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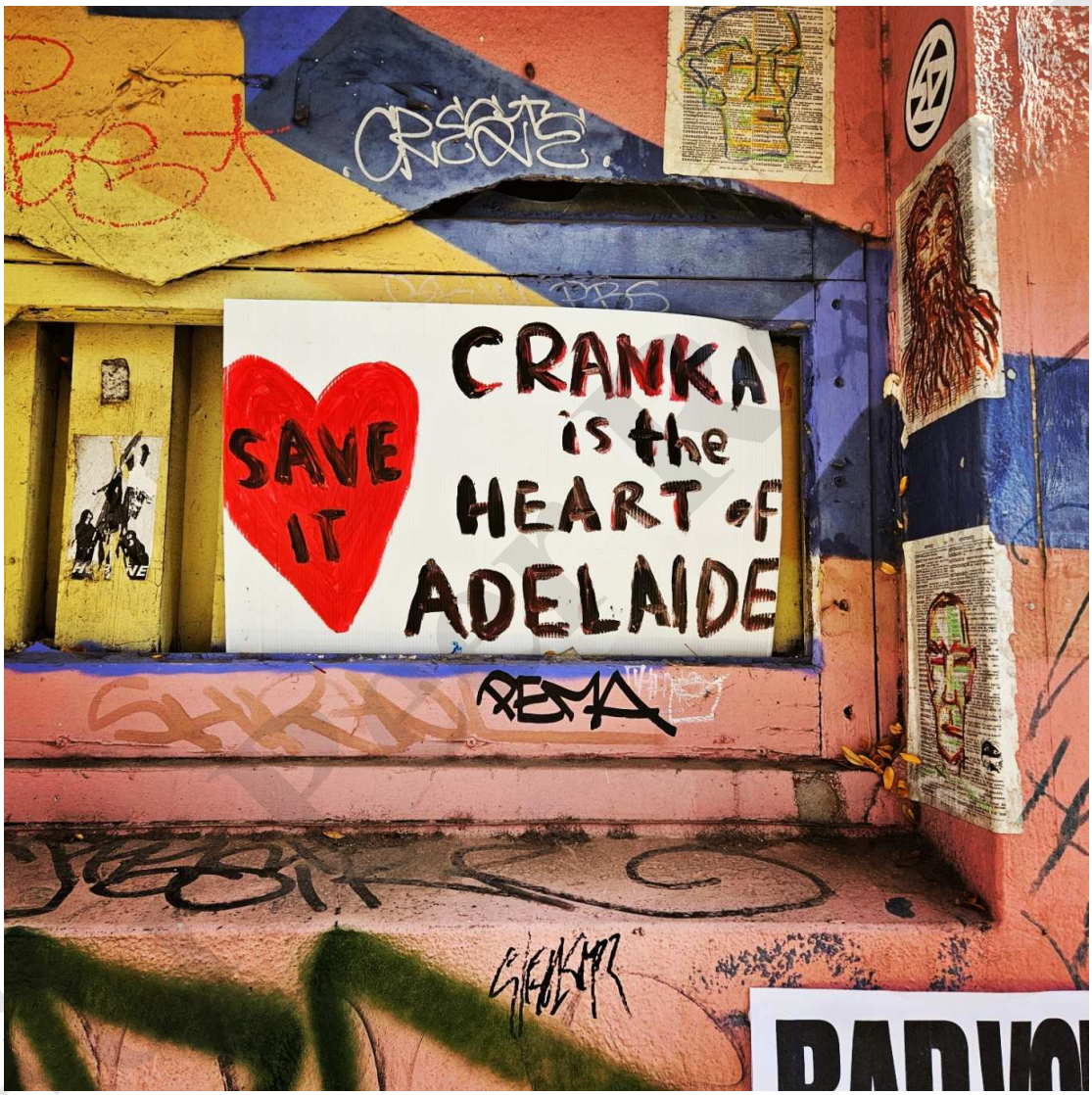
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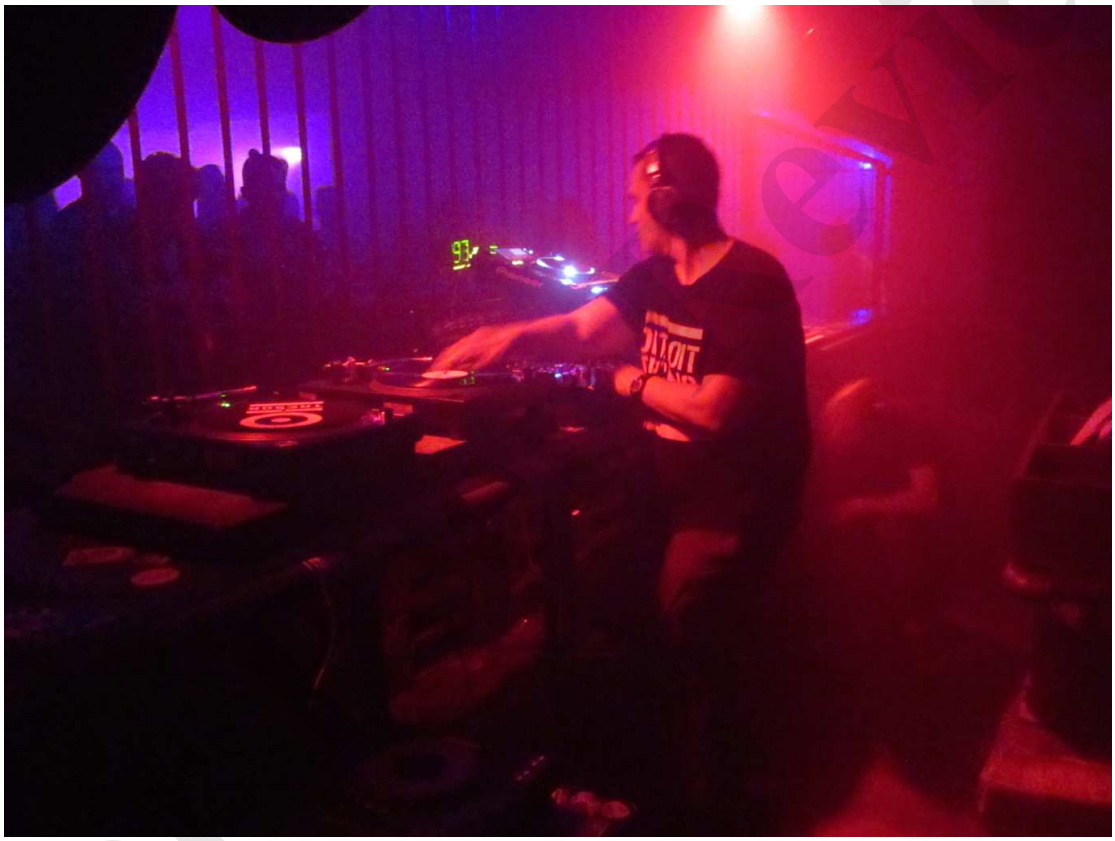

‘In the Moment’: Euphoria as a Heritage Value

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‘In the Moment’: Euphoria as a Heritage Value

Abstract

This paper explores the heritage value of euphoric experiences, where the meaning and significance of places are often established instantly, ‘in the moment’. By convention, heritage assets are assessed by specialists according to their historical, evidential, and aesthetic values, values that have been recognised for over a century. More recently, following the publication of the Burra Charter (1979), and Conservation Principles (2008), communal and social (including symbolic) values have also been identified. These relate to the meanings of a place for its ‘heritage communities’. They accrue over time but are often harder to apply because they are more subjective. However, communal and social significance can sometimes be instantaneous, bringing joy and creating memories that shape personal and group identity. Working with grassroots music venues and attending gigs, it is easy to see this happening: the euphoria of the mosh pit or rave generating not just life-shaping memories of the experience but also value judgements for the ‘third place’ in which it occurred. In this paper, we present the argument for euphoric value and assess the ways these moments of euphoria can be accounted for in heritage assessment.

Keywords:

Euphoria, Experience, Flow, Heritage values, Mosh Pits, Nightclubs, Raves, Third places

Introduction

Euphoria is commonly defined as the experience of pleasure or a state of enthusiastic positive excitement (after Drevets et al. 2001). It has also been defined in ways that incorporate more general notions of well-being and happiness (Alcaro and Panksepp 2011). The state of euphoria can be 'abnormal' (we prefer the term atypical) when associated with psychoactive drug use or with manic states and bipolar disorder, for instance. Alongside these 'atypical' situations, however, 'normal' (we prefer typical) euphoria can be induced from a diversity of stimuli that include, amongst other things: exercise, such as long-distance running or rowing (e.g. Raichlan et al. 2012; Cohen et al. 2010) and music, including music-making, listening and dancing (e.g. Ferreri et al. 2019; Zatorre 2015). In the case of music and dance, the evidence is particularly compelling, with strong emotional responses being widely recorded and characteristic of most humans, creating peak pleasure alongside forming and reinforcing social bonds. That said, 'typical' dance-induced euphoria does sometimes coincide with 'atypical' states of euphoria, where recreational drug use is involved, notably MDMA (Ecstasy) and psychedelics (Johnson et al. 2023). While recent studies indicate that the intake of psychoactive drugs is not a prerequisite for people to experience ecstatic or euphoric states (Schäfer and Kreuzberg 2023), it is a strong part of a narrative that often involves nostalgia: for example, the memory of the rave. However, these memories are often conflicted. As Davidson (2023, 421) points out: Rave nostalgia is suspended between two dispositions: the afterglow and the hangover. Whereas the former involves happiness, reversibility and continuity, the latter is defined by melancholia, irreversibility and discontinuity.

Anderson and Ortner (2019, 7) have noted that 'memories of joy may seem less important, more banal or ephemeral, a frivolous topic lacking the depth and pathos that has traditionally defined memory studies' (see also Rigney 2018). Yet there is a turn towards joy as a discrete emotion within memory studies, while its virtues are also recognised in other fields of research such as journalism studies (e.g. Parks 2021) and psychology (e.g. Watkins 2019). We suggest a similar turn would be welcome within critical heritage studies, and could be enacted through heritage practice. In this paper, we propose a way in which this turn can be achieved, through the application of what we term euphoric value.

The origin of euphoria within the brain rests within so-called hedonic hotspots. These are defined by Smith et al. (2010, 27) as being brain sites where:

> Pleasure mechanisms are sufficiently concentrated together in one anatomical locus to cause pleasure enhancement when neurally activated (while recognising that a hotspot's contribution to pleasure enhancement depends also on its participation in larger brain circuits). A hotspot might also be a site where natural pleasures are reduced below normal levels by neural suppression or damage.

Or, as Kringelbach and Berridge (2012, 45) state:

> The real pleasure centres in the brain – those directly responsible for generating pleasurable sensations – turn out to lie within some of the structures previously identified as part of the reward circuit. One of these so-called hedonic hotspots lies in a subregion of the nucleus accumbens called the medial shell. A second is found within the ventral pallidum, a deep-seated structure near the base of the forebrain that receives most of its signals from the nucleus accumbens.

Kringelbach and Berridge (2012, 45) conclude by noting that: 'Intense euphoria is harder to come by than everyday pleasures. The reason may be that strong enhancement of pleasure … seems to require activation of the entire network at once.'

While it is not our intention to further investigate the science behind these 'hedonic hotspots', we highlight them because they provide an intriguing metaphor for the locations where we might expect euphoria to occur in humans, being the types of places we refer to in this paper as having the potential to generate euphoric value. Within this context, we might also use the term 'hedonic hotspots' to describe places such as abandoned warehouses that hosted raves at the height of rave culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s, or Berlin's techno clubs, or grassroots music venues where crowds engage in gig-going rituals such as moshing, walls of death, or crowd-surfing. We might also follow other scholars (e.g. Gabriel et al. 2019) in aligning these examples with religious experiences such

as taking communion or participating in mass. Within the context of music (and arguably also religion), therefore, hedonic hotspots can reflect this coincidence of a joyous mental state within the confines of the particular types of location where it typically occurs. Thus hedonic hotspots become examples of 'third places of lived heritage' (after Oldenburg and Brissett 1982), a concept we refer to and discuss further below.

In this paper, we present an argument for including these notions of joy and the experience of euphoria as a discrete criterion in heritage assessment, alongside such traditional concepts as historic, evidential and aesthetic value. We also position this euphoric value as being somewhat separate from communal value (incorporating social and spiritual value). While there is overlap with both communal value and to some extent also the other conventional heritage values, the precise definition of euphoric value renders it distinct, for two reasons. The first is in recognition of the types of places associated with that momentary sense of joyful elation and ecstasy, which creates memories and shapes both individual and group identity. Second is the fact that other heritage values are accumulative whereas euphoric value specifically occurs in the moment. That moment of euphoria typically arrives without any warning and can pass just as suddenly as it arrived, even though the memory of the moment will likely remain. Where euphoric and communal values do coincide, euphoric value will add nuance and subtlety, recognising the precise reasoning behind the significance of a place for a heritage community while reinforcing the notions of memory, and joy. Within this same line of argument, we recognise 'hedonic hotspots' as examples of 'third places' of cultural and heritage significance where euphoric experiences typically occur. For clarity, we follow the Council of Europe's (2005) definition of heritage community, as stated within its 'Faro' Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society: a 'heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations' (Article 2).

In the first part of this paper, we review some of the relevant literature around heritage values, emphasising gaps in their scope and coverage. We then present euphoric practices and third places, describing both how they relate to heritage and to experience. We will

then use some examples to develop our argument for including euphoric value in heritage thinking, before drawing the paper to a close with some conclusions.

Values and their application to third places

Almost universally, heritage practice is underpinned by the application of heritage values. This is either a formal process, such as the use of values to inform heritage designation decision-making or planning decisions within the UK, or it can be informal, being simply a part of the conversation as heritage management solutions gradually unfold. These heritage values have been a part of the lexicon and commonly used within heritage practice for over a century (e.g. Riegl 1996). Heritage values have also been theorised, critiquing both their formulation, their scope and their various purposes and uses (e.g. Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). Other authors have explored the utility and application of specific value categories, notably social value (e.g. Jones 2016) alongside the wider concept of '(in)significance' (Ireland et al. 2020).

In terms of the formalised recognition and definition of heritage values, the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS (1979) and Historic England's (2006) Conservation Principles are arguably the best known and the most widely used frameworks, being regularly cited and even applied outside the countries for which their use was originally intended.

Being the first such document to formalise definitions and applications as well as being widely considered to represent good practice (but see Waterton et al. 2006), the Burra Charter holds status as a landmark publication. While the principles are generic, Practice Notes provide detailed guidelines related to their application. Under Social Value, for example, the Practice Note of November 2013 states that: 'Social value refers to the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that it holds for them.' While Spiritual Value refers to:

> … the intangible values and meanings embodied in or evoked by a place which give it importance in the spiritual identity, or the traditional knowledge, art and practices of a

> cultural group. Spiritual value may also be reflected in the *intensity of aesthetic and emotional responses* or community associations, and be *expressed through cultural practices and related places*.
>
> The qualities of *the place may inspire a strong and/or spontaneous emotional or metaphysical response in people*, expanding their understanding of their place, purpose and obligations in the world, particularly in relation to the spiritual realm. (Our emphasis)

By defining 'spiritual identity' as relating to or affecting the human spirit or soul as opposed to referring only to material or physical things, and taking this to extend beyond only religious experiences, we can see how this heritage value has the capacity to both expand the meaning of social value and incorporate the kinds of euphoric experience that we describe in this paper.

With English Heritage's (2008) Conservation Principles, however, and although 'present day perceptions of the spirit of place' and 'newly revealed places' are mentioned, the implication is that spiritual value aligns largely if not entirely with longstanding places of worship and veneration. Notably:

> Spiritual value attached to places can emanate from the beliefs and teachings of an organised religion, or reflect past or present-day perceptions of the spirit of place. It includes the sense of inspiration and wonder that can arise from personal contact with places long revered, or newly revealed. (English Heritage 2008, 32).

With the definition of social value in Conservation Principles, mention of 'the passage of time' and a 'deeper attachment' also suggest that more conventional heritage places are the object of attention. Specifically:

> Social value is associated with places that people perceive as a source of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence. Some may be comparatively modest, acquiring communal significance through the passage of time as a result of a collective

> memory of stories linked to them. They tend to gain value through the resonance of past events in the present, providing reference points for a community's identity or sense of itself. They may have fulfilled a community function that has generated a deeper attachment or shaped some aspect of community behaviour or attitudes. Social value can also be expressed on a large scale, with great time-depth, through regional and national identity. (Ibid.)

Comparing this to Jones' (2016, 22) broader definition of social value as 'a collective attachment to place that embodies meanings and values that are important to a community or communities', reveals the shortcomings within the Historic England definition, at least so far as this applies to contemporary or everyday heritage places (Ireland et al. 2024).

Of more relevance, arguably, is the concept of (in)significance, which Ireland et al. (2020, 827) defined as being:

> a device for thinking through the inherent duality of value concepts and value attribution practices and their effects and impacts, and to throw light on how culturally complex and multi-layered value concepts and judgements are operationalised and instrumentalised in forms of heritage management. Used in this way, the term (in)significance invites questions such as: Why and when is an item deemed significant and how does this process create forms of insignificance (i.e. historical and cultural contingencies and specificities)? Who has made that determination and for whom (i.e. the political economy of the heritage field)? Whose perspective is being represented (i.e. the politics of recognition)? And what is the role of bodies, emotions, the senses, subjectivity and tacit knowledge in values assessment (e.g. questions to do with ontological plurality, materiality and the politics of affect)?

This final point is especially relevant in terms of arguing for separately defining euphoric value, being unique (beyond arguably the aesthetic) in recognising bodies, emotions and the senses as contributing or giving value to a place.

Using heritage values as a framework for heritage decision-making makes good sense (as a process often referred to as 'informed conservation') but it is also often deeply problematic. At one level, and unless tightly defined, developed and grounded, these systems of valuation are merely manifestations of unwelcome and outdated authorised heritage discourses (after Smith 2006). Such discourses can marginalise rather than galvanise communities and create a heritage archive which amounts to a national collection rather than a representation of locally-held and locally-valued places of meaning and memory. In reality, the archive could very easily be both. Emphasising locally-held social and communal values is one way to achieve this alongside new ways to recognise valued heritage places, such as through Local Lists and Neighbourhood Planning, in the UK. Another way is through critically appraising the values typology and its application. As Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 476) state, 'established value typologies are under fire for favouring outdated Western expert interpretations of heritage; a critical review and reframing of the values-based heritage discourse is therefore necessary'. Reframing might also include the provision of entirely new criteria. It is our suggestion that euphoric value (within a broader framing of experiential values) is one such criterion.

In the next section we present some terms and concepts that describe and give context to this heritage criterion, based less on the fabric of a place than on its resonance; less on historic criteria than on its emotional impact and its capacity to enable those moments of euphoria, which bring joy, creating memories and shaping both individual and group identity. This euphoria forms an important part of the narrative of a building or space, a narrative that continues to unfold as those third places become increasingly relevant amongst diverse and ever-evolving communities, and as buildings find appropriate new uses.

Concepts

Euphoric Practices

'Euphoric' practices involve people reaching peak experiences (Maslow 1962) through a process of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1975/2000). For example, at a music venue, euphoric practice could involve people's participation in mosh pits while in techno clubs or at raves, dancing (possibly associated with drug-taking) can also create a sense of euphoria. As Fitzgerald (1998, 51) describes it: 'To "lose it" or to "go off" is a wonderful thing. It's what happens (after drug use) when the music takes you away, you surrender and you become lost in the music.' Within churches, we propose that the act of taking communion and participating in a religious mass can also constitute euphoric practice.

These euphoric practices are characterised by a process of 'being in a flow' (Csikszentmihalyi 1975/2000). Flow refers to a mental state where a person is fully immersed and involved in an activity leading to a sense of enjoyment and fulfilment. In such a state, which can be reached through one's engagement with euphoric practices, there is a 'distortion of temporal experience (typically, a sense that time has passed faster than normal)' (Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi 2014, 240) alongside a total absence of self-awareness and a feeling of being at one with the activity (Csikszentmihalyi 2002). In addition, with euphoria, the experience of participating in an activity is ultimately rewarding, meaning that sometimes the outcome of the activity is not as important as the process itself.

Being in a flow while engaged in euphoric practices, people can reach peak experiences. These experiences create a sense of immersion that drowns out the outside world (Dowdy 2007, 83; see also Maslow 1962). According to Maslow, peak experiences are usually, 'short in duration and involve both emotion and cognition' (Maslow, 1968 cited in Macdonald et al. 2009, 371). They are moments of happiness and fulfilment incorporating verbal, emotional and physical self-openness and awareness (Hoffman and Bey 2024), these benefits being highly meaningful for those who experience them. Being in a mosh pit during a gig, dancing in a techno club or at a rave, or taking communion and attending a mass in a

church can prompt peak experiences which are, 'truly religious moment[s] of ultimate authenticity in the most universal and humanistic sense of that word' (Maslow 1962, 10).

In the case of moshing (Figure 1), Riches (2011, 316) describes this as,

> a ritualised and furious form of dancing which combines physical aggression with collective displays of emotion. According to Ambrose (2001), the term "mosh" came into existence during the early 1980s in the US hard-core scene in Washington, DC (Riches 2011, 315).

She goes on to define the mosh pit as,

> a vital part of the concert experience, providing an opportunity for metal fans to play with darker aspects of existence, subvert normative social conventions, and release pent-up frustrations of mundanity while fostering a strong sense of community. The mosh pit experience is integral to the live show because it allows metal fans – particularly women – the regulated freedom to establish, out of the chaos, their own social order (Ibid., 316). Participating in walls of death and especially crowd-surfing at gigs (Figure 2) are further examples of practices that can create peak experience.

<Figure 1: Crowd surfing in a mosh pit. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license.>

<Figure 2: Crowd-surfing at the Fulford Arms venue in York, UK. Photograph by Charlee Ramsey: http://www.charleeramseyphotography.co.uk/>

By reaching peak experience through flow in this way, participants inevitably produce heritage in the sense of memory-, community-, and identity-making, with connections directly to the venue in which the experience occurred. These activities can also leave a mark. For instance, mosh pits can generate decay manifested as wear and tear which give places an authenticity and an aura as defined by Benjamin (1935/1968) since, 'their

presence in time and space is a unique existence at the place where they happen to be' (1935/1968, 220).

Dancing to techno (with its characteristic 120-150 beats per minute) in Berlin's techno clubs (after Schofield and Rellensmann 2015), like raving, is an immersive euphoric practice. Specifically, dancing in abandoned industrial warehouses (as with the UK's now historic 1980s and 1990s rave and acid house scenes) or in a disused and former GDR power station in the former East Berlin (in the case of Berlin techno), is both visually and sonically exciting as the venues' architectural character contributes to sensory perception and the communal sense of belongingness in an event. As such, the high-decibel sound, the physicality of the place and the close proximity of audience and performer (the DJ) generate an experience that is realised through an immersive atmosphere characterised by being in the flow. Moreover, the use of private, or previously public or government-owned buildings cultivates a sense that audiences should not be there. At the end of the Cold War in Berlin, this situation was commonplace. As Berlin techno DJ, Cle, said: 'We played (music) in clubs that were not owned by anyone, in districts no one was responsible for, in buildings that did not exist according to the land register; we lived at a time when normal people slept.' (cited on the cover of Denk and von Thülen 2014).

Similarly to these examples, the practice of taking communion and attending mass is (arguably) equally euphoric in allowing participants to reach peak experience in ways that align with aesthetic experiences as understood by Dewey (1934), being any sensory experience where one, 'fully engages one's senses in an object (...); watching, listening, and even smelling the ocean' (Uhrmacher et al. 2016, 134). The intensity and significance of these practices enable the practitioners to have a religious experience through which they feel a profound sense of meaning. On top of that, the features of a church, such as its high ceilings, carvings, stained glass windows, and artwork as well as the quality of the acoustics and ambience with the use of candles and dimmed lighting, can evoke powerful emotional responses and a deep connection to the divine or the sacred, which can be experienced as euphoria. Ultimately, the existence of a religious community within the church attaches a social heritage value to the euphoric practices of mass and communion since they create

shared peak experiences through flow. With this in mind, it is not surprising perhaps that many churches have been repurposed as nightclubs and as music venues.

Third Places of Lived Heritage

Euphoric experiences and practices will usually occur in settings that have been referred to as 'third places', as opposed to in people's homes ('first places') or at work ('second places'). As stated previously, we also adopt the term hedonic hotspots to define the kinds of third places where euphoric experiences will most likely occur.

The term 'third place' was first introduced by Oldenburg (1982) and is understood as a public space beyond our homes and workplaces where local people and communities have the opportunity to socialise and form meaningful relationships (see also Wright 2012). Place is the concrete realisation of space through the cultural attachment and ascription of meaning by people who exist in the space. As such, placemaking is a fundamental process of signification since inhabiting transforms spaces into meaningful places. It emphasises the nexus of people, heritage and place by looking into the experience of co-living in a specific area (Mosler 2019). Based on that, the third place:

> is a public setting accessible to its inhabitants and appropriated by them as their own. The dominant activity is not 'special' in the eyes of its inhabitants, it is a taken-for-granted part of their social existence (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, 270).

Third places, such as bars, cafes and music venues, offer enriching experiences rather than just providing an abstract and meaningless escape from the outside world. They are utilised as spaces for playful interactions in a society that is heavily focused on work and productivity. Interaction in third places creates a temporary, immersive world within the structured framework of individuals' daily lives. Emotional expression, spontaneity and unstructured social interactions are core elements of such a world that is manifested through the formation of meaningful interactions based on 'a playful involvement' (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, 283) in third place activities. Such activities are integrated

into the life of the regulars and can in turn become normalised and embodied as everyday life.

Building upon that, we understand that the notion of third places holds importance for the everyday lives of many of the people that comprise local communities. As such, third places can be explored through a heritage lens since their significance can be decoded based on the examination of heritage values that are attached to them. Until now, examples of attempts to use heritage perspectives to approach third places include community-run places of music preservation (Istvandity et al 2019) as well as integrating third places into heritage assessment practices (Kaufman 2013). However, such efforts have not taken into account the spontaneous and emotional or playful involvement that Odlenburg and Brissett (1982) reflect upon. With that in mind, in this paper, we utilise the notion of 'third places of lived heritage' to describe social hubs and meeting points that give communities the chance to engage in temporal, emotional involvements and attach heritage values through cultural practices that are actively maintained, experienced, and preserved as part of their daily lives. These practices play an active role in the formation of heritage communities, as defined previously.

The pure sociability of third places is what allows communities to experience heritage, attach values to it, and form relationships that are indelibly associated with them. Simply put, third places of lived heritage are accessible social settings within which practices of lived heritage are produced through socialisation.

Examples

Lessour (2012, np) describes how Berlin's techno movement, 'made the rejection of [Cold War] politics in favour of unadulterated hedonism a form of music, perhaps even an ethos. [Thus] … over time techno became a local tradition'. We, therefore, recognise Berlin's clubs as significant third places of lived heritage, incorporating those conventional heritage criteria that afford value to some of the buildings as architectural works (Schofield and Rellensmann 2015). For example, as Waltz has stated of arguably Berlin's most famous club,

'Berghain towers like a techno cathedral … standing for an uncompromising vision of clubbing, but also for a sound which could only have been created here' (cited in Rapp 2010, 128); Waltz (ibid.) also refers to Berghain as a 'majestic concrete castle'. Alongside such statements, cultural values have been applied to the Berlin techno scene, notably through its recent addition to Germany's and UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage on the basis of its contribution to the cultural heritage and identity of the city. This decision was welcomed by many stakeholders involved in the scene, now represented through the Berlin Club Commission, being also a positive step towards the recognition and possibly also some protection of counter-cultural and underground movements that contribute to both the material and immaterial heritage of Berlin's urban fabric. Despite that, such a decision is also and inevitably a signifier of the hyper-commercialisation of the Berlin Club scene as well as the cultural appropriation of a sub-cultural movement that was born out of radical politics and youth countercultures in the mid to late 1980s. Accordingly, there are also therefore concerns regarding the loss of the underground authenticity of those clubs characterised by a DIY ethos and the rejection of mainstream cultures. Another concern regards the exclusion of local communities which sometimes find themselves marginalised since hyper-commercialised clubs tend to cater for the needs of middle-class citizens and tourists (the 'Easyjet Set', after Rapp 2010). As an outcome, what is offered is a less radical and more sanitised, tourist-friendly version of the scene which erases the authenticity of the movement. Ultimately, hyper-commercialisation alongside gentrification inevitably creates by-products such as cultural homogenisation and commodification which lead to cultural appropriation rendering the techno scene an aesthetic simulacrum of what it used to be. That said, the UNESCO and German Government recognition of a scene and not specific venues, tacitly acknowledges the significance of an 'urban ecosystem' (Schofield 2023) that is constantly evolving, albeit centred around certain iconic and architecturally impressive superclubs like Berghain and Tresor which, despite hyper-commercialisation, can serve as useful case studies for the exploration of euphoria as a by-product and generator of heritage values.

Tresor originally opened in March 1991 at Leipziger Straße 126 in East Berlin and functioned as a meeting point after unification between people previously from East and West Berlin (Figure 3). The original building of Tresor was the vaults of the Wertheim department store

in East Berlin, a place rich in material traces of the Second World War (Estevez 2023). The founders of the club took, 'advantage of the GDR's stock of empty buildings — bunkers, depots, factories, offices: places to party in anytime, winter or summer, without bothering a soul' (Lessour 2012, 304, cited in Schofield and Rellensmann 2015, 118). The club survived in this location for many years. After a two-year hiatus between 2005 and 2007 due to the end of a prolonged short-term lease as well as the transformation of the building to offices, Tresor relocated and reopened at the abandoned GDR heat and power plant known as Kraftwerk Berlin in Köpenicker Straße. Beyond the name, the safe-deposit boxes from the original vaults, which had lined the dancefloor at Wetheim, were relocated to continue to serve that same purpose in the new venue ensuring a continuation in the character of the building and – crucially also – of the experience.

Therefore, in the context of an urban ecosystem, both new and emerging clubs, pop-up single-use outdoor venues and the superclubs, are all third places that play host to euphoric experiences, becoming hedonic hotspots through the values people attribute to them based on their experiences within the spaces that are made available.

<Figure 3: DJ at Tresor, 2015. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license.>

The Crown and Anchor in Adelaide (South Australia) has been a live music venue since the 1990s. While offering first opportunities for local bands throughout this period, the dedicated performance space is also available for touring artists, being one room of several in a lively pub in the city's east end. Many of the performances are free and the audience is diverse, covering the full range from teenagers to pensioners, and with interests extending across a diversity of genres, but mostly rock, indie and goth. The pub with its venue, known locally and affectionately as The Cranker, has strong local support. This community support was particularly relevant recently as the Cranker came under threat from redevelopment.

It is widely stated in heritage studies and policy documents, that the social values of a place can be hard to articulate, and often only become clear when a treasured place is threatened

(e.g. English Heritage 2008). This has proven the case with the Cranker. The developer proposed to demolish much of the building to accommodate a high-rise block to create much-needed student accommodation while retaining the building's historic facade. What the developer failed to take into account was the extent of local support for the venue, as a significant social space, with a strong sense of social and communal value. As described previously, Burra's Guiding Principles explain how to understand social value, by asking: 'Is the place important as a local marker or symbol? Is the place important as part of community identity or the identity of a particular cultural group? Is the place important to a community or cultural group because of associations and meanings developed from long use and association?' (Australia ICOMOS 2013).

In an article in the *Guardian* newspaper (29 April 2024), Walter March asked: 'Where will the Goths go now?', replicating the message on a protest banner at a well-attended Save the Cranker march. The article documented the start of an intense and well-coordinated campaign to save the venue (Figure 4), recognising its status not so much as a historic building, but as a vital third place of lived heritage within the city's cultural ecosystem. At the time of writing, 21,000 people have signed a petition to Save the Cranker, and a Facebook Group has over 7000 members. Cited by March (2024), the Cranker's publican Tom Skipper described how,

> Music's in the DNA of this hotel, there's no doubt about that. But you have a lot of people that use it as a sanctuary, as a meeting place, as their form of the church. We can protect the built form and the architecture but there's so much more that lives and breathes behind those walls.

<Figure 4: 'Save the Cranker' graffiti, in Adelaide, South Australia. (Photo: Author).>

In late August 2024, news was announced of a compromise and that, after a two-year closure during the adjacent development works, the Cranker would be retained as a pub and venue, as a vital third place of lived heritage. The new legislation would also provide protection for other venues within the city's central business district, recognising their importance in the terms described here.

The Cranker is one of potentially thousands of examples of smaller venues around the world in which people experience live performance, often for the first time and at a younger age. It is where most musicians make their first public performances. It is these smaller venues where the crowd and the performer are close together and often intermingle, either during the show or before and afterwards. Inevitably some venues will close down just as others open up. But some venues, like The Cranker, have a longer history and a strong and diverse heritage community, part of the strength being its diversity. Accumulated heritage values exist here, including a communal value that has developed over time. But The Cranker also stands apart as a significant third place to which memories of euphoric experiences have been firmly attached in the form of memories, as evident in the many voices arguing to preserve the venue. It is a combination of all of these values that contributed to the venue ultimately being saved from development.

Finally, and as stated previously, we return to the comparison of clubs with churches, as buildings where prayer, mass and other forms of worship can induce feelings of intense joy and euphoria based on a profound connection with the 'divine'. In both places, practices such as the act of dancing or prayer allow for a collective sense of release, connection, and transcendence. This relationship is illustrated in the lyrics of *God is a DJ* by Faithless: 'This is my church / This is where I heal my hurts / For tonight / God is a DJ.' The song implies that clubs, like churches, are transformed into 'spiritual places' for emotional release, and collective euphoria.

Moreover, and like clubs and venues, the use of music, chanting, and other symbolic actions within churches generate a sense of collective effervescence (Durkheim 1995 [1912]), a feeling of belonging and assimilation generated through participation in collective rituals. "Experiences of collective effervescence, are part of our interior life" and as such are directly displayed to our consciousness in a single instance" (Durkheim 1912, 369 in on Throop and Laughlin 2002, 42). Such experiences create harmony that comes from being together as a group which in turn enhances the sense of belonging and of community (Gabriel et al, 2019; Mossière, 2007). In churches, hymns and liturgical music function not only as expressions of spirituality but also as powerful practices of alignment between individual emotions and

collective euphoria through heightened emotional energies. Collectively reciting prayers amplifies this sense of immersion, fostering a shared emotional atmosphere that transcends individual differences and reinforces a collective identity. As previously stated, the architectural design and spatial arrangement of churches enhance such experiences as the high vaulted ceilings, stained glass windows, and acoustics that amplify sound contribute to an immersive experience of being 'in the moment', totally out of this world.

An example is the Protestant church of St. Thomas (Thomaskirche) in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, designed by Friedrich Adler and built between 1865 and 1869. Before the construction of the Berliner Dom, it was the largest church in Berlin[1]. In recent years, St. Thomas Church has been known for hosting club nights and techno events, transforming the space into a venue for electronic music. In 2018, the church hosted an event featuring Robert Hood, an ordained minister and techno DJ who both preached and performed as a DJ[2].

Discussion

Reflecting on the interplay between heritage, third places and euphoric practices, we see that contemporary heritage sites bear importance for the people that inhabit them. Such importance is translated into the traditional heritage values framework that entails aesthetic, evidential, historic and social values. This framework for the assessment of traditional heritage sites remains important but it lacks a more nuanced focus on contemporary heritage, notably by overlooking its more experience-based aspects. It emphasises, in other words, the consumption and the existence of heritage, but not the making of it and the various ways in which this creation can occur. As such, we suggest the need to introduce a new value that is based on and expands the notion of social values so as to recognise the ephemeral and experiential elements present in contemporary sites such as third places of lived heritage— including, as described earlier, clubs, venues and

[1] https://ra.co/clubs/159152

[2] https://ra.co/news/42677

churches. We call this value 'euphoric'. Euphoric values are not supposed to contradict the traditional heritage framework, nor do they reject its focus on the tangible and visual elements like the architecture or beauty often represented in material remains. Instead, euphoric values complement and advance the existing framework by filling a gap in terms of experience-based heritage practices (Figure 5). Such a gap exists since traditional value frameworks tend to prioritise the visual and tangible aspects of heritage sites while neglecting the transient, immersive experiences that are deeply embedded in the euphoric practice of those who visit third places of lived heritage.

<Figure 5: Schematic representation of the four heritage values defined in Historic England's (2008) Conservation Principles, alongside Euphoric Value. The graph shows how all five values align with two key variables: the accumulation of value that is related to knowledge over time; and the consensus attached to each of the five values. Historical value has a high degree of consensus for example, and has accrued over time. Communal value is variable, as it can refer to both communities in a larger, national sense, but also to a very small and tightly defined heritage community. It can also accrue over time, or it can rapidly develop, for example in response to a threat to a favoured place. The diagram shows how, even with this variability, the euphoric value sits in a very different area of the graph to all of the other values. It should be added that, although different in scope and definition, all five values do interconnect and in some cases overlap, in various ways.>

Based on that, we conceptualise euphoric value as the ways in which we reach temporary, immersive peak experiences through euphoric practices in third places of lived heritage. In other words, euphoric value can be understood as the importance audiences and communities place on brief but intense moments of hedonism, flow and immersion that are created based on specific practices such as dancing or moshing in culturally meaningful hedonic hotspots. At first glance, the difference between euphoric and spiritual and social values is not obvious since they all share the same focus on the intangible, addressing the pure sociability of heritage sites derived from heritage practices and identity formation. More particularly, spiritual value considers the intensity of aesthetic and emotional responses in a heritage site, expressed through cultural practices while social values focus on the overall meanings of a place for those it features in their collective memories.

Similarly, euphoric values entail the intensity of emotional responses through heritage practices that add to the overall meanings of a place.

However, what differentiates these values is the sensory and immersive nature of flow experiences, which are a key element to euphoric values. These peak experiences are not just merely expressed but actively attained and produced through euphoric practices. In this context, euphoric practices become the vehicle through which peak experiences are achieved, rather than simply a sign of being in a state of spiritual flow. Another key distinction lies in the role of time and attachment. Social values evolve gradually over time, producing a deeper, sustained sense of attachment that entails communal and symbolic significance. Similarly, spiritual values also rely on time, often requiring strong and long-lasting emotional responses. In contrast, euphoric values are inherently ephemeral. They exist 'in the moment' emerging in temporary, intense bursts as individuals or communities immerse themselves in the flow and reach peak experiences. These moments generate euphoric values that become entwined with the built environment of third places of lived heritage, or 'hedonic hotspots' as we also describe them —whether it's late at night, as people dance in techno clubs, participate in illegal raves in disused warehouses or mosh in music venues, or during the day, as practitioners partake in mass, immersed in the 'divine'. When those peak experiences fade and euphoric practices stop at the end of a rave or a gig, euphoric values may remain as an aura and as a memory for the participants. In other words, euphoric values are personal but are also attached to the built environment as an 'aura on hold' that can only be experienced in a particular time —during peak experiences— and in a particular space —within third places of lived heritage, which may also be described as hedonic hotspots.

Conclusion

Heritage values provide the foundation for decision-making within heritage management contexts, from generating management plans, to spatial and local planning, heritage designations, and funding priorities, amongst other things. Informed conservation, as both

principle and practice, is driven by decisions made within a values framework. It is therefore vital that those values are robust and carry sectoral support. It is essential, also, that the values framework is co-created by those acting across the heritage sector, through consensus and negotiation. Where the values framework requires adjustment, opportunities need to exist for discussions to occur on how to implement change, while the framework itself needs sufficient flexibility to accommodate it.

Conventional heritage values can be traced back to the earlier work of Alois Reigl (1996), whose 1903 scheme set the benchmark for everything that has followed. However, with the 1979 Burra Charter, social value ('for past, present and future generations') was introduced into the equation, challenging the authorised position of heritage experts who were usually called upon to advise on a site's scientific value, irrespective of (and oblivious to) local opinion. With social value, it wasn't the authorised view that mattered so much as locally-held opinions. In Ernest Scahtel's (1959) terms, the allocentric or detached and scientific view of the traditional expert fell alongside (and arguably behind) a more auto- or egocentric perspective of the personal. Social and communal values have since become more prominent, not least through their inclusion within Historic England's (2008) Conservation Principles and following Smith's (e.g. 2006) robust and sustained assault on the Authorised Heritage Discourse. Social values were also subject to critical review, including by Jones (2016). Numerous initiatives, such as Historic England's Local Listing have also been introduced off the back of this social turn, in this case recognizing buildings, structures, or other assets that are important to the local community.

As stated earlier, to provide a strong foundation for heritage decision making, values frameworks must be robust and they need to be agile, adapting to a field of study and of practice which is constantly evolving. For example, even traditional heritage communities are more diverse and more fluid than they were when the Burra Charter was first published (in 1979), or even when Conservation Principles first appeared (in 2008). There is now more interest amongst heritage scholars and practitioners in these communities and their heritage, alongside that of other non-traditional communities (e.g. Kiddey 2017). And there is more recognition of everyday and contemporary heritage (Ireland et al. 2024) and of

insignificance (Ireland et al. 2020), places that traditionally fell below the threshold of having any interest or relevance for heritage studies and practice.

It is in this context of an evolving heritage landscape that we propose a new heritage value that is both contemporary, authentic and original. It is also directly relevant to a very specific type of heritage setting which holds particular relevance in contemporary society: third places, where important social relationships are formed, identities are forged, and memories are made. This 'euphoric value' is also different in the sense that it refers not to the patina of age or to the accumulation of memory or of evidence, but rather to meanings and significance that are fleeting and in the moment, relating to flow and to peak experience. In this paper we have focused our attention on clubs and music venues including those places repurposed for club-nights and raves, such as warehouses illegally occupied and used for acid house parties in late 1980s England, as well as former industrial buildings occupied by DJs in post-Cold War Berlin for techno parties that drew younger generations together after forty years of separation. Euphoric value helps to construct an argument for the significance of these types of places by recognising the value of those moments of elation that can shape a person's identity and the everyday places where they often occur. We also recognise that this euphoric value can occur in other settings, including churches.

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