Eliciting cultural heritage values: landscape preferences versus representative images of the city

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Abstract

Purpose–In 2011, UNESCO recommended the application of a value-based landscape approach to cultural heritage conservation. In this framework, culture in its manifold expressions is considered as an embrace for the social, economic, and environmental pillars of sustainable development. There is a need to unveil the different cultural values generated from the interaction between people and their environment since these values will help cities maintain their unique identity and integrity. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to present the results of a survey method intended to assess the range of cultural values attributed by people to the historic urban landscape.

Design/methodology/approach–This paper is an experimental inquiry that combines a qualitative and a quantitative approach. It is designed to distinguish the different interpretations and outlooks of people to the historic urban landscape. It integrates landscape preference studies with investigation on representative images of the city and assesses these in relation to activities, feelings, and valued aspects of landscapes.

Findings–The main finding is that the most preferred scenes of the city are not the ones that represent best the city. Results exposed two sides of the historic urban landscape and related heritage values. The first is associated with the scenic beauty of the landscape and its aesthetic values, while the second is reflected in ordinary landscapes and everyday practices.

Originality/value– This paper provides an insight into the different interpretations and meanings of the historic urban landscape throughout the city. It provides an empirical evidence that ordinary landscapes are of great heritage value as they surpass all aspects of human environmental interaction to contribute to the image that societies make of themselves.

Keywords–historic urban landscape, heritage conservation, cultural values, landscape preference, image of the city, tangible attributes, intangible attributes.

Paper type–Research paper

Introduction

Cultural heritage has been recognized as both an enabler and a driver for sustainable urban development (CoE, 2005; UN, 2016; UNESCO, 2016). Today cultural heritage conservation is no longer restricted to the recognition of monuments, groups of buildings or historic urban areas. The scope of heritage conservation has been expanded to address the urban context as an entity that cannot be dissected into fragments where new developments and contemporary life should be integrated through adequate planning interventions. Conservation has become increasingly complex since it is expected to be socially inclusive. In this context, cultural values associated with historic urban landscapes should be considered as a point of departure that should guide future urban change through management processes and governance system (ICOMOS,1999; Van Oers, 2007; UNESCO, 2016; Taylor et al., 2015). In response to the need for a new guideline and a toolkit for the integration of policies and conservation practices in a broader view of urban development, UNESCO (2011) developed and adopted the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) recommendation that calls for the application of an all-inclusive value-based approach to heritage conservation that communicates diversity and heterogeneity, and considers all the historic layering of the city's tangible and intangible attributes. Within such a framework the conservation of cultural heritage has become more demanding. The main challenges are related to the meaning of heritage, the nature of its value system, and the methods applied for the assessment of heritage values (Mason, 2002; Thorsby, 2002; Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders, 2012; de la Torre, 2013).

This paper examines the range of cultural values that emerge from the relation between people and their surrounding historic urban landscape. The results expose how different aspects of landscapes, including visual, perceptive, and functional dimensions are closely intertwined with cultural values. They show that the image of the city is not embodied in pleasant aesthetic scenes but in the ones that reflect the complex social and cultural processes in the city, its historicity, the characteristics of its context, and identity. This investigation is based on a survey method that combines both a qualitative and a quantitative approach. It treats the heritage by appropriation that emerges from public behaviour and cultural expression (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007). This examination combines landscape preference studies with investigation on representative images of the

city, historic values, activities, feelings, and valued aspects of the landscape. The objective of this paper draws from the recognition that was already highlighted by different scholars: heritage conservation field is not yet competent at gauging the different cultural values of heritage within one integrated framework (Avrami et al., 2000, Mason, 2002; Stephenson, 2008). Thereby, there is a need for a framework that approaches cultural values as an interlinked whole and exposes how they relate and reinforce one another. It is believed that the proposed method will provide knowledge for future practice in urban management through delineating values that are not captured through experts' interpretation of heritage and consequently fail to be legitimated.

Theoretical Framework

As Taylor (2015) argues, there is an immutable link between the cultural landscape concept and the new landscape approach to historic urban conservation. The recognition of cultural landscape as a category of heritage intended to increase awareness that heritage is the cultural environment and the values embedded in it as perceived by people (UNESCO, 1992; CoE, 2000). Hence, essential to the investigation of cultural values and heritage is the term cultural landscape. The concept of cultural landscape was first introduced as an academic term in the early 20th century by the geographer Otto Schlüter (Martin and James, 1981). It was then promoted and developed by the geographer Car Sauer in 1925. Sauer defined the term as "fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, cultural landscapes the result" (Sauer, 1925, p.22). In his definition, the cultural interaction between humans and the physical environment retains a central significance in shaping the latter. This conceptualization of landscape called for the incorporation of users' experience into studies of the built environment and stimulated research in landscape perception and preference as well as processes of participation (Cosgrove, 1985; Antrop, 2013). The acknowledgement of heritage as a socio-cultural construct was later emphasized by the European Landscape Convention (ELC) that widened the scope of cultural landscape conservation to recognize the ordinary and even deteriorated landscapes (CoE, 2000). Everyday landscapes are of great potential value because even though they may have low quality in visual aesthetics, range of use, and other features, they may have value to 'someone' (communities, cultures, and individuals) (Roe and Taylor, 2014).

The application of the HUL approach to heritage conservation requires a comprehensive assessment of the city's attributes, both tangible and intangible, and values that need to be conserved for future generation (UNESCO, 2016). In practice, it is easy to identify how to technically conserve the physical condition of a tangible asset, but the complexity remains in the application of a value-based landscape approach that supports a pluralistic and cross-cultural dialogue among different stakeholders (experts, decision makers, and the public) about the decisions on why a specific asset is of conservation interest and on what to conserve. The decision on these questions is very challenging because it is partly subjective, context-specific, and political (Hodder, 2000; Mason and Avrami, 2002), and also because the landscape and its associated values are dynamic and constantly evolving. Van der Aa (2005) distinguished five dimensions of heritage values: which values (heritage value typologies), whose values (stakeholders), where values (scale level: from the local to the international scale), when values (past, present or future), and uniqueness values (exceptional or common). In order to understand how a landscape is valued, both the nature of the valued aspect of the landscape and the nature of the expressed values for that aspect need to be recognized (Stephenson, 2008). Groups and individuals attach different weight to cultural values and different significances to the same heritage asset, but in either case, the values remain the same (Pereira Roders and Hudson, 2011).

Whereas human and environmental phenomena happen at different scales, we engage with the environment at a specific scale: that of human experience of our landscape surroundings, which is the "perceptible realm" (Gobster et al., 2007). Interactions between people and their environment within this realm give rise to an aesthetic experience that is context-dependent and is influenced by different socio-cultural concerns and activities (Gobster et al., 2007). Landscape preference studies are widely applied in environmental perception research. In the 1980s, methods that rely on the use of photos gained popularity and became generalized in landscape perception analysis. The use of photos in preference surveys was then considered adequate, practical, less costly, and easy to administer (Kaplan, 1985; Hull and Stewart, 1992). However, some scholars questioned the representational validity of photos. Commonly, criticisms refer to subjectivity in the selection of photos and to the lack of control of the content of the image that may potentially affect preference judgment of the viewer (Berman, 2006, p.56; Ode et al., 2009). Accordingly, many scholars started to integrate qualitative and quantitative valuations into landscape preference surveys so as to go beyond

the judgment of scenes represented in the photographs, and to address the relation between landscape visual preferences, context characteristics (landscape features), and social and cultural aspects (Galindo and Corraliza Rodriguez, 2000; Tress et al., 2001; Sevenant and Antrop, 2009; Ruelle et al., 2013). Application of these studies in urban areas to define cultural heritage values is still very limited. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) developed a method to assess people's perception of and attitude to urban historical areas and to proposed alterations of these areas. Their research focused on the built cultural heritage and on respondents' mood, perceptive quality of space, strength of the mental image, and sensitivity and attitude to changes.

The present research goes beyond the boundaries of so-called historic centres. It addresses the city as a whole because the historic environment extends beyond the notion of historic centre to encompass a broader urban area (UNESCO, 2011). In order to highlight the multivalent character of heritage, it covers both its tangible and intangible attributes through comparing the differences in heritage values between landscape preferences and representative images of the city.

The HUL recommendation stressed that every urban setting is a place of heritage that embodies a manifest expression of values in its different tangible and intangible assets (UNESCO, 2011). The framework adopted in this research borrows from this continuum (Van der Aa, 2005). It focuses on three dimensions of heritage value: (1) Cultural values are conveyed by the different tangible and intangible attributes; (2) diverse types of values could be ascribed to heritage; and (3) stakeholders assign different values to a heritage asset based on their interest and experience (Fig.1).

Figure 1: Three dimensions of heritage value.
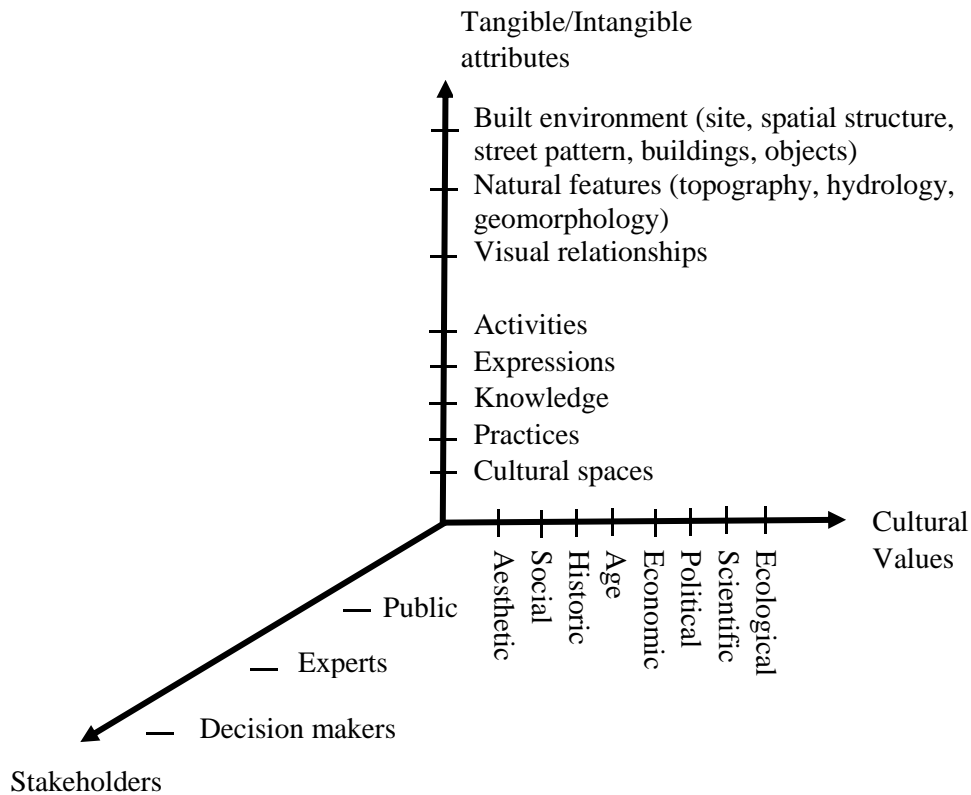
The first dimension: tangible and intangible attributes

Tangible heritage include all features of an urban place (UNESCO, 2011) including (1) the built environment and its buildings, land use patterns, clusters, and spatial organization; (2) the natural features: topography, geomorphology, and hydrology; and (3) visual relationships. Tangible attributes can either symbolize a cultural value, or represent an intangible cultural heritage that is the reason behind associating a value to the tangible attribute (Veldpaus and Pereira Roders, 2014). The intangible cultural heritage is sometimes called living cultural heritage and includes activities, expressions, knowledge, practices, and the cultural spaces in which these living heritage are expressed (UNESCO, 2003; ICOMOS, 2005). Munjeri (2004) argued that the tangible can only be understood and explained through the intangible, and thus society and values are intrinsically connected.

The second dimension: heritage values

A heritage place could have multiple values that are often in conflict (de la Torre, 2013). Scholars and organizations have developed over time various classifications of heritage values. Despite the difference in the used terminologies, these typologies describe the same pie, but

sliced in diverse ways (Mason, 2002). Eight primary typologies of cultural values could be identified, including aesthetic, social, historic, age, economic, political, scientific, and ecological values (ICOMOS, 2013; Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders, 2012), and diverse sub-categories could be distinguished mentioning the spiritual, emotional, entertainment, use, non-use, educational, management, symbolic, historic-artistic, conceptual, technological, workmanship, and many others (Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders, 2012). A heritage asset could embed different primary and secondary values. This multivalent characteristic of heritage is of an essential quality, and suggests the application of an integrated framework that combines quantitative and qualitative methods that appropriately match each value typology (Mason, 2002).

The third dimension: stakeholders

The assessment of cultural values should not only clarify the reason behind the association of a specific value to heritage, but also it should clarify by whom it is valued (Demas, 2000). This will clarify the multiplicity of values concerns since they derive from different perspectives and intellect among different stakeholders (Mason and Avrami, 2002). Holden (2006) addressed the mismatch of value concerns among three main parties involved in the cultural concordat including the public, the experts, and the politicians (decision makers). He distinguished the different values interests among the different stakeholders and argued that politicians and policy-makers are primarily concerned with instrumental outcomes whereas professionals are primarily concerned with intrinsic value, and the public is primarily concerned with intrinsic and institutional value (Holden, 2006). The multiplicity of cultural values and the conflict of interest should be revealed as to prioritize actions, and inform decision making.

This investigation focuses on the cultural values generated by the public, and associated to the different tangible and intangible assets of the city. Hence, this paper focuses on the following question: how to elicit the different cultural values associated with the manifold relations people have towards their living environment? We take the city of Tripoli in North Lebanon as a case study to draw on the dynamics between different cultural values associated with the historic urban landscape.

Case study

The survey was carried out in Tripoli, the second city of Lebanon. The city was founded on the Mediterranean seaside during the 14th century BCE. It was not until the Middle age that Tripoli became a city with two poles: the marine city (El-Mina), original site of Tripoli, and the Mamluk historic core that is situated along the Abu Ali River (Gulick, 1967). The two poles remained separated by citrus fields till the beginning of the twentieth century. In the second half of the twentieth century, the city experienced high population growth, and urban sprawl took over most of the agricultural fields (Le Thomas, 2009) (Fig.2). Today, Tripoli Governorate is composed of 6 districts and 117 municipalities. Our case study covers the Tripoli district, it has two municipalities and an estimated population of 330 366 inhabitants (OCHA, 2014).

Figure 2: Shows the study area, its urban growth pattern, different socio-economic conditions in the different neighbourhoods, and the interviews locations.
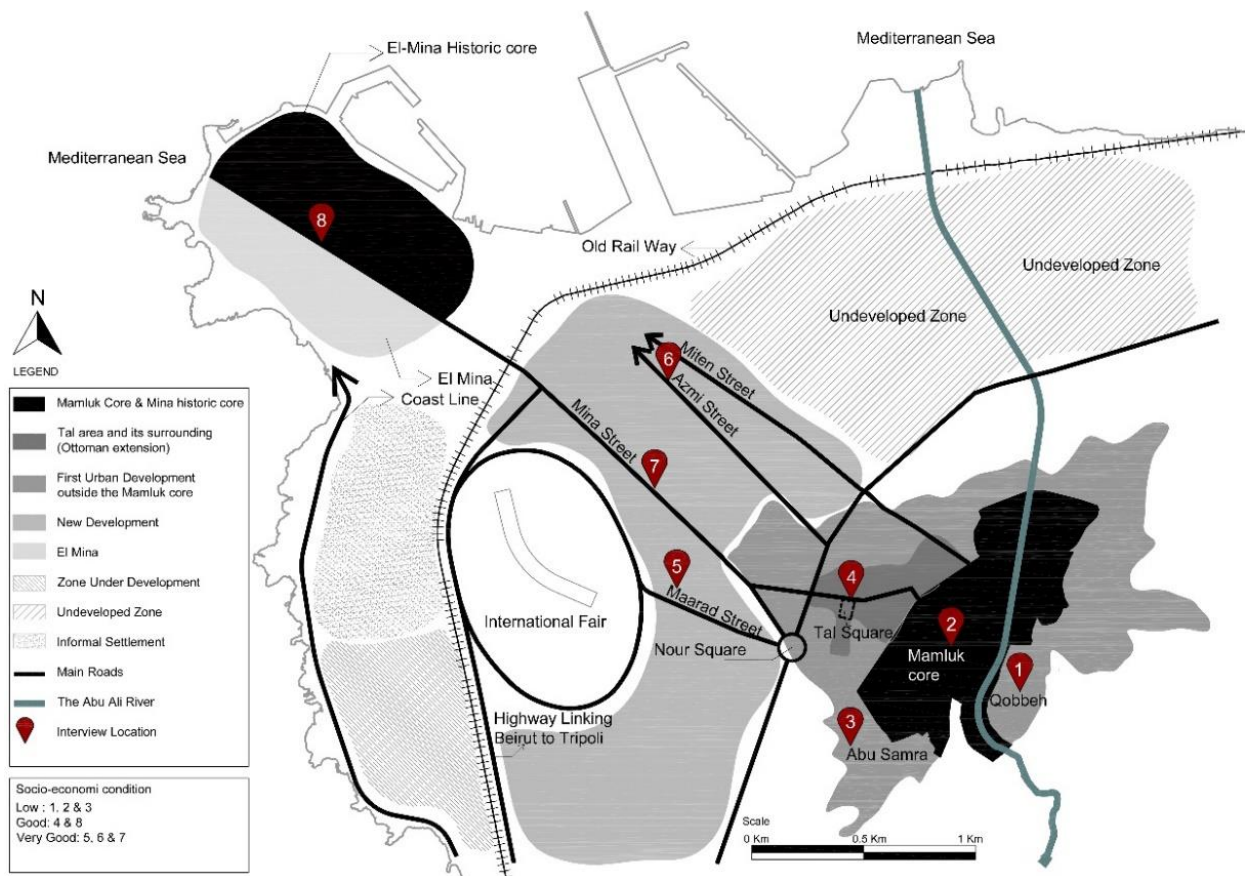
Heritage listing in Tripoli was mainly based on the age value of specific buildings and spaces. Two appraisals were conducted in the past to identify heritage buildings and areas. The first was carried out by UNESCO in 1953. It delineated the Mamluk neighbourhoods on the west bank of the Abu Ali River as the historic core of the city and identified 44 monuments that should be conserved. The second was carried out in 1995 by a joint team from the Association for the Preservation of the Archaeological Heritage of Tripoli, the municipality, and historians. As a result, the delineation of the historic core extended to include the northern part of the east bank of the river, and the list of protected monuments grew from 44 to 190 and included residential edifices as well as smaller structures such as fountains and porticos dating from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (Nahas, 2001, p.66). In 1996, most of the listed monuments and streets were nationally registered, and no further heritage surveys were conducted. The nomination of Tripoli as a world heritage site was rejected in 1983. UNESCO (1984) considered that Tripoli did not fulfil the world heritage criteria. However, UNESCO recognized the city as the second one after Cairo in term of richness in Mamluk buildings and stressed on its great value for the Lebanese national heritage (UNESCO, 1984). In 1996, the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and the Directorate General of Antiquities placed nine candidate sites, including the historical centres of Tripoli, on the UNESCO Tentative List. The completion of their nomination application is still pending (Charaf, 2016).

On the socio-economic level, the city suffers from a severe socio-economic segregation (Fig.2). As the city started to extend during the Ottoman period the wealthy families living in the historic core started to move to new developments and a new population of rural origin replaced them in the city centre (Rajab, 1993). Moreover, the main commercial hub that attracts people of middle to middle-high class moved through time from the commercial streets of the old city (2), to the Tall area (4) which is the Ottoman extension of the historic core, and then to the new development. The two districts located on the east (1- Qobbeh) and west side (3- Abu Samra) of the Abu Ali River on the top of the plateau were agricultural lands planted with olive trees till 1950. The west side of the river was originally occupied by middle-class populations. However, through time it experienced a process of impoverishment since many families of low economic status found refuge in this part of the city after the river flood in 1955 (Neemeh, 2014). The urban extension outside the Ottoman district developed during the years 1960-1970. The luxury residential areas were progressively transformed into a main commercial space (Molina, 1999). El-Mina (8) is characterized by low to middle socio-

economic condition. Accordingly, the East-West axis between the Ottoman district and the new development can be characterized as a social gradient that separates the upper-class from the lower-class districts.

Survey Method

Face to face interviews were conducted in eight neighbourhoods that have different socio-economic conditions, functions, and built aspects in the study area. The covered areas are: Qobbeh (1), the Mamluk core (2), Abu Samra (3), the Tall area (4), three neighbourhoods in the urban extension between the two historic cores of the city (5, 6, & 7), and El-Mina (8).

The survey was carried out in the streets and shops. The researcher and three social workers conducted the interviews across different days of the week and across different times of the day. Every interviewer covered two neighbourhoods. The questionnaire was written in English and translated into Arabic. Interviewees were asked to select the language they prefer to use. The duration of each interview ranged from 15 to 20 minutes. The number of interviewees was 302, including 181 women and 121 men. The age of interviewees ranged between 16 and over 65. However, the majority of them were young people as 69% of the interviewees were aged below 40. Moreover, 42.5% of the interviewees have a university degree and only 1% did not attend school. Tripoli is characterized as a young society, around 67% of its population is less than 40 years old (CAS, 2014).

The survey method sought to examine three main groups of indicators and the questionnaire was designed accordingly. The first part examined indicators related to two main factors. An aesthetic appraisal of historic urban landscapes on one hand, and a judgement about the most representative scenes of the city on the other hand. The first is related to the aesthetic quality of the landscape (scenery), whereas the second is related to the meaning of the landscape for the inhabitants (representativeness). This investigation considered that these two dimensions may somehow diverge and inform us about contrasted heritage values.

The questionnaire included 12 photos (Annex1). These include landscape scenery from the old city (Pic.1, 4, &10), El-Mina (Pic.2), Qobbeh (Pic.6), the river (Pic.3), the international fair (Pic.8) as well as scenes of public spaces (Pic.5 & 7) and monuments (Pic.9, 11 & 12). The context of these scenes is briefly outlined in table 1. The selection of the pictorial material intended to cover areas from different locations and historical periods and that have different

socio-economic conditions and heritage types. Interviewees were asked to give every scene a rating scale from 1 (I don't like it at all) to 5 (I like it a lot). In this scale, 3 is equivalent to neutral (zero) value. Then respondents were asked to choose the most representative photo of the city. Afterwards, interviewees were asked to judge which photo of two commercial streets in the Mamluk core they prefer and to give three reasons for why they like a particular scene. The aim was to go beyond aesthetic preferences and to reflect on interviewees' personal engagement with the environment. The main assumption was that this analysis would reveal the different tangible and intangible attributes as well as cultural values behind preferring a particular scene through an open question that allows the people to phrase their attachment and concerns about heritage.

The second part investigated indicators associated with the social significance looking at the most visited places in the city, activities, and feelings associated with these places. The questions were posed like e.g. how do you feel in this place? Galindo and Corraliza Rodríguez (2000) five terms to states of mood were used: comfortable, stimulated, relaxed, bored, and distressed. The aim behind this investigation was to capture the dynamism between social significance and the dual expressions of the historic urban landscape: exceptional landscapes that are characterized by aesthetic quality and ordinary landscapes that denote everyday practices and shared experiences.

The third part drew on how people conceptualize the historic value. This question was mainly based on the concept of historic trail. This question intended to see how the users would draw a historic pathway through the city so as to identify the most significant points in the city and their distribution. It showed a map of the city to the interviewees and asked them to draw a trail on the map or, if they were not familiar with maps, to mention in order the trail that they would take, including the name of places, buildings, streets, and so forth if they were asked to be the guide of a group of people who are interested in the history of the city.

The last part of the questionnaire consisted of categorical indicators related to the interviewees, including gender, age, educational level, profession, and habitation location.

Table 1: Provides a brief description of different photos used in the study and Shows the ranking of photos in terms of preference judgement and judgement of the most representative photo of the city according to the respondents.

Photo	Description	Landscape preference		Representative Photo	
		Mean	Rank	%	Rank
Pic 1	Urban landscape scenery showing the Mamluk core within the delineation of the listed historic centre.	0,15	7	5%	7
Pic 2	Landscape scenery showing the sea front and the skyline of the city. This part of the city is not listed as a heritage site.	0,22	2	14%	4
Pic 3	Landscape Scenery showing the valley of the Abu Ali River. This part of the river does not fall within the area of the listed Mamluk core.	0,13	9	2%	11
Pic 4	Urban landscape scenery showing the citadel, which is a listed monument, with the urban extension and the sea in the background.	0,2	3	17%	2
Pic 5	Urban scenery showing a primary circulation hub in the city. This roundabout is at the periphery of the Ottoman district and is not a listed as a heritage site.	0,17	5	27,5%	1
Pic 6	Urban landscape scenery showing El Qobbeh. The demarcation of the historic core stops at the periphery of the river and does not include this neighbourhood as a heritage site.	0,08	12	4%	8
Pic 7	Urban scenery of a public square showing the Tal square that is not listed as heritage and a number of classified Ottoman buildings.	0,16	6	6%	6
Pic 8	Landscape scenery showing the international fair designed by Oscar Niemeyer, the sea, and the mountains in the background. This scene doesn't include any listed heritage sites.	0,23	1	13%	5
Pic 9	Photo of a building showing the train station that is the only industrial heritage in the city but not designated as a heritage site.	0,15	8	14%	3
Pic 10	Urban landscape scenery of the Mamluk core showing the covered river and part of both sides of the river. This area is designated as heritage.	0,1	10	4%	9
Pic 11	Photo of a monument in El Mina showing khan el tamasili. This building is in a bad condition and needs renovation.	0,09	11	1%	12
Pic 12	Photo of a monument showing the citadel and the river. The citadel dates back to the crusader period and is a major landmark in the city.	0,18	4	3%	10

The analysis of preferences was based on giving a weight (x) to every rate scale (where x= -2 for 1, x= -1 for 2, x= 0 for 3, x=+1 for 4, and x=+2 for 5). Afterwards, the mean value of the different scores for each photo was calculated as to classify scenes from the most to the least preferred ones from a visual point of view (scenery). As for the most representative photo of the city, the sum of interviewees' choice for each photo was calculated to see the percentage of interviewees that chose each photo. Photos were classified from the most to the least representative one of the city. Then a comparative analysis between both results was conducted. To elaborate more on the different dynamics that contribute to the expression of aesthetic values (scenery), the analysis looked at the valued aspects of the environment on the scale of the street. The answers of interviewees concerning the three reasons behind liking a scene of two commercial streets were classified based on the developed framework: themes were classified based on their reference to an attribute (tangible or intangible) or a cultural value (aesthetic, social, historic, age, economic, political, scientific, and ecological).

To extract the social values associated with the different study areas, the most visited places in the city, feelings, and activities were investigated. The analysis distinguished between the most comfortable, stimulating, relaxing, boring, and distressful areas, and between the different activities related to these areas: shopping, walking, physical activity, sit in a café, family visit, and tourist visit. These results were then assessed in relation to the preference study to extract the dynamics of preference judgement.

The historic value was addressed through the question on the historic trail. A downward classification based on categories of Fig 1 was applied. The classification went from the neighbourhood scale to the scale of details. It differentiated between sites, neighbourhoods, public places, streets, buildings, and sensory details. Each term was given a weight based on the sum of its repetition by the interviewees. Then all these terms were located on a map. A grey scale was used to identify the weight of each element in the trail. For instance the Mamluk core that was mentioned by most of the interviewees was coloured with black whereas the international fair with grey because it was less mentioned.

Results

Interviewees had different criteria for selection among the most and least preferred photo and the most and least representative photo of the city (Table 1) (Fig.3). The outcome showed that landscape preferences have more to do with the visual quality of the space (aesthetic values). The choice of the representative image of the city has less to do with aesthetics and more with the place itself and its different functional, and spatial qualities. Moreover, results showed that respondents' knowledge about the context has an influence on their perceptual judgements. Figure 3 presents the most and least preferred landscape and representative image of the city.

Figure 3: Shows the most and least preferred scenes, and the most and least representative scenes of the city. Upper left, the most preferred scene. Lower left, the least preferred scene. Upper right, the most representative scene of the city. Lower right, the least representative scene of the city.

The most preferred landscape (Pic.8) is not designated as a heritage site. It shows the elliptical open space around the international fair and its surrounding urban and natural context, including the greenery, the mountains, and the sea. The international fair was designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer. This photo mainly reflects the visual quality of the space. The second most preferred photo (Pic.2) shows the sea, the fishing boats, and the skyline of the city. It mainly focuses on the natural features of the city and its visual qualities.

By contrast, the most representative photo (Pic.5) represents a main transportation hub in the city. This place lacks any aesthetic quality, but it serves connectivity throughout the city. It also has a religious significance since in the middle of the roundabout there is a statue that represents the dominant religious group in the city. So the significance of this square lies both in its function and spiritual meaning. The second most representative photo (Pic.4) is the one that shows the citadel with the urban extension and the sea in the background. The citadel is a classified monument, but the urban extension outside the Mamluk core that appears in the view is not designated as heritage. This photo somehow communicates the sense of continuity between old and new development. It combines a historic feature (the citadel) within its urban context reflecting on the historicity of the city and its growth through time.

The least preferred photo is that of Qobbeh (1) (Pic.5). The demarcation of the designated historic centre stops at the periphery of the river and excludes the Qobbeh. This district suffers from a low socio-economic condition. The second least preferred photo (Pic.11) is at the same time the least representative of the city according to the interviewees. This photo represents an Ottoman khan that is situated in El-Mina. This monument is designated as heritage. However, it is deteriorated, needs rehabilitation, and has a low visual quality. The second least representative photo (Pic.3) is the one that shows the Abu Ali River in its natural context. This part of the river falls at the periphery of the Mamluk core thus it is not part of the designated heritage site. In this photo, the river maintains its natural spatial structure and some of its ecological functions. According to the interviewees, this does not represent the city because, in its urban context, the river has gradually lost its function as a public amenity after its canalization in 1955 and its partial covering with a concrete platform in 2011.

In the landscape preference judgment, interviewees were mainly judging the visual aspect of the scenery. The photos that show the natural features of the city are the preferred ones. On the other hand, photos that show the built environment and reflect on its function and historicity and that embed a social significance are the ones that represent best the city according to the interviewees. In either case, the aesthetic value was not referred to the designated sites in the city and monuments, but rather to the context itself and its quality. New projects like the international fair have more aesthetic value to the interviewees than the Mamluk core. Moreover, according to the interviewees, the image of the city means more than an aesthetically pleasing scenery and is reflected in ordinary landscapes that represent the interaction between people and place, everyday practices, and shared identity.

This suggests that a photo-based survey method can be successfully applied to comprehensively distinguish among the distinct meanings and values attributed to the different urban areas within the city. Further on, these differences reveal that interviewees were not only judging the visual quality of the photos but considered the meaning of the places themselves. The judgement of photos was based on interviewees' knowledge of the context and personal experience since they did not apply the same criteria when judging the most preferred photo and the most representative one of the city.

The second part of the investigation looked at the reasons behind liking a scenery. Two commercial streets in the Mamluk core were subject to investigation (Fig.4). 75% of the interviewees preferred the gold market to the vegetable market. The different preferred aspects mentioned by the interviewees were classified as to distinguish between tangible/intangible attributes and values (Table 2). Since not all the interviewees gave three reasons behind liking a scene, the total count of themes was 585. The quantification of these themes showed that interviewees referred to attributes 360 times and to values 225 times. Interviewees referred to the physical aspects of the built environment, including space organization and arrangement, buildings and monuments, and details like stone cladding and finishing. They also referred to the intangibles aspects, including activities, expressions, and knowledge of the space like the noise, the crowd, and the smell and expressions. A variety of heritage values were expressed by the respondents that range from the aesthetic to the social, age, historic, economic, and political values. It is clear that in addition to the aesthetic and visual quality of the space, landscape perception is related to personal engagement with the surrounding context, and it is built up from interviewees'

feelings, knowledge, memories, and experience to involve all the senses sight, smell, sound, and feelings and to elicit cultural values.

Figure 4: Shows two markets in the Mamluk core. Left, vegetable market. Right, gold market.

The methodology proved suitable for gaining an understanding of context-sensitive values. It did not allow unlimited expression from respondents. Instead, respondents were constrained to give up to three reasons behind liking a scene. The aim was to grasp key interpretations. The findings are exploratory, therefore cannot be used for making generalizations. Though, a strength of this study is that it showed how it is possible to create a matrix that combines the different elements that determine the tangible and intangible attributes and values that define the cultural significance of a place. This knowledge can be used to inform urban planning and conservation practices.

Table 2: valued tangible and intangible aspects in the two commercial streets.

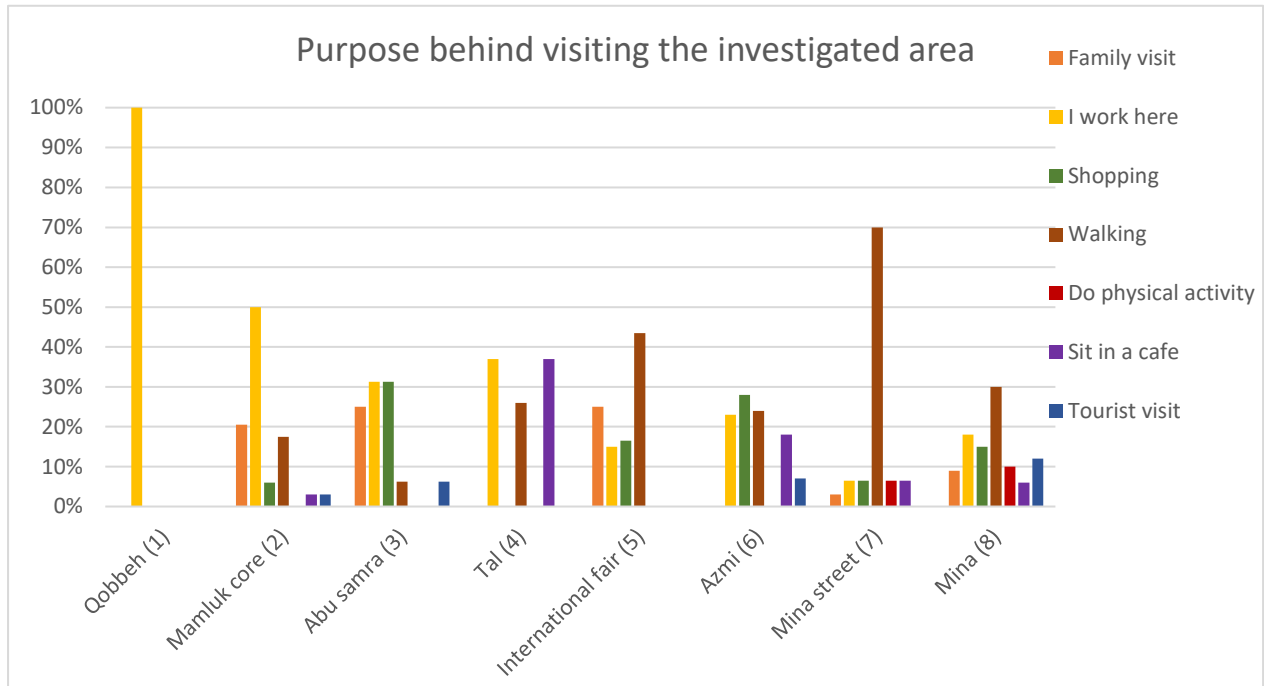|	Attributes (c*=360)		Values (c=225)
	Tangible Aspects (c=228)	Intangible Aspects (c=132)	
Valued aspect of the landscape	Built environment (c=184) -Form -Buildings/monuments -Objects/details Natural features (None) Visual relationship (c= 44) -Sensory responses	Activities (c=14) -Walking -Shopping Expressions (c=16) -Architectural style -Gastronomy Knowledge of the space(c=102) -Senses: (the noise, the smells, the crowd, the quietness) Practices (None) Cultural spaces (None)	Aesthetic Value (c=97) -Aesthetically appealing -Simple, clean -Physical condition Social value (c=50) -Social interaction/people -Hospitality -Feelings: feels like home, exciting, safe Historic value (c=11) -Authentic, Historic Age value (c=22) -Old Economic value (c=28) -Cheap prices, economic condition -Variety of products Political value (c=17) -care from the municipality, conserved, restored Scientific value (None) Ecological value (None)

*c is equivalent to count, meaning the number of times a term was repeated.

The investigation on the most visited places in the city showed that 40% of the interviewees mostly visit El-Mina. Whereas the least visited places are Abu Samra (4%), and Qobbeh (7%). The previous investigation showed that the photo representing El-Mina is the second most preferred one by the interviewees and that of Qobbeh is the least preferred one. Hence, the most visited area has a high preference rate while the least visited area has low preference rate. Moreover, the correlation between habitation location and the most visited places in the city showed that most of the interviewees of middle and upper-class neighbourhoods are less likely to visit the lower-class neighbourhoods, namely Qobbeh followed by Abu Samra and the old city. This reminds us that the social and economic condition plays a role in the mobility preferences of respondents within a city. Arguably, it has also an influence on landscape preference judgments and heritage values.

This investigation also conveyed that in addition to the aesthetic value, activities and feelings associated with the place play a role in the results of the most preferred scenes and the most visited areas (Chart 1). For instance, the promenade along the sea in El-Mina (8), the open space around the international fair (5), and El-Mina street (7) are public spaces that are appreciated by the interviewees for walking and doing physical activities. As for Azmi (6), it is a multifunctional commercial and leisure area, and it is mostly visited by the interviewees for walking, shopping and sitting in a cafés. On the other side, no activities attractions were associated with Qobbeh (1). As for the Mamluk core (2), it has low activities rate as interviewees mainly commute to it because they work there (51%) or for a family visit (21%). Moreover, the results of feelings associated with these places showed that El-Mina (8) and the international fair (5) are the most relaxing places while Azmi (6) is stimulating and Abu Samra (3) and Qobbeh (1) are perceived as the most boring and distressful ones.

What can be drawn from these results is that the Mamluk core and Tal that contain most of the city's designated heritage are not the preferred ones for visiting or doing activities. The modern shopping area in Azmi attracts the interviewees more than the historic core, and areas with high physical and visual quality are the preferred ones. Accordingly, the physical and visual quality of the built environment and the aesthetic value are more appreciated than the age and historic values. Based on this, the coming investigation looks at how the interviewees conceptualize the historic value of heritage.

Chart 1: Shows the activities associated with the different investigated places in the study area.

Purpose behind visiting the investigated area

Legend: Family visit, I work here, Shopping, Walking, Do physical activity, Sit in a cafe, Tourist visit

X-axis categories: Qobbeh (1), Mamluk core (2), Abu samra (3), Tal (4), International fair (5), Azmi (6), Mina street (7), Mina (8)

The outcome shows the places that were frequently mentioned in the historic trail proposed by the interviewees (Fig. 5). These places are: the old commercial streets in the historic Mamluk core (c= 203), the citadel (c= 210), El-Mina (c= 194), the Khans (c=158) namely soap khan, tailors' khan, and Khan al askar, the promenade along the sea (c = 78), Tal Ottoman square (c= 70), and cafés and restaurants with information about whether they serve international or traditional food (c = 60). The international fair and a newly developed road that is famous for its restaurants and cafés were mentioned by around 16% of the interviewees. Most importantly, the trail was not only restricted to the built context but also the natural one. Around 13 % of the interviewees included the islands in their trail. Strikingly, the areas that date back to the French mandate era were not considered as heritage by the interviewees. Developments outside the Tal area do not appear on the map, and only 5% of the interviewees mentioned the train station that dates back to the French mandate.

This result shows that importance is giving to activities namely to the commercial ones. It also reveals that the notion historic was not strictly synonymous with age and monuments and was not only reflected in the tangible assets of the city but also in the

intangible ones. It is very clear that for the interviewees the history of the city is not approached as being associated with the past, but as a continuous process that is reflected in the old and contemporary developments as well as in the changes that have occurred in the city through time. Moreover, it reveals that interviewees somehow conceptualize the city as a network of patches and corridors as the ones that have been suggested by landscape ecology approaches.

There is a difference between how experts and the interviewees approach the historic value of heritage in Tripoli. While experts limit heritage designation to the Mamluk core and some Ottoman monuments, interviewees attribute a historic meaning to old as well as new developments in the city. This outcome shows how experts' definition of heritage may differ from that of users.

Figure 5: Shows Tripoli's historic trail as suggested by the interviewees
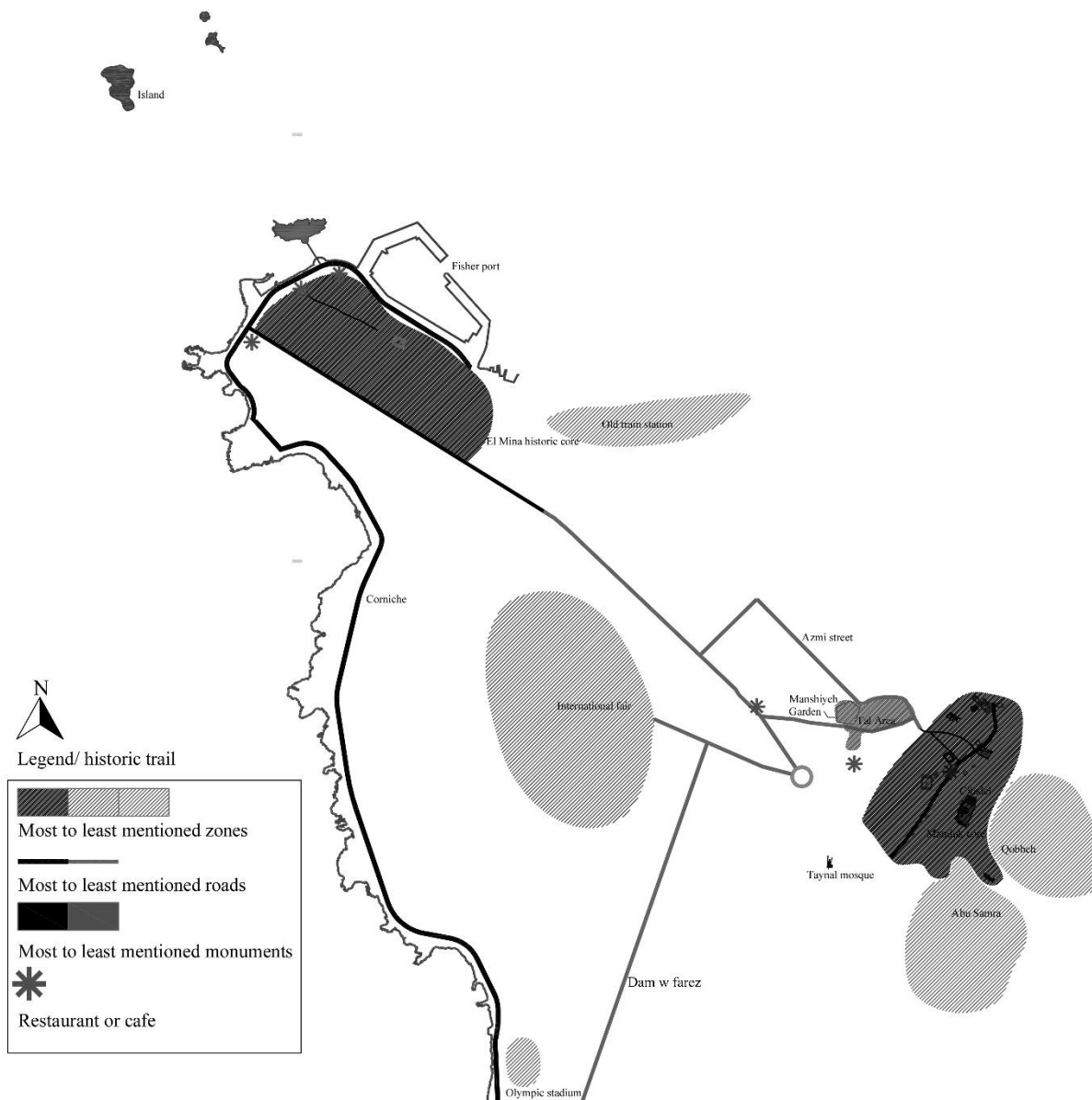
Discussion

As discussed previously and shown in Table 1, the most preferred scenes of the city are not the ones that represent best the city. This result shows a duality in the judgement of photos. Interviewees applied different interpretation criteria between landscape preference and the representative image of the city. In the first, the visual quality was certainly most influential in the judgement. In the second, interpretation went beyond the visual to reflect on ordinary landscapes and projected cultural expressions. Ordinary landscapes express what the city actually means to its residents, and people's use of everyday space. Everyday experience is an essential part of people's cultural heritage and shared identity, and is worthy of study and integration within conservation concerns. When monuments, historical sites, and exceptional landscapes are taken seriously in urban conservation practices, everyday landscapes are still overlooked and undervalued by many decision makers especially in the Global South. The result of this investigation shows that ordinary landscapes should not be underestimated because they represent the actual image of the city.

Even though landscape preference judgement is primarily linked to scenic beauty and the quality of the built environment, it is also made in the light of personal experience and knowledge, contemporary activities, sense of place, and the embedded social, historic, age, economic, and political values. These cultural values and intangible assets of the environment are the distinguishing features of the city and are an anchor for local identity and people's shared experiences and common heritage. Furthermore, the choice of the most representative scene of the city was not based on people's expectation concerning landscape quality and aesthetical experience, but on personal knowledge and awareness of the complex processes that characterize the city, including social, political, religious, spiritual, and functional processes. As emphasized by the HUL recommendation, understanding the city through its socio-cultural practices and values, and the intangible dimension of heritage provides us with important knowledge to guide planning decisions and manage change (UNESCO, 2016). Thus, both paradigms are important to understand the multiple meanings of heritage. They reveal the wide range of tangible and intangible attributes that influence the human environmental interaction, and the diversity of cultural values attached to the historic urban landscape. Heritage could be represented in ordinary everyday landscapes, or in the exceptional ones. Each of these embeds different heritage values that remain important to the identity and integrity of the city.

The methodology applied in this survey relies on the use of photographs and judgement preference scale. Judgement preference scales proved effective in determining the visual quality and aesthetic value of the environment in the eye of the respondents. The findings showed that interviewees were not solely judging the visual quality of the photo but were considering the broader meaning of the place itself. Conclusions on heritage values were reached from the qualitative questions. However, these were few in the questionnaire. Results could have been more sophisticated if additional qualitative questions had been included in the survey like the reason behind giving a specific scale to each scene. Moreover, this research only looked at how the public defines heritage. Our survey did not address other stakeholders' perspectives on cultural heritage values. It would be of additional value to replicate the questionnaire to experts and decision-makers as to highlight differences and commonalities in conservations concerns and heritage values among different stakeholders. The application of the HUL recommendation requires reaching consensus on what to preserve for future generation. Accordingly, it is important to involve the public in the process of decision and to achieve a balance between public and experts definition of heritage to adequately manage the effects of urban development on heritage values. Finally, it has to be stressed that one of the benefits of field surveys is that it allows capturing individual perceptions and representations, while limiting the influence from each other's opinion. Nevertheless, it can be argued that heritage values are somehow the result of a collective construction. Eliciting such social interaction processes would typically require developing cultural mapping workshops in complement with landscape preference surveys.

Conclusion

The outcome of this study showed that the history of the city is reflected in its development process through time and in its old and new fabric. Within this conceptualization, the historic core is not seen in isolation from its surrounding but in relation to its surrounding context and urban extension. In this context, cultural heritage is not restricted to designated hostoric cores, but is also projected in ordinary landscapes.

The decision on what tangible and intangible attributes to preserve implies that a wide range of cultural values are subject to investigation. As socio-cultural relationships are interweaved with spatial perception, the comparison of landscape representations in this study helped differentiating between the multiple meanings of heritage. These

meanings should be approached as complementary rather than opposing since their sum contribute to the unique identity of the city and its integrity. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that bringing together the multiple perspectives of heritage from different stakeholders is essential to promote sustainable solutions for heritage management.

Annex 1: Shows the 12 photos included in the questionnaire.

Pic 1

Pic 2

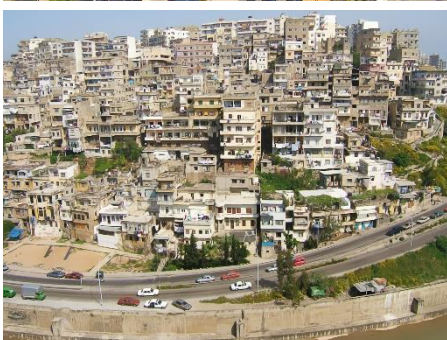Pic 3

Pic 4

Pic 5

Pic 6

Pic 7

Pic 8

Pic 9

Pic 10

Pic 11

Pic 12

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