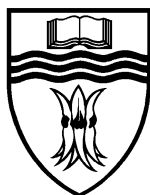


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Cultural Heritage of Culcairn Shire

Some Considerations for Strategic Planning

by
Dirk H.R. Spennemann
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Albury Australia
1996

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Introduction

Heritage sites and structures are ascribed cultural significance, *i.e.* importance for preservation for the enjoyment of future generations, by projecting a series of values onto an otherwise meaningless structure or place. These values which may be held by the community as a whole, or by parts thereof, are commonly grouped into social, archival, historical and scientific values. Enshrined in documents like the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* ('Burra Charter') they provide the foundations for all cultural heritage management (CHM) in Australia (Kerr 1991), and in fact in most western countries.

The origin of formal CHM in Australia was rooted in the interests of archaeologists, architects and historians to preserve parts of Australia's heritage for future generations for archival and demonstrative purposes, or for reasons of future scientific investigations (Davison 1991). A number of 'top-down' heritage studies were conducted. While on occasion community interests converged with the academically-oriented opinions of the heritage specialists, such considerations were deemed secondary.

Increasing empowerment of the Aboriginal communities in Australia to be actively involved in determining the future of their own cultural heritage has led to the recognition by heritage professionals that community values (social values, spiritual values, ethnic values, etc.) need to be taken into account when assessing a site (Jonas 1991). Since then, heritage management authorities have prescribed that Aboriginal community input is required before research projects are allowed to go ahead, and before decisions on the preservation or destruction of sites are made. Here, Aboriginal community values are given preference over scientific values.

The flow down effect of this development is an increasing awareness that social values are important for the assessment of *any* site or structure, and guidelines to assess social values have been proposed (Johnston 1992). Further, the recent literature is increasingly drawing attention to the inequity of class and gender representation in heritage (Bickford 1993; Johnston 1993). Yet, in a non-Aboriginal ('historic') heritage context, such social value considerations are usually limited to those put forward by heritage specialists, as well as the occasional stakeholders represented at public hearings. Rather than conducting proper systematic stakeholder reviews (Spennemann & Look 1994), such meetings are deemed adequate. This discrepancy between the ideal and the reality has implications for management as it produces potential for ongoing conflict (cf. Willandra Lakes World Heritage Area, Spennemann 1994).

Even though there may be a legally enforceable level of protection afforded to heritage sites in form of interim or permanent conservation orders and the like, this will only very rarely be invoked if there is widespread community opposition or disinterest (Spennemann 1992; 1993). Ultimately, it is the *preparedness* of the community to preserve its heritage which will provide long-lasting protection, and this preparedness will be greater for sites and structures which carry cultural significance in terms of social and community values. Conserving sites predominantly for their social and community values, however, also entails a community *responsibility* to be actively engaged in the conservation of such sites and to be prepared to fund these activities.

It is posited in the literature that decisions on the preservation of sites and structures should be made solely based on the criteria developed by the relevant heritage authorities, and economic considerations should not enter into the debate (Kerr 1991). On the other hand, heritage listing of sites and structures restricts the property owner's range of permissible activities with regard to modification and destruction of that property, and thus is perceived to be economically detrimental (Yelland 1991). There are options to mitigate, or at least moderate, the economic impact of such listings by means of tax rebates, or rate reductions, low-interest loans and outright grants, methods which have been employed to various degrees in Australia and overseas (Reynolds and Chisholm 1980; National Park Service 1990; Escherich 1992). Ultimately, however, the local community will have to fund many of these measures. It is unclear, however, to what extent people are prepared to pay for the heritage they themselves determined to be worth preserving.

A value assessment

To investigate some of the issues, an ARC small grant-funded research project was commenced in 1995 (Spennemann 1995) which resulted in an Honours Thesis (Harris 1995) as well as a series of data not assessed for that thesis. The objectives of the study were:

- i) to assess whether there is a discrepancy between the 'traditional professional' assessment of a shire's heritage and the community perception of heritage; and
- ii) to what extent the shire community is prepared to fund heritage measures for sites identified to be of heritage value by either of the two assessments

The research comprised of a desktop survey of existing information on Culcairn Shire's heritage, a physical Survey of the area, both systematic (urban) and random (rural). A householder questionnaire (maildrop to all households) was conducted to request respondents to nominate heritage sites; and to rank a series of places which were eligible and non eligible under state criteria. A contingent valuation survey to gauge the community's preparedness to pay for heritage followed, using personalised survey to individuals drawn from a random sample of the electoral roll.

This present report draws on those data which are of relevance for the strategic heritage management planning efforts of Culcairn Shire. It needs to be stated from the outset that the response rate for both sets of questionnaires was overall poor. The first survey instrument had a response rate of only 18% and the second a response rate of 24%. After the cut off caused by Harris' submission date some additional survey instruments were returned. The comment was made by representatives of the Shire council that the community had been apprehensive about the question with respect to household income, even though the first questionnaire had been wholly anonymous and the return of the second questionnaire had been anonymous as well. It was also commented on the fact that the shire population was equally suspicious of the normal census conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Therefore, some of the data will only provide general trends rather than specific detail. Further work more specific work on the data sets is under way, but it is anticipated that the findings of this further work

will have little bearing on the strategic planning of Culcairn. In this document we will look at the following issues:

General attitudes towards heritage

When discussing heritage management, we need to be very clear as to whose heritage is to be managed, and how the community perceives its own heritage. To what extent are non-Anglo Celtic resources deemed 'heritage'? Is the community prepared to visit heritage places as tourists? In order to set the site specific findings into context, it is important to understand the attitude of the respondent population to heritage. What is the relative significance of heritage, ie how does heritage compare to other social and environmental issues?

Heritage resources in Culcairn Shire

We will examine which resources are deemed relevant by the community of the shire through self-nomination, and on a selected basis, which types of resources should be funded. Finally we will examine whether the community is prepared to assist in funding the maintenance and conservation of heritage resources.

For the purposes of this report, the relevant questions of both survey instruments have been compiled under the relevant headings.

General attitudes towards heritage

Heritage tourism

Of the 302 respondents 95% had visited a historic town or place, and 66% intended to visit such a town or place during 1995. The main purpose of the visit had been to tour the historic place (32% of the answers, multiple answers possible), followed by the interest in learning about the heritage of the place (26%). A further 20% used this place as a convenient (or interesting) stop over *en route* to somewhere else.

The responses show that heritage is seen as an asset to a community and that a visit to a heritage town or place was perceived as a worthwhile endeavour, even if only as a convenient stop over.

Non-Anglo Celtic Heritage

When discussing heritage management, we need to be very clear as to whose heritage is to be managed, and how the community perceives its own heritage. Thus it was queried which non-Anglo-Celtic cultures contributed to the heritage of Culcairn Shire. Of the 302 respondents only 19 (or 6%) provided answers (multiple options). Aboriginal and Chinese heritage was acknowledged by 3% of the respondents, followed by Indian heritage (2.3%).

It can be expected that the rural community would be dominated by Anglo-Celtic (Henty, Culcairn) and German Ancestry (Walla Walla). The low responses for the

Aboriginal, Chinese and Indian heritage reflects the significance of tangible cultural heritage sites, preferable standing structures, as reminders of the past. Neither of the three cultural groups has easily recognisable heritage places associated with it in Culcairn Shire, even though there are several Aboriginal sites, as the farmers well know.

The low response for the Aboriginal heritage reflects the general rural attitudes towards the original owners of the land and is hardly surprising. The low figures for Chinese, who were employed as work gangs to fence properties and to pull out stumps in a land clearing period after the gold fields paid out, as well as for the Indian/ Afghans, who as itinerant traders provided many of the household goods to farms and rural communities, show that the contribution these cultures made to the rural development of the Southern Riverina has largely been forgotten by the wider public.

Relative significance of heritage

To place heritage issues into context, the survey instrument included a question asking to rate the relative significance of heritage, *ie.* how does heritage compare to other social and environmental issues? Specifically, responses were elicited to assess to what extent the government should be involved (table 1). The responses show that land care is, predictably, the most important issue to a rural community, with the largest number of respondents suggesting that more funds be made available, followed by water quality issues which have the lowest disapproval rate (0.76%). About 50% felt that the government should spent more money on heritage preservation. Social welfare, on the other hand, did not fare well, with a quarter of the respondents suggesting that funds should be reduced. This reflects the general attitudes of rural communities with a high property-ownership base and small urban centres. Given the spread of responses between social welfare on the one hand and land care on the other, we can assume that the responses with respect to . heritage reflect the true attitude of the population, *ie.* half the respondents thought the government should fund (and do?) more.

Table 1. Responses to the question: "In your opinion, should governments be spending more, the same amount or less money on the following issues?"

	total	invalid	less	same	more
	n	n	n %	n %	n %
Recreation facilities	131	0	18 13.74	59 45.04	54 41.22
Social Welfare	128	1	33 25.78	48 37.50	46 35.94
Water quality	131	1	1 0.76	53 40.46	76 58.02
Heritage Protection	131	1	8 6.11	54 41.22	68 51.91
Land Care	130	2	6 4.62	37 28.46	85 65.39

We have already addressed the issue whose heritage is deemed important, and by implication on whose sites and places more funds should be expended. But why are the heritage resources important to the Culcairn Shire community? And how important is the preservation of local heritage to the social and economic issues?

Table 2 sets out the responses while figure 1 compiles the means of the scores as well as their standard variations (1□). The graph shows quite clearly that documenting

development and technological achievement is not seen of major importance when discussing heritage, nor is heritage a factor in recreation & social life. Heritage resources were seen important for historic education, for the general attractiveness of the community and the local economy through tourism. The latter received the highest average and also the smallest variation from that mean.

Table 2. Responses to the question: "How important is the preservation of local heritage to the following social and economic issues?"

	n	Not important		Slightly Important		Important		Very Important	
Recreation & social life	129	12	9.30	43	33.33	46	35.66	28	21.71
Local Economy and tourism	131	1	0.76	13	9.92	49	37.41	68	51.91
Community & personal identity	127	7	5.51	17	13.39	50	39.37	53	41.73
Developm. & technol. achievement	125	22	17.60	34	27.20	48	38.40	21	16.80
Historic Education	129	6	4.65	11	8.53	46	35.66	66	51.16
Community attractiveness	128	6	4.69	13	10.16	54	42.19	55	42.97

The figures tend to suggest that heritage is seen a utility to advance the economic well being of the community. This impression is reinforced by the responses to a number of opinions, to which multiple responses were possible (table 3). Of the 135 respondents to the survey instrument 77.8% stated that we should protect as many heritage places as possible. But 16% argued that enough heritage places have already been preserved. One tenth of the respondents believed that heritage preservation is too expensive, and 21% provided the caveat that heritage protection must not stand in the way of development.

These figures clearly demonstrate that one fifth of the populations hold attitudes towards heritage conservation that could endanger heritage sites in the long run. Further, while 78% believe we should protect as many heritage places as possible, we have keep in mind the previous observation that almost 90% of the respondents see heritage resources as important or very important for the local economy (table 2). This issue warrants further investigation. Coupling heritage conservation to economic development, however, threatens the contextual integrity of heritage, as all those sites deemed to be irrelevant to the tourist theme may suffer; at best from benevolent neglect through a starvation of conservation funds; at worst because of perceived need to removed non-theme compliant sites from the area.

Table 3. Responses to the question: "Which sentence describes your general opinion of local heritage" (n=135)

	n	%
We should protect as many heritage places as possible	105	77.78
Heritage protection must not stand in the way of development	29	21.48
Enough heritage places have already been preserved	21	15.56
Heritage preservation is too expensive	13	9.63
Protecting heritage places is not important	5	3.70

Tables 4-6 break down these responses into age groups, income groups and places of origin (based on post codes). There are no differences between gender and no differences between those residing in town and those living on properties.

In the analysis by age group the responses show that there is a variation, mainly between the under and the over 30 year olds. While 90% of the under 30 year olds did agree that we should protect as many heritage places as possible, only 49% of the 50-60 year olds did so. The responses of the 30-40 year old age group are very low and thus the figures may be misleading. It is indicative of a trend, however, that only 17% of that age group supported the notion. We should consider that it is usually that age group that has to pay rates at the same time raises a family and thus may be in economic strife. It was argued in informal discussions with Culcairn Shire councillors that the support of young people under thirty for heritage conservation is not really surprising as they don't have to pay any rates—yet. The next age group (40-50 years old), however, showed a high 77.3% approval of the notion that as many heritage places as possible should be protected.

These answer patterns are repeated in the other answer options, where only 4.8% of the under 30 year olds agreed that holy places must not stand in the way of development, with one-third of the 30-40 year olds approved this option. The agreement that any holy places have been preserved has been used by 25% of the 30-40 year olds but only 48% of the under 30 year olds.

If we consider the responses in terms of income we find that there is a strong support of heritage protection means common small incomes (less than 10,000) and that this drops in the next income groups by 5% and then dramatically increases among the more affluent. The 10,000 to 20,000 income group stands out in that the most conservative with the lowest percentage arguing for protection and the greatest percentage arguing that enough places have been preserved and that heritage must not stand in the way of development.

If we compare the expressed attitudes on the community level, using the postcodes, then some interesting differences occur. Both the responses from Henty and Walla Walla, showed that 44-45% of the respondents felt that protecting heritage was not important, while only 10% of the Culcairn respondents felt the same. On the other hand, Culcairn was more development-oriented, with 25% agreeing that heritage must not stand in the way of development, compared with only 3% of the Walla Walla respondents.

Table 4 Responses to the question: "Which sentence describes your general opinion of local heritage broken down by age group."

	N	Protect as many as possible		Must not stand in way		Enough places preserved		Preservation is too expensive		Protecting heritage not important	
N	123	80	65.04	19	15.45	14	11.38	6	4.89	4	3.25
18-30	42	38	90.48	2	4.76	2	4.76	0	0	0	0
30-40	12	2	16.67	4	33.33	3	25	2	16.67	1	8.33
40-50	22	17	77.27	2	9.09	2	9.09	1	4.55	0	0
50-60	47	23	48.94	11	23.40	7	14.89	3	6.38	3	6.38
≥60	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

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Table 5 Responses to the question: "Which sentence describes your general opinion of local heritage" broken down by income group.

	N	Protect as many as possible		Must not stand in way		Enough places preserved		Preservation is too expensive		Protecting heritage not important	
N	149	95	63.76	23	15.44	15	10.07	10	6.71	6	4.03
≤10,000	65	40	61.54	10	15.39	6	9.23	5	7.69	4	6.15
10,000-20,000	39	22	56.41	8	20.51	5	12.82	3	7.69	1	2.56
20,000-30,000	28	20	71.42	2	7.14	3	10.71	2	7.14	1	3.57
30,000-40,000	17	13	76.47	3	17.64	1	5.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
≥50,000	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

Table 6 Responses to the question: "Which sentence describes your general opinion of local heritage" broken down by origin of respondent.

	N	Protect as many as possible		Must not stand in way		Enough places preserved		Preservation is too expensive		Protecting heritage not important	
N	274	105	38.32	29	10.58	21	7.66	13	4.74	106	38.69
Henty (2658 + 2650)	121	41	33.88	14	11.57	8	6.61	4	3.31	54	44.63
Walla Walla (2659)	103	39	37.86	3	2.91	8	7.77	6	5.83	47	45.63
Culcairn (2660 + 2642)	50	25	50.00	12	24.00	5	10.00	3	6.00	5	10.00

Notes: Postcode 2642 comprises the area south of Culcairn inc. Walbundrie. These responses have been combined with Culcairn.; Postcode 2650 is the area north of Henty towards Wagga Wagga; the responses for which were combined with Henty.

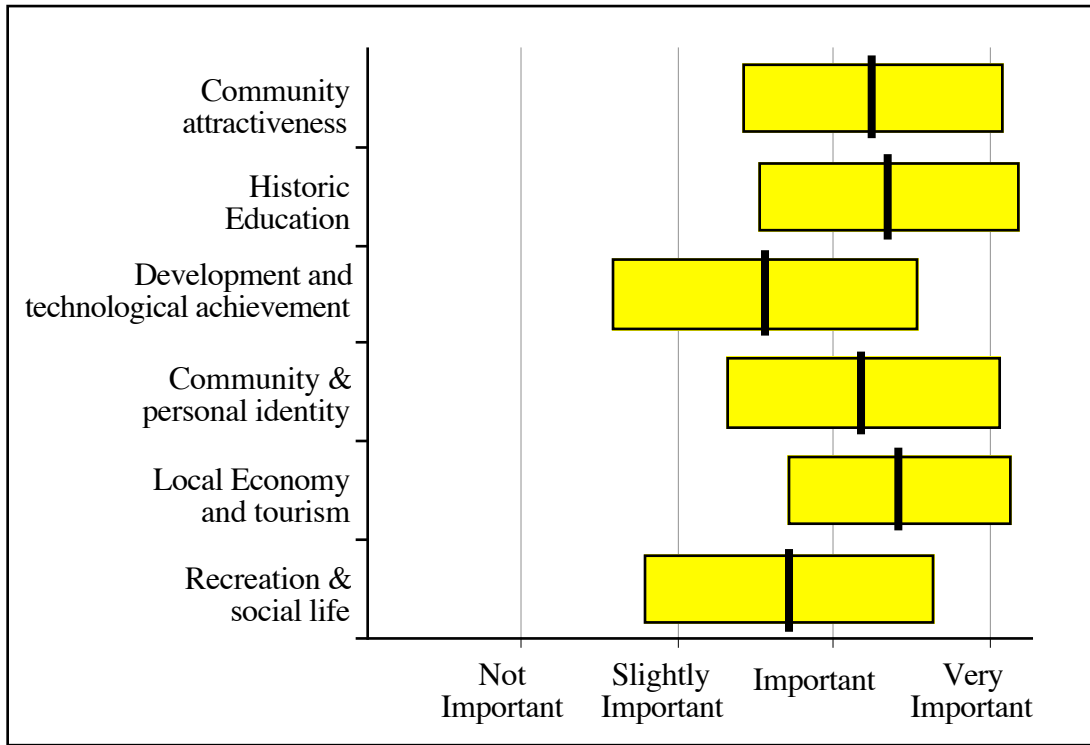


Figure 1. Average response scores to the question: "How important is the preservation of local heritage to the following social and economic issues?" The bold lines show the mean, the bars the standard deviation

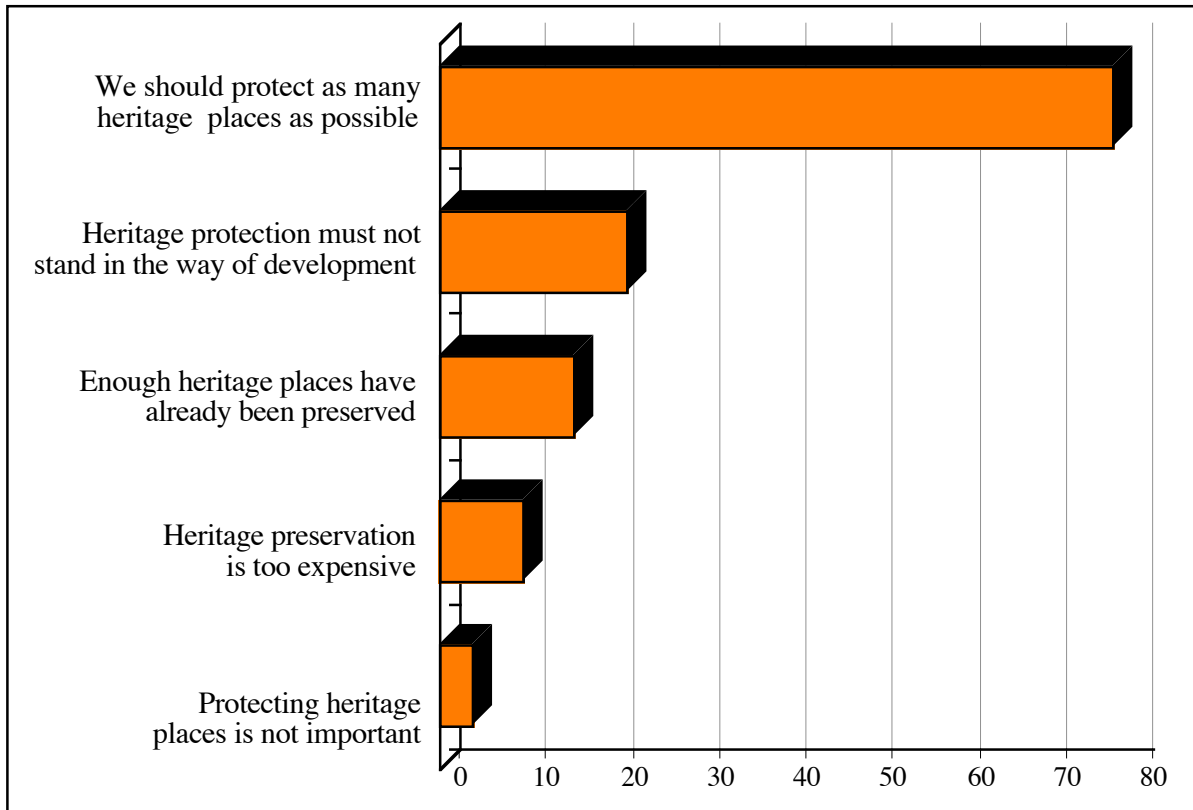


Figure 2. General attitude towards local cultural heritage places (n=135)

Heritage resources of Culcairn Shire

This section addresses the heritage resources of Culcairn Shire as the community perceives them, both with respect to . to which sites the community nominated as significant, and what value these sites have to the community.

Community-nominated places

The members of the community were asked to nominate heritage places of cultural heritage value to the community. The results are summarised in table 7. Heritage places are nominated in all areas, ie. Walbundrie, Henty, Culcairn and Walla Walla, with sites in Walla Walla and Culcairn having the highest number of nominations. Of a total of 320 nominated sites, table 7 shows all those sites which received four or more nominations. The number of nominations ranges from Morgan's Lookout with 89 nominations (or 29% of all responses) to a number of sites that were only nominated once. Figure 3 shows the most popular sites by frequency, and documents quantitative differences in nominations between Morgan's lookout and the bulk of the other nominations. High, but not outstanding are the Station Masters House, the Memorial Hall & School of Arts and the Culcairn Hotel, all Culcairn, and the Zion Lutheran Church, Walla Walla, all of which scored between 32 and 39 nominations (or 10-12%).

Public heritage sites in the widest sense are the most commonly mentioned places. Private residence and homesteads do not figure prominently. Shops and other commercial buildings are not deemed significant either, with the exception of the Culcairn Hotel. This community view is similar to that expected from the Australian population as a whole and reflects, overall, the distribution of sites on the Register of the National estate. In view of the long term viability of heritage in Culcairn, this dominance of public places needs to be addressed.

The community nominations as whole are interesting in that they match the expectations created by the physical survey, with some significant differences, which will require a follow up and further in-depth analysis:

- 1) Moveable property, such as artefacts, figures prominently in the community nominations, indicating that the community is not fully aware of the technical distinction between heritage places and artefacts as used in the heritage and planning community.

This implies that the heritage community needs to consider whether the technical distinction is irrelevant with respect to . to community/public education and more widely, whether this distinction is relevant at all. While moveable cultural property is a tradeable item and thus different from places and sites, there is on the one hand a history of relocation of buildings, bridges and other large entities normally not deemed moveable, and on the other the increasingly dominant attitude of the Aboriginal community that moveable items in sites should be left where they are, and that they should be curated in place and unchanged.

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Table 7. Community-nominated heritage resources. Those resources which are movable items or natural heritage sites have been set in italics.

Name and place of site	Nominations	Identified in Survey	National Trust	Funded recently
Morgan's Lookout, Walla Walla	89	■		
Station Masters House, Culcairn	39	■		■
Memorial Hall & Sch of Arts, Culcairn	39	■	■	■(1)
Culcairn Hotel, Culcairn	39	■	■	
Zion Lutheran Church, Walla Walla	32	■		
<i>Headli'es Header (artefact)</i>	<i>18</i>			■
Henty's signpost man	18			
<i>Doodle Cooma Swamp</i>	<i>18</i>			
Memorial hall & School of Arts, Henty	13	■		
Henty Railway Station	13	■		■
Round Hill Woolshed, Culcairn	13	■		
Railway Station, Culcairn	13	■		■
Old school house, Walla Walla	11	■		
Memorial Cairn, Walla Walla	11			
<i>Walla Walla swamp</i>	<i>11</i>			
Artesian Well, Culcairn	9	■		
Former School, Walbundrie	7	■	■	
Walbundrie cemetery	7			
<i>Heppner's Wagon (Artefact)</i>	<i>6</i>			■
Balfour Street, (street-scape) Culcairn	6			
Doodle Cooma Arms, Henty	5	■		
Culcairn School	5			
Sladen Street, Henty	4	■		
Old ANZ Bank, Henty	4			
Dales Supermarket, Henty	4			
Bartsch & Paech Building, Henty	4	■		
Walbundrie Hall	4			
Footbridge, Culcairn	4	■		
Literary Institute & Memorial Hall , Walla Walla	4			
King's Bridge, Walla Walla	4			
Blacksmiths Shop, Walla Walla	4			
Mackies Store, Walla Walla	4	■		

(1) Works began after the questionnaire had been returned

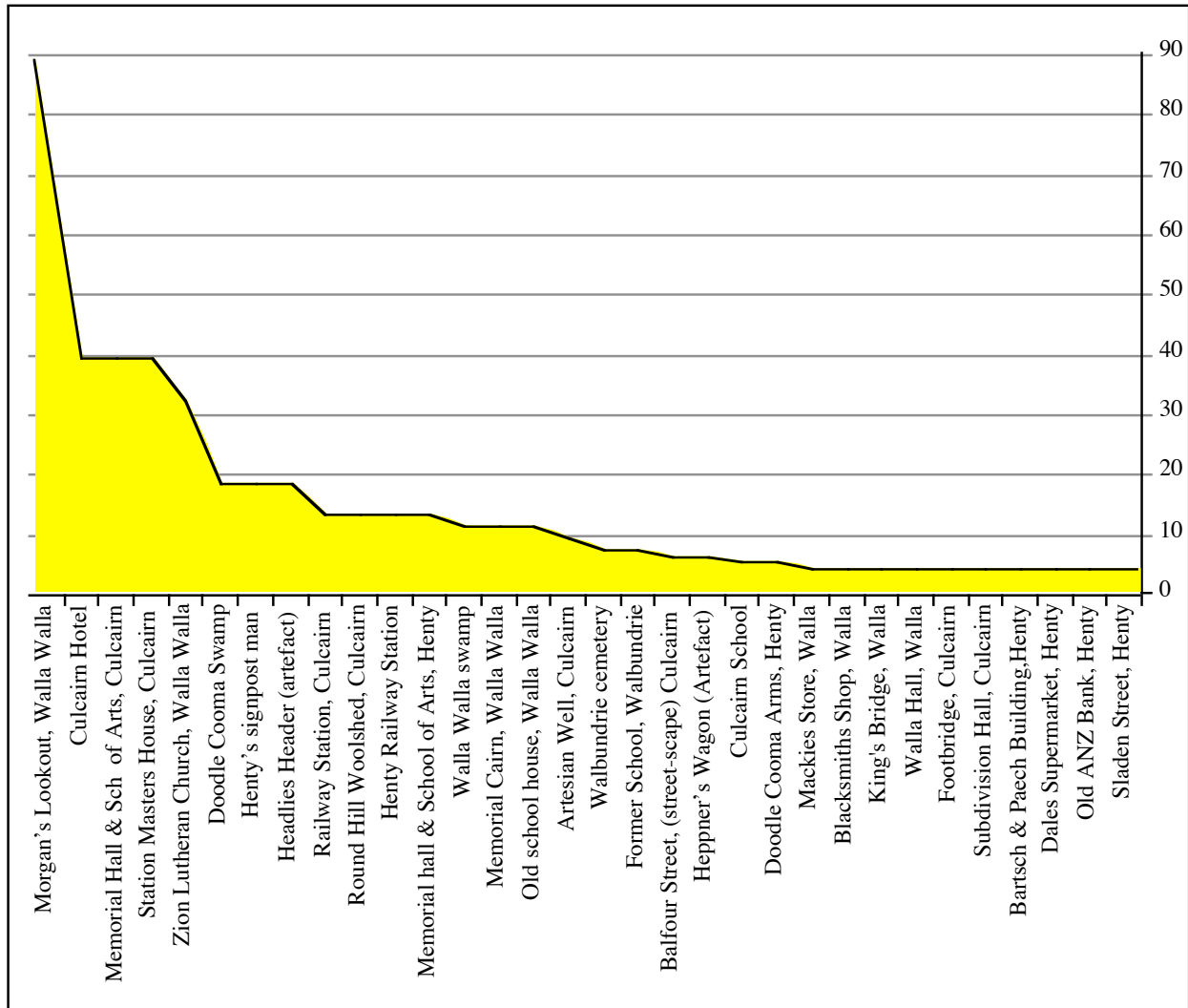


Figure 3. Frequency of community-nominated cultural resources

Either way, the implications are general and are well beyond the scope of the planning concerns for Culcairn Shire. What is of concern, however, is that the Shire should counteract any future moves of interested parties to remove shire-specific heritage items from the shire.

- 2) As can be expected, social values clearly dominate the nominations. This is evidenced by the Henty man, a concrete figure on the road to Henty, set up as local marker.
- 3) Natural sites without historic connections, such as the Doodle Cooma Swamp and the Walla Walla swamp also figure highly, indicating that the academic distinction between natural and cultural heritage is blurred in the community at large.

Relative significance of heritage resources

The second questionnaire had a return rate of 33.2%, which again is relatively poor. To be conservative, the data derived from this should only be seen as indicative of trends, rather than as absolute.

The survey instrument contained a question as to the relative importance of specific resource types, developed from the list of community nominated sites. But rather than querying specific sites, categories or classes of sites were put forward. It is obvious that some unique sites, such as Morgan's lookout would influence the outcome of some categories.

Table 8 *Relative importance of heritage resources*

	n	Not important	Slightly Important	Important	Very Important
Wheat silos	135	20	41	46	28
Railways	133	12	17	49	54
Churches	139	1	16	58	64
Natural landmarks	134	3	12	39	80
Schools	129	8	21	50	50
Hotels	132	16	30	55	31
Local business	134	11	20	56	47

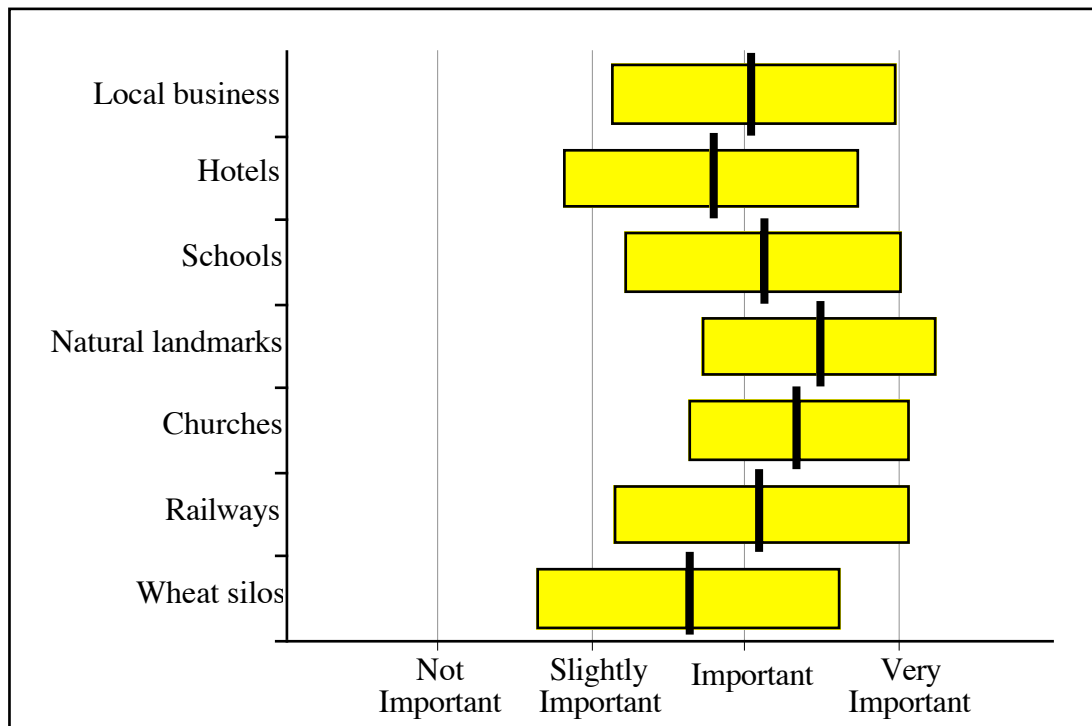


Figure 4. *Relative importance of heritage resources* Mean response scores. (bold lines) and their standard deviations (1s) (shaded bars).

The raw data are set out in table 8, while figure 4 again shows the distribution of the mean scores and the standard deviation from that mean. The average score for all responses is greater than the theoretical mean score which would be located at the 2.5 level, ie. halfway between slightly important and important. Variations can be observed. Natural landmarks are seen as the most important resource class, followed by churches. Both classes have comparatively small standard deviations. At the bottom end of the popularity scale are the grain silos as well as the hotels.

Preparedness to pay

The preparedness of the community to pay for the maintenance of their heritage was tested by presenting a randomly selected sample with an hypothetical scenario. The survey group was given a series of bid options (How much are you prepared to pay and a one-off donation to set against a predefined set of heritage sites drawn from various categories. Every individual bid was checked for reliability. Entered amounts over \$100.00 were cross-referenced to the survey to check for obvious signs of unreliability such as graffiti or negative comments, or unrealistic bids in relation to income.

A significant finding are the responses towards the willingness to pay questions asked. Whilst the overall bid amounts and the calculation to the willingness to pay as calculated by Harris (1995) is fraught with problems due to the low response rate, the overall trend image is of interest (table 9).

Table 9. Responses to a suggestion to donate to a trust fund to maintain and improve a number of heritage sites.

	Morgan's Look Out, Walla Walla (n=142)		Former Public School Walbundrie (n=138)		Railway Sta- tion and Goods Shed, Henty (n=138)		Grain Silos, Culcairn (n=133)		Church House, Morven (n=117)	
	n	%	n	n	n	%	n	%	n	%
Prepared to donate	35	24.65	17	12.32	20	14.49	12	9.02	14	11.97
Not prepared, because:										
The site is not important	4	2.82	15	10.87	15	10.87	28	21.05	23	19.65
Funds should come from taxes	57	40.14	55	39.86	63	45.65	50	37.59	40	34.19
Site does not require funding	7	4.93	9	6.52	3	2.17	14	10.52	6	5.18
Can not afford to pay	52	36.62	45	32.61	45	32.61	45	33.83	43	36.75
Other reason	10	7.04	11	7.97	14	10.14	9	6.76	12	10.26
Owners should be responsible	not offered		not offered		not offered		not offered		28	23.93

The responses that the proposed site was significant and that, therefore, the respondents were prepared to donate funds for a conservation project, echo the findings of the community nominations of heritage sites of significance. A quarter of the respondents were prepared to fund conservation action on Morgan's lookout a statement commonly mentioned in the survey and, a site the shire council has identified as of substantial tourism potential. Reinforcing this message is the very low (3%) response of those arguing that the site is not significant, thereby signalling unwillingness to contribute funds. The other end of the scale is represented by the grain silos of Culcairn for which only 9% of the respondents were prepared to put up donations, but which 21% of the respondents saw as not important and another 10% thought that the site would not require funding. The Church House in Morven also received a low approval rating, with 19% arguing it being insignificant. For all five project, on average only 14% of the respondents were prepared to donate funds.

Among the reasons for unwillingness to donate funds the argument that the household could not afford to pay a donation was used in about one third of cases, irrespective of site. For the Church House, Morven, the respondents were given another option,

namely that the owners should pay, which attracted 25% of the responses and dropped the request that taxes and rates should be used to 34%.

This observation is, on the face of it, contradicted by several community fund raisers *inter alia* that provided annually \$35,000 in donations by the friends of the museum (station house museum) (pers. comm N.Ashford). In both cases a systematic funding drive was conducted and the community was repeatedly approached and made excited about the need to fund the projects. In the present study, however, none of this preparatory work was performed because a) the scenario was hypothetical and b) to avoid any coercion that might influence the result. In the light of the actual fund raising success the study results would indicated the minimum preparedness to pay.

Some general observations on the bid amounts in the willingness to pay scenarios are worth commenting on as well. Willingness to pay was correlated to income, which was to be expected, and which is emphasised by 33-36% of the responses arguing that the household could not afford to donate.

Harris (1995) found that the willingness to pay for a conservation action was in part influenced by the origin of the prospective donors with the local community being more prepared to donate than other shire residents. This is particularly true in the case of Former Public School Walbundrie; Railway Station and Goods Shed, Henty. On the other hand, the Culcairn grain silos were not more popular with the Culcairn residents than they were with the residents of the other communities in the shire.

Tables 10 to 13 show distribution of age groups and income levels in the respondent population, as well as the percentage of each income group/age group responding that the household could not afford to provide a donation (table 10 and 11) or that taxes and rates should be used for the improvements (tables 12 and 13). This discrepancy between the totals in these totals and the totals given in table There is a general correlation, albeit weak, between a low level of income and the argument that the household could not afford to provide a donation. An exception is the 10,000 to 20,000 income group that was more prepared to donate than the $\leq 10,000$ and the 20,000 to 30,000 group.

As mentioned earlier, there was a negative reaction to the question on household income, which resulted in many questionnaires not being returned. In view of this and in view of some returns where the income section had been left blank, we can assume that the responses which provide an income are more or less true.

It is interesting that there is little uniformity in the response pattern between the five case options. For example, if a respondent claims that the household income cannot afford to make a donation, then one would assume that the same applies to all five options. Yet variations occur. The response pattern for all but Morven are relatively similar in broad terms. Morven stands out because of the reluctance of half the high income earners ($\geq \$50,000$) to support this site compared to 8 or 16% for the other places. Likewise, among the 10,000 to 20,000 group, which otherwise was non-prepared to fund sites, showed a high reject rate. On the other hand, those groups that were nor prepared to support the other sites favoured the Morven church house. Similarly, the responses to Walla Walla are slightly different from the Culcairn, Henty and Walbundrie scenarios, with a higher rejection rate.

The age breakdown showed that the greatest number of people claiming that the household could not offer to pay came from the 40+ age groups, those who would own

property and who would have the greatest financial commitments. Again, the responses from the case of Morven stand out.

Overall 32 % argued that taxes should be used to support the community efforts. Most remarkable is that none of those with incomes of \geq \$50,000 issues the tax option for Morven, compared to more than 50% for the Walbundrie, Henty and Culcairn . The tax option was popular among those with incomes between \$20,000 and \$30,000 and especially among those earning less than \$10,000.

If we take the sites as a representation of overall types of sites, indeed the reason for which they were chosen, then the railway property as a government owned site has the highest tax approval, while the church house in Morven has the lowest, followed by the Culcairn silos. Both Culcairn sites and the church house are in semi-private hand. The school house in Walla Walla Walla Walla and Morgan's Lookout are community property, while the Henty railway station is state-owned. The increased demand that taxes be spent to fund the conservation action appears to be correlated to the level of (perceived) government ownership.

Table 10 Income levels of those responding that the household could not afford to provide a donation

	Culcairn			Henty		Morven		Walbundrie		Walla Walla	
	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<10,000	48	23	47.92	26	54.17	13	27.08	24	50.00	28	58.33
10,000-20,000	32	8	25.00	6	18.75	12	37.50	9	28.12	9	28.12
20,000-30,000	26	10	38.46	10	38.46	7	26.92	9	34.62	13	50.00
30,000-40,000	15	2	13.33	2	13.33	2	13.33	2	13.33	1	6.67
>50,000	12	2	16.67	1	8.33	6	50.00	1	8.33	1	8.33
Total	133	45	33.83	45	33.83	40	30.08	45	33.83	52	39.10

Table 11 Age distribution of those responding that the household could not afford to provide a donation

	Culcairn			Henty		Morven		Walbundrie		Walla Walla	
	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
18-30	17	4	23.53	4	23.53	4	23.53	4	23.53	5	29.41
30-40	29	4	13.79	5	17.24	8	27.59	6	20.69	7	24.14
40-50	20	7	35.00	8	40.00	7	35.00	7	35.00	9	45.00
50-60	35	14	40.00	10	28.57	14	40.00	11	31.43	11	31.43
>60	41	16	39.02	17	41.46	7	17.07	16	39.02	20	48.78
Total	142	45	31.69	45	31.69	39	27.46	45	31.69	52	36.62

Table 12 Income levels of those responding that taxes and rates should be used

	Culcairn			Henty		Morven		Walbundrie		Walla Walla	
	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<10,000	48	21	43.75	24	50.00	24	50.00	18	37.50	26	54.17
10,000-20,000	32	10	31.25	17	53.12	7	21.88	15	46.88	12	37.50
20,000-30,000	26	10	38.46	11	42.31	11	42.31	10	38.46	11	42.31
30,000-40,000	15	2	13.33	3	20.00	1	6.67	6	40.00	3	20.00
>50,000	12	7	58.33	8	66.67	0	0.00	6	50.00	5	41.67
Total	133	50	37.59	63	47.37	43	32.33	55	41.35	57	42.86

Table 13 Age distribution of those responding that taxes and rates should be used

	Culcairn			Henty		Morven		Walbundrie		Walla Walla	
	n	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
18-30	17	5	29.41	5	29.41	3	17.65	8	47.06	3	17.65
30-40	29	10	34.48	11	37.93	5	17.24	11	37.93	12	41.38
40-50	20	8	40.00	9	45.00	9	45.00	7	35.00	6	30.00
50-60	35	15	42.86	20	57.14	10	28.57	15	42.86	19	54.29
>60	41	12	29.27	18	43.90	15	36.59	14	34.15	17	41.46
Total	142	49	34.51	62	43.66	43	30.28	54	38.03	56	39.44

The breakdown by age groups shows that mainly the 30-40 yeras group argues that the household cannot afford a donation, while the other groups are more prepared to pay.

Implications for Culcairn Shire

The study has a number of implications for the future strategic planning of cultural heritage issues in Culcairn Shire.

- (i) Heritage is seen as a community responsibility, with 50% arguing that the government should spend more money on heritage issues, and another 40% arguing that the current level of funding should be maintained. This reliance of government funds is echoed in the contingent valuation survey, where at most 25, but on average only 14% of the respondents were prepared to donate funds, while between 24 and 46% argued that the conservation works should be funded through taxes.
- (ii) The predominance of public buildings in the community nominations and the significance the community attaches to these has implications the shire council may wish to consider. The public buildings can only be interpreted in context and against the background of all other buildings. The ensemble, the street and town scape are important. If the contrast has been removed or limited, then the heritage value of the public sites will also suffer. Thus conservation actions will need to deal with the whole,

public and private, to avoid future architectural clashes such as the Culcairn Council building.

- (iii) It can be expected that the community is less prepared to donate funds to the conservation of sites it deems insignificant, such as the grain silos. The implications for Culcairn Shire are that there is a need to educate the public in the significance and importance of heritage sites *across the spectrum*, and not only those sites that are commonly interpreted as being 'heritage'. If heritage is meant to be an all inclusive representation of the past, then the shire cannot rely on the public to fund much of the conservation action. On the other hand, the level of approval for taxes and rates being a legitimate of funds for this kind of work should encourage the council to use such funds for these purposes, possible by attracting matching funding from the State Government.
- (iv) it is advisable to develop a comprehensive register of all places of heritage value held in private hand and to conduct a needs assessment in collaboration with the heritage adviser, for which heritage places in-terventive measures, such as conservation action, are desirable.
- (v) develop a systematic programme of stakeholder consultation, with respect to to both public and private heritage places to ensure that heritage sites are not unduly damaged or removed. The demolition of Doodle Cooma homestead , for example, caused an irreplaceable loss of historic fabric of local, if not regional significance. The shire should attempt to prevent such events from occurring in the future, for example through the provision of fund and/or expertise;
- (vi) conduct a similar, but simplified questionnaire on a local subcommunity level (Walla Walla, Walla Walla, Culcairn, Henty). This simplified questionnaire should focus on community self-nomination of sites and an elicitation of the reasons for the choice to determine the variety of values held by the community. Any value asked should be scored out of seven from very insignificant to very significant to provide a better resolution of the answers.
- (vii) In a second questionnaire round, the 20 most popular sites should be selected and the community asked to rank these sites and again allocate a reason why these sites are deemed important. This presents both a prioritisation for future management efforts, and an assessment of community values and reasons.

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