultural heritage allows for their improved and effective care. Inventarisierung generates scientific knowledge about it which enables heritage professionals to communicate their value to the public, especially heritage homeowners.
References	(Tangible) heritage is referred to as <i>Kulturdenkmale</i>
Predication	"große Kulturleistung des Staates" (transl.: "great cultural achievement of the state", p. 20); "ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmale [...] Werken der Kunst [...] Kunsthandwerks [...] geschichtlichen oder kulturgeschichtlichen Erinnerungsstücken [...] Archivalien [...] Bibliotheken" (transl.: "prehistoric and early historical monuments [...] works of art [...] artisan craftwork [...] historical or cultural-historical mementos [...] archival materials [...] libraries", p. 20); "Sachen, Sachgesamtheiten und Teile von Sachen, an deren Erhaltung aus wissenschaftlichen, künstlerischen oder heimatgeschichtlichen Gründen ein öffentliches Interesse besteht" (transl.: "objects, groups of objects and parts of objects whose preservation is in the public interest for scientific, artistic or local historical reasons", p. 21), "Kunst- und Alterthumswerke" (transl.: "arts and antiquities", p. 22); following World War II, he emphasises a 'democratisation' of cultural heritage inventarisierung, stating that evaluations now also considered "Zeugnisse der bürgerlichen, der proletarischen und der bäuerlichen Vergangenheit" (transl.: "evidence of bourgeois, proletarian and rural past", p. 22) and "ganze Straßenzüge, ganze Viertel" (transl.: "entire streets, entire neighbourhoods", p. 22), "die Geister, die wir riefen" (transl.: "the ghosts we have summoned", p. 22)
Argumentation	"wissenschaftlichen, künstlerischen und heimatgeschichtlichen Gründen" (transl.: "scientific, artistic and local history reasons", p. 21); "öffentliche Erhaltungsinteresse" (transl.: "public interest in conservation", p. 21); "Denkmalwürdigkeit" (transl.: " <i>Denkmal</i> worthiness", p. 21); considering the 'democratisation' of <i>Kulturdenkmale</i> mentioned above, Osteneck states that the inclusion of other forms of heritage in post-WWII managerial practice were "gefordert [und] mussten untersucht und aufgenommen werden [was] neue Methoden von Erfassung und Bewertung [erzwang]" (transl.: "demanded [and] had to be analysed and recorded [which] forced new methods of recording and evaluation", p. 22); regarding his referral of <i>Kulturdenkmale</i> as 'ghosts': "überfordern uns die Denkmalmassen?" (transl.: "do the masses of <i>Denkmale</i> overwhelm us?", p. 22)
Perspectivisation	Expert view, written from the perspective of the Head of the Inventarisierung Unit, <i>Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg</i>
Communication	Mostly explicit and intensified, with some exceptions of implicit phrasings (especially concerning the changes to inventarisierung as a practice). Overall, despite the explicit statements made, this text presents little concrete evidence/arguments for the nature and characteristics of <i>Kulturdenkmale</i> . Osteneck mainly echoes the phrasings of Baden-Württembergian heritage legislation.

APPENDIX 5: TYPICAL INTERVIEW RESPONSES

This appendix contains an array of typical responses to the interview questions outlined in the Methodology chapter. It showcases the variety of answers given by my participants while allowing for their continued anonymity by avoiding the inclusion of heavily redacted interview summaries.

How long have you lived here already, and when and why did you move here?

- “Forever”, “all my life”, “since birth”, “I was born here”, “this has been my childhood home”, “I lived here since I was a little boy/girl”
- “I moved here after leaving school”, “we moved to this house after we got married”, “this house belonged to my husband’s family”, “I lived in town and moved houses later”
- “Inheritance”, “this house was passed down to me from my parents”, “my parents gave it to us as a wedding gift”, “it has been in our family for generations, so I stayed here”
- “I wanted to live in a historic house”, “we were looking for something that had a history”, “modern houses are so depressing, we wanted something old and lived-in”, “I wanted to live in a house that had seen many lives before me”, “I wanted something to represent myself”

How important is the age or history of a house or town to you?

- “Very important”, “the older the better”, “very much so”, “I want to be part of something bigger”, “I always wanted to live somewhere with character and history”, “I explicitly looked for a house from the 17th century”
- “Age doesn’t matter too much to me”, “it doesn’t feel old, because I have always lived here”, “I don’t think about the age of my hometown”, “we are aware of the age of this estate, but it’s not a deciding factor for us to want to live here”
- “I don’t care”, “we couldn’t care less”, “this house might as well only be 50 years old, I don’t bother about it – to me, living here is about a connection with the past”, “I don’t care about the age of the town, but my home must be somewhat old”

Have you physically changed anything about this place?

- “Not changed, only renovated”, “I could never!”, “we did some remodelling”, “it was important to preserve as much as possible without changing the original details”, “we redid the traditional wattle and daub insulation”, “I retrofitted the old

beer pump in the basement", "maybe a little colour here and some new glass panels there", "nothing major"

- "We changed some of the interiors", "parts of the inner structure of the building", "I wanted some of the rooms to be expanded and merged", "we installed a lift", "the staircase was inappropriate", "central heating", "added new insulation", "covered up the old bathroom tiles"
- "Repainted the exterior", "added skylights", "changed the thatching on the roof", "we completely remodelled the old barn into new living quarters", "installed electric shutters", "added a satellite dish and some solar panels", "repainted the wooden shutters"
- "We gutted the house completely", "added a balcony to the south side of the house", "the layout is completely new"

What do you think of when you think of 'cultural heritage'?

- "UNESCO", "visiting sites on holiday", "museums", "*Denkmalschutz*", "ICOMOS", "the *Denkmalschutzgesetz*", "professionals and experts", "knowledge and protection", "*Denkmal* lists", "statues", "holocaust memorials", "World Heritage Sites"
- "strict management", "many regulations and policies", "places where authorities are in charge", "conservation"
- "buildings or sites that are significant and venerable", "that something is worth preserving", "a culturally important place", "ancient objects", "archaeology", "ruins and castles", "things from the past that are universally important", "showcasing special achievements from the past", "exceptional craftsmanship"

If you could choose all over again, would you still want to live in a historical building?

- "Every time", "I cannot imagine how not", "definitely", "I have never known any other way of life"
- "Only if it is similarly convenient", "not necessarily", "under certain circumstances, maybe", "it was my wife's choice anyway", "not sure"
- "If I had a choice, no", "financially, no", "very unlikely", "probably not, because it is so draining to deal with the regulations", "if it is not listed, yes", "for many reasons no, which is why we are relocating soon", "it is too burdensome, so no"

What do you particularly like about this place? Is there anything you would like to change?

- "It is part of me", "everything", "this house holds all our memories", "that it has been my family home since the very beginning", "all the stories it has seen", "it is so

full of our history", "this place is so reflective of me and my past", "the sweat, blood, and tears that have gone into it"

- "I love the old stained glass windows upstairs", "the fireplaces are wonderful", "it is bright and inviting", "that it has not really changed in 200 years", "its tranquillity", "that it is not blandly modern", "its architecture is unique to this town",
- "I experience the past every day", "it feels like I am part of something larger than life", "this house makes me reflect on who we are and where we came from", "I can be in my own little bubble of the past"
- "Why would I want to change anything?", "it is perfect", "we chose to live here because it couldn't be more suitable for us", "it is everything I ever wanted"
- "Maybe update some of the amenities", "making it appropriate to our advancing age", "change only as little as possible", "minor changes here and there", "cosmetic updates"

What is your general opinion on the *Denkmalschutzamt*? Which points of contact have you had with the authority so far?

- "They are doing a necessary job", "generally a good institution", "professional"
- "Underfunded", "should look into more practical solutions", "often not very cooperative", "trying their best", "necessary evil", "may want to be more pragmatic", "Kaputtgespart", "I don't really understand what they are doing on a daily basis"
- "None yet", "I hope they never reach out to us", "so far very little", "we managed to evade them a few times", "I do not understand their expectations of homeowners"
- "Assisted with remodelling", "supported the dating of the cellar", "guided us through the regulatory processes", "helped out with paperwork", "informed us about the history and architectural intricacies of the building", "let us know what changes we could make and which ones were not allowed"
- "Took dendrochronology samples once", "only talked to an expert once or twice", "we went to their offices to have the house delisted", "seen representatives at a local heritage night"

What makes you the happiest about living here?

- "Continuing my family's legacy", "being able to express myself", "being immersed in the past", "that I can be an active part of the house's history", "that it allows us to pass on our story and traditions to our descendants", "being part of the past", "reliving the past", "maintaining this wonderful old space"

- “Admiring its beauty every day”, “being immediately linked to our town’s history”, “following in the footsteps of our ancestors”, “it makes me a credible part of our longstanding community”, “being in the physical space of my ancestry”

Describe one aspect of life you most closely relate to this place.

- “Family”, “remembering”, “home”, “hearth”, “rootedness”, “knowing where you come from”, “belonging”, “happiness”, “memory-making”, “knowing one’s place in the world”, “being anchored”, “community bonds”, “neighbourship”
- “Feeling at peace”, “expressing oneself”, “finding your identity”, “acceptance”, “knowing yourself”, “doing something meaningful”
- “History”, “record-keeping”, “passing on memories and stories”, “thinking about the future”, “upholding a sense of the past”, “being surrounded by age and knowledge”, “living someplace meaningful”

What do you know about the ‘official’ *Denkmal* significance of your house?

- “Nothing”, “very little”, “it is irrelevant”, “nothing and I wish it wasn’t listed”, “who cares – there is no need for any label”
- “Where would I find out?”, “the authorities have not told us”, “we don’t have any paperwork on it”, “maybe my father knew more about it, he made some alterations to the house in the 50s”, “I think [the authorities] don’t tell people unless they ask”, “how do you know?”
- “I know that it is one of the oldest houses in the village”, “we were told its style is particularly representative of how they used to build villas in the 1800s”, “I think some important townsman lived here once?”, “it used to be the community tavern, maybe this is why it’s significant”