



THE COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTIONS OF HERITAGE

Literature Review

Compiled October 2014

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Cover image:

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Executive Summary

The Heritage Council of Victoria commissioned a literature review of existing research and studies on community perceptions of heritage.

The purpose of the review was to inform communications planning and associated activities and help provide a basis for prioritising projects and expenditure.

It also looks to identify any gaps in existing research and what, if any, further research should be conducted.

The report is structured as follows:

- Introduction (Section 1): project objectives, methodology and acknowledgements
- Overview of Existing Research (Section 2): national, state/local and international
- Key Findings (Section 3): what 'heritage' means to people, how interest in heritage develops, public participation in heritage, its importance, what aspects are seen as most important and why, attitudes to the preservation of heritage, the expected role of government and whether expectations are being met.
- Considerations for Communication Plans (Section 4): key issues.
- Further Research (Section 5): recommendations for further research.

The key findings from each section are considered below:

Existing Research

The review found a key stakeholder in heritage management, the 'general public', was rarely consulted systematically on heritage issues.

There were no specific Victorian studies on public attitudes to heritage, although some state-level findings on attitudes to historic heritage are available from the Allen research.

Key Findings

- Heritage is a broad concept. It is one that many people have difficulty defining, from 'old buildings' and history, to intangible aspects and natural elements.
- Personal connections and a visit or experience which nurtures a connection are key links and an interest in heritage is not always acknowledged.
- Heritage is seen as both important and valuable to Australians and is influential in decisions on tourism and where people live.
- However, the economic benefits of heritage are not widely understood.
- Once personally connected, people develop an ongoing interest in protecting and preserving what is important to them.
- Heritage is not merely about the objects, but what they mean to people.
- The public is largely unaware of the roles that different tiers of government play in heritage but there is a high level of belief that not enough is being done particularly through education and protection.
- There is scope to facilitate public discussions about heritage, foster greater public involvement in heritage, provide additional support for owners of heritage properties and conduct further research including state specific research on attitudes to heritage, regular national research, data on economic and social benefits of heritage and a survey of heritage property owners.

1. Introduction

The Heritage Council of Victoria commissioned a literature review of existing research and studies on community perceptions of heritage.

Established under the *Heritage Act 1995*, the Heritage Council of Victoria is charged with responsibility for the recognition, protection and celebration of Victoria's cultural heritage. Its role is broad and its functions include:

- promoting public understanding of Victoria's cultural heritage, community education and information programs
- advice and liaison to assist other government agencies and local councils on the protection and conservation of places and objects of heritage significance
- initiating and undertaking programs of research related to the identification, conservation or interpretation of Victoria's cultural heritage.

1.1 Background and project objective

The discourse on what constitutes heritage, which aspects are important, and how it can/should be consumed goes on largely among academics and heritage-related practitioners. By comparison, research on the general population's views is limited.

The specific objective of the project is:

- to review and summarise existing research and studies on the overall attitudes, opinions and experiences of the public regarding heritage and heritage protection.

The purpose of the review is to inform the Heritage Council of Victoria's and Heritage Victoria's communication plans and associated activities and to help provide a basis for prioritising projects and expenditure. It also looks to identify any gaps in existing research and what, if any, further research should be conducted.

1.2 Methodology and limitations

Following a decision to review research and studies in Australia and internationally, literature was sourced that would provide an overview of the range of research on public attitudes to heritage.

A review of all the available literature on the topic could not be undertaken within the parameters of this project. The sources reviewed focused on those that feature quantitative results, or large-scale, in-depth qualitative studies, and in particular any research undertaken in Victoria and Australia. The report has made use of verbatim comments from qualitative studies to exemplify a particular viewpoint, although it is important to be aware that these views do not necessarily represent the views of all respondents.

The literature was assessed for key issues, lessons, insights and guidance on public attitudes to heritage and communication approaches that the Heritage Council and/or Heritage Victoria could pursue. A list of all references read for the literature review is provided in Section 6 of this report. Studies and papers were primarily sourced from government and academic research.

1.3 Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Belinda Boerkamp and the following Heritage Council of Victoria and Heritage Victoria members and staff were involved in discussions for the literature review:

- Jon Hickman, Member – Heritage Council of Victoria
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The author would like to thank Dr Heath McDonald (PhD), Professor of Marketing at Swinburne University for his willingness to give up his time to discuss the findings of the Deakin University national research. Many of the key findings in this report draw on this research. In many cases, the results of these studies have not been paraphrased in the literature review so as to retain the original interpretation of the research. These are referenced within the report and the sources are detailed in Section 6.

2. Overview of Research and Studies

Although a key stakeholder in heritage management, the 'general public' is rarely consulted systematically on heritage issues. Attempts to gauge interest in, and views on, heritage related issues have been limited to a number of studies worldwide.¹ Many of these focus on behavioural dimensions and attitudes towards the value of heritage.

A list of research and studies, and a summary of the objectives and methodology of key studies examined for this Literature Review are included in Appendix A.

National (Australian)

At a national level, several studies have been commissioned which examine aspects of the Australian public's interest in and attitudes to heritage.

Research commissioned by the Australian Government has explored public interest in Australian heritage, what factors lead people to develop an interest in heritage and engage in heritage-related behaviours, and what elements of Australia's national heritage are seen as most important to protect and why.

- In 2004 research was undertaken by Colmar Brunton Social Research related to the *Distinctively Australian* initiative. It sought to measure the public's interest in Australian heritage, their views on the new National Heritage List and grants program, and their interest in Indigenous places, events and stories.
- Research carried out in 2006 by Deakin University examined the factors that lead people to develop an interest in heritage and subsequently engage in heritage-related activities. This knowledge allows more efficient and effective promotion of heritage. Qualitative research (focus groups and in-depth interviews) were used to gain a sense of how people defined heritage and what factors influenced their thinking and involvement. A quantitative large-scale survey was then conducted to quantify the extent to which relevant attitudes and behaviours are held and undertaken, across the Australian population.ⁱ The research also examined which aspects of Australia's national heritage are seen as being most important to protect and what factors influence people's assessments.
- In 2010 the national quantitative survey by Deakin University was repeated and expanded to track any change in attitudes over time.

A study for the Heritage Chairs and Officials of Australia and New Zealand (HCOANZ) has looked at the value that people attach to the protection of 'historic' heritage. In 2005 a study by the Allen Consulting Group was commissioned to inform debate about the value of heritage conservation in Australia. As part of this work, a large-scale national survey investigated the degree to which people were willing to financially support greater historic heritage protection and which conservation outcomes they particularly value. It also examined public attitudes to heritage using a selection of questions derived from a 2003 MORI survey for English Heritage. Many of the survey results are reported at national and state levels, with some further divided into metropolitan and regional areas for each state.

The key findings from this Literature Review are largely based on the Deakin University and Allen Consulting Group research. **Table 1** summarises key features of these studies.

Table 1: Key features of national research

Research	Description	Location
Allen Survey 2005	Nationally representative survey of over 2,000 Australians	National
Deakin Qualitative Research 2006	Phase 1: 3 focus groups 18-25 years, 26-45 years, 46+ years	Melbourne (metro only)
	Phase 2: 12 In-depth interviews 18-25 years, 26-45 years, 46+ years	Melbourne (metro only)
	Phase 3: 4 focus groups Indigenous Australians, Italian, Vietnamese and Arabic (English & other language at home. Mix 1st/2nd generation).	Melbourne (metro only)
Deakin Survey 2006	Nationally representative survey of over 3,200 Australians	National
Deakin Survey 2010	Nationally representative survey of over 2,000 Australians	National

ⁱ The survey data was collected in October 2006 and some further analysis undertaken in 2007. Published papers refer to the 2007 date.

State / Local

No specific Victorian studies were found on public attitudes to heritage. Some state-level findings on attitudes to historic heritage are available from the Allen survey and the Deakin qualitative research.

A few small-scale surveys have been undertaken by local government:

- In 2013 the Mornington Peninsula Shire Council conducted a survey of 150 owners of properties that are in a Heritage Overlay. In part this was in response to submissions received to the local Heritage Review, which proposed a number of new heritage listings. It examined owners' awareness of and attitudes to heritage, management of heritage places and assistance to property owners.
- In 2006 the City of Ballarat undertook a survey of over 140 Ballarat visitors and residents on their perceptions of the value of heritage in the City. The survey was derived from the 2005 Allen Consulting Group work. As the survey methodology differs in key areas, the results cannot be directly compared.

The sources reviewed for this report focus on research with quantitative results, or larger-scale, in-depth qualitative studies. However, it should be noted that the Victorian public is routinely consulted on a range of matters that reveal community opinions towards heritage:

- Community engagement activities are conducted by state and local government to inform the development of policy documents. Examples include community plans, heritage strategies, arts and culture strategies and urban planning policies, including plans for activity centres. This type of consultation does not usually include market research and is not comparable as respondents do not constitute a random sample.
- A state-wide Local Government Community Satisfaction Survey is commissioned annually by the Victorian Government and local governments. In some years it has included a question on economic development, including arts, cultural facilities and events, and town planning policy and approvals, including heritage issues. The detailed results are unpublished, but if available, may provide some insight into the Victorian public's perception of heritage-related issues including those on planning controls and the protection of heritage at a local area level.

International

Internationally several large-scale studies on public attitudes to heritage have been undertaken:

- In England a wide range of research has been conducted for English Heritage, often in partnership with other government and heritage bodies. Research by MORI between 2000 and 2003 explored public attitudes to heritage and ways in which the sector can broaden access to heritage and the historic environment. This included investigating how people interact with their local area. This focus is related to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) broader strategic commitment to open up institutions to the wider community, promote lifelong learning and social cohesion. Since 2005 *Taking Part: the National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport* has been conducted. This survey and other studies commissioned on different themes feed into 'Heritage Counts', an annual survey of the state of England's historic environment.
- In Ireland, between 1999 and 2006 market research was commissioned by the Heritage Council on public attitudes to heritage, encompassing both historic and natural heritage. The research monitors changes in awareness and understanding of heritage and the strength of attitudes and perceptions of national heritage. The 2006 survey also examined the extent to which the public is willing to pay, in the form of a proposed notional taxation, for extra heritage protection or provision.
- In 2005 Scottish Natural Heritage commissioned research to clarify the key natural heritage messages it should be promoting and potential communication approaches. It also sought to establish baseline information for public awareness of natural heritage and key ideas of biodiversity, landscapes, marine, protected sites and sustainability.
- In 2011 Auckland Council conducted a large-scale survey to guide the development of a new plan for the management of historic heritage in the region. Almost 2,000 members of the Auckland People's Panel participated in the online survey.

3. Key Findings

The results of research and studies on public attitudes to heritage are summarised under the following questions:

- *What does 'heritage' mean to people?*
- *How does interest in heritage develop?*
- *Are people actively participating in heritage?*
- *Is heritage important?*
- *What aspects do they care most about and why?*
- *What are public attitudes to preserving heritage?*
- *What is the expected role of government?*
- *Are expectations being met?*

First impressions are generally dominated by 'old buildings' and history, however intangible aspects and natural elements are also noted.

The main avenues to involvement with a specific heritage item are 'from the bottom up' through a strong personal connection or interest, or 'top down' involvement, where an enjoyable visit to a significant place can foster personal connections. Far from being static, many positive aspects of heritage are 'experiential'.

3.1 What does 'heritage' mean to people?

The meaning of Heritage to Australians

- Includes experiences as much as places and objects.
- Operates on a global, national, community and individual level.
- Our national heritage denotes aspects that need to be protected and preserved because they represent what we were / are as Australians, and most importantly, make us uniquely Australian.

Personal versus National relevance

- People recognise that their own interests won't be shared by all, but are tolerant of other interests as well.
- However, people feel uncomfortable discussing heritage that they are not personally involved in.
- Some aspects of Australia's national heritage are recognised as being truly iconic.

"People's family histories and lives I think are heritage. I could be wrong there but I would interpret people's lives as an important part of heritage – their history, and both local and family history. That's just as important as any of our native animals or museum or building."

- Kym, male, 46 years + focus group

"I think it's just a very gradual subtle thing. It's not tangible, but it's carried through the generations and is influential today and our attitudes on things and psychologically as a nation how we perceive things."

- Mark, male, 25 to 45-year-old focus group

The meaning of 'heritage' was explored in the 2006 Deakin focus groups. Heritage was recognised as a broad concept and one that many people had difficulty defining. This issue hindered discussions on the topic and partially explained why participants reported rarely discussing heritage issues with their peers. Typical first responses to questions about how participants defined 'Australia's heritage' included 'no idea, 'old buildings' or uncomfortable silence.² Similar responses have been noted in international public research (MORI, 2003).

However, by pressing further, the participants made numerous suggestions on what could be included in a definition, but remained hesitant in doing so. Intangible experiences, such as attending festivals or site tours and family histories, were included, as were tangible places and objects.³ The response from the 2010 nationally representative survey is shown in **Figure 1** below. It illustrates that first impressions are dominated by 'old buildings' and 'history', however intangible aspects can also be seen, with words like 'culture' and 'traditions'.⁴

Table 2: What best reflects Australia's heritage ⁱⁱⁱ *Naming of examples and grouping into Heritage Elements*

Heritage Element	Specific examples provided by participants	2010 % naming (n = 1,872)	2006 % naming (n = 3,224)	Change 2006- 2010
Native animals	Kangaroo, platypus, koala, emu	5.7	11.3	-5.6%
Natural icons/ landmarks	Great Ocean Road, Uluru/Ayers Rock, Great Barrier Reef, Kimberley Ranges, Daintree Forest, Bondi Beach	35.7	30.3	5.4%
Nature reserves	Natural forest areas, National Parks (e.g. Kakadu)	4.5	4.7	-0.2%
Historic architecture	Victorian buildings – St Paul's Cathedral, GPO, St. Kilda Esplanade, Old Melbourne Gaol, Cooks' Cottage	4.3	2.8	1.5%
Major waterways	Yarra River, Murray River, paddle steamers and irrigation	0.7	0.4	0.3%
Australian military history	The Shrine, Point Cook Airfield, Australian War Memorial,	3.4	3.9	-0.5%
Indigenous Aboriginal culture	History, sites, art, dancing, rock paintings	5.0	5.5	-0.5%
Australian inventiveness	Royal Flying Doctors Service, Hills Hoist	0.6	1.1	-0.5%
Australian art and cultural works	Music, paintings, poetry (e.g. Banjo Patterson), museums	3.6	2.5	1.1%
Man-made landmarks/icons	MCG, Cities, Parliament House, Sydney Harbour Bridge, Opera House	24.6	20.4	4.2%
Celebrations/festivals/ events	Sporting, cultural, historical events (e.g. Australia Day).	0.2	1.1	-0.9%
Early white/ Anglo Saxon settlement	Penal history, gold rush, beginnings of towns/cities/ buildings, (e.g. Port Arthur, Ballarat, Sovereign Hill, The Rocks).	8.5	6.2	2.3%
Sporting traditions	Australian Rules Football, Rugby League, cricket, surfing, swimming, tennis	0.9	2.3	-1.4%
Australian personalities	Cathy Freeman, Don Bradman, Dame Nellie Melba, Ned Kelly, Stockman's Hall of Fame	0.9	1.3	-0.4%
Immigration/ multiculturalism	Melting pot of different nationalities, food, restaurants, ethnic precincts (e.g. Lygon St)	1.2	1.4	-0.2%

ⁱⁱⁱ Deakin survey question: Imagine you were asked to show someone, who knew nothing about Australia, three things that you think best capture Australia's Heritage. What would you show them?

3.2 How does interest in heritage develop?

Personal Connection and Involvement

- There appears to be two main routes to involvement with a specific heritage item:
 - 'From the bottom up' through a strong personal connection or interest.
 - 'Top down' involvement; where an enjoyable visit to a nationally significant heritage place can foster personal connections.

Importance of Experiences

- Far from being static, many favoured aspects of Heritage are 'experiential'.
- Emphasis is placed not only on knowledge of, but also the celebration of Heritage.
- Heritage is not so much about the objects, but what they mean to people.

"I don't think it's up to me to judge what is important heritage for this country. Obviously things like the Sydney Opera House are important to everyone, but I can't do much to protect that [...] I mean, I know what my heritage is, my family and where we came from and that, but that's only me...] I don't expect everyone else here to care about that."

- Tai, female, Vietnamese migrant focus group

"Because the first-hand experience is much more – it stays in you a lot more than maybe reading about it."

The research by Deakin University specifically explored the questions of how interest in heritage develops and what can be done by government to drive greater involvement in heritage. It found that interest in heritage stems from connections and interactions.⁹

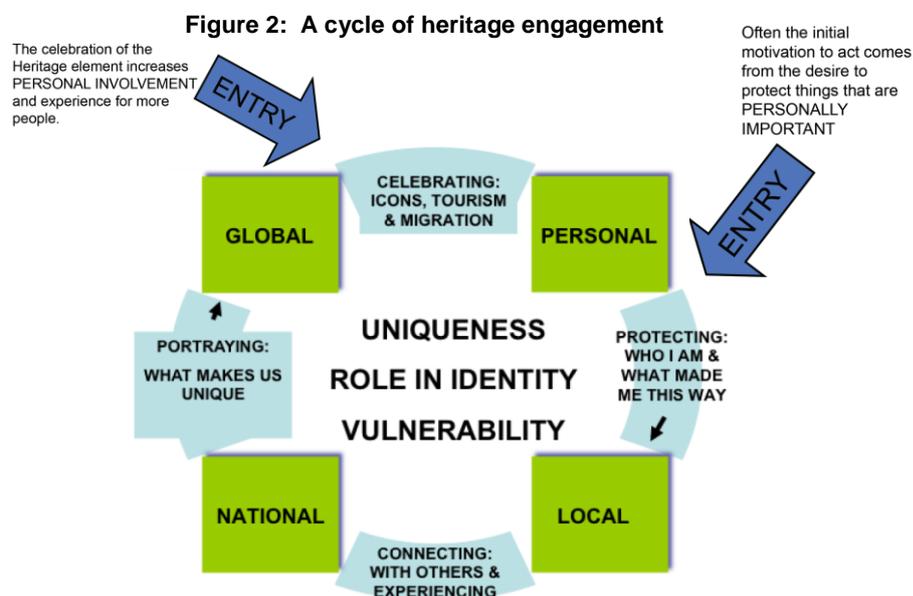
In the focus group discussions, participants recognised that heritage operates on multiple levels and gave examples of global, national, community and individual level heritage. The development of connections and involvement in heritage issues usually started from an individual focus, broadening to a more aggregate national level over time. This means that a person most commonly needs to feel a personal connection with a particular heritage element before they will support its protection and preservation at a national level.¹⁰

Initial interest or involvement stemmed from one of two sources:¹¹

1. Primary involvement flows from close personal interests. For example, family history (migration, achievements) or interests (bushwalking, architecture).
2. Attendance at an event or visit to a site can prompt a desire to learn more and builds a personal connection if a positive experience is had. For example taking visitors to see the Twelve Apostles.

McDonald (2011a) identifies that a cycle forms where, through celebration of certain national heritage elements, more individuals can have personal experiences and develop meanings related to that 'element', increasing overall interest in it.¹² **Figure 2** attempts to depict that cycle.

The Deakin focus groups found a clear preference for 'living history' and interaction. Younger participants were unlikely to read or watch, but enjoyed 'doing'.¹³ Similar findings have been noted in international research (MORI 2003, RDS 2003). In research for the BBC television series *Restoration*, the public were interested what buildings looked like in their 'hey day', its role in history and who used to live there. They were less interested in facts and figures on how it was built and its architectural or artistic importance.



3.3 Are people actively participating in heritage?

What are heritage-related activities?

- Heritage and culture are used synonymously.
- Thus most respondents did not immediately think of any heritage-related activities that they have engaged in.
- Leisure activities and participating in cultural festivals are not initially viewed as heritage related participation.
- Often heritage may not have been their motivation for attending but it had a positive outcome spurring interest and enthusiasm.

Indirect versus direct participation

- A wide range of heritage-related behaviours are being undertaken, although they are heavily weighted towards 'indirect' activities.
- People consume heritage-related media, attend cultural festivals and events, and take tourist holidays that include heritage dimensions.

2010 national survey findings

In the previous 12 months:

- 80% had engaged in at least one heritage related behaviour.
- 60% had watched a TV show related to Australia's heritage.
- 47% had visited an Australian heritage site and 41% attended a cultural festival or event.
- 40% had read a book or article related to Australia's heritage.
- 25% had donated money to a heritage-related cause.
- 10% had played an active role in heritage protection or preservation.

This was a decline from the 2006 results.

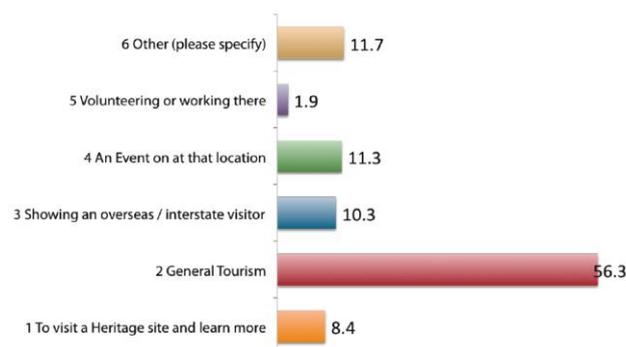
The 2006 Deakin focus groups revealed that a broad range of Australians are deeply interested in heritage but didn't always recognise their interests as heritage-related. For example, many were interested in their family tree or taking visitors to see famous landmarks, but didn't consider these a heritage activity.¹⁴ This means that when collecting information on participation in heritage, a broader view of heritage and relevant activities must be taken.

As heritage was a difficult term to define, discussion of heritage-related activities was also difficult. People tended to use the terms 'heritage' and 'culture' synonymously and/or interchangeably and the focus seemed predominantly on what might be called 'high-culture'. As a result, people didn't initially consider themselves active participants in many heritage activities. In deeper discussion though, many participants spoke of how attending events such as the ANZAC day football game, going to Chinese New Year festivities or visiting Uluru had made them think of Australia's heritage.¹⁵

To address this issue, the 2006 and 2010 Deakin surveys asked respondents to report the extent to which they were involved in a wide range of heritage-related behaviours. The results show participation in heritage is more widespread than typically reported. A wide range of behaviours are undertaken, although it is heavily weighted to 'indirect' activities such as watching TV shows and attending cultural festivals and events. As shown in **Figure 3**, tourism is the primary purpose for many visits to heritage places in Australia. Listing sites on the World or National Heritage List is seen to make them of greater interest to the public. Most visitors had read brochures or seen educational material when at these places.¹⁶ The detailed results are collated in Appendix B.

The level of visitation to heritage sites in Australia is lower than that seen in England (73% of all adults in 2012/13^{iv}). Studies there have examined the factors that influence attendance and which drivers are most important for widening cultural participation (CEBR, Freshminds).

Figure 3: Primary Purpose of Visit^v



^{iv} Historic Environment Forum (2013) Heritage Counts 2013 England

^v Based on 2,011 responses collected in 2010 Deakin survey. Question: Thinking about the most recent of these places you visited, what was the primary purpose of your visit?

3.4 Is heritage important?

Heritage is important, both good and bad

- A universal belief that Heritage is important and valuable to Australians.
- Heritage should include recognition of mistakes and negative events.
- It is important to understand how Australia's heritage is relevant to today and the future.

"I think it's very important to pass on tradition like language, custom, memories of my parents and grandparents, where they have come from. I can't imagine who I'd be if I couldn't keep those things."

- Mia, female, Vietnamese migrant group

Why: Preservation and Education

- Two key phrases used to justify the interest in Heritage were:
 - To **preserve** for future generations, components held to be important to 'who we are'.
 - To allow **education** about how and why things are the way they are (for both good and bad).
- There is a growing appreciation that not all Heritage is old nor necessarily beautiful.
- The economic benefits of Heritage are not widely understood.

"Our heritage is basically where we've come from, and some of the things we've done in our past haven't been particularly pleasant."

- Kym, male, 46 years + focus group

The public's attitudes towards heritage were examined in the 2005 Allen survey and Deakin national research. Throughout the 2006 Deakin focus groups, a strong belief was expressed that heritage is both important and valuable. The focus of most participants was twofold: on the way heritage represents the past and on how it can contribute to the present and the future.¹⁷

There was a strong interest in heritage, particularly on a personal level (i.e. learning about and protecting things immediately related to their own heritage).¹⁸ Heritage played a critical role by acting as a medium for storytelling and intergenerational communication. Preserving places and objects was important in order to facilitate education. The focus groups also pointed to a growing appreciation that not all heritage is old or necessarily beautiful. It is these aspects of the present or recent past that help shape the future. For example, among younger participants, Melbourne's Federation Square had already been the site of important events for them and they acknowledged they would like to take their as yet unborn children back to such places.¹⁹

Key findings for Victoria from the 2005 Allen survey on the value of 'historic' heritage are shown in **Table 3**. The regional and metropolitan findings are in Appendix C. Support for heritage was strong in all areas. The most important task is seen to be the educational value of heritage, with the majority 'strongly' agreeing that it is important to educate children. Looking after heritage was viewed as less important in terms of creating jobs and boosting the economy. This suggests there may be a need to more clearly promote the economic benefits of heritage. There were regional differences in public attitudes, with a higher proportion of people living in regional Victoria 'strongly' agreeing that heritage is an important part of the local area's character, in creating jobs and economic activity, and in education, culture and national identity.

Heritage attributes can also be an important factor for people in deciding where to live, work and visit. The 2005 Allen survey results show that 80% of Victorian participants saw historic houses as important parts of their local area's character and identity. Over 20% of participants in the 2013 Mornington Peninsula Shire Council survey of owners of heritage places said they purchased the property because of its heritage attributes.

Table 3: Public Attitudes to Heritage in Victoria – 2005 Allens survey^{vi}

Education: 96% think that it is important to educate children about heritage, with 62% 'strongly' agreeing
Relevance: 81% disagree that heritage is not relevant to them or their family.
National identity and culture: 93% think that heritage is part of Australia's identity and 88% believe it plays an important part in Australia's culture.
Celebrating heritage: 81% believe that it is important to celebrate heritage.
The local area: 80% think that historic houses are important parts their local area's character and identity.
Visiting heritage: 81% think that their life is richer for having the opportunity to visit or see heritage.
Economy and jobs: 59% think that looking after heritage is important in creating jobs and boosting the economy, but only 19% 'strongly' agree, 11% disagree and 30% are unsure.

^{vi} Sub-headings in the table have been added for the purpose of this report.

Research in England has explored the contribution of the historic environment to 'sense of place' and social capital. The 2009 study^{vii} showed that it was not only living in an area with high density of historic buildings that leads to a heightened sense of place and social capital. Equally, if not more important, was the extent to which people understand and take an active interest in the local historic environment.

The 2010 Deakin survey illustrates there is a strong interest in heritage across the Australian population, including in activities linked to understanding the past and history, learning about history and visiting places with a heritage focus (see Figure 4 in Appendix B). The inclusion of migrants, young people and indigenous people in the 2006 Deakin focus groups showed how universal interest in heritage is, although the way in which that interest is expressed differs.

Younger vs. Older Australians

Although very positive about the topic, younger participants described feeling ignorant about heritage matters. They acknowledged the contribution of Australia's national heritage in shaping what it is now and the need to protect aspects for future generations.

Interest in national heritage was piqued when converted into a tangible activity. There is a need to be able to see, touch, feel and experience the past in order to fully understand it. Heritage, therefore, needed to be brought into the present.²⁰ Research in England also indicates that there are differences in time perspectives between older and younger people and this has implications for what counts as a historic site or building.

"I've visited Port Arthur in Tasmania when we went down there but to be honest like I wasn't interested in going...but once I was there it was really interesting to find out you know all the different stories of different people. You could imagine yourself almost being locked up and not knowing anyone."

- 2006 focus group participant

Ethnic Groups

A major difference in the ethnic focus groups was that, as relatively recent migrants, participants spoke of Australia's heritage in comparison to their country of origin.²¹ Key focal points were:

- What Australia offers that was lacking in their country or origin - democracy, freedom, prosperity, opportunity and space were frequently mentioned.
- What was 'originally' in Australia - the land, indigenous Australians, landmarks etc.
- What we have become - a culturally diverse country. White settlement should be seen in context with immigration and multiculturalism.
- Known icons/landmarks - a sense of familiarity and pride is developed through iconic places and these are then used as 'show and tell' items for overseas friends and family visitors.

All ethnic groups felt the need to learn more about our 'heritage' – both in terms of their country of birth/family origins and where they grew up as well. How Australia is seen by the rest of the world is also important in shaping their opinions; hence the need to promote 'who we are / what Australia represents' more widely, particularly on a global level. They are regularly in contact with people overseas, and in discussions at times feel embarrassed about how Australia is portrayed abroad, or ignorant of details their friends or relatives inquire about. Key areas felt to be under-recognised included cultural diversity and indigenous art and culture.²²

Indigenous

Heritage was core for the indigenous participants. It was not only about preserving the past but also regaining it and not only about understanding the past but living it in the present.

'Heritage' was defined specifically as Indigenous Heritage whilst 'Australia's National Heritage' was a term seen as relating exclusively to what occurred post 1788. Interest in heritage lay in understanding the heritage of one's family or tribe, other indigenous Australian tribes and the role played by indigenous people in Australia's past and present.²³

vii Newcastle University and Bradley Research & Consulting (2009), AMION Consulting.

3.5 What aspects do they care most about and why?

What aspects of heritage are most important

- Natural features were four of the top five elements seen as the most important to protect and preserve in both 2006 and 2010.
- Historic architecture, perhaps the area most commonly associated with heritage protection, ranked fourth in 2010.

Why?

- Key factors influencing the degree of importance to protect and preserve a heritage item are:
 - the degree to which it can be replaced
 - how personally relevant it is to the observer
 - the extent to which it represents the future of Australia
 - how widespread its importance is perceived to be.
- The degree of importance of these factors can change over time.

"I mean whatever your view on it [Melbourne's Federation Square], as in what it looks is obviously – but it should be protected because [...] it's become a meeting place for a lot of people."

- Mena, female, Arabic migrant focus group

"I don't hold the Opera House as high in importance, but I do feel it's an extremely important part of our society."

- Louise, female, under 25-year-old focus group

The Deakin research sought to identify which elements of Australia's national heritage are seen as being most important to protect and what factors influence people's assessments. Using the 15 elements developed in the focus groups, respondents to the 2006 and 2010 surveys were asked to rate the elements in terms of their importance to protect and preserve. The results are in Tables 9 and 10 of Appendix B. There are several points of interest:²⁴

- All elements were seen as important to protect with all items ranked over the mid-point of '4'. It indicates that the protection and preservation of heritage is important to participants.
- 'Natural' features dominate at the top of rankings, with four of the top five elements in both years – native fauna, natural icons, nature reserves and major waterways. McDonald (2011a) notes that Australians don't appear to distinguish 'environmental' issues (such as water) from 'heritage' issues in the same way that government, academics, or the media, might.
- The ratings were relatively consistent across years, and highly consistent across ages, ethnicity, country of origin and degree of involvement in heritage activities.

The 2006 qualitative research sought to identify what underlies people's decisions on what constitutes heritage constructs. Through the national survey, six constructs were found to have a significant impact on the overall ranking of the relative importance of heritage items.²⁵ The 2010 results are shown in the **Table 4**. The percentage refers to the average contribution of that item to the overall rating of the importance of that element.^{viii} Between 2006 and 2010, the degree of importance of these factors changed. This supports the notion that heritage can change. The constructs people use to define heritage, and the ratings are in Tables 11 & 12 of Appendix B.

The results help explain why some people might include certain types of heritage (e.g. natural environment, colonial-era buildings) while excluding other forms of heritage (e.g. their own property).²⁶ The findings can also lead to greater understanding of what can be done to increase public appreciation of heritage. For example, as an overall principle, to increase public interest in and involvement with any particular element, it needs to be related to the factors people see as being critical. However, until people feel that the main priorities are protected, they are unlikely to focus on those elements that rate lower.²⁷

Table 13 in the Appendices shows how each element rated against these constructs in the 2006 survey. The 2010 data has not been published.

Table 4: Determinants of Importance Ratings

Irreplaceable	38%
Relates To Me	19%
Represents the Future	17%
Important To All Australians	15%
Unique to Australia	4%
Vulnerable	4%

^{viii} For example, for the average person, 38% of their overall rating of the importance of a particular aspect of heritage (e.g. waterways) came from their rating of how irreplaceable they believed it was. Another 19% came from how much they felt it related to them.

3.6 What are public attitudes to preserving heritage?

Heritage should seek to preserve the core value

- Heritage is not so much about the objects, but what they mean to people.
- Heritage objects can therefore change or be re-created, without losing value (e.g. the MCG development) if they retain meaning.
- Heritage should seek to preserve the core value of the object rather than the object itself in a pristine way.

“Some of them have even changed, like the MCG’s a heritage site but it keeps changing. I mean they keep pulling stands down and building new ones every 20 years or so. So it doesn’t always mean that things have to stay the same.”

- Mary, female, 46 years + focus group

Heritage does not need to be universal

- While most people have a personal bias about what they wish to see protected, there is recognition of the diversity in Australian culture, and the right for various groups to preserve components important to them.

“I think it’s necessary for different nationalities to have their heritages listed and remembered for years to come because otherwise we’re nothing.”

- 2006 focus group participant

The 2006 Deakin focus groups found that once personally connected, people develop an ongoing interest in protecting and preserving what is important to them. Most people actively preserve the heritage of their families by protecting important items (eg photos) and stories, and passing them on to future generations. Many could speak of actions they had taken at a local level to protect things near their homes or neighbourhoods.²⁸

To the focus group participants, heritage wasn’t as much about the objects but what they mean to people. Heritage objects could therefore change and be developed or re-created without losing value if they retain their core meaning (e.g. the Melbourne Cricket Ground). Authenticity was socially constructed by participants. As an extreme example, Sovereign Hill was seen as an ‘authentic’ experience that allowed understanding of Australia’s development.²⁹ Heritage laws and restrictions were seen as being counter-productive to people preserving heritage in a way that allowed them to retain the core value of the item, but still keep its functionality. Private dwellings were the most commonly cited example.³⁰

The 2010 national survey shows that most respondents agreed that if a heritage place is protected it can still be used and can have ‘small changes without damaging it’. When this condition was removed, people were almost equally divided on whether a heritage place could be changed at all or used (see Table 8 of Appendix B). When considering this result, it’s important to remember that what people consider to be ‘heritage’ can differ widely. Literature on this subject highlights that community expectations for heritage conservation can differ from the heritage significance established by the Australian Heritage Council.^{ix}

Key findings for Victoria from the 2005 Allen survey on the public’s attitudes to the preservation of ‘historic’ heritage are shown in **Table 5** and Appendix C. Over 95% of Victorian respondents felt that it is important to keep heritage features wherever possible when improving towns and cities. Local historic buildings were also seen as important parts of heritage worth saving. However, 10% perceived that too much heritage is protected and 20% neither agreed nor disagreed. Over 35% of participants either disagreed that heritage can mean recent as well as old buildings or gave a neutral response. These are areas that could be addressed in communications tools.

Table 5: Public Attitudes to Heritage in Victoria – 2005 Allens survey ^x

Urban renewal: 96% think that it is important to keep historic features wherever possible when trying to improve towns and cities, with 52% in metropolitan Victoria and 61% in regional Victoria ‘strongly’ agreeing

The local area: 84% think that local historic buildings are worth saving and are important parts of heritage, but 12% neither agree or disagree.

Level of protection: 71% disagree that too much historic heritage is protected, 21% were neutral and 10% believe too much is protected.

Accessibility: 93% think it is important to keep heritage places even though they may never visit them.

Functionality: 87% believe it is possible to keep heritage places and provide for the needs of today.

Modern vs old: 64% think heritage is about modern as well as old buildings, only 21% ‘strongly’ agree, 15% disagree and 21% are unsure.

Small vs grand: 94% believe that heritage can mean small and modest places as well as grand historic buildings and churches.

^{ix} Johnston (2011), p. 4

^x Sub-headings in the table have been added for the purpose of this report.

The Allen study also looked at the degree to which the public is willing to financially support greater 'historic' heritage protection, and which outcomes they value. The amount Australians said they would be prepared to pay (when compared to the 'status quo'), was highest for:

- changing development control from demolition permitted to substantial or minor modifications permitted.
- an increase in the number of additional places protected from loss.
- an increase in the proportion of places that is accessible to the public.
- an increase in the proportion of places in good condition.

On average, people were most willing to pay to protect heritage places from loss and they value accessibility more highly than condition. They also preferred heritage protection outcomes where there is a mix of young and old places, relative to where most places are over 100 years old.

The focus group discussions, which led to the Allen survey design, revealed a mix of public opinion about the merits of more stringent controls on what modifications can be made to heritage places. The survey results suggested that people perceive development controls to be an important policy instrument for protecting heritage and are not in favour of demolition, but do value a system that allows property developers/owners the flexibility to undertake alterations to increase utility.

Views of Heritage Property Owners

Surveys of owners of heritage properties appear to be rare, although issues and concerns have been discussed in a number of papers.^{xi} In 2013 the Mornington Peninsula Shire Council conducted a survey of owners of properties in a Heritage Overlay. In part, this was a response to submissions on the local Heritage Review that proposed a number of new heritage listings.

Some key survey findings are in **Table 6** and the detailed results are in Appendix D. Written comments by property owners showed that concerns associated with heritage listing include:

- the affect on property value.
- costs of maintenance and restoration.
- the planning permit process.

"As an investment - a heritage overlay scares buyers away, they do not understand the exact rules and implications involved - still it devalues the home."
- 2013 heritage owner survey participant

Another key issue raised was access to information, including understanding what heritage is, what state listing means, what a Heritage Overlay is, how heritage listing affects a property/owner and why some buildings in heritage precincts can still be demolished. Around one-third had not seen their property's heritage citation. The results showed that 70% sought more regular information from Council about heritage issues affecting property owners and 88% felt that Council has a responsibility to support heritage owners. Over 40% of the participants weren't the property owner at the time of listing. A similar proportion saw heritage listing as a burden.

Publishing information to address common myths and questions about heritage issues would likely help improve public discussions about heritage across Victoria. An example is the Heritage Listing Explained leaflet produced by the Heritage Council of New South Wales.

Table 6: Heritage Property Owners – 2013 Mornington Peninsula survey^{xii}

Awareness of heritage: 18% don't understand why their building/place is considered to be of heritage value, 13% are not aware there is a Heritage Overlay and 31% haven't seen their property's heritage citation.

Change of ownership: 43% had not been the owner of the property at the time of listing.

Burden vs privilege: 38% saw heritage listing a burden and over 20% opted not to respond this question. 50% viewed the heritage listing of their property as a privilege.

Managing their heritage place: 28% don't feel they have a good understanding of how their property needs to be managed as a heritage place or the skills to do so. 40% intend to do works or alterations in the next 5 years.

Level of control: Where owners had applied for a planning permit for works since heritage listing, 40% said they found the restrictions to be onerous or unreasonable.

Support for owners: 88% agree that Council has a responsibility to support heritage owners.

Assistance: 60% weren't aware the Council provides free advice from a heritage architect and 51% were unaware of Council's heritage grants scheme and rates rebates for heritage property owners.

Information: 70% would like more regular contact or information from Council about heritage issues affecting property owners.

^{xi} Clark, K. (2011), Urbis (2011)

^{xii} A survey of over 450 owners of heritage overlay properties. It generated more than 150 responses. Sub-headings in the table have been added for the purpose of this report.

3.7 What is the expected role of government?

The expected role of government

- The public is mainly unaware of the role of different levels of government in heritage protection.
- A federal government role in helping people to link their own history with Australia's national heritage and in providing best practice to other levels of government.
- Owners of heritage properties seek guidance and support on heritage issues.

"It would be valuable for owners of properties that fall under overlays, to receive clear and detailed information from the shire outlining what this means and how it impacts on the property and its owner."
- 2013 heritage owner survey participant

The Deakin and Allens research and Mornington Shire Council survey provide a few insights on the expected role of government.

McDonald (2011a) notes that it was clear through the focus groups that the public is largely unaware of the roles that different tiers of government play in heritage protection.³¹

The results of the 2010 national survey, as shown in **Figure 4**, suggest that an expected Federal Government role is in helping individuals to link their own history with Australia's national heritage and providing best practice to other levels of government. There was a low level of support for more direct Federal Government actions such as providing funding and legal protection.

The government is an important source when looking for information about some aspect of heritage, especially through the internet, libraries and museums (see Figure 5 in Appendix B).

Most Deakin focus group participants were engaged with heritage, and active in its preservation at least on a personal level. What they sought was guidance for their activities and guidance on issues where required.³² The 2010 survey results show that people believe every Australian should be able to protect the parts of their heritage important to them, and they disagree that only things that are important to all Australians should be protected (see Table 8 in Appendix B).

The Mornington Peninsula Shire Council survey indicates that property owners of heritage listed properties believe that Council has a responsibility to support them. Other issues identified included addressing how new buildings fit with the character of the area, the preservation of public areas around heritage properties, recognising local restorations and promoting heritage.

The Allen survey findings indicated that development controls are seen as an important policy tool for protecting historic heritage but that people value a system that allows property developers/owners the flexibility to undertake modifications to increase utility.

How big is Victoria's heritage?

1 World Heritage Site

28 National Heritage List places

40+ Commonwealth Heritage List places

2,300+ places on the Victorian Heritage Register

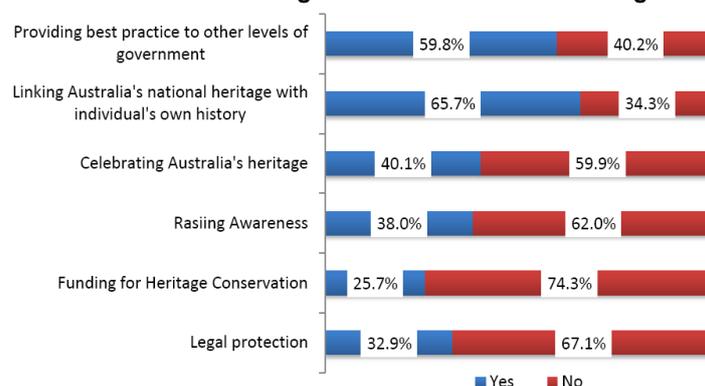
160,000+ individual properties covered by local government individual or precinct **Heritage Overlay** controls

55,000+ buildings built before 1900

240,000+ buildings built before 1940

Source: Heritage Victoria, October 2014

Figure 4: Public preferences for the Australian government's role with heritage^{xiii}



^{xiii} Based on 2,011 responses collected in 2010 Deakin survey.

3.8 Are expectations being met?

Education and Information

- A feeling that not enough is being done, particularly in the way of education and recognition.

Preservation and Protection

- Recognition of a shared obligation between people and official agencies for heritage management.
- The 2005 Allen survey indicated most felt that not enough was being done across Australia to protect historic heritage. No recent survey has been conducted.

"I think the problem is that there's not enough education about it at school for anyone to really have a clear – I mean, I'm sure everyone here loves this country but at school [...] I can't even tell you off the top of my head when Australia was founded. I think it was in 17-something, but that's it."

- Hugh, male, 25-years-old focus group

In the 2006 Deakin focus group discussions, most felt not enough was being done to educate Australians about heritage issues. Australia's history was acknowledged as short compared with other countries, and it was regrettable that it has taken time for Australians to value what is Australian and recognise what needs to be protected for the future.³³

Younger participants described feeling ignorant about heritage matters. They felt they lacked knowledge and understanding of the various aspects of Australian history and heritage, including their own personal heritage.³⁴ All the ethnic groups felt the need to learn more about our heritage – both in terms of their country or birth/family origins and where they grew up as well. Cultural diversity and indigenous art and culture were felt to be under-recognised.³⁵

In terms of the [Federal] Government's role in heritage management, 51% of the 2010 Deakin survey respondents felt about the right amount was being done given other priorities and 8% felt that too much was being done. McDonald (2011a) notes that in context, the result may reflect the recognition of a shared obligation between the people and official agencies for heritage management. People accepted that it was largely up to individuals to drive heritage protection, especially at the local, personal level.³⁶

The 2005 Allen survey asked for people's views on the adequacy of protection for 'historic' heritage. Participants were given an estimate of 20-year outcomes for historic heritage based on maintaining the level of state/territory and federal government funding and programs at that time. The results showed the majority of Victorians (65%) felt not enough was being done to protect historic heritage across Australia. Their preference for where additional money could be spent was on education about heritage, looking after historic heritage, protecting non-built heritage, and improving accessibility to historic places. The detailed results are in Appendix C.

As discussed earlier, many favoured aspects of heritage are 'experiential'. In the 2005 Allen survey, 72% of Victorian participants either didn't know what heritage activities were taking place in their local area or neither agreed or disagreed.

The Relative Importance of Heritage

In the 2006 Deakin focus groups, an effort was made to get participants to think about the importance of heritage issues in comparison to other issues such as health and education. Participants placed food, health and economic matters first, but it was a difficult trade-off.³⁷

McDonald (2011b) identified that a pragmatic view was possible, but most would be very uncomfortable about reducing expenditure and support for heritage matters. He suggests that attempts to have the public put a monetary value of heritage, or have the public "rank" heritage protection among a list of government funding priorities (e.g. Heritage Council Ireland, 2007) do not seem to fit with the personalised way that respondents in the research thought of heritage.³⁸

"Well, heritage is important [...] and I wouldn't ever like to see it go, but if it became between that and a decent health scheme, for everybody, I'd have to go with the health scheme. But that doesn't mean I don't think it's important to retain our heritage. I'd really hope there'd be enough resources to do both."

- Sylvia, female, 46 years + focus group

Table 7: Public Attitudes to Heritage in Victoria – 2005 Allens survey

Awareness: 41% did not know what heritage activities are taking place in their local area, 31% were neutral.

Information: 21% think there's never any information available on heritage topics of interest to them and 39% neither agreed or disagreed. This result is Australia-wide as state level results were not published.

4. Considerations for Communication Plans

Based on the review of existing research, the following key issues should be considered in the Heritage Council of Victoria's and Heritage Victoria's communication plans and activities.

A list of existing tools and techniques used by the Heritage Council and Heritage Victoria, and some examples of those undertaken by other organisations are included in Appendix E.

1. Improving public discussions about heritage

Heritage is a term many people have difficulty defining. This hampers public discussions about heritage. Communicating how broad heritage is and how it relates to people's lives is a key area where government can help improve conversations. Some aspects of heritage are less understood because less public attention is given to them. Continuing to highlight and promote these aspects is important.

2. Relating activities to the public's broader view of heritage

What the public considers 'heritage' to be, includes many items (e.g. cultural festivals, flora, fauna, waterways) that do not fall under the Heritage Act. There is scope to further communicate the role of the Heritage Council and Heritage Victoria within the context of public's broader understanding of heritage.

3. Fostering greater public involvement in heritage

There is a clear public preference for 'living history' and interaction. Leisure activities and participating in cultural festivals, while not viewed as heritage-related participation, can spur interest and enthusiasm when the experience is positive. Continuing to support activities that promote events and tourism to create public connections with heritage through experiences, storytelling and celebrations, is likely to be effective and popular.

A challenge to greater public involvement in overt heritage-related behaviours is to help people express their heritage interests and connect with others who share them. People feel they do not know enough about their own culture, and even less about other cultures, to qualify them to suggest or support protection.³⁹ This could be aided by supporting communications tools and activities that help people to connect with their own heritage and other people's heritage and then helping them to celebrate that heritage.⁴⁰

As an overall principle, to increase public interest in and involvement with any particular element, that element needs to be related to the factors people see as being critical. That is, the element needs to be positioned as irreplaceable, personally relevant, important to the future and important to many/all Australians.

Heritage-related media, particularly television shows, are the most frequent way people participate in heritage. A general internet search was the most preferred method of accessing information about some aspects of heritage. Continuing to work with media agencies to promote heritage will be important. The Heritage Victoria website and new Heritage Council of Victoria website are important tools in supporting access to information on heritage topics of interest to key target groups.

The preferred communication message aimed at raising public involvement in heritage was 'Heritage is about understanding the good and bad in our past and what it means for our present and future' (see Figure 1 in Appendix B).

4. Supporting owners of heritage properties

Existing and potential property owners are important heritage stakeholders and a key target group. Engagement of these stakeholders is critical to fostering the preservation of heritage. It is important to support the information needs of this group and address common questions and myths. A range of tools and techniques should be used to target this group.

5. Further Research

An aim of this literature review is to identify any gaps in research on public attitudes towards heritage in Victoria and what, if any, further research should be conducted. **Table 8** identifies the range of topics examined in Australia and overseas and where some findings are available at a Victorian state level. Some general observations are:

- There is limited information on the Victorian public's attitudes to heritage, and in particular the views of owners of heritage places.
- Studies in Australia have had a focus on public attitudes to Australia's national heritage and on gauging attitudes to the protection of heritage.
- Research overseas has a greater emphasis on understanding who is participating in heritage and how to better engage with excluded groups, particularly at a local level.

The following suggestions are provided to assist in considering areas of further research:

1. Data on economic and social benefits of heritage

Work with other heritage agencies in Australia to gather, analyse and disseminate existing data on the impact of cultural heritage. In particular, the economic benefits of heritage are not widely understood by the Australian public. A survey similar to that developed for the 'Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe' project currently underway could be utilised.

<http://blogs.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/outcomes/>

1. Sense of place and local distinctiveness

Undertake research to explore the role that the historic environment plays in local distinctiveness and creating a stronger sense of place, potentially using a methodology similar to the 2009 study for English Heritage.

2. Public attitudes to Victoria's 'state' heritage

Undertake research with the Victorian public to examine attitudes to Victoria's state heritage and examine ways in which the sector can broaden participation in heritage and the historic environment. The involvement of other agencies with responsibility for the protection and celebration of other elements of cultural and natural heritage would be beneficial.

3. National research and data

- 3.1. Advocate for continued large-scale national research on public attitudes to Australian heritage. Actions in the draft Strategy for Australia's Heritage seek to broaden community engagement in the identification, protection and celebration of heritage. The notion that 'heritage' can change and the impact of actions to promote greater participation in heritage should continue to be monitored.
- 3.2. Advocate for a national commitment to a cultural heritage data and research program on the economic and social benefits of heritage, strengthened by input from State and Local Government. An example is that undertaken by English Heritage in support of the annual 'Heritage Counts' publication.

4. Survey of heritage property owners

Undertake a specific survey of owners of heritage properties to identify how to better meet the information needs of this key stakeholder group and clarify the most significant issues and misconceptions to better target communications.

Table 8: Key topics of research on public attitudes to heritage

Topics	Victoria (State/Local)	Australia	Ireland	England	Scotland
Understanding of and interest in heritage					
Meaning of heritage	✓ ¹	✓ ¹	✓	✓	✓ (natural)
Elements of heritage	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓ (natural)
What underlies people's decisions on what constitutes heritage	✓ ¹	✓ ¹	✗	✗	✗
Interest in heritage	✓ ¹	✓	✓	✓	✗
General attitudes to heritage	✓ ²	✓	✓	✓	✓ (natural)
Relative importance of heritage	✓ ¹	✓ ¹	✓	✗	✗
Role of local heritage and biggest issues	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗
Sources of information / education	✗	✓ (in part)	✓	✓	✗
What can be done to make heritage more relevant / accessible	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗
Participation in heritage-related activities					
Participation in heritage	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗
Perceived distance from heritage sites and type	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗
Reasons for visitation	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗
Reasons for non-visitation / barriers to participation	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗
Protection of heritage					
Importance of protecting heritage	✓ ²	✓	✓	✓	✓ (natural)
Perceived benefits of protecting heritage	✓ ²	✓	✓	✓	✗
What heritage aspects are most important to protect	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗
Factors that affect the relative importance of heritage items	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗
Attitudes to heritage protection	✓ ²	✓	✓	✓	✗
Responsibility for heritage	✗	✓ (in part)	✓	✗	✗
Funding for heritage					
Is the Government doing enough	✗	✓ (in part)	✗	✗	✗
Willingness to pay	✗	✓ ²	✓	✗	✗
Priorities for government expenditure	✓ ²	✓ (in part)	✓	✓	✓ (natural)
Segments					
Gender	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Age	✓ ¹	✓	✓	✓	✓
Non-English Speaking Background / Indigenous	✓ ¹	✓	✗	✓ (BME)	✗
Social Class	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗
Region	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗
Presence of Children	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗

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- ²⁶ McDonald, 'What are the community expectations for heritage protection?', p.2
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