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**FROM BRICKS AND MORTAR TO
SOCIAL MEANINGS: A CRITICAL
EXAMINATION OF LOCAL
HERITAGE DESIGNATION IN
ENGLAND**

CAROL LUDWIG

PhD

2013

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ENGLAND**

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RTPI BSc (Hons) MSc PGCert

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of Northumbria at Newcastle for the
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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the realities of the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) at the local level of heritage designation in England. The AHD is characterised as an exclusionary discourse that privileges the physical nature of ‘heritage’, defined scientifically by ‘experts’. Set within the context of the UK government’s emphasis on localism and the encouragement of community-led heritage processes which recognise social significance, the empirical study explains contemporary professional conceptualisations of ‘heritage’ to advance understanding of this phenomenon. It finds a pervasive, yet nuanced AHD. Such nuances, however, are constrained. These relate to social heritage values which demand cultural change and a shift in epistemological position.

The perceived subjectivity of non-expert, social values forms a key barrier to their heritage legitimisation. They fuel a growing fear of challenge, in an environment which at present, appears to prioritise economic growth over a more inclusive localism. This shifting of political priorities, coupled with a climate of cost-cutting triggers a reflex of defence, and working practices which are cautious, guarded, and underpinned by positivist decision-making. This drives not necessarily a desire, but a need to retain ‘expert’ status to justify designations using tangible, objective facts, and scientific reasoning. This impedes a more equitable social and material hybridity, and crucially, manifests itself as a *backward trend* towards positivism.

Moreover, the study identifies strategic drift within local authorities. Due to systemic weaknesses, professionals appear unable to fully accept diversity of interpretation, and thus do not actively seek to uncover difference. Consequently, they fail to adequately adapt established practices to societal changes, such as increased cultural pluralism. The outcome is a widening ideological gap between professionals and communities. Thus, despite the observed evolution of heritage discourse, the research argues that a sector-wide epistemological shift is required to truly rebalance *bricks and mortar* with *ascribed social meanings*.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIS	The Department for Business Innovation and Skills
CAC	Conservation Advisory Committee
CAF	Community Area Forum
CLG	Communities and Local Government
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CR	Critical Realism
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DoE	Department of the Environment
DNH	Department of National Heritage
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FRE	Framework for Research Ethics
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
HPR	Heritage Protection Review
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LDF	Local Development Framework
LMB	Lead Members Briefing
MHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
NHPP	National Heritage Protection Plan
OCC	Oxford City Council
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PAS	Planning Advisory Service
PPG	Planning Policy Guidance
PPS	Planning Policy Statement
SAC	Special Area of Conservation
SCI	Statement of Community Involvement
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
SPD	Supplementary Planning Document
SSSI	Sites of Special Scientific Interest
STC	South Tyneside Council
TSO	The Stationary Office
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

For Dad

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved: n/a- there are no ethical issues associated with this research.

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Date: September 2013

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: THE GROUNDING OF THE THESIS

At its heart local heritage listing provides a much needed opportunity for communities to have their views on local heritage heard. It recognises that the importance we place on the historic environment should extend beyond the confines of the planning system to recognise those community-based values that contribute to our sense of place (Baroness Andrews, Chair, English Heritage, English Heritage, 2012a: 5).

1.1 Research Context

Over the past few decades, 'heritage' has occupied a prominent position on public, academic and policy agendas (Waterton, 2010). Yet, the term heritage means different things, to different people, at different times, and in different contexts. The multifaceted nature of heritage appears not yet to be adequately acknowledged or problematised by conservation planning professionals (Waterton, 2005; Smith, 2006; Waterton and Smith, 2008). Instead, the practice of conservation, applied through the English planning system, seems to be guided by a rather uncritical, naturalised, and deeply embedded 'way of seeing', centred on the physical nature of heritage defined by 'experts' (Smith, 2006). This ideological representation of heritage is problematic for a number of reasons.

Indeed, the privileging of the architectural merit and historic significance of the physical fabric provides limited space for alternative understandings of heritage which focus on emotional content. As such, this one-dimensional understanding of heritage value has the potential to marginalise and/or discredit a plethora of ascribed social meanings. Whilst terms such as 'social value' and 'communal value' have recently entered the heritage discourse, they appear to be bounded by confusion and contradiction. These deficiencies are likely to affect their application in conservation planning practice; however this is thus far underexplored. Given the complex links between 'heritage', 'identity', 'belonging' and 'sense of place' (Dicks, 2000a; Alleyne, 2002; Bagnall, 2003; Ashworth et al. 2007; Harrison, 2010a), the identification, acknowledgement and protection of 'social heritage' is indeed for some an important human need. As such, the way professionals conceptualise heritage in practical reality is very important.

This understanding, together with recent academic and political calls to widen public participation in Local Heritage Designation (Healey, 2006; CLG, 2010; English Heritage, 2011a; 2012a), and to recognise the *social* significance of heritage

(Sandell, 2003; Newman and McLean, 2004; Mason, 2004; Pendlebury et al., 2004; Lammy, 2006) points to a growing desire to democratise the Local Heritage Designation Process¹ and to distance conservation planning from the long-standing elitist and exclusive conception it has traditionally held. Parallel to this, is a visible growth in the levels of general public interest in local heritage and social history (evidenced by rises in National Trust annual visitor numbers (National Trust, 2012), and the popularity of television programs such as ‘The Secret History of Our Streets’, ‘Servants - The True Story Of Life Below Stairs’, and ‘Who do you think you are?’, for example).

This growing interest in local heritage is further contextualised by the reality of contemporary societal change. Indeed, the growing plurality of English societies is set to increase further according to published projections which indicate a continued rise in immigration levels in England (Foresight, 2013). This suggests an urgent need to redefine what is meant by ‘English’ heritage, ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’. The reality of increasingly multi-cultural societies, points to a pressing need to foster inclusive, intercultural dialogue, and to be open to diversity of interpretation of symbols of heritage. As such, the basis of heritage legitimacy and/or integrity in contemporary conservation practice is highly significant.

The context outlined above guides the direction taken in this thesis. Building on this, the following section briefly introduces the key theoretical and political drivers motivating this research.

1.2 Theoretical Drivers

Heritage is a multi-faceted, contested, “concept of complexity” (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 5) and its meaning is a topic of intense academic debate. Whereas the contested nature of heritage has been well-rehearsed within the literature (Howard, 2006; Graham et al., 2000), such work has tended to focus on non-Western case studies, national policy and/or site-specific analyses rather than on designation in particular (with the brief exception of Gardner (2004)). Moreover, although a number of scholars have explored heritage value and significance (for instance: Carman, 2002; Graham and Howard, 2008; Lipe, 1984; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010); these debates, whilst useful, remain largely philosophical, lacking sufficient industry-specific application and practical relevance. Furthermore, the debate is seldom framed within the context of *local* heritage and conservation

¹ Please note ‘Local Heritage Designation’ is another term for the ‘Local List’.

planning. Crucially, this is the level of practical implementation and an area of developing interest and political focus (Graham et al., 2000; Localism Act, 2011). Hence, this thesis seeks to fill a gap in the literature, advancing an existing debate but in an area of growing importance and contemporary relevance.

This research places particular emphasis on recent theoretical developments within heritage studies which draw specific attention to the phenomenon that Smith (2006; 2007a) has labelled the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). The AHD is characterised as a naturalised, professional understanding of heritage uncritically centred on its immutable monumentality, tangibility and physicality (Smith, 2006). Such studies focus in particular on the extraordinary work this discourse does in a social sense not only to exclude, but to uphold the normative heritage discourse (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Whilst Smith has focussed her attention on the AHD at the international level, particularly in the context of non-Western communities², Waterton has explored this phenomenon at the national level in English legislation and policy. Their research, however, is somewhat one-sided in its criticisms of Western conservation professionals, and appears to largely overlook the impact of external contextual factors influencing practical decision-making. Both argue that the AHD, (which in practice they suggest relates to an exclusively expert assessment of buildings-led values) is exclusionary, compromises alternative discourses and is not necessarily a reflection of a consensual view of heritage; rather, it is simply the 'way of seeing' that has claimed dominance.

While other scholars are less convinced, arguing that conservation planning has evolved and that there have indeed been some genuine attempts at wider democratic engagement in heritage work (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009), the realities of the AHD in contemporary local conservation practice are largely underexplored. Indeed, much of the academic literature dealing with heritage focuses predominantly on its management, interpretation and consumption, rather than unpacking the very nature of heritage, how it receives legitimisation, and the range of meanings that make something heritage in the first instance (Cleere, 1989a; Pearson and Sullivan, 1995; Campbell, 2001; Mynors, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Given this context, the AHD offers a unique theoretical entry point to examine professional conceptualisations of heritage in local practice. Moreover, the narrow focus on the implementation of the Local List process offers a promising avenue through which to advance understanding and develop theory. The

² Please note Smith (2006) has also broadly explored this theory in the context of visitors to English Stately Homes.

contribution offered by this thesis thus lies with the revelations it can make about the realities of the AHD at the local level of contemporary heritage designation, and whether this phenomenon can be rejected, developed or refined.

Integral to investigating the above is the need to thoroughly understand the role of communities in the process of determining what is and what is not heritage. Scholars have recently suggested that the equally complex and elusive term 'community' demands "a new theoretical momentum" and more critical examination in reciprocity with practice (Watson and Waterton, 2010a: 2; Watson and Waterton, 2011). Given the apparent expert-led exclusivity of the AHD, as characterised by Smith, (2006), uncovering the dynamics between the professionals and communities during Local Heritage Designation is important to advance this area of understanding. This thesis thus additionally responds to these calls.

The following section builds on this theoretical underpinning to introduce the key political drivers motivating this research.

1.3 Political Drivers

A further factor which gives this research topic particular relevance is its timely setting within a period of political change and an evolving policy climate. Indeed, the beginning of the twenty-first century has marked a seminal period in the development of public policy for the historic environment and an apparent drive towards the democratisation of heritage (Strange and Whitney, 2003). For instance, at the international level, the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (the 'Faro convention' (2005), which came into force in 2011) has a particular emphasis on local participation in decision-making processes related to heritage (for further details see Council of Europe, 2012).

Moreover, at the national level, several English policy documents have emerged, positioned within the context of the Heritage Protection Review (HPR). Such policy documents not only call for wider participation in heritage planning (for instance 'Power of Place' (2000) and the Heritage White Paper (2007)), but also seek a more self-conscious understanding of 'significance', which relates to social and communal values (for instance 'Conservation Principles' (2008)). Moreover, the first Local List Best Practice Guide, published in 2012, makes a clear statement that Local Heritage Designation should be a community-led process and criteria for assessment should include alternative conceptualisations of heritage such as those intangible aspects. This clearly indicates the contemporary relevance and growing

attention paid to the Local List as a heritage management tool, as well as the explicit intention, or at least the stated desire that the Local List process will serve to actively embrace, execute and trial the concepts of this socially-inclusive, multi-faceted approach to heritage (CLG, 2010; English Heritage, 2010; 2011a; 2012a).

Such policy emphases appear to align neatly with the rhetoric of the 'Big Society', and the spirit of 'Localism'; the flagship policy idea of the 2010 UK Conservative Party general election manifesto (and the impetus for early legislative change by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government). The notion of localism symbolically highlights a clear political commitment to devolution and community empowerment. Discursively, it represents a national strategy for local authorities to work closer with communities and transfer decision-making powers away from Westminster, to communities. Whilst on the surface this would appear to sit comfortably with the aforementioned ostensible evolution of the conservation philosophy and democratic approaches to heritage, there are indications that these stated desires are not translating into implementation on the ground.

Whilst the current Prime Minister, David Cameron, openly criticises the previous Labour Government's undermining of the 'Tory' sense of heritage (old country houses and other majestic buildings that symbolise wealth and privilege (Dunt, 2010)), there are also signs that other issues (such as the current economic downturn) have surpassed localism as a Government priority (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013). This is evidenced in the very scrapping of English Heritage's Outreach department, deemed not to be a necessary part of English Heritage's core business (Atkinson, 2010). Consequently, this research focus is situated at what is a timely and politically visible point of conflict: a new social discourse of localism (emerging during times of political austerity) infused with a conservation orthodoxy that traditionally has prioritised a particular set of heritage assumptions and a particular social group. The injection of such localism debates into the heritage discourse is an important point of conflict that this thesis critically examines.

1.4 Scope of the Research and Contribution Summary

The scope of this research is thus to build on Smith's characterisation of the AHD and investigate whether the AHD exists at the local level of Heritage Designation in the way Smith describes, or whether it has experienced nuances or transformations. It explains this by unpacking how heritage is understood and how this understanding is applied during the process of Local Heritage Designation

(planning, marketing, consultation and decision-making). It explores whether the discursive space is provided for inclusively negotiating alternative conceptualisations of heritage, and why some conceptualisations of heritage receive legitimisation whereas others do not. In critically examining this process, it also unveils original insights into what extent the reality of the process empowers local communities and is genuinely socially inclusive.

It is important to note that this thesis takes up an explicit England-orientated focus, which is considered important due to the distinctive policy and conservation planning context unique to England. Further, the narrow focus on England, which is clearly conditioned by such a changing political and policy context, provides insights into a specific point of contestation and paradox (as described above). As such, it provides a concrete and definable example through which to intricately analyse the struggles over the articulation of heritage.

The clear contribution to knowledge, provided by this thesis, is the development of a theoretical framework explaining contemporary professional conceptualisations of heritage at the local level of Heritage Designation. This includes an explanation of the complex variety of processes and contextual factors that affect the AHD in practice. The conceptual conclusions drawn from this thesis contribute original empirical evidence to the research arena (heritage studies and planning theory) and specifically advance understanding in relation to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006).

The above research context and drivers logically lead to the following over-arching research aim and central research questions.

1.5 Research Aim

To critically evaluate the practical reality of widening definitions of heritage and public participation within the Local Heritage Designation Process in England.

1.6 Central Research Questions

1. To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation Process?
2. Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the Process of Local Designation, whilst others do not?

3. What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation Process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

The research objectives for this thesis are set out below.

1.7 Research Objectives

- To critically examine how heritage value in the built environment is perceived and acknowledged during the Local Heritage Designation Process.
- To establish whether a dominant framing of heritage is operating during the Local Designation Process and assess whether or not this aligns with the AHD and the statutory criteria used to assess 'national heritage'.
- To critically analyse to what extent and in what ways social inclusion is considered during the Local Heritage Designation Process.
- To describe and evaluate to what extent the Local Heritage Designation Process informs theoretical debates about social heritage values, widening public participation in planning, and the overarching objective of social inclusion.

1.8 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into ten chapters and these are organised into three broader parts.

Part I identifies the theoretical (Chapters 2 to 4) and methodological (Chapter 5) underpinnings upon which this thesis is based. Cumulatively, these chapters provide the philosophical and practical foundations which support and guide the research conducted. Part II presents and analyses the data collected (Chapters 6 to 8), and Part III presents a higher level of abstraction by synthesising the data evidence with aspects of both heritage and planning theory (Chapter 9) in order to arrive at new understandings and draw conceptual conclusions (Chapter 10). The thesis structure is described in detail below.

Part I

Chapters 2 to 4 offer a critical overview of the range of heritage debates from which this thesis emerges, paying particular attention to recognising and understanding the discursive nature of heritage: what it is, who defines it and why it is important for conservation planning. Debates pertaining to intangible heritage, authenticity and heritage legitimacy are among those critically explored. In addition to examining these key debates, the chapters provide an understanding of how conservation as a professional practice emerged, tracing the conservation ethic from its nineteenth century roots, through to contemporary conservation thought. The writings and philosophies of John Ruskin, William Morris, as well as the Heritage Industry critiques most associated with historians, Robert Hewison and Patrick Wright are critically examined.

The chapters then turn to unpack the historical evolution and mobilisation of heritage in formal legislation and policy (the emergence of the AHD). In exploring these themes, the mutability of the heritage discourse over time is also exposed (recognition of twentieth century and vernacular architecture, for instance). The review of literature then delves deeper into an analysis of the hybridisation of heritage/conservation with social inclusion, and community involvement as advocated through the English town planning system. This point of deviation includes a critical examination of relevant planning theory (communicative planning theory, collaborative planning and notions of rationality and post-positivism). It then narrows further in focus to explore relevant policy and guidance to emerge since the year 2000. Particular attention is paid to the recently published Local List Best Practice Guide (2012a) and the spirit of localism, legislated through the Localism Act (2011).

In acknowledging the shortcomings revealed by Chapters 2 to 4, Chapter 5 sets out the research approach, and provides the philosophical, theoretical and methodological framework utilised in this thesis. Particular emphasis is placed on the ontological and epistemological position guiding the research approach, the research problem itself, and the ensuing choice of appropriate research strategy and methods.

Part II

Chapter 6 presents and analyses national-level data (Research Stage One). It provides an integrated discussion, from a national perspective, of relevant heritage

issues affecting Local Heritage Designation (using data collected from, *inter alia*, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), English Heritage, Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), North of England Civic Trust (NECT), and the Black Environment Network (BEN)). This preliminary work not only informs the local case study research, but is also valid data evidence in itself, enabling two complimentary layers of enquiry.

Research Stage Two is presented in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. These two chapters each present an in-depth analysis and discussion of the data collected at the two local authority case study locations (South Tyneside Council and Oxford City Council). The local case study work builds on the national context to deepen the level of analysis.

Part III

The final part of the thesis synthesises and conceptualises the research findings. As such, Chapter 9 draws connections between the data presented, analytical interpretations, and relevant concepts in the extant literature, to synthesise the thesis' contributions. In doing so, it concludes with theoretical findings (a theoretical framework), supported by conceptual diagrams. Chapter 10 concisely reinforces the thesis' primary and secondary research findings and reiterates the thesis' main original contributions to advancing the existing body of knowledge. The chapter closes with the consideration of implications for practitioners, self-reflections and viable directions for future research.

Part I

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

CHAPTER 2:

DISCOURSES OF 'HERITAGE' – WHAT IS HERITAGE?

2.1 Introduction

First, this chapter explores the dissonance of heritage and the alternative and wide-ranging ways of theorising it (Dicks, 2000a, b, 2003; Harvey, 2001; Graham, 2002; Bagnall, 2003; Smith, 2006). Second, it traces how heritage came to be understood and conceptualised in relation to nineteenth century conservation philosophy and third, it unpacks the 1980s critiques of the so-called heritage industry (Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987; Lumley, 1988; Walsh, 1992 - for responses, see Urry, 1990; Samuel, 1994). Finally this chapter critically reflects on Smith's (2006) characterisation of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) and offers alternative arguments which indicate a changing AHD which is in fact not immutable or static.

2.2 Theorising Heritage

Definitions of 'Heritage'

As a "concept of complexity" (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 5) 'heritage' is subject to, "inherent argument and contestation" (Waterton, 2007: 24). As a discursive construction, heritage theory acknowledges that it is not possible to find a common, undisputed understanding of heritage. It is in practice however where such ambiguity and contestation really matters. Heritage invokes certain feelings (emotions, memories and experiences) and thus different notions of, "identity and belonging within the discursive space it provides" (Wetherell, 2001: 25). As such, every individual understanding of heritage is significant, yet is also, "subject to opposition" (Waterton, 2007: 24). If heritage means different things to different people, through time and space, comprehensive heritage conservation is thus a potentially difficult task. Definitions of heritage found in the academic literature tend to seek order to this complexity through categorisation, discussed below.

Public/Private Heritage

Scholars have defined heritage in many different ways (Graham et al., 2000; Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Larkham, 2000). Linguistically, the word heritage is related to the concept of inheritance (Howard, 2003). The dictionary definitions

include, 'That which has been, or may be, inherited', and, 'circumstances or benefits passed down from previous generations' (Howard, 2003:6). Heritage studies (Graham et al., 2000; Howard, 2003) tend to distinguish between public and private heritage. The management of heritage, however, tends to apply only to the public heritage; created, "as an act of policy, maintained by political systems and decisions, conveying political messages from those who created it to those who experience it" (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 3). This type of heritage involves choices about, "what is to be designated and treated as heritage, who is to use it and in what ways, and who is to reap the benefits, whether economic, social, political or cultural, from its continued use" (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 3).

As argued by Howard (2003: 1), private heritage, by contrast, is "an even more meaningful, unmanaged heritage". Private heritage can be family heirlooms, photograph albums, family or community traditions. It is usually familial, unofficial, and often of no financial value. It may, as stated by Ashworth and Howard (1999:5) have, "no real physical or material existence at all, and may be simply methods of behaviour". It can be, "anything that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations" (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 5). Despite such clear distinctions between the public and the private, it must be noted that there is a degree of 'fuzziness' between these boundaries. For instance, society makes decisions about some people being worthy of public remembrance and thus the private heritage can become public. If one is to accept the above definitions, the possibilities of what heritage could include are endless. This begs the question of whether such multiple constructions of heritage are realistic for application to conservation practice. To assist with this issue, Graham et al, (2000: 17) provide a useful single definition of heritage: "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social". This definition introduces the notion of time and function, stating that heritage, *public* or *private*, is selected in the *present* and *used* or experienced in the *present*. This makes *current* processes and practices very important.

Whilst the two distinct categories of heritage have been highlighted above, it may not be helpful to think so discreetly about the term. Indeed, Howard (2003) argues that these categories should be viewed holistically and that the traditional boundaries of heritage need to be removed or blurred to develop a more inclusive heritage management which is meaningful to people. This definition puts the emphasis firmly on people, which echoes recent and current national legislation, policy and guidance (CLG, 2010; DCLG, 2012; DCMS 2001a; 2002b; 2007; English

Heritage, 1997a; 2000; 2008a; 2010; 2011a; 2012a,b; HM Government, 2010b; Cabinet Office, 2010; Localism Act, 2011,). These all appear to encourage community empowerment, wider public involvement and socially inclusive conservation and planning practices³.

Notwithstanding the above, the key point made here is that the *type* of heritage where professionals become involved (and subsequent conservation decisions are made) is never entirely unconstrained (Waterton, 2010). In fact, in practical reality this *public* heritage appears to be limited to a precise set of assumptions (deemed self-evident) which are legitimised by professionals. Indeed, in their capacity as conservation specialists, they regulate, influence and shape the very essence of heritage through discourse, policy and practice (Edensor, 2001; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Within these constraints, however, it is possible to recognise further debates which warrant exploration.

Physical/non-physical Heritage

To government professionals and particularly those working within conservation planning circles, heritage is inherent in physical objects such as buildings and structures (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Byrne, 2008). This understanding effectively constructs and shapes heritage into something that is, “beyond the realm of human agency” (Potter, 1996: 150). Smith (2006: 54) describes this as an “obsession with physicality”. This understanding is particularly evident in the criteria for selection of statutory listed buildings in England⁴. The criteria used are highly building-specific, springing largely from the architectural professions’ perceptions of aesthetic, art historical and architectural quality (Boland, 1998) (explored in detail in Chapter 3). Contrary to this historically dominant view of heritage as a material form (Smith, 2006; Howard, 2003; Byrne, 2008; Waterton, 2005; 2007; 2010)), many scholars have argued that heritage is in fact non-physical. Smith (2006: 11) asserts that, “while there may be a physical reality or aspect to heritage, any knowledge of it can only ever be understood within the discourses we construct about it” (Smith, 2006: 11). In other words, she proffers that objects and structures are simply used to give tangibility to the values that underpin different communities. She goes on to state that there is, “no such thing as heritage”, arguing that the subject of our heritage ‘gaze’ (Urry, 1990), is, “not so much a ‘thing’ as a set of values and meanings” (Smith, 2006: 11).

³ See Chapter 4 for further critical discussion on the framing of heritage in relation to social movements explicit in policy and theoretical contributions.

⁴ See Appendix A for the selection criteria for Statutory Listed Buildings in England.

Does ‘Heritage’ exist?

Whilst Smith (2006) makes a useful point about a growing understanding of the non-physical nature of heritage (indeed many scholars appear to agree that significance is *ascribed* to heritage and is not intrinsic to the object (Lipe, 1984; Carman, 2002; Graham and Howard, 2008)), her comments also, perhaps unintentionally, prompt a critical discussion about ontology⁵. For instance, if there is “no such thing as heritage” then heritage does not *exist* at an ontological level. If one rejects heritage on the ontological level, then one rejects the reality of heritage as a phenomenon. In other words it cannot be studied because it does not exist. Indeed, the ontological status of historic buildings has recently been explored by Tait and While (2009: 721), who argue that buildings can be understood to be, “multiple things with variant but persisting properties”. Whilst such contributions are useful for highlighting the hybrid nature of heritage (material and social), they miss a key point. Instead of questioning the *reality* of the thing or phenomenon (ontology), it seems more useful for practice to focus analysis on the poles of epistemology guiding heritage conservation work. For instance, questioning whether heritage is viewed from an epistemological realist (positivist) perspective or from an epistemological relativist perspective (which accepts diversity of interpretation). This notion is crucial to the arguments developed in this thesis.

Tangible/Intangible Heritage

Despite the above criticism, the notion that heritage is non-physical, is forcefully argued by Smith (2006:11), as she describes it as, “a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing” which she labels ‘intangible’ (For further detail on intangible heritage and robust responses see Ahmad, 2006; Harrison, 2010a,c; Smith and Akagawa, 2009 and Smith and Waterton, 2009b). Smith states that despite the increasingly common distinctions made between tangible and intangible heritage, in fact all heritage is intangible. This view is supported by Byrne (2009: 229) who agrees with Smith (2006: 56) that heritage, “only comes into being via the discourse of heritage and to this extent heritage, being by nature discursive, is always intangible”. The point to note here is the agreement that the tangible aspects of heritage (buildings, structures, or places) are important parts of the cultural process that is heritage, however they are not the heritage themselves (Smith, 2006).

⁵ See Chapter 5 for a detailed explanation of Ontology and Epistemology.

Applying the above debate to practical reality, distinctions have also been drawn between tangible and intangible heritage at the international level of heritage management. For example, UNESCO has acknowledged such a distinction; potentially as a result of the mounting criticisms that Western heritage is imagined as only built forms (Byrne, 1991; Graham, 2002). Indeed, as Graham (2002: 1004) points out, “the list of European and North American World Heritage Sites is dominated by walled cities, cathedrals, and palaces”. On the contrary, “heritage in Africa and Asia is often envisaged through intangible forms such as traditional folk-culture, languages, music, dance, rituals, and food” (Graham, 2002: 1004). Whilst it is not the role of the English planning system to manage and protect languages or food, it should provide the space for protecting the intangible, living dimensions of heritage that include all aspects of the physical and spiritual relationship between human societies and their environment. In other words, the social meanings ascribed to the buildings, monuments and sites.

Whilst UNESCO, after much pressure from non-Western communities, formally recognised intangible heritage in the 2003 Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, the UK is yet to ratify the convention. This could be perceived as reluctance to accept the intangible aspects of heritage and/or to consider them irrelevant in Western societies⁶. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the adoption by UNESCO of the concept of intangible cultural heritage⁷ clearly defines an important point in conservation thought. Indeed, it is important because it represents an initiative to expand, “the overall conception of heritage”, and to develop, “more inclusive definitions of heritage” (Harrison, 2010c: 246). Secondly, it symbolises a further move towards the democratisation of heritage, centred on, “representative approaches to heritage” (Harrison, 2010c: 246).

The distinction made between tangible and intangible heritage however seems to do little to facilitate the social and material hybridity of heritage. Indeed, such a clear

⁶ There are however prime examples of such alternative notions of ‘heritage’ in Western Europe, such as Edinburgh, Scotland securing the UNESCO ‘City of Literature’ title in 2004 and Glasgow, Scotland, securing the UNESCO ‘City of Music’ title in 2008, for example. Such designations form part of UNESCO’s Creative Cities Network (launched in 2004) and recognise these cities as creative because of their literary culture and vibrant music scene.

⁷ The UNESCO definition of Intangible Cultural heritage is: “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003).

separation between the 'tangible' and the 'intangible' could be seen to strengthen the *tangibility* of the heritage that is associated with the planning system. In other words, it does not allow for blurring of the two distinct groupings (Cleere, 2001), and arguably reinforces Smith's (2006) concerns about the privileging of physicality. As such, it appears to uphold and sustain what has been referred to as two disengaged camps:

...those who are concerned with the materiality of what conventionally constitutes heritage and, consequently, have focussed on the technicalities of its conservation; and those who employ critical social science approaches to deconstruct and understand heritage as a cultural process (Watson and Waterton, 2011:15).

Heritage as a Cultural Process

Inspired by the intangible heritage debates, Smith (2006: 11) goes on to describe heritage as, "a cultural practice" or "social process", which forms part of "the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings". Recent research by Mydland and Grahn (2012) provides empirical evidence to support this understanding. In their examination of heritage value described in applications submitted for grants to the Norwegian Heritage Fund, they argue that, "the local understanding of cultural heritage becomes a social process rather than a physical object to be preserved" (Mydland and Grahn, 2012: 583). They state that cultural heritage is viewed, "as an instrument for the development of social experiences, relations, [and] exchanges" (*ibid*). Consequently, heritage is made, not found. Other scholars agree with this notion, arguing that heritage needs to be understood, "as a *process*, or a *verb*, related to human action" (Harvey, 2001: 327), similar to understandings which have influenced the field of landscape studies in recent years (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988, Graham and Nash, 2000; Harvey, 2001). This is clearly a statement many Western conservation planners may at least initially, struggle to comprehend.

The literature thus suggests that the traditional Western emphasis on physical objects may fail to capture the true meanings and values ascribed to buildings, structures and places (Watson and Waterton, 2010c). It also sets "artificial constraints on the ways that heritage can be and *is* perceived" (Watson and Waterton, 2010b: 2). Such one-dimensional perspectives may overlook heritage which is significant as a social process and/or because of ascribed emotional, cultural or other social values. This broader understanding of heritage is supported by the work of several scholars (Crouch, 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003a, b; Nash, 2000;

Urry, 1990; Crouch and Parker, 2003; Crouch and Grassick, 2005; Thrift, 2006; Smith, 2006; Byrne, 2008; Waterton, 2010; Smith and Waterton, 2009a,b; Webb, 2009; Harrison, 2010c; Watson, 2010). Whilst these scholars argue that heritage is a multi-sensual set of values and meanings linked to multi-layered identities, the practical application of this interpretation clearly needs to be examined critically, at the coal face, and be supported by empirical evidence. If it is accepted that heritage is a socially-constructed process (Smith, 2006), a product of discourse (Webb, 2009), and a means of presenting or engaging with an identity, the contested notion of heritage as 'static' becomes a fundamental debate requiring exploration.

Fluid versus Static Heritage

Within heritage studies, a dispute can be found between those scholars who view heritage as static and those who argue that it is fluid. To unpack this debate, it is first necessary to question how heritage becomes heritage in the first place. If as Graham et al., (2000: 17) claim, heritage is, "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes", then heritage is created, when required, in, and for, the present. To support this view, Hall (1997: 3), states that, "it is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them- how we represent them- that we give them a meaning" (Graham, 2002: 1005). In contrast other scholars make strong claims that heritage managers and conservation officers neglect the present in favour of future generations, who are the future inheritors of the heritage (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005; 2007). This idea however is simplified by Howard (2003) who, in taking a step back, argues that nothing becomes heritage until it is recognised as such and given meaning. This not only stresses the importance of identification; (whether that be officially through an inventory such as a list of heritage 'assets' and signage at a site, or unofficially, through speech and conscious thought) but also it emphasises that heritage is constructed by people in the present. Thus, the present generation are key to any heritage process.

If one accepts that heritage is socially constructed in the present, for contemporary purposes, then, crucially, it is also important, "to acknowledge that communities change; values and aspirations change, and individuals change" (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 74). As Hall (1997:61) states, "it is us - in society, within human culture - who make things mean, who signify". Consequently, "meanings will always change, from one culture or period to another" (*ibid*), and thus only understanding contemporary meanings and values will uncover present-day heritage. Logically, heritage should thus be understood as a fluid, flexible phenomenon, which is locally

defined and thus differs from one locality to another, through space and time. This is an important context from which to understand the debate surrounding static and fluid heritage.

In contrast to the above argument, much of the heritage rhetoric seems to start from the premise that heritage is old, precious, immutable, and a physical asset which has to be preserved exactly as it is (Ashworth and Howard, 1999). Indeed, the, “aim of conservation activity traditionally has been to constrain, and usually to limit physical change” (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 74), although this is a point which conservation officers today would strongly contest (Hobson, 2004). Indeed, formal approaches to professional conservation planning in England have shifted and developed across time so that ‘conservation areas’ and other conservation tools and functions have replaced ‘preservation’ of artefact, objects and buildings. Indeed, such paradigmatic changes reveal a degree of fluidity of the heritage discourse over time.

Nevertheless, several scholars agree that ‘the past’ is a deep-rooted organising concept, and an established traditional parameter of heritage legitimisation. For instance, Lowenthal (1998a,b) writes about confusion between ‘history’ and heritage. This is expanded by Hardy (1988), who considers the relationship between heritage and ‘the past’ to be imprecise. He argues that the past can be perceived and defined in a multitude of ways and that reliance upon such a parameter in heritage designation requires caution. This is expanded further by Smith and Waterton (2009b: 298) who argue that, the term ‘historic environment’ (employed regularly in conservation practice), “is emphatically material” and, “allows the management process to deliberately and consciously limit itself to the arbitration and regulation of meaning and values tied up with tangible and material objects”. It also subconsciously works to imply that heritage *is* something ‘old’ and confined to the past. Smith and Waterton (2009b) see discourse pertaining to ‘history’ and the ‘historic environment’ as being used to actually, “prevent the incorporation of ideas of intangibility”. Whilst conserving heritage of this type of significance (i.e. survivals of the past) is an essential part of conservation of the built environment, it is not the only form of heritage significance. As such it should not be privileged, or simplistically seen as one-dimensional as alluded to by Paulsen (2007), below.

In researching the conservation of a new-build equestrian showground in Santa Barbara, California, Paulsen (2007:16) explains how by, “describing the site as ‘historic’, [the communities] seem to mean ‘having to do with heritage’, rather than

being constructed in a historic era". Such a flexible approach to the term 'history' reveals that, "in cases where connections to the past are abstract, tenuous or immaterial- that is, where heritage claims stem not from the existence of old structures, but from the places' uses for activities with a significant history- may rely particularly heavily on abstract notions of heritage" (Paulsen, 2007: 16). The point made here is that there can be notions of heritage which confer historic significance upon buildings/places (without them being historic themselves). Whilst 'history' and 'historic' significance appear to remain important parameters of heritage legitimisation, such research indicates that validity and/or integrity may be determined somehow by an *association* with a particular past. It is however the heritage/conservation specialists that determine which type of past is eligible.

Commentators agree that the conventional western view of heritage is an immovable, static built form (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Smith, 2006). In work exploring heritage, identity and landscapes, however, Waterton (2005), moves this debate forward by bringing it back to focus on communities. She argues that neither identity nor heritage can be separated from communities and thus neither can be considered merely as historic and static. Indeed, she claims that, "identities undergo constant transformations" and thus become "the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past" (Waterton, 2005: 317). Her work serves to highlight the strong linkages between heritage and identity, as previously explored in the work of Graham et al. (2000) and Ashworth and Howard (1999) for example. It also reiterates the views of Jivén and Larkham (2003) and Larkham (1991; 1992), acknowledging that heritage, in this sense, cannot be considered static. Based on the above critical discussion, this thesis thus adopts the position that heritage is more than a physical remnant of the past. Instead it is a powerful set of *changing* values and meanings that frame who we are and where we belong, over and through time. This is critical for heritage management and conservation activity, yet to what extent this is acknowledged in practice is under-researched. Whilst this debate is important for teasing out alternative meanings and ways of theorising heritage, it is also key to analysing a common discourse surrounding authenticity and the 'conserve as found' ethos.

Authenticity

The concept of 'authenticity' tends to be presented as, "objectively definable and recognisable, given appropriate professional training" (Hobson, 2004: 53). This notion, however, creates two fundamental problems. Firstly, it, "secures the

legitimate determination of these features in the hands of an expert minority” (Hobson, 2004: 53) and second, the concept of authenticity itself, as Lowenthal notes, is, “a dogma of self-delusion” (Ashworth, 1997: 97- see also Lowenthal, 1992). As Hobson (2004: 53) goes on to argue, “by the time features become considered for protection, they have already become ‘sacralized’ into potential monuments by surviving the natural processes of erosion and obsolescence”. In other words, once selected for protection, they become further “fossilised” by the, “halting of the natural processes of decay to which the rest of the environment is subject” (Hobson, 2004: 53). This clearly produces an end state which is neither authentic nor capable of evolution (Hobson, 2004). Moreover, the very notion of authenticity can be interpreted in a multitude of contested ways.

Whilst central to the conservation repair orthodoxy is a concern for the historic fabric and ‘authenticity’ of the cultural object (Pendlebury, 2009a: 173), it has been portrayed to be a very Westernised idea of heritage. In Japan, for example, historic buildings may be frequently demolished and rebuilt with contemporary materials, and may even be moved without diminishing the alleged authenticity of the building or site (Fitch, 1995; Graham, 2002). Authenticity, underpinned by European understanding thus creates, “a deep divide between two distinct philosophical-methodological approaches” (Tomaszewski, 2013: 214). Moreover, traditional architect Robert Adam (cited in Pendlebury, 2009a: 178) argues that, “[the] stress on authenticity...is quite at odds with the experience of place held by most people” (See also Adam, 1998; Adam, 2003). Indeed, an example of this is the conflict between The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) and the York Archaeological Trust over the restoration of Barley Hall, a fourteenth and fifteenth-century Hall-house in York, England. SPAB considered it to be, “reproduction heritage: meticulously researched and beautifully executed fakery, but fakery nonetheless” (SPAB cited in Larkham, 1996: 263).

The notion of fakery has also been linked to the practice of facadism, which Ashworth (1997) explains was fuelled by the commodification of heritage⁸. Moreover, in the fairly recent past, English Heritage have not only supported, but made best practice, conservation-led guidance based on development activity which challenges the traditional sense of authenticity (Pendlebury, 2012). The example of Park Hill, Sheffield for instance, involved stripping back the physical fabric of a controversial post-war listed building to the concrete frame and constructing new

⁸ Turn to the ‘Heritage Industry Critique’ discussion in Section 2.4, p34 for more detail.

flats (Pendlebury, 2012: 13) Such an approach received some criticism (Bayley, 2009) but other conservation bodies, such as the Twentieth Century Society did not protest at all (Pendlebury, 2012). The above example highlights that the defined line at which a change detracts from the original building/structure is in fact a movable line. Indeed, it is possible that buildings may actually be valued because of an architectural change.

Whilst authenticity of the built fabric may be a moving concept and subject to controversy (McBryde, 1997; Reisinger, 2009), it is a different type of authenticity which emerges when considering intangible aspects of heritage. For instance, when heritage is understood to be the intangible social meanings ascribed to buildings, structures and places, it becomes important to reconsider what it is that it is important to conserve. It may be that the continued existence of the object/place is important for those intangible reasons, yet the physical appearance of it is of less importance. In other words, the physical object has nonessential parts (Tait and While, 2009). For example, amendments to the physical outer shell such as extensions or the replacement of windows is not pertinent to the heritage value itself and the reason for significance. By contrast, clearly if the heritage value is the appearance of the building (architectural form, construction or historic fabric), then the intricacies of the physical fabric/structure are essential to conserve that significance. In such cases, the notion of authenticity is more important. The point to make here is that these different types of heritage significance clearly require different approaches to conservation management. For intangible heritage, however, the authenticity test may relate more to whether oral narratives/communal memories, for instance, are validated as correct.

Whilst initially one may accept the necessity for intangible heritage claims to be true, on reconsideration, some scholars have questioned the importance of such absolute truth and authenticity. The Holy island and Modern pilgrimage and the associated "Celtic" Christian tradition is a prime example. There is in fact very little "Celtic" about Lindisfarne and several of the traditions associated with this revival of the Pilgrimage (such as walking the Parish bounds) are inaccurate (Petts, 2012). The "Celtic Christian Community" however genuinely value the site more because of their (mis)understanding of it (Petts, 2012). Petts (2012) questions whether it is right for an archaeologist to tell this community that their interpretation is wrong; to diminish their strong communal values.

Another similar example is the mountain of Le Morne, a former hideout of runaway slaves (Maroons) during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Mauritius (inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List). According to UNESCO, "the oral traditions associated with the Maroons, have made Le Morne a symbol of the slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering, and their sacrifice, all of which have relevance to the countries from which the slaves came, the African mainland, Madagascar, India, and South-east Asia" (UNESCO, 2008). Van Oers (2012) however argues that the caves in the Le Morne Mountain are unlikely to be the exact location where the slaves settled. Indeed, he believes that the exact settlement of the slaves is unknown. He however considers that Le Morne is the place where communities concentrate their values and spiritual beliefs and he argues that it is therefore not important if such a narrative is authentic, true and can be proven (Van Oers, 2012).

To legitimise inaccurate oral narratives, however, is a highly contentious issue. One can easily see how claims about a site could be made by local interest groups opposed to particular planning proposals as a tactic to prevent the proposals going through. One can see something very similar with the debate around village greens, with local groups often making claims that areas are official 'village greens' in an attempt to thwart development. Indeed, this is an issue that the current administration is using the Growth Bill to seek to prevent (Defra, 2012). Examples of this falsity include a site in York, England, where claims were made about the location of the Battle of Fulford in an attempt to prevent development (York Press, 2012). The heritage claim is described by Petts (2012) as potentially inaccurate, or at least highly debateable. He considers battlefields are particularly susceptible to this kind of use because they are such nebulous phenomena, rarely leaving any physical trace and often difficult to locate precisely.

Thus, the concept of "authenticity" remains an on-going discussion which is yet to find a universal understanding or management approach (Pickard, 2001). Indeed, as Tomaszewski (2013: 214), former Director-General of ICCROM (now ICOMOS) writes, "the word 'authenticity' does not exist in the vocabularies of the languages of the Far East, nor indeed in Arabic". Consequently, it is unclear how Western and Far Eastern conceptions can be united, "while retaining mutual respect for the achievements of both of these great cultural regions and without a struggle and attempts to prove the superiority of one philosophy over another". Indeed, UNESCO is still trying to define the criteria of authenticity, and have even

suggested, “replacing it by the somewhat uncommunicative concept of “integrity”” (Tomaszewski, 2013: 214).

Authenticity, as a form of ‘truth’ is therefore subject to contestation and must be applied in decision-making with caution. Clearly, in the context of intangible heritage claims, it could serve to discriminate and marginalise these values, potentially reinforcing a material-focussed, expert-led, evidence-based approach to heritage conservation. As an indicator of a building’s heritage value, it is therefore subject to different interpretations at different scales of heritage management. In this context, it is important to briefly discuss the main political scales at which heritage is identified, designated and managed.

Heritage Scale

There have been some detailed contributions by scholars researching the impact and management of heritage at the global, national, regional and local scales (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Graham et al., 2000; Howard, 2003; Waterton, 2005; 2010; Gard’ner, 2004; Pendlebury et al., 2009). It is however at the national level that heritage has been historically considered most important and, as such, research has been prioritised at this scale (Waterton, 2010). This stems predominantly from the birth of nationalism, concepts of the nation state, competition and issues relating to national political conflict. Whilst the contested nature of heritage has been well-rehearsed within the literature (Howard, 2006; Graham et al., 2000), such work has tended to focus on site-specific analyses rather than on designation. Local Heritage Designation in particular is under-researched (Gard’ner, 2004).

In England, legislation and national policy is created at central government level, yet is implemented at the local level (Graham et al., 2000; Ashworth and Howard, 1999). As Harrison (2010c: 245) confirms, the local level of heritage designation is imperative for empirical study in order to unravel, “how local institutions respond to both internationally, and nationally negotiated parameters”. Moreover, it is at this local level of implementation where the multi-scalar levels (local, national and sometimes global) often meet, for example due to historical patterns of immigration, forced or voluntary movements and multicultural compositions (Arantes, 2007). The proportion of people that do the formal constructing of heritage at this level is therefore perhaps the key to understanding the parameters of contemporary

heritage legitimisation and fellowship⁹, and the struggles of power, articulations of understandings and consequent exclusion tied up in the process.

Dissonant Heritage

The above sections demonstrate what has been referred to in a number of significant contributions as 'dissonant heritage' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996; Graham et al., 2000; Ashworth, 2002; Graham, 2002; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996: 20) use the expression to refer to, "the tensions, discordance or lack of congruence, whether active or latent, which are inherent to the very nature and meanings of heritage". In other words, they argue that heritage is naturally always contested and multi-dimensional.

Applying this notion to 'the past', it is important to acknowledge that 'the past' is valued and understood in different ways by different peoples, groups or communities through time and space, and how it is understood validates or not a sense of place (Smith, 2006). This, Smith points out, can be "disabling for those whose sense of history and place exist outside of the dominant heritage message or discourse, though it can be enabling for those whose sense of past either sits within or finds synergy with authorised views" (Smith, 2006: 80). Consequently these competing perspectives result in, "conflict, agitation, frustration and contestation" (Graham et al. 2005: 33). Smith (2006) argues that the inherently dissonant nature of heritage is always inflected with some degree of power, for instance in planning practice, it is those who have the power who make or influence the decisions. Due to the political nature of conservation planning, this leads to a formal and/or informal legitimisation of identities, meanings and understandings (Waterton, 2010).

Dissonance, as a concept, is a discreet area which is in itself subject to debate within the existing body of heritage literature. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996: 268) argue that it is possible to actively manage, and thus control dissonance to promote a, "sustainable cultural heritage" for both, "socio-political stability and economic success". Other scholars (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995) support this view. Smith (2006), on the other hand, opposes the notion that dissonance can be avoided (also see Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1999: 110), or that actions can be taken to remove or control its occurrence (Henderson, 2001; Meskell, 2002a,b). While Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996:21) argue that a sense of dissonance is, "an intrinsic quality of

⁹ Here, the term 'fellowship' is used to mean those who are part of the circle of people who are deemed capable (qualified in some way) to define heritage.

heritage” (see also Tunbridge, 1998; Graham et al., 2000; 2005) there is a, “significant hesitancy” in the heritage literature to actively incorporate this into a definition of the term (Smith, 2006: 82). What is particularly interesting is the observation that ‘dissonance’ is seen as exclusively problematic for intangible heritage (Nas, 2002; Kurin, 2004), “as if, in some way, tangible heritage does not also engage with such issues” (Smith and Waterton, 2009b: 295). Clearly heritage, whether deemed of the ‘tangible’ or ‘intangible’ kind, is subject to contestation simply because people value things in different ways, for different reasons.

As Smith (2006) points out, there is a tendency to identify two categories when debating dissonant heritage: heritage and ‘dissonant heritage’. In this context, Waterton (2007: 29) explains how ‘dissonant heritage’ is often described as the, “difficult, dark, ‘unwanted’ or negative heritages and pasts”; in other words, “the contested heritage” (Smith, 2006: 82). Examples of such include the Holocaust, slavery, massacres and political regimes for instance (Graham, 1996; Anson, 1999; Beech, 2000; Ashworth, 2002; Macdonald, 2006). The identification of dissonant heritage in this sense, Ashworth (2002: 364) suggests is so that, “... lessons can be learned for the avoidance of future atrocity”. As heritage is only heritage when it is identified as such, a key point here is that, “people are quite capable of obliterating, forgetting and disowning heritage that they would rather be without” (Howard, 2003: 100; Graham et al., 2000). This is clearly contrary to the notion of comprehensive, inclusive heritage conservation.

One such example of this is the bicentenary of the abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 2007 which for the first time, was officially marked by English Heritage. A series of activities took place to formally acknowledge the role that the slave trade, plantation wealth and the abolition movement had in shaping the built environment, rather than excluding such narratives in favour of, for instance, promoting an idealised English stately home and/or country house. Smith’s (2006) research however showed that several visitors to the stately homes failed to understand the significance of the display, considering that it was unnecessary and detracted from the reason they came to visit. Despite such unilateral views, this thesis adopts the position that rather than categorising or defining a ‘negative’ form of heritage, dissonance is something that is integral to all heritage encounters as discursive constructions. Moreover, inclusive and comprehensive heritage work must uncover and equitably acknowledge such heritages in practical reality. As such, ‘dissonance’ may indeed be viewed as an entry point to unravelling hidden heritage,

or the “secret life” of the objects (Watson and Waterton (2010c:95) and thus should be embraced.

To summarise, this brief overview of the multiple ways of theorising heritage, argues that heritage is multi-faceted (Waterton, 2005; 2007), socially constructed (Smith, 2006), and experienced in the present (Graham, et al., 2000; Howard, 2003). It is too simplistic to perceive it as inherent in a collection of physical, material forms. Whilst these are the ‘things’ that can be protected through the conservation planning system, what makes something heritage should instead be viewed more flexibly. For instance, heritage is a range of activities, associations and experiences through which a plethora of identities, values, meanings and memories are created (Waterton, 2007; Smith, 2006). Heritage *is* dissonant. It is about regulating and legitimising, but crucially, also about articulating and negotiating a range of, “cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future” (Smith, 2006: 82). Subsequently, heritage in practice is inevitably bound up with power (Waterton, 2005; 2007; Smith, 2006). As such, certain aspects of heritage may be privileged, “to serve the interests of particular, powerful groups” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 88), whilst alternative interpretations may be marginalised or discredited (see Watson (2010) for a contemporary example of this in the Greek Island of Rhodes). This chapter now turns to the second area of debate and traces the philosophical underpinnings of conservation to draw out the meanings of heritage in this context.

2.3 The Underpinning Conservation Philosophy

Tracing the history of conservation is important because it may reveal how a dominant ‘way of seeing’ has developed in conservation practice. This section thus traces the evolution of conservation thought and examines the role and impact of key players on understandings of heritage and of normative conservation values.

The conservation movement evolved from the eighteenth century in Western Europe (particularly in Britain, France and Germany) (King et al., 1977; Trigger, 1991; Jokilehto, 1999). The period marked a series of fundamental changes. It can be linked with the founding of “modernity, nationalism, romanticism, liberalism and humanitarianism”, and it has also been linked to the onset of globalisation (Waterton, 2007: 29; Trigger, 1989; Arnason, 1990; Featherstone, 1990; Fox, 1990; Giddens, 1990; 1991; Gardner and Lewis, 1996; Matsuda, 1996; Moore, 1999; Jokilehto, 1999; Harvey, 2001; Olsen, 2001; Christians, 2003; Thomas, 2004)).

Whilst it is not necessary to chart comprehensively the conservation movement, as this history is thoroughly covered elsewhere (Delafons, 1997) it is useful to draw out the key events which impacted upon conservation thought.

The impetus for many of the changes of the time was, “European cultural, scientific, political and economic developments” (Jokilehto, 1999: 16). These changes were underpinned by “experimental philosophy” (Thomas, 2004: 11), and a desire to formulate, “new ways of thinking about, and...knowing the world” (Waterton, 2007: 28). The period, referred to as the “Age of Enlightenment” saw the development of certain schools of thought and ideas about the nature of knowledge. Such ideas included the, “belief that people could be masters of destiny”, subsequently overturning religious ideas in favour of, “espousing progress, reason and objectivity” (Waterton, 2005: 312; Glacken, 1967). In other words, there was a move away from ideas of religion and God towards a strong belief in the autonomy of humankind.

Key philosophers experimenting with new ways of understanding the world (Bacon (1561-1626), Descartes (1596-1650), Newton (1643-1727), Hume (1711-1776) and Comte (1798-1857) eventually, “cemented their scientific foundations with the advent of positivism” (Waterton, 2007: 29; Comte, 1830; Assiter, 2001; Benton and Craib, 2001). Positivism stresses that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based entirely on sense, experience and positive verification (Comte, 1830). This epistemological perspective centered on a belief in the concept of objectivity and a distinct separation of fact and value. Whereas positivist statements are factual attempts to describe reality, normative statements, by contrast affirm how things should or ought to be (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a). As such, positivism shaped the idea of value-neutrality and a disregard of the normative (Halfpenny, 1982; Wylie, 2002; Christians, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a; Fischer, 2003a: 119). Thus, positivism centred on notions of, “observation, rationality and ‘truth’” (Nisbet, 1980: 171).

With this backdrop, knowledge was thus concerned with a search for ‘objective truth’ (Smith, 2006). A consequence of this was an, “unhelpful cluster of dichotomies...nature/culture; man/woman; subject/object and fact/value distinctions”, which appeared to develop alongside, “notions of cultural superiority and ideas of linear and non-repeatable time” (Waterton, 2005: 312). These notions some would argue, still endure today, “allowing dominant, scientific approaches”, to dominate, while, “failing to grasp the inner, subjective qualities of social, ritual and

sacred meanings” (Waterton, 2005: 312). Such philosophical issues represent a fundamental theme, weaving through this research.

Moreover, this period of time represented ‘progress’ which simultaneously legitimised and reinforced European colonial and imperial expansions and acquisitions (Smith, 2006). Through such colonial expansion, ideas of nationalism came to the fore, prompted by new dialogues about race, ethnicity and cultural identity, which became synonymous with concepts of biology or ‘blood’ (Smith, 2006). In addition to this, various advances in science instilled much pride in Europeans; primarily the belief that they were the most advanced humans technically, culturally and intellectually (Hides, 1996). As Graham et al. (2000: 17) note, “to be modern was to be European, and that to be European or to espouse European values (even in the United States) was to be the pinnacle of cultural achievement and social evolution”. European countries thus became highly competitive (Hides, 1996). As a result of this competitive edge, a conservation ethic emerged which, “predictably sought to register the monumentality of a highly civilised nation” (Waterton, 2005: 313). This, “historical thread of nationalist sentiment”, was supplemented by a, “recurring reference to conservation philosophy” (Waterton, 2005: 313).

Further to the above, this emerging conservation philosophy was intensified by the industrial revolution (and the associated urbanisation of the nineteenth century) and the French revolution, which had resulted in many people feeling somewhat dislocated from their sense of history and from a sense of both social and geographical security (Anderson, 1991; Jokilehto, 1999; Smith, 2006). Consequently, nation states emerged and nationalism grew into a, “new meta-narrative to bind populations to a shifting sense of territorial identity and to legitimize state formation” (Graham et al., 2000: 12). As a result, the nineteenth century is often characterised as a time that sought, “new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity” (Hobsbawm, 1983: 4). There was a strong desire to protect the grand monuments, which were considered physical representations of national identity, European taste, achievement and pride (Waterton, 2007; 2010), as well as tools for educational purposes for the wider public. In sum, it was therefore within this nineteenth century context that concerns for heritage conservation were amplified. It can be argued that global developments and transformations are impacting once again on conservation philosophy in the twenty-first century, due to globalisation, and increasingly plural societies. This however is examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

The historical context briefly outlined above usefully situates the 'conservation ethic' apparent today in the context in which it emerged. It has served to introduce a number of 'ways of seeing' which are arguably still discernible in contemporary conservation practice. These 'ways of seeing' are illustrative of wider issues relating to, "positivist science and the ideas of truth" (Waterton, 2005: 313). Such understandings crucially paved the way for objective statements about the past to be made (Waterton, 2005). This scientific, positivist paradigm led to the initial founding of professional disciplines such as archaeology, and the ensuing ideas about knowledge, expertise, elitism, reasoning and the tangibility and/or scientific nature of heritage (Preucel, 1990; Fischer, 1990; Smith, 1993). As a result of this scientific image, the discipline gained intellectual respectability and an air of 'expertise' (Fritz and Plog, 1990; see also Smith, 2006). The context above provides a sufficient foundation from which to analyse the founding of 'conservation planning' and the conceptualisations of heritage constructed by conservation philosophers William Morris and John Ruskin.

The Birth of the Traditional Conservation Values

There are certain values (those things that make something worth protecting or which make something heritage) that have a long history of acceptance in the realms of conservation thought and practice. Understanding conservation philosophy and the evolution of the conservation ethic is useful to understand the origins of conventional conservation values. These values, namely historical, architectural and aesthetic value, are worth examining because they tend to reappear with some frequency in policy and legislative material and are thus, unpacked in more detail below.

Beyond their early beginnings in the Romantic era, notions of artistic and aesthetic value tend to be most associated with the philosophies of two influential art and social critics, John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896). Other influential key players in the conservation literature include Eugene Viollet le Duc (1814-1879), a French architect, and Alois Riegl (1858-1905), an Austrian art-historian (Thompson, 2006: 30). As Romanticism, an artistic, literary movement was in part a reaction to the Industrial Revolution, the preservation movement

associated with Ruskin and Morris was in essence, a reaction against modernity and “the restoration impulses of the nineteenth century”¹⁰ (Thompson, 1981: 18).

Ruskin and Morris are often described as, ‘the first conservation militants’ (Miele, 1996; Hobson, 2004) primarily as a consequence of their efforts to prevent the destructive restoration of medieval churches and other ecclesiastical structures (Hobson, 2004). Their motivations however were related, “as much to moral and temporal authenticity as to aesthetic concerns” (Hobson, 2004: 29). For Ruskin, the physical fabric of a building was inherently valuable and needed to be protected for the aesthetic values it contained:

We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who have built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us (Ruskin 1989 [1890]: 163).

In essence, the aesthetic became irrevocably linked with valued notions of “honesty”, “trustworthiness” and intergenerational capital (Thompson, 1981: 20). This paved the way for a focus on, and desire for, “authenticity and historical evidence” (Schouten, 1995: 21; Assi, 2000). Ruskin’s interest was predominantly in the actual fabric of the relics. He believed that greater historical understanding was (in part) provided by the actual physical remnants of relics and that the artistic quality of these physical remnants made them worthy of preservation. Protecting the authenticity of these remains, therefore, became absolutely sacrosanct (Hobson, 2004). Thus ideas of architectural style, aesthetic quality and authenticity became synonymous with the meaning of heritage.

This focus on the built fabric was however prioritised over people’s feelings towards it or use of it (Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999). Indeed, Ruskin’s conservation philosophy served to create a process that neglected, “the relevance and legitimacy of present generations” (Waterton, 2007: 35). Other commentators agree that the use and meaning of heritage in the present, by the present, is largely “underplayed by 19th century conservation philosophy”, instead privileging, “unknown future generations” (Carver, 1996; Grainge, 1999; Augoustinos et al., 2002; Waterton, 2007: 35). This position clearly challenges definitions of heritage analysed above; for instance the definition argued by Graham et al. (2000) that heritage is, “the contemporary uses of the past for contemporary purposes”. Further to this observation, another criticism comes from Binney (1981) who describes Ruskin’s

¹⁰ Note that the definition of preservation has changed over time and today is commonly used in America to mean conservation.

influence and passion for ‘authenticity’ as creating the “intellectual straitjacket” which has shaped conservation protection methods today (Hobson, 2004: 30). To fully understand why this particular viewpoint emerged, it is important to trace it back to the Victorian era; a period of rapid economic and social change, characterised by ‘progress’ (Lammy, 2006).

The Victorian era saw a demand for urbanisation and industrialisation. In the process, medieval heritage was often destroyed or destructively restored (Lammy, 2006). In a response to this, and to prevailing ideas about restoration and modernity, William Morris established the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877. His goal was to preserve existing structures and to, “counteract the highly destructive “restoration” of medieval buildings” (SPAB, 2011: 1). In other words, he set out to, “put protection in place of restoration”. Crucially, Morris and others, in forming SPAB, firmly determined the society’s agenda by what:

“educated, artistic people would protect on account of its artistic, picturesque, historical [or] antique...merit (SPAB, 1877 in Hobson, 2004: 30).

Moreover, in the Manifesto proclaiming the interests and objectives of SPAB, Morris stated:

If... it be asked us to specify what kind of amount of art, style, or other interest in a building makes it worth protecting, we answer, anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue at all (Morris, 1877).

These statements reveal not only the privileging of the grand, authentic, artistic and aesthetic; they also legitimise the power of an, “educated, artistic and cultural middle-class to speak on behalf of the national collective” (Redfield, 2003: 3- see also Lowenthal, 1994). In Morris’ statement, a clear distinction was made between the roles assigned to heritage users: architectural monuments were to be *appreciated* by the educated middle class and by contrast, they were the *responsibility* of the professional, whose role was to care for and pass them on, untouched, to future generations. More specifically, in relation to the former, it was only the well-educated who had, “the necessary cultural literacy to understand grand social and national narratives that were inherent in the fabric of such monuments” (Smith, 2006: 21). In respect of the latter, the heritage ‘expert’ (in the guise of conservator, archaeologist, planner, technical specialist etc.) was consistently allocating exclusive priority to “monumental and scientific values” (McBryde, 1995: 8). The implication was that the lay-public were not involved in

decisions regarding what heritage is or how it should be identified or managed. It was clear that it was exclusively those distinct groups and organisations subscribing to the 'fellowship' that were assigned a sense of 'expertise' and authority, and a privileged position in defining the very essence of heritage (Smith, 1994; 2001; 2006; Waterton, 2007; 2010).

In the manifesto quoted above, the reference to heritage being *substantial* is also pertinent; seemingly rejecting the vernacular in favour of grand architectural styles. This further highlights the weight which was attributed to architectural style, grandeur, aesthetic and monumental values. As scholars point out (Hobson, 2004; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010), these clear conceptualisations about conservation led to the privileging of a particular construction of heritage. As such, heritage 'assets' like stately homes, churches and great estates found prominence on the heritage agenda (Johnson, 1996; Deckha, 2004; Howard, 2006; Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006; Waterton, 2007). It was naturally assumed that these 'assets' had become:

... a special public possession for it is in them [country houses] and in our churches that we perhaps come closest to the soul and spirit of England (Cormack, 1976: 28).

Clearly, a sense of national pride and patriotism was underpinning the choice of valued buildings. This is further confirmed by Cormack (1976: 13) who points out that, "The best tribute any of us can pay to departed glories is to fight to preserve those that remain", and that fight is, "... for the nation" (Cormack, 1976: 13). It is therefore clear from the above analysis that the idea of heritage at this time was linked with a strong sense of nationalism, but also linked to 'grand' and 'iconic' buildings, static in form, and in need of preservation to maintain their authenticity. The past, according to both Ruskin and Morris should remain unchanged¹¹ in its authentic, 'beautiful' form. With these sentiments, Ruskin and Morris created a heritage discourse, which has shaped and defined the conservation orthodoxy. In doing so, they set out that, "material culture not only symbolises, but actually embodies heritage cultural values" (Smith and Waterton, 2009b: 291).

Moreover, a further conservation value and organising concept to emerge during this time was that of 'age'. As Lowenthal (1985: 164) points out, aesthetic value was closely associated with Ruskin's "patina of age", and the fact that

¹¹ Note that this desire to prevent any change to existing fabric in England was relaxed in the 1990s, with the introduction of class and building consents (Sharman, 1996: 4).

'professionals' find, "...actual beauty in the marks of age". In terms of conservation value, the 'age' of a building was of paramount importance to Ruskin who argued:

For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval and condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity (Ruskin 1989: 186).

Indeed, many of the buildings Ruskin sought to save were those built before the seventeenth century (Waterton, 2010). Moreover, such sentiments are echoed by SPAB (2009) in publicity today, which claims, "Age can confer a beauty of its own". Perhaps as a consequence of Ruskin's philosophy, the age of a building or structure became highly important within conservation planning. It is interesting to see how the importance of age in determining value in the built environment became embedded in the national statutory listing criteria for example¹², which favours the protection of buildings erected before 1700, and most from 1700 to 1840 (While, 2007). The emphasis on age as a conservation value has however slightly shifted over time with, for example the 30-year rule, which has drawn post-war modern buildings into listing's frame of reference (English Heritage, 1996) and appears to reflect an ever-quickening realisation of value in the immediate past (Stamp, 1996).

Notwithstanding this, in a precise mix of aesthetic value, architectural quality, authenticity and age, Ruskin and Morris brought about a fascination with the historicity of buildings (Waterton, 2007). Within these parameters, the overall architectural or artistic quality, coupled with historical associations, "offered the parameters for patrimony", and denoted, "the only values worthy of protection" (Nassar, 2003: 469). The setting of such parameters led to a collection of assumptions about heritage; that it was self-evident, and one-dimensional with, "only one consensual interpretation possible" (Lowenthal, 1998a: 228; Prott, 1998; Meskell, 2002b). This, Lowenthal (1998a: 228) terms a, "common heritage". These ideas clearly present a point of conflict with the argument constructed earlier that there are in fact multiple ways of theorising heritage.

Whilst the evolving conservation ethic of the nineteenth century steered the formulation of a particular understanding of heritage, primarily accessible to a particular social class, 'conservation' during this time was nevertheless gaining momentum and popularity. Indeed this popularity and the response to it was the impetus for much critique during the latter part of the twentieth century. The following section thus explores a third area of debate: the Heritage Industry Critique.

¹² See Appendix A for the selection criteria for Statutory Listed Buildings in England.

2.4 The Heritage Industry Critique

The heritage industry critique is an important part of the heritage literature (Wickham-Jones, 1988; Branigan, 1989; Tilley, 1989; Hodder, 1990; Fowler, 1992; Whiteley, 1995; McGuigan, 1996; Robb, 1998; Smith, 2007a, b) and is particularly useful for exploring the heritage discourse of the twentieth century.

Historians Patrick Wright (1985) and Robert Hewison (1987) led the critique against heritage in England through their respective publications, 'On Living in an Old Country' (1985) and 'The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline' (1987). Both texts have radically influenced conservation theory and warrant exploration in relation to what the idea of heritage was *becoming* (Smith, 2006: 28). The critique was primarily aimed at the economic commodification and 'Disneyfication' of mass heritage tourism (Handler and Saxton, 1988; McCrone et al., 1995; Waitt, 2000; Choay, 2001), which led to what was considered a 'false' depiction of the past. Hewison (1987: 139) defined the heritage industry as:

... a set of imprisoning walls upon which we project a superficial image of a false past, simultaneously turning our backs on the reality of history, and incapable of moving forward because of the absorbing fantasy before us.

The commercialisation was seen as problematic by Hewison and Wright and it was accused of changing or even damaging the real purpose and the true meaning of heritage. Hewison's main argument was as follows:

Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell, in particular those cultural institutions that can no longer rely on government funds as they did in the past (*ibid*)

This concern was exacerbated by emerging concepts such as: the "Disneyfication" or "McDonaldisation" of heritage for tourists (Smith, 2006 - see also Lowenthal, 1985: xv; Samuel, 1994: 259; McIntosh and Prentice, 1999: 593), and, exclamations that, "... Britain has been turned into one big theme park", or a "gigantic museum" (Barker, 1996: 53; Paulin, cited in Lammy, 2006: 67). Fowler (1989), from an essentially modernist perspective, also criticised the impact of such commercialisation, claiming it to be inauthentic, and lacking integrity. This, he referred to as typical of, "postmodernist approaches" (Pendlebury, 2009a: 170).

Whilst it could be argued that Hewison and Wright, (both conservative and elitist themselves (Waterton, 2010)) were rebelling against the opening up and enjoyment of heritage by the public(s), instead the reported focus of this critique was against

both the elitist and populist nature of the heritage industry and the control over the messages which were depicted to the public as a form of tourist attraction (Smith, 2006). This developed into a broad criticism that the notion of 'tourism' diminished heritage to simple entertainment (Hewison, 1987) or 'edutainment', with the derogative motif of 'theme park' becoming central to this critique (Smith, 2006). Indeed, Hewison (1987) argued that the commodification of heritage was in fact central to the cultural decline of Britain; a critique that has been echoed in other countries, where heritage has been accused of "sanitizing or simplifying the historical messages of the past" (Choay, 2001: 4-5; Burton, 2006; Smith, 2006). Moreover, such notions of 'commodification' also postulate a representation of heritage as something tangible, which can be bought or sold (Malcolm-Davies, 2004).

It is necessary however to point out that Wright and Hewison tended to adopt a rather simplistic and very positivist position in relation to their understanding of heritage. For instance, they saw heritage as either real or false, (echoing the dichotomies introduced earlier in relation to the rise of positivism). Such commodification of heritage represents, "bogus history" (Hewison, 1987: 44) or staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1999), implying that the heritage is, "corruptible and fraudulent" (Macdonald, 2005: 273). As Harvey (2001: 325) argues, by articulating this clear, "... line of temporal closure", only *prior* heritage is deemed "trustworthy", "authentic" and "correct". This view seems to align with the assumption that true heritage is something 'static' and confined to the 'past'; a 'past' defined and determined by 'experts'. Thus commercialisation for consumption by non-experts represents inauthenticity or "false heritage" (Barker, 1999: 206). What is more, the critique of a 'false' heritage further marginalised the 'everyday' heritage, in favour of the grand and monumental.

Harvey (2001: 326) goes on to explain that:

...In this sense, the heritage industry is portrayed as a sort of parasite, exploiting the more genuine and 'ageless' memorial (and largely oral) relationships with the past that people had before the 19th century.

Moreover, both Wright (1985) and Hewison (1987), by criticising the 'heritage industry' for creating sanitised and historically inauthentic versions of the past, "diminished the emotional quality of heritage as nostalgia" (Smith and Waterton, 2009a: 51). Whilst it is accepted that, "certain heritage interpretations and performances can create or legitimise reactionary nostalgic heritage performances",

it is unhelpful to, “dismiss or equate the full emotional register of heritage with nostalgia” (*ibid*). This debate is extended by Strangleman (1999:735) who argues that, “nostalgia is often confused with memory”. Such negative misunderstandings are problematic because of their potential to exclude or diminish intangible heritage values based on communal memories for example.

Thus, through this critique, ‘authenticity’ develops further as a key determinant of heritage legitimacy, becoming, “something of a fine line, with heritage assumed to fall on one side of the line or the other” (Waterton, 2007: 42). Heritage is either legitimised (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber, 2004) or dismissed as ‘bogus’. This clearly assumes that there is a ‘right’ way to recognise the ‘past’ and that this is a singular, common ‘past’. These criticisms of the heritage industry (directed at the idea of a ‘bogus’ history that is inauthentic, deficient in ‘fact’ or ‘truth’ (Waterton, 2007), and stems from “conservative nostalgia” (Dicks, 2003: 32)) miss the point, and should perhaps focus not so much on authenticity, but the more fundamental questions of what really makes something heritage in the first place. Clearly earlier arguments suggest that such considerations must also relate to the notion of, “empowerment and identity” (Crouch, 1990: 13).

As aforementioned, Wright (1985) and Hewison (1987) additionally criticised the self-referential and elitist nature of the heritage discourse. In essence, they perceived it as creating a discursive space where experts, “... articulate the only acceptable meanings of past and present” (Hewison, 1987: 144 - see also Samuel, 1994: 265). Wright (1985: 78) refers to the privileging of, “... the edifices and cultural symbols of the powerful”, and Walsh (1992: 77) suggests that heritage could be perceived as an attempt to forgo the working class, and to protect and promote the notions of heritage, “... that belonged to the ruling class and the legitimate nation”.

This point is reinforced by Baxendale (2001: 93) who cites class as a key mode of exclusion:

Since the personal experience of ‘Deep England’ is vouchsafed to only a few, and most of the English can only share in it by proxy or as despised daytrippers, the myth of Deep England allows a small and privileged class to control an important segment of the national imagination.

This represents a further attack on how heritage was understood and controlled. Such exclusive parameters not only determined the framing of heritage, but also determined who the heritage belonged to. The notion of ‘ownership’ or ‘belonging’

is particularly emphasised in the language used within the critique, which refers to 'visitors', 'theme parks', 'tourists' and 'daytrippers'. This is a significant point because these labels serve to explicitly distance heritage users from, "an active sense of engagement with heritage sites" (Smith, 2006: 33). As 'tourists', for instance, they are considered, "culturally foreign to the heritage site in question and may be conceived as simply passing through" (Smith, 2006: 33; See also Staiff et al, 2013). In other words, this label serves to widen the ideological and practical gap between heritage and the 'public'. This finding is clearly contradictory to earlier claims that 'people' are central to heritage. Furthermore, Hewison and Wright also suggest that these 'tourists' are seen as 'passive' or 'mindless' (Strangleman, 1999: 727; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Dicks, 2000b: 63; Mason, 2002; Macdonald, 2005; Smith, 2006). Indeed, the heritage 'visitor' is, "assumed to have accepted, naively and simplistically, the nostalgic representations...set before them" (Waterton, 2007: 44; Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998; Aitchison, 1999; see Bagnall, 1996; 2003 for an alternative interpretation).

In sum, the Heritage Industry critique has usefully illustrated criticisms of the heritage discourse during the twentieth century. More specifically, it has enabled the problematising of current approaches to and interpretations of heritage in conservation planning. While several scholars have investigated the influences of the heritage industry critique on contemporary conservation practices (Morris, 2000; Symonds, 2004; Smith, 2006) it is the work of Smith (2006) which takes a central role in guiding the aims and objectives of this study and as such warrants explicit exploration.

2.5 An Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)

Clearly influenced by Ruskin and Morris' nineteenth century traditional conservation values and Hewison and Wright's criticisms of the 'heritage industry', a recent concept introduced to heritage theory is the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006). The AHD, Smith (2006: 11) argues, is a "self-referential", "immutable" discourse that, "privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building". She argues that it privileges, "the innate aesthetic and scientific value and physicality of heritage and masks the real cultural and political work that the heritage process does" (Smith, 2006: 87). Most importantly, the AHD is considered to exist in contemporary practical reality. Indeed, this dominant heritage discourse, she claims, has become, "ubiquitous in the

public's understanding of heritage", as well as, "in the amenity societies, state heritage agencies, government policy, national legislation and international charters" (Waterton et al., 2006: 340). Consequently, she and other scholars (for instance, Waterton, 2010; 2011) argue that the AHD is the dominant heritage discourse and that it closes down alternative versions of heritage. Indeed, "some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited" (Waterton and Smith, 2010:9). The AHD is thus highly exclusionary.

In simple terms, Smith (2006) claims that the AHD is the way professionals speak about and understand heritage in practice and she argues that like the philosophies of Ruskin and Morris and the criticisms of Hewison and Wright, this dominant heritage discourse privileges expert values and knowledge. Simultaneously, it, "excludes all dissonant, conflicted or non-core accounts of heritage" (Smith, 2006: 11; Waterton et al., 2006). This discourse, Smith alleges works to reinforce ideas of heritage discussed thus far in this chapter; primarily those based on elite/consensus history, nationalism, tangibility, age and aesthetics. Crucially, she argues that the AHD can be clearly identified in conservation legislation, policy and practice.

With this outlook, Smith refers to the concept of power which has clearly been somewhat of an implicit thread weaving through this chapter. Power, she claims is a direct result of the respect which a discipline or profession instils, particularly due to its grounding in a scientific paradigm (Fritz and Plog, 1990), but also the power which exists through close connections to international and national organisations such as UNESCO or English Heritage. Moreover, Smith (2006) argues that this power serves to promote and sustain the AHD, and thus determine what is and is not heritage on behalf of everybody else (Smith, 2006; Feintuch, 2007). Indeed, the AHD is the 'existing order', the dominant discourse, and the legitimised way of understanding heritage.

The emphasis on physicality and monumentality explicit in Smith's characterisation of the AHD is linked closely to the aforementioned ideas of 'static' heritage, 'tangible' heritage, 'authenticity' and the 'conserve as found' ethos (Larkham, 1996; Hobson, 2004; Howard, 2006). The conservation orthodoxy has already been shown to be instilled with ideas of immutable inherent value (found within the physical fabric), and the privileging of monumentality and aesthetics clearly resonates with the earlier introduced importance placed on nationalism and pride. As Pendlebury (2009a: 217) agrees, conservation is, "an intrinsically 'modern' sensibility, relying on an ethically based rationalism, involving, for example, scientific principles of

selection and emphasis on authenticity of material fabric". The values embedded in the AHD therefore become part of what Fairclough (2003: 55) describes as the "common ground", of, "shared or taken for granted meanings that underpin a sense of 'fellowship'; in this case a "professional fellowship of concern over the preservation and conservation of the past" (Smith, 2006: 90). The assumption, therefore, is that these values have become common sense and are accepted as such. Whilst Pendlebury (2012: 7) argues that the discourse is not immutable, he agrees that it is extremely stable, "reinforced by canonical texts that code and solidify the identity of the practice and its norms."

Building further on the Heritage Industry Critique and the ideas of Wright (1985) and Hewison (1987), Smith (2006) argues that the AHD automatically positions, 'the public' in a similar role to the 'tourist'. With this outlook, the public are allocated a passive role to which the benefits of heritage are merely demonstrated by the fraction that is the 'fellowship'; namely the professionals. This, Smith (2006) argues, reinforces the elitism of conservation activity and acts as a barrier to inclusive public engagement. Indeed, the lay public are not explicitly included, engaged or respected. The AHD thus represents a clear point of conflict with the recent policy calls for acknowledging the social relevance of heritage, highlighted in debates surrounding social inclusion, localism and community empowerment (examined in Chapter 4). It is likely that Smith would suggest these stated desires are little more than political rhetoric.

The characteristics of the AHD, however, feel somewhat familiar when considered in relation to the traditional conservation values dominating the nineteenth century and the issues highlighted through the Heritage Industry Critique. Moreover, the AHD resembles a much wider theory referred to as the 'dominant ideology thesis'. The dominant ideology thesis sees society as being, "divided into dominant and subordinate groups; the ideas and values of the former are presented as the dominant ideology to the latter who are passive recipients accepting their subordination" (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 63). According to Smith (2006), the AHD clearly would represent the dominant ideology. In the dominant ideology thesis, any alternative or subordinate discourses are marginalised or discredited. This also marries with Waterton and Smith's (2010) argument that alternative constructions of heritage, which sit outside of the normative discourse, are excluded. It is however also possible that alternative heritage discourses are *unintentionally* unheeded, or even *unwillingly* diminished due to other complex contextual factors.

There is however no empirical evidence which focuses on this. It is thus important to be critical of the AHD.

AHD Critique

The AHD as a term is clearly useful in provoking questions about how heritage is today being discussed and interpreted in conservation practice. Whilst useful in focussing on discourse as a tool which sustains a dominant version of heritage, Smith's characterisation of the AHD nevertheless appears over-simplified, generalised, and lacks robust empirical investigation at the local level of conservation planning and heritage designation. Indeed, the term suggests an 'authorised' and therefore, legitimate, obsession with physicality and monumentality, to the complete exclusion of all other types of value, including vernacular architecture. Moreover, the AHD misses, or fails to appreciate the unquestionable mutability and dynamic capabilities of the heritage discourse which, when explored in depth, can be seen to have displayed flexibility, adapting at various stages over the last century¹³, for example to external pressures to recognise vernacular and post-war heritage. While Smith does concede in her work that in practice the AHD embodies more subtle differentiations and disagreements, and is more subject to change than her general characterisation initially appears to allow, she maintains that the AHD has palpable qualities and outcomes (Feintuch, 2007).

The AHD is also criticised by Pendlebury (2012: 8) for failing to recognise, "external forces that shape conservation values". Pendlebury refers to examples of such external forces such as the threat of rapid destructive change in the 1960s and 1970s. As such, he makes a case that the AHD therefore is not exclusively self-referential. Indeed, he argues that it, "needs to compete for control over management of the built environment with other elite interests, such as those seeking to realize the economic value from place" (Pendlebury, 2012: 9)

Other scholars (Ashworth, 1997; Harvey, 2001; Hobson, 2004; Pendlebury, 2009a) have also argued that the heritage discourse has indeed repositioned itself according to societal contexts. Hobson (2004) refers to this ability to change and adapt as a rather smooth, 'rolling consensus'. Examples include the promotion of 'conservation' as an enabler of change and complementary to regeneration (English Heritage, 1998; 2004; 2006a; 2007; 2008b), and economic growth (English Heritage, 1999; 2002; 2005a); the source of social and economic instrumental benefits (DoE,

¹³ See Appendix C 'Broad Trends in Cultural Heritage Management'

1987; DoE and Department of National Heritage (DNH), 1994; English Heritage, 2005b; 2008a) and more recently complimentary to sustainability, energy efficiency, renewable energy and wider climate change discourses (English Heritage, 2006b; 2008cde; 2011b). Pendlebury (2012: 2) suggests that the interlacing of discourses results in a series of “sub-AHDs”, which he argues, “can be organised...around the short-hand labels of Conservation Principles, The Heritage Dividend and Constructive Conservation.” Such sub-AHDs, he explains, deploy, “a challengingly flexible interpretation of what constitutes acceptable and desirable conservation practice, often far removed from the traditional emphasis on the authenticity of material fabric” (Pendlebury, 2012: 14).

Despite some adaptation of the AHD to respond to external pressures and discourses, it is generally accepted that the, “key principles of intervention have endured albeit within an evolving framework” (Pendlebury, 2012: 6), and that principles of conservation have enjoyed relative long-term stability (Hudson and James, 2007). In other words, despite changing policy emphases that have fuelled some observable mutations in the normative heritage discourse, the deep-rooted principles of conservation and the underlying set of assumptions underpinning the traditional AHD appear to have largely remained, albeit in a more flexible guise. Indeed as Allmendinger and Haughten (2013: 14) helpfully explain, “both paradigms and policies evolve and change through public debate”, but, “philosophies are a relatively long standing collection of underlying assumptions”. Such conservation philosophies and ideologies, this chapter has shown to be long-standing, and thus potentially deep-rooted and not so easily changed. An important point to make here then, is the need to be clear in making a distinction between *philosophy*, *strategies* and *policies*. Furthermore, external pressures which demand appropriate cultural change (shifts in established ideologies) may face difficulties and be oppressed.

With the exception of recent work by Smith (2006; also Howard, 2006 and Waterton, 2005; 2007), the existence of the AHD in practical reality remains largely unsupported by extensive empirical research. It could be described as merely new terminology, attempting to label what has traditionally been debated in various other forms and contexts within conservation and heritage work. That said, the question is whether the AHD, as described by Smith (2006) and taken up by others (Howard, 2006; Waterton, 2005; 2007) is valid and useful in understanding contemporary conservation planning practices. In the work that has been undertaken, there is thus far, no investigation into the particular modes of practices that guide the recognition, management and interpretation of heritage at the local level, specifically

in Local Heritage Designation Processes designed to identify, conserve and protect local heritage. There appears to have been no investigation of the conservation values guiding decision-making during this process, whose values matter, which are given priority and whether there is a dominant heritage discourse controlling this process.

2.6 Summary

Overall the point of this chapter has been to explore the various ways of theorising heritage and to unravel how a particular version of heritage appears to have become self-evident. The chapter first critically explored the discursive and dissonant nature of heritage. Second, it focused upon the prevailing meanings and understandings of heritage emerging during the nineteenth century. Third, a discussion of the Heritage Industry Critique served to illustrate a number of common threads that weave their way through all three pockets of debate. Leading on from this, the chapter also introduced a core idea in current heritage literature: the AHD. Obsessed with physicality, tangibility, historicity and aesthetics, this naturalised discourse supposedly ostracises heritage which does not conform to these traditional, buildings-led parameters, defined by 'experts'. The above assumptions have played an important role in defining the directions taken in this thesis.

The next chapter turns to the fourth area of debate and maps the formalisation of heritage in conservation legislation and policy to investigate how heritage is portrayed and controlled by such official regulation. It therefore draws on the debates introduced within this chapter, to explore if such values and tenets have indeed become formalised in the conservation legislation and policy. In doing so, it asks, who defines heritage in England and how is it formally framed.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

CHAPTER 3: 'HERITAGE': WHO DECIDES?

3.1 Formalising the Protection of Heritage: Legislation and Policy

In the UK, heritage conservation is closely tied to Town and Country Planning¹⁴ (Ashworth and Howard, 1999). Whilst the various Parliamentary Acts cover both England and Wales, national planning guidance is produced separately by each country. Debate uniting heritage and planning policy intensified in the twentieth century, facilitated largely by a growing need and desire to conserve 'the past' (Cleere, 1989b; Carmen, 1996; 2002; Hewison, 1996; Smith, 2001; 2004). From that point onwards, heritage became associated with a distinct set of policy criteria. The following section explores the formalisation of heritage and analyses its framing within such legislation and policy.

In England, national legislation developed with the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 (for similar developments in other Western countries see Brown, 1912; d'Agostino, 1984: 73; Kristiansen, 1984: 22; Reichstein, 1984: 39; Cleere, 1989b: 1; McManamon, 1996). At an international level, a number of Charters also emerged with the Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (the Athens Charter) of 1931 (ICOMOS) being the, "earliest attempt to monitor and protect heritage" (Waterton, 2007: 37). The Athens Charter represented a milestone in defining heritage and its core principles became embedded in a number of other documents, including the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (the Hague Convention), the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter) of 1964 (ICOMOS) and the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage of 1972 (UNESCO) (Blake, 2000; Waterton et al., 2006; Waterton, 2010).

Whilst by no means an exhaustive list, the following sections unravel the 'authorised' versions of heritage conveyed through the International Charters, National legislation and policy, and analyse these in relation to the earlier heritage debates and particularly the AHD, as defined by Smith (2006). For ease of understanding and to maintain a logical sequence, it is necessary to discuss the key emerging

¹⁴ See Appendix D for a summary of the key heritage conservation legislation and policy affecting England.

charters, legislation and policy chronologically, whilst simultaneously teasing out the important arguments and debates, central to this thesis.

3.2 'Heritage' through the International Charters

Internationally, the ICOMOS charters paved the way for a particular type of heritage management and conservation planning, and they have been critically analysed by several scholars (Starn, 2002; Smith, 2006). These conventions and charters (enacted by UNESCO and ICOMOS) can be understood as, "authorizing institutions of heritage, as they define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used" (Smith, 2006: 87). The AHD, Smith considers to be "institutionalized and embedded" within the charters and she believes that this framing has consequently influenced national heritage conservation policies and practices (*ibid*). Contrary to these arguments, it appears that the conservation philosophy held by Ruskin and Morris and the characteristics of the AHD did not emerge wholly (and to the extent argued by Smith) within the ICOMOS charters, as demonstrated below.

The International Charters: Defining 'Significance' of Heritage

The Venice Charter (1964) is, as Starn (2002:2) identifies, "the canonical text of modern" conservation practices. As a product of modernity, Bauman (1987) argues that central to the charter are notions of expertise and authority. Through the continued use and pervasiveness of the charters, Smith (2006: 89) claims that, "the authority of expertise and the subsequent principles they espouse", have become "naturalized", and, "understood as 'common sense' or 'good sense'" in current conservation practice. The guiding principles of the Venice Charter, for example, Grieve (2005) agrees are based on, "enormous scholarly good sense", which tends to be accepted uncritically as common to all.

Notwithstanding this, on deeper examination, it is however possible to draw attention to parts of the charter which do not fall in line with such ideologies, or with Smith's (2006) characterisation of the AHD.

Indeed, a challenge to the AHD emerges in relation to the charter's approach to defining 'significance'. An overarching principle stressed within the charter is that, "the cultural significance of a site, building, artefact or place must determine its use and management" (Smith, 2006: 26). As a basic principle of conservation practice, this is saying that there is a fundamental need to understand what it is that makes a

building/structure significant in order to manage it. Within the heritage literature, there are extensive debates about the nature and need for so-called significance assessments in Western heritage management, particularly in North America (McGimsey, 1972; Mathers et al., 2005), Australasia (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995; Byrne et al., 2001) and Europe (Darvill, 1987; Clark, 1999, 2005). Such debates however, have tended to focus on the technical issues of assessment, rather than questioning what 'significance' means in the first place and whether it can be interpreted in different ways by different people in different contexts (Smith, 2006). The Venice Charter and the Burra Charter do however provide some light on the term 'significance', extending the definition to include, 'social value' and 'spiritual values' as well as an appreciation of the more modest structure, although Smith (2006) points out that in relation to the latter, this appreciation is thought to be "acquired" through "age" alone; thus reflecting earlier arguments presented in Chapter 2 about the confusion between heritage and history.

Nevertheless, the references to intangible, 'social heritage' values are prominent. For instance, the Burra Charter (1999) specifically uses the term 'cultural significance' to refer to the qualities that make a place important and it goes on to specify that,

The cultural significance of a place is embodied in its fabric, its setting and its contents; in the associated documents; in its use; and in people's memory and association with the place (ICOMOS, 1999: 15).

The above quotation appears to convey a much wider understanding and interpretation of heritage than the AHD would allow.

Moreover, the Burra Charter goes on to state, "Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations" (ICOMOS, 1999: 21), and, "social value embraces the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group" (ICOMOS, 1999: 23). The specific reference to the sentiments of a "minority group" clearly stands in marked contrast to Smith's allegation that the AHD purely represents a common, singular heritage that diminishes the values of those that sit outside of the dominant, white, middle class ideology. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the Burra Charter has been heralded as an innovative document, progressive in both its language and interpretation (Pendlebury, 2009a).

Furthermore, the complementary Washington Charter in its principles and objectives sets out:

Qualities to be preserved include the historic character of the town or urban area and all those material and spiritual elements that express this character (ICOMOS, 1987: 2).

Such extracts illustrate that intangible, social and emotionally-charged aspects of heritage are clearly supposed to be acknowledged. Whilst on the surface this appears to somewhat contradict the arguments made by several scholars (Carver, 1996; Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005; 2007), it is however important to point out that implementation in practice is less well-researched. In this sense, it cannot be ruled out that such sentiments operate at the mere level of rhetoric.

Nevertheless, the intangible concepts embedded in the charters clearly contrast with the arguments expressed by Smith (2006) in her characterisation of the AHD. Whilst the Burra Charter does continue a focus on the physical fabric of a building or structure, and the underlying ethic and assumptions of 'innate value' (Waterton et al., 2006), there is clearly a wider understanding of heritage and a broader meaning of 'significance' referred to therein. Moreover, the charters appear to include a philosophy of inclusion, thus presenting a further challenge to the AHD (as discussed below).

The International Charters: Defining 'Expert' and 'Community' roles in Heritage

The Charters have been criticised for, "inevitably seek[ing] those holding expert knowledge to identify the innate value and significance" (Smith, 2006: 26). With this statement, it is claimed that the elitist and exclusive conception of heritage is apparent in the expert-led tone of the charters. Again, this is a key aspect of the AHD and the nineteenth century conservation philosophies of Ruskin and Morris, and represents a clear distinction between the expert, (who is educated and able to appreciate and understand heritage) and the lay public, who by contrast may only passively experience heritage. Whilst the Charters' target audience may primarily be professionals or in Smith's (2006: 26) words, "those holding expert knowledge", it cannot be disputed that the concept of public involvement and the importance placed on the role of the community is clearly embedded within the text.

In the Washington Charter for instance, the value of public involvement is made clear:

The participation and the involvement of the residents are essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged (ICOMOS, 1987: 3).

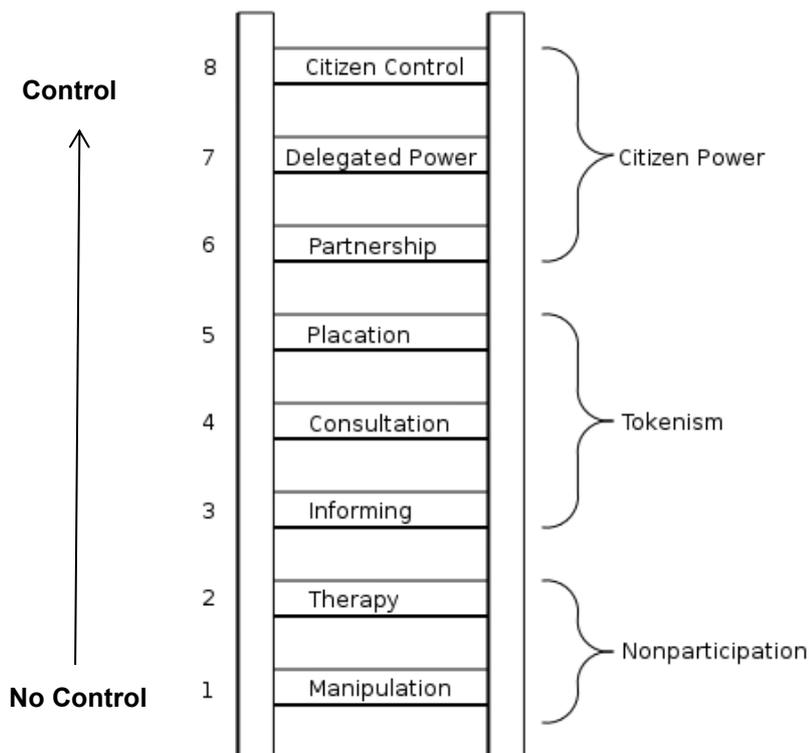
Likewise, the Burra Charter states:

People have an important role in expressing their views about places that are significant to them- by providing information about places and participating as individuals, as members of community groups and by political action. Taking part in workshops or commenting on conservation proposals, for example, take time and effort but these activities can ensure that the views of users and the community are properly regarded (ICOMOS, 1999: 18).

These statements clearly challenge the characteristics of the AHD and appear, on the surface, to be contrary to the elitist nineteenth century philosophies of Ruskin and Morris.

Scholars (Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006) however argue that the charters effectively serve to compromise the participation they supposedly encourage. Smith (2006) claims that they do this because they fail to alter, “the dominant sense of the trusteeship of expert authority over the material fabric”, and they fail to challenge, “the degree to which experts are perceived as having not only the ability, but also the responsibility for identifying the value and meanings that are still perceived to be locked within the fabric of a place” (Smith, 2006: 24). Furthermore, the phrases chosen: ‘participation’, ‘involvement’ and ‘taking part’ are interesting when viewed in the light of the typologies of participation and the various ‘ladders’ of participation based on Arnstein’s (1969) ‘Ladder of Participation’ (Figure 1):

Figure 1: Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation



Source: Adapted from Arnstein (1969)

The Ladder uncovers a “redistribution of power” (Jones, 2003: 589). According to Arnstein (1969), the traditional ‘consultation’ (a common term in planning¹⁵) is at the midway point in terms of community control over decision-making. The various forms of participation have been broken down further by Pretty (1995). Based on Pretty’s (1995) typology of participation, ‘participation’ could have various meanings. At one end of the continuum it could mean, “manipulative forms of participation (where participation is simply a pretence) or at the other end of the continuum, it could encourage self-mobilization (where people participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems)” (Jones, 2003: 590). It could also fall somewhere in-between such as, ‘passive participation’, ‘functional participation’ or ‘interactive participation’ (Jones, 2003: 590). The charter appears on the surface to be very democratic and community-focused, yet the superficiality of the text lacks any critical engagement with underlying ideological (or practical) issues. As such, it results in a lack of consideration of enduring heritage and ‘planning’ challenges such as under-represented groups and how to genuinely tackle social exclusion. It also maintains the natural assumption that the heritage ‘experts’ are those in the privileged position, with the technical knowledge and expertise to know best.

The above analysis prompts further questions about rhetoric and reality. Specifically, it raises the question of whether contemporary Local Heritage Designation is inclusive and open to wider interpretations of heritage, or whether it remains expert-led, closing down alternative values which do not align with the traditional conservation orthodoxy.

Despite the above partial rejection of Smith’s (2006) characterisation of the AHD at this international level, some of her arguments can be more explicitly observed as valid within the national listing of heritage assets in England, explored below.

3.3 ‘Heritage’ through National Listing

Turning specifically to England and the convergence of heritage with ‘planning’, it is essential to explore the framing of heritage within the national statutory listing process and briefly trace its evolution. The Town and Country Planning Acts of 1945 and 1947 were the first to introduce a duty to compile statutory lists of buildings. As explained above, such concerns had nineteenth century roots, (particularly the “Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings”, SPAB) but the

¹⁵ See Chapter 4, Section 4.3, p73 for a detailed analysis of participation in planning.

impetus for statutory listing was the ubiquitous demolitions and rebuild schemes following the Second World War (Hobson, 2004; While, 2007). As Larkham (2004: 1) points out, “during and immediately after the Second World War there was a substantial boom in the production of town-wide redevelopment plans”. Whilst these plans were drawn up, “in response to wartime bomb damage” (Tait and While, 2009: 727) this was not the sole reason. The major reconstruction works also, “implied a socially oriented activity...It could also embrace different concepts of change- forensic, cosmetic, beautifying, restorative, revivalist, rational and visionary” (Gold, 2007: 78). In other words, it was enthusiastically promoted, “in order to reposition, reimagine, and reconfigure towns and cities for what was perceived to be a new modern era” (Tait and While, 2009: 727). Thus, in this context the Statutory National List was born.

The Statutory Listing system is based around a hierarchy of ‘listing’ at Grade I (buildings of exceptional importance, around 2.5% of all listed buildings), Grade II* (particularly important buildings of more than special interest) or Grade II (buildings of special interest)¹⁶. The, “special architectural or historic character of the building” is the prime determinant of its inclusion in the list (Tait and While, 2009: 722). The values attributed to the built environment at this level are of particular interest in their likeness to the nineteenth century philosophies of Ruskin and Morris. Moreover, in many ways they support Smith’s (2006) concept of the AHD. The criteria for selection for instance, are highly building-specific and revolve around the rhetoric of special architectural or historic significance/interest, with expert-led judgments on the merits of each individual building (Hobson, 2004). Given the focus on ‘the building’, particular emphasis is given to special methods of construction and/or aesthetic elements that lend it its special architectural character (Turnpenny, 2004). Moreover, the ensuing ‘art historical’ approach to listing decisions means that, “individual iconic buildings (and iconic architects) tend to be prioritised”, whereas more modest buildings may go unnoticed (While, 2007 658). Again, this appears to align with Smith’s argument that the grand and monumental is privileged, over everyday buildings. As Ashworth (1997: 97) stresses, “selection for preservation is likely to favour the spectacular over the mundane, the large over the small, the beautiful over the ugly and the unusual over the commonplace”. In other words, a particular formula for what constitutes heritage is evident and the ingredients are clearly linked to scientific, tangible qualities; physical fabric, architectural quality and historicity. The basis for this natural, tangible focus of

¹⁶ See the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990.

conservation practice however can be further explained by the way in which the inventory system emerged.

Research shows that in 1938, a ready-made blueprint for statutory lists was prepared as part of the, “accelerated inventory” of buildings set up by the London County Council in 1938, (Earl, 1996). The acceleration had been in response to the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act, which had permitted local authorities to make, “Building Preservation Notices”; hence the very building specific nature of the Inventory (Boland, 1998). Buildings were graded and arranged in classified lists of buildings of architectural, artistic and historic interest. With such a blueprint already in existence in 1945, this provided somewhat of an, “off the shelf” solution which would facilitate the transition to Statutory Lists and enable them to come in to almost immediate effect (Boland, 1998). London County Council were consulted as to the provisions of the 1945 and 1947 Town and Country Planning Acts and their architects were asked to produce draft statutory lists for London, whilst for the rest of the country, “panel architects” were initially charged with the same task (Boland, 1998). The delegation of this task to architects explains the tendency towards artistic, aesthetic, physical and tangible values. Indeed, such origins for the statutory lists explain why the criteria for selection were highly building-specific and developed largely from the architectural professions’ perceptions of aesthetic, art historical and architectural quality (*ibid*). Such parameters shaped the way conservation value was identified and indeed, paved the way for a set of deeply held conservation assumptions and/or guiding principles. Such parameters clearly prioritise the building itself over the sentiments of people who ascribe value. In other words, such criteria assume that heritage value is inherent (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). These traditional conservation values however came upon some degree of scrutiny in the context of post-war heritage, subsequently serving to somewhat modify the normative heritage discourse.

‘Heritage’ Post-war

The example of post-war heritage is useful as it illustrates a number of consequences for contemporary conservation thought and practice. When national listing was first established during the 1940s, the system was largely restricted to buildings built before 1840. The practical effect of the 1840 threshold was the exclusion from the statutory lists of the building stock associated with the Industrial Revolution (Boland, 1998). Yet, in 1987 a government Statutory Instrument opened up the possibility for post-war listing by extending the period of eligibility for listing to

any building at least thirty-years old. This 'thirty-year rule' enabled constant extension, and additionally included further provision to list buildings over ten-years old if they were deemed, "outstanding and threatened" (While, 2007: 650). Since then the remit of conservation planning has gradually been further extended (Delafons, 1997).

Whilst this appears to represent a dilution of the parameters of age and historicity as determinants of heritage, the visibility of such tenacious organising concepts is still high in relation to the post-war heritage debate. Whereas the initial post-war listings were fairly unchallenged (consisting mainly of popular, landmark buildings such as Coventry Cathedral (1962) and the Royal Festival Hall (1951) on London's South Bank) (While, 2007), there are several examples of controversy. For instance, the Tricorn centre in Portsmouth (a concrete mega structure) was eventually demolished, rather than listed, and other well-known cases of dispute include the first post-war listed local authority housing block in 1993, Keeling House in Bethnal Green, London, Centre Point, London, and Park Hill, Sheffield, listed in 1998. Post-war listing is thus a good example of the dissonance of heritage in a practical setting and the complexity and subjectivity in how heritage is conceptualised in decision-making processes.

Populist Approaches to Conservation

Moreover, the extension of national listed building protection into the post-war era required national governments and heritage regulators, "to act in advance of societal acceptance (with no guarantee that tastes would change), sometimes in the face of intense hostility from factions of the local and national media, the public, and pro-development interests" (While, 2007: 650). The dominant modes of architecture of the 1950s and 1960s (i.e. Brutalist concrete structures) were considered, "dated", unpopular", and they were also seen as, "contributing to urban decline and social breakdown" (Cunningham, 1998: 3). Moreover, a surge of antimodernism was a reaction to the, "elitist and imposed top-down planning" of the 1950s and 1960s (While, 2007: 649; Beard, 2001). Thus post-war buildings were highly unpopular. The populist view was that these did not qualify as heritage and thus should not be listed.

In the context of politics, government attitudes to post-war listing not surprisingly tended to, "fluctuate depending on the interests of different ministers" (While, 2007 658). Indeed, those operating from an alternative perspective were seen to be

'political', whereas the dominant AHD ideology was normalised. As Larkham (1999: 109) points out, this dimension of the national listing process is, "not only politically sensitive, but also extremely opaque given the value judgments, secrecy, and personalisation of power that are an inevitable part of government decisions on listing". Post-war heritage thus provides an interesting example of tension between the 'experts' and the lay public, and indeed offers a challenge to populist approaches to conservation management and the suggested need for a transfer of power from the 'experts' to the 'communities'.

Indeed, the example of post-war heritage illuminates the actual threat which can be posed by populist conservation processes and procedures. In the case of post-war heritage, the 'experts' (including the lobbying conservation amenity groups) are today responsible for the existence of many now popular buildings which otherwise would have been destroyed (While, 2007; MORI, 2000). As a result, Hewison and Holden (2006: 17) argue that there are occasions when the "public interest" is, "best served by professionals using the authority of their expertise". Indeed, in this case, it has been demonstrated that handing all decision-making power to the public would have resulted in a significantly different picture today. Nevertheless, this situation warrants scrutiny. For instance, it raises the question of whether the 'experts' should force their values on the 'public' to drive public opinion (While, 2007). Nonetheless, this practical example highlights a potential tension between the 'experts' and the 'public', and indicates that a balance needs to be struck. It points to the need for meaningful negotiation, whilst also highlighting the complexity of democratic conservation planning.

Twentieth-Century Nuances

Post-war heritage is thus an example of the mutability of the normative heritage discourse, alluded to in Chapter 2¹⁷. By the end of the 1970s, for instance, industrial heritage was firmly established as a conservationist cause (Stratton, 2000; Orbasli, 2007; Pendlebury, 2009a), whereas prior to this, "only the finest examples of Victorian and Edwardian architecture were eligible for inclusion, with little weight given to modern movement and art deco styles" (While, 2007: 648). Such changes gave impetus for the establishment of the Thirties Society (an "offshoot" from the Victorian Society) in 1979; later named the "Twentieth Century Society" (While, 2007: 651). Moreover, the study of vernacular architecture also developed during

¹⁷ See Appendix C 'Broad Trends in Cultural Heritage Management'

the post-war period. This was characterised by the publication in 1971 of Brunskill's seminal illustrated handbook of Vernacular Architecture (Brunskill, 1971). Subsequently, the statutory list included not only a large number of vernacular listings (Robertson, 1993), but also some rather unexpected structures such as a pigeon cove in Sunderland (Howe, 1998). These examples of adjustment to the conservation orthodoxy are clearly, "far removed from the idea of 'special architectural or historic interest' as conceived by the post-war legislators" (Pendlebury, 2009a: 171). Indeed, the, "inherently modernist process of scholarly selection has been steadily pushed into new areas", and now, "represents a plurality in valuing different sorts of buildings" (Pendlebury, 2009a: 171).

Moreover, as a result of the political sensitivity of post-war listing, since the 1990s, owners and the general public have been invited to comment on proposals for post-war listing decisions (While, 2007 653). Furthermore, in 2005, English Heritage assumed sole responsibility for the administration of listed buildings and whilst suggestions about what to list are made by English Heritage, proposals for listing can also be made by any member of the public (While, 2007 648). Whilst this illustrates a step away from the elitist conception of heritage prevalent in nineteenth century conservation philosophy, and implicit in the AHD, the criteria used for assessing any buildings put forward however, remain largely the same: focussed on architectural or historic significance. Regardless of the phenomenal impact of post-war heritage on opening up debate around conservation values, the key criteria for determining 'value' and consequently, heritage in England, has persisted since the ratification of the Act in 1947 (Hudson and James, 2007). Such values and tenets have also fed into national planning policy, as analysed below.

Evolving Policy Assumptions

Detailed advice as to listing procedures was first contained in section 6 of Planning Policy Guidance Note (PPG) 15¹⁸ *Planning and the Historic Environment*, (DoE/DNH, 1994). At the time of writing (2013), however, much change has taken place in terms of conservation policy. PPG15 has been superseded first by Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 5 (2010) and most recently by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (2012)¹⁹. PPG15 is nevertheless important to

¹⁸ The PPG 15 listing criteria are reproduced alongside both those from 1970 and 2010 in Appendix A.

¹⁹ PPS5 and the NPPF are analysed in Appendix F in relation to an observed policy transition in the twenty-first century.

examine because of its role in the evolution of conservation planning policy and the establishment of the normative heritage discourse. Examination of the criteria set out in PPG15 (1994) reveal that there has been very little change over a period of a half of a century. Indeed, aesthetic and tangible considerations clearly dominate, and antiquity and completeness are seen as the major elements in defining what makes a building important. It is also notable how, if anything, a number of qualifications emerged in PPG15 which emphasised the more implicit biases evident in earlier guidelines (Boland, 1998). Paragraph 6.11 (DoE/DNH, 1994) for instance, talks of age and rarity being vital considerations and is explicit about the need for greater selection after 1840, “because of the greatly increased number of buildings erected”; only buildings of, “definite quality and character” from this period will be listed. Subsequently, this serves to de-value subaltern heritage; the heritage that many lay people genuinely value the most (Pendlebury, 2009a).

The focus on “the building” and its “physical properties” thus remained central to national listing criteria and also to, “the practice of conservation itself” (Tait and While, 2009: 722). Whilst the post-war heritage discourse had arguably widened the scope of heritage to encompass the more recent past and the more vernacular buildings, selection criteria for the statutory list have retained a more traditional ideological stance. Nevertheless, there are other examples of evolution in relation to professionals’ understanding of heritage. For instance, as Pendlebury (2009: 69) notes, “historical justifications for protecting and conserving old buildings entirely based upon a high degree of selectivity, shifted towards much more inclusive arguments, based upon the character of whole settlements”. As conservation became more than, “simply a matter of static preservation”, it was becoming increasingly clear that, “people were becoming conscious that their street, village or town was different from others and that was interesting” (Lord Kennet cited in Cowell, 2008: 119). This led to a further nuance of the conservation orthodoxy which centred on the idea of conservation ‘areas’.

It was the 1967 Civic Amenities Act that for the first time imposed a duty on local authorities to designate conservation areas. The duty was to, “designate as conservation areas any areas of special architectural or historic interest”, and this same duty is today imposed in Section 69 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. Whilst the familiar notions of ‘architectural’ and ‘historic interest’ are still prevalent (English Heritage, 1997b), there are a number of

positive aspects related to conservation area designation which are important when examining conservation values and conceptualisations of heritage.

A principal advantage of conservation areas is that local planning authorities, rather than central government, are responsible for designation. Consequently, the introduction of the Conservation Area enabled conservation thought and practice to expand and turn towards the notion of local distinctiveness. Local factors, such as a commitment to the preservation of local historic character and/or the industrial heritage, were suddenly important factors of conservation. Further widening the previously narrowly defined concept of value, PPG15 made it clear that it is reasonable to take account of a wider range of factors when considering conservation area designation than are applicable to listing. For instance, “special interest” can derive from, “an area’s topography, historical development, archaeological significance and potential, the prevalent building materials of an area, its character and hierarchy of spaces and the quality and relationship of its buildings” (DoE/DNH, 1994: 4.4).

PPG15 also urged a move towards formal character assessments to be drawn up in order to underpin and justify conservation area designations; much like the sentiments expressed in the international charters discussed above. Again, this represented a positive opportunity to move beyond narrow considerations of artistic or architectural quality and towards an understanding of the evolution of an area and the key interrelationships of all its historic components (Boland, 1998). Moreover, conservation area planning encouraged public participation through the creation of conservation area advisory committees (MHLG, 1968: 18-22). Yet, the explicit reference to intangible social and cultural meanings (referred to in the charters) are absent from the legislation and policy.

Indeed, when informally seeking an example of a conservation area designated purely for its social heritage value to include in this study, a senior conservation officer at English Heritage was unable to provide any examples. Despite this, there are a few examples of conservation areas which have been designated due to historical associations and have had strong input from non-experts. New Lanark conservation area (also ascribed on UNESCO’s list of World Heritage Sites in 2001) for example, is a village founded by David Dale in 1785 as a new industrial settlement. The village is recognised for its place in the narrative of the development of industrialisation in Britain and is designated primarily for this historic

association. Such examples however appear somewhat atypical. Moreover, in this example the buildings and physical urban form are also a clear reflection of the historic association. Notwithstanding this, such broader interpretations provided an impetus for another adjustment to the heritage discourse during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, the idea of developing a ‘total’ history, including those, “who had been left out of previous historical writing – in particular women, children, people of different races and ethnicities, non-elites and the poor” (Harrison, 2010a: 168), became popular among many academic historians. This represented a social turn in conservation practice and became widely known as ‘history from below’.

3.4 History from Below

In the UK, the phrase ‘history from below’ was popularised by a group of Marxist historians (Kaye, 1984), including Eric Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm and Ranger, [1983] 1992) and Raphael Samuel (Samuel, 1994), both of whom wrote about heritage and its relationship to this new form of social history (Robertson, 2012). As Harrison (2010a:168) explains, ‘history from below’ was concerned with, “explicating a Marxist economic approach that emphasised the social conditions of history rather than a narrative based on the lives of ‘great men’”. Subsequently, it, “involved attempting to draw out the perceptions and ‘voices’ of people marginalised in the official texts of history” (*ibid*).

At the same time, other societal developments meant that the ‘historic environment’ was being repositioned as important to both “individual and community identity” and in terms of “psychological well-being” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 168). This wider understanding of heritage filtered into official guidance, (DoE, 1973), which introduced the phrase, “the familiar and cherished local scene’, to describe conservation areas (Pendlebury, 2009a: 169). By the mid-1990s recognising the, “anonymous familiar” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 137) was increasingly popular, with the fastest-growing type of conservation area designation being the residential suburb (Larkham, 1999). Such designations sparked widespread debates about how ordinary areas could possess, ‘special architectural or historical’ interest (Larkham et al., 2002). Various critics, however, claimed that such designations were in fact, ‘debasement of the coinage’ (Morton, 1991).

Despite such ubiquitous criticisms, the heritage discourse has arguably continued to evolve. Indeed, the recent statutory listing of the Abbey Road zebra crossing in London, England (2010) is a prime example of further social-philosophical

adjustments. Listed at Grade II, the zebra crossing is deemed important because of its historical association to the music band, The Beatles, gained through its international fame on the cover of their 1969 Abbey Road album (English Heritage, 2013c). Notwithstanding this apparent progress, such examples are nevertheless atypical, which explains why they receive much media attention.

Thus, despite this wider appreciation of the built environment, the focus of national English policy appears to remain on the privileging of, “the physical urban form of structures, whether it be through the building, or the broader mix of buildings and spaces that constitute the built environment” (Tait and While, 2009: 722). Whilst clearly essentialised, the hard, scientific values expressed so bluntly in Smith’s (2006) characterisation of the AHD can thus be observed in national conservation legislation and policy, despite the subtle adjustments drawn out above. It is evident that the national conservation legislation and policy discussed exudes some of the traditional conservation philosophies of Ruskin and Morris and that despite clear nuances, these are not too dissimilar from those expressed in terms of the AHD. The final scale to which this chapter shall turn is the local level and particularly the Local Listing process. When tracing the historical evolution of the Statutory List it is apparent that this was also the origin of the Local List; the lens through which this research focuses. The following section will now turn to explore the ascendance of the Local List, how it interprets and frames heritage and how it has been investigated in empirical investigations thus far.

3.5 Heritage through Local Listing

The historical link between the national statutory list and the Local List has a number of important consequences. When the statutory list was first initiated, there was a further grade of ranking, Grade III. Grade III buildings were those deemed by the then Department of the Environment (DoE) to be of some value but not important enough to be of statutory quality. Local authorities were thus advised that grade III buildings should be protected through the normal planning process (Boland, 1998).

Those grade III buildings unable to achieve grade II status were classified as being of ‘local interest’ and local authorities were notified of the buildings in this position (Boland, 1998). As aforementioned, local authorities had recently been given a duty to designate conservation areas under the 1967 Civic Amenities Act and it was rather simplistically assumed by the DoE that the remaining ‘grade IIIs’ (which had

often been designated on the strength of their 'group value'), would be protected under that legislation (Boland, 1998). It is however evident that not all buildings of historic importance fall within conservation areas. Thus, it was those buildings of local historic importance which both were located outside of conservation areas and failed to meet the criteria for statutory listing, that were the *raison d'etre* for the Local List (Boland, 1998).

As aforesaid, PPG15 was the original national planning policy guiding conservation planning decisions and at first glance the policy appeared to be supportive of heritage whether designated in the statutory list or otherwise. PPG15 paragraph 1.1, for example states:

It is fundamental to the Government's policies for environmental stewardship that there should be effective protection for all aspects of the historic environment.

In practical terms, however, the scope of PPG15 was actually quite limited. It did not, for instance, define the term 'historic building' but essentially used it exclusively in the context of buildings on the statutory list. Indeed, in practical terms PPG15 served to hinder those local authorities concerned with their area's *local* heritage, due to the policy vacuum it created.

Similar to nineteenth century concepts of role and responsibilities, discussed in Chapter 2, PPG15 also carried through a notion of 'expert stewardship'. The emphasis on 'stewardship' implicitly served to widen the existing divide between the 'experts'/professionals and the lay public; creating a 'them' and 'us' philosophy. Moreover, the notion of 'stewardship' became a form of legitimisation for the traditional conservation orthodoxy, through a kind of moral evaluation. In other words, deviation from the established, traditional conservation principles signified a, "failure to protect what future generations will value" (DoE/DNH, 1994: 3).

In this policy context, the concept of the Local List evolved in an essentially ad hoc manner, taking a variety of different forms and using an array of contradicting methodologies (Boland, 1998). It is perhaps as a direct consequence of this lack of policy attention and guidance that there is a clear dearth of empirical studies concerning the Local List. This gap, however, is likely to narrow in the future due to a recent renewed interest in Local Heritage Designation (particularly within English Heritage) and recent national government emphases on localism and community empowerment. Notwithstanding the above, the limited research that has been

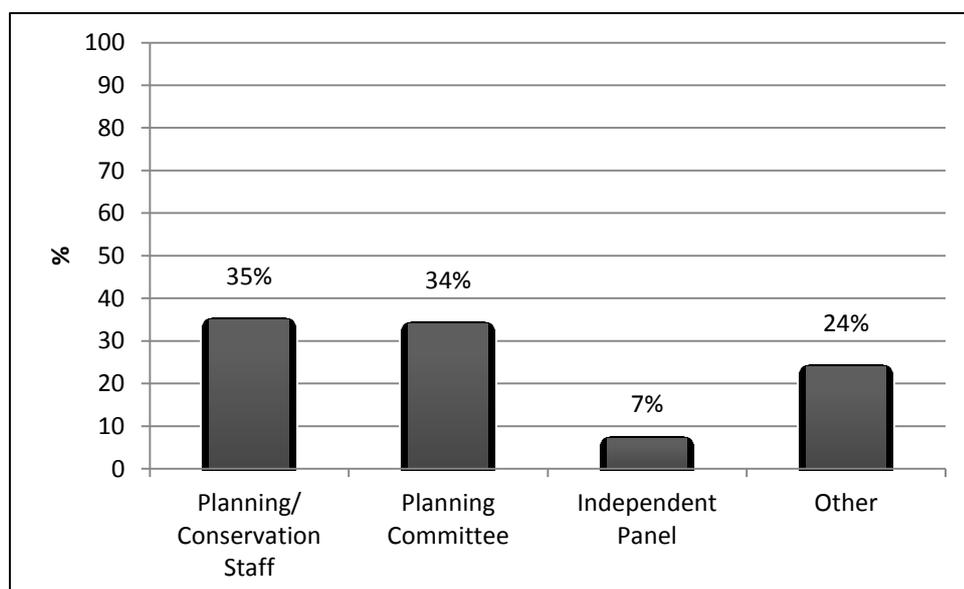
conducted in this field thus far is particularly helpful in steering the directions taken in this thesis.

The extant research includes three unpublished surveys of English local authorities undertaken at intervals between 1993 and 2010. Parker, in her survey undertaken in 1993, discovered that at that time 101 English authorities maintained a Local List. Boland's survey, five years later in 1998, revealed that 120 English authorities (at least one third of English local authorities) actively operated a Local List. Jackson's more recent unpublished survey (2010) brings the total of English Local Authorities with a Local List up to 46% (nearly half). These results show a clear increase in take-up of the Local List as a conservation planning tool.

Over a decade ago, in 1998, nearly a fifth of respondents to Boland's survey were, "uncertain" of the benefits of adopting a Local List whilst a small number even spoke of a, "lack of real teeth" (Boland, 1998: 91). According to Jackson's (2010) study, 77% thought that Local Lists were highly important for heritage management, clearly indicating a growing degree of conviction, confidence and trust in the Local List as a conservation planning tool.

There are however a number of striking findings which have emerged and raise some concerns. These concerns support the key assumptions relevant to the arguments presented thus far and warrant specific attention. In Jackson's Local List Survey (2010) of all English local authorities, a primary finding was that Local List decisions appear to be predominantly made by experts (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Final Decisions on Local List Designation

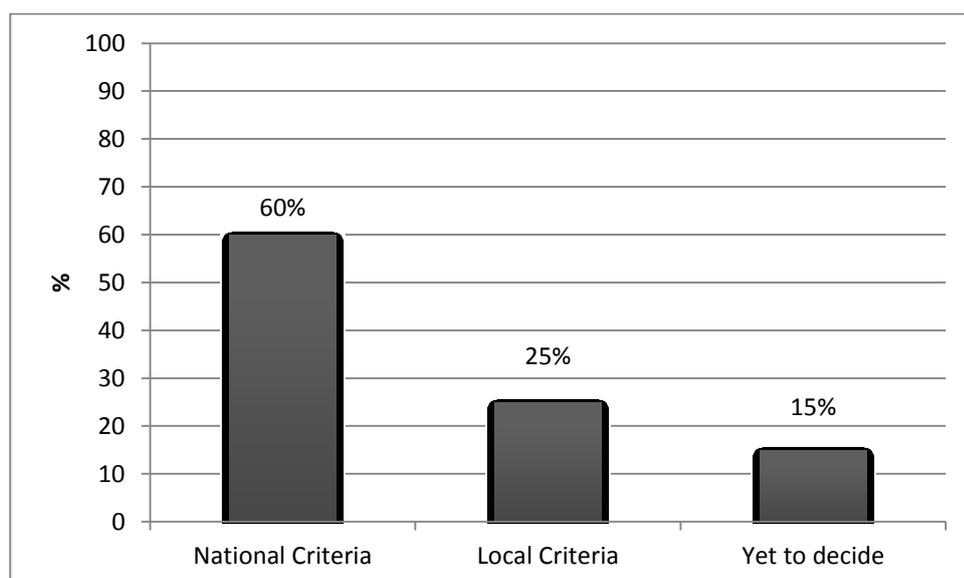


Source: Adapted from Jackson (2010: 49)

Even where an independent panel was used, these, Jackson found were expert-led panels, generally made up of planning/conservation officers, architects, specialist surveyors, consultants, and occasionally a representative from a local historic amenity group and an elected Member. Other ways of finalising the List, Jackson noted, included nominations being validated by one ‘independent’ conservation architect or a particular steering group made up of elected members and senior officers. Nevertheless, the decision-making framework was dominated by ‘experts’ in all cases.

A further key message to emerge was the apparent reliance on national listing criteria to assess nominations for inclusion on the Local Lists. This point is made explicitly in the recent survey undertaken by Jackson (2010) which illustrated that over 60% of local authorities used the national listing criteria to determine which buildings and structures would be added to their Local List (Figure 3). Whilst in 25% of cases, the survey shows that local authorities have prepared local criteria (initially indicating that they have recognised the need to incorporate ‘local’ values rather than rely on the traditional principles of national listing criteria) in many of these cases the reality is that the national criteria have merely been ‘tweaked’ to include one or two additional criteria such as those relating to completeness and authenticity (Jackson, 2010). This evidence suggests a clear gulf between the notions of tangible, physical, art-historical values and the intangible, ascribed social and cultural meanings discussed in earlier chapters; to the complete exclusion of the latter.

Figure 3 Selection Criteria for Assessing Local Heritage



Source: Adapted from Jackson, 2010

A final point to draw attention to is the exclusivity of the process in which the Local List appears to have been traditionally prepared. Both Parker (1993) and Boland (1998) highlighted within their respective surveys that Local Lists have predominantly been generated exclusively by local planning authorities. Parker (1993) revealed that the majority had been created by conservation officers, either via formal survey or from existing local knowledge. This reveals what appears to be an expert-led approach to the Local List process, which moreover, creates parallels with the notion of the AHD. There is no reference to community involvement or the social significance of heritage. In a similar vein, Jackson's (2010) survey illustrates that despite formal attempts to be more transparent in publishing information about the Local List, this has usually been in the form of an already agreed outcome. It is evident that community involvement was not an integral part of the Local List process at the time of her survey. She found that 52% promoted the Local List through the local authority's website alone. Others publicised through newspaper press releases, radio interviews and leaflet drops, "*after* the Local List has been prepared" (Jackson, 2010: 51).

Overall, the surveys indicate that there is a growing consensus between local authorities that Local Lists are an important consideration in the management of heritage. They also however indicate that the criteria used for determining what counts as local heritage appear to be the same as those explored above in relation to the national statutory list. Other assumptions drawn from the surveys are the expert-led approach adopted and the lack of public involvement. This not only suggests that the discursive space is not provided for debate around competing or alternative conceptions of heritage, but it also indicates that intangible, social and communal aspects of heritage are excluded from the Local List process.

Notwithstanding the above, various recent policy and legislative changes at the national level (see Chapter 4) appear to strongly encourage the democratic development of Local Lists. Specifically, the recently published Local List Best Practice Guide (2012) encourages greater community involvement in the process and the widening of the traditional conservation values to identify and define local heritage. Hudson and James (2007) suggest that some of these changes may have resulted in a 'revival' of Local Lists, lessening the 'patchiness' of coverage in England, as well as highlighting the need to capture the social relevance of heritage through the promotion of democratisation and community empowerment. Greater engagement with the general public, as encouraged in the recently produced Local

List Guidance, provides an opportunity to, “recognize and critically engage with issues of dissonance and the use of memory in the formation of heritage and identity”; to be open to, “social and cultural meanings” and to understand that, “heritage has consequences beyond the preservation of historic fabric” (Smith, 2006: 5).

3.6 Summary

Overall, this chapter has mapped the development of conservation legislation and policy and identified some of the key assumptions and motivating factors which have led to the traditional values which exist in conservation and planning practice today. Throughout the chapter, the authoritative text has been evaluated against the components of the nineteenth century conservation philosophies and the characteristics of the AHD, introduced by Smith (2006). Some examples, such as the Burra Charter, clearly challenge Smith’s (2006) claim that there exists such an immutable AHD in contemporary practice. Moreover, the charter’s references to spiritual/cultural values and participation are clearly inconsistent with the traditional notion of conservation as an activity which is elitist and exclusionary.

Nonetheless, in other examples, such as the national statutory listing criteria, it is clear that those traditional, tangible, art-historical conservation values discussed in Chapter 2 persist. At the same time, however, it has been shown that late twentieth century influences have challenged established conservation thought and practices. Indeed, the normative heritage discourse appears to have adapted to external pressures to recognise post-war heritage, vernacular heritage and more modest structures such as the pigeon cove, referred to earlier. Furthermore, the listing of the Abbey Road Zebra Crossing because of its association with The Beatles represents a rather atypical, yet significant development in conservation philosophy. There is thus evidence of dynamic capabilities in the practical application of the AHD, which Smith (2006) appears to largely disregard. Despite such nuances, a propensity towards tangibility and physical fabric appears to remain.

The following chapter traces the apparent growing policy and academic focus on the democratisation of heritage, as well as the increasing attention seemingly paid to the social significance of heritage. It simultaneously appreciates, however, the potential gulf between rhetoric and reality. In doing so, it further justifies this research’s contemporary empirical investigation at the local level of practical implementation.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

CHAPTER 4:

‘HERITAGE’: WHY DOES IT MATTER?

4.1 A Repositioning of Conservation Philosophy

The principal theme of this chapter is the shift, but not radical transformation, that has occurred in the normative heritage discourse (and subsequent conservation values) over the relatively recent past. This philosophical repositioning, explicit in policy documents and other grey literature published in the twenty-first century puts an apparent emphasis on opening up heritage to wider participation; places more wide-ranging values at the heart of decision-making and promotes grass roots projects to inclusively and transparently identify and protect what is valued as local heritage (DCMS, 2007; English Heritage, 2008a; 2011a; 2012a; CLG, 2010). In other words, it appears to seek to embrace social inclusion and community involvement processes to understand and incorporate social and communal aspects of heritage.

Unlike the time-honoured philosophies discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, it is argued here that the heritage sector is, “seemingly anxious to demonstrate its non-elitist, progressive nature” (Pendlebury et al., 2004: 11). This repositioning situates heritage among debates pertaining to issues such as social inclusion, community heritage, localism, and theoretical frameworks such as communicative planning theory (Habermas, 1984), collaborative planning (Healey, 2003; 2006) and post-positivism (Allmendinger, 2002a,b). The chapter thus examines these debates to inform the remainder of this thesis and justify the arguments developed.

4.2 Social Inclusion and Heritage

Context

Various scholars have explored social inclusion/exclusion in the context of UK policy (Percy-Smith, 2000a, b; Collins, 2002; Hills et al., 2002; Sandell, 2002; 2003; Levitas, 1996; 2004; 2005; Byrne, 2005), however the connection between social inclusion/exclusion and heritage has been less well-developed (Waterton, 2010). Whilst some academics have explored this coalescence (Pendlebury et al., 2004; Mason, 2004a,b, 2005; Newman and McLean, 1998, 2004; Young, 2002; Littler and Naidoo, 2005; Agyeman, 2006; Smith, 2006; Crooke, 2010) their work has tended to

focus on museum studies or wider national issues, and less on heritage as applied to local conservation planning practice.

Despite the shortage of empirical investigation, the limited research available does reveal some commonalities worthy of note. Indeed, the conclusions drawn have tended to be “polarised” (Mason, 2004a: 49). For example, scholars either strongly criticise attempts at social inclusion, describing them as, “...patronising and misguided” (Mason, 2004a: 49) or they refer to them as, “democratising and empowering” (DCMS, 2000: 8; Mason, 2004a: 50; Waterton, 2007: 46). This polarisation in findings, Newman and McLean (2004: 5) attribute to the very limited amount of detailed empirical research which explicitly links debates about social inclusion with those about heritage. Despite the aforementioned contradictions, the existing heritage literature raises some important concerns, which are very relevant in the context of this research.

Assumptions

It has been suggested, for instance, that, “the processes through which a person supposedly becomes ‘included’ are assumed, rather than properly understood and enacted” (Waterton, 2007: 47; Newman and McLean, 2004). This type of practical assumption is perceivable given the identification in the literature of other ‘assumptions’ made by professionals, such as the ‘self-evident’, ‘common sense’ understanding of heritage referred to in Chapter 2. Such assumptions are problematic in the context of inclusive heritage designation. Indeed, to superficially *assume* that a process is inclusive, ironically serves to hinder real attempts at inclusivity (Newman and McLean, 2004). In this situation, ‘social inclusion’ becomes merely an elusive term, which lacks substance and credibility.

A ‘Woolly’ Concept

Linked to discussions in Chapter 3 about the superficial, and ubiquitous, use of terms such as ‘participation’ in the international charters; this problem is exacerbated by policy documents which convey moral and aspirational sentiments about social inclusion, without the detail/support behind them to assist practitioners with implementation. As such, broad-brush policy aspirations appear to focus on ‘complying with’ and ‘having regard to’ social inclusion/exclusion issues. One example of this is the now superseded, Planning Policy Statement 1: ‘Delivering Sustainable Development’, which placed great emphasis on social inclusion and, as a key objective, sought to ensure, “a just society that promotes social inclusion,

sustainable communities and personal wellbeing” (CLG, 2005: 2: 4). It failed, however, to provide the necessary guidance for how to really achieve this in practice.

Whilst omitting specific reference to ‘social inclusion’, the recently published NPPF (2012) refers to general planning principles of, “empowering local people to shape their surroundings” (DCLG, 2012: 5: 17) and sets out that, “a wide section of the community should be proactively engaged, so that Local Plans, as far as possible, reflect a collective vision and a set of agreed priorities for the sustainable development of the area” (DCLG, 2012: 37:155). Whilst also failing to provide an implementation plan for satisfying such core planning principles, what is most interesting is the shift in terminology. Not once does the NPPF refer to the Labour-inspired term ‘social inclusion’ but instead refers to “empowering” a “wide section” of local people with a view to finding “a collective vision” or consensus. Crucially, this undermines real inclusivity by shifting the social goal from supposedly uncovering and embracing difference, to seeking consensus. This could be interpreted as attempting to assimilate the views of the minority into the dominant ideology.

Notwithstanding this, there are examples where social inclusion policy has been given more detailed consideration. In such instances, however, inappropriate parameters tend to be focussed upon, which again, hinder genuine attempts at inclusivity (Whitehead, 2005).

Assimilation

A key critique of social inclusion policy relates specifically to the parameters used to determine success. Such parameters, for instance, may include a simple measurement of visitor numbers, focussing on, “the development of new audiences” (Sandell, 2003: 47). As Cowell (2004) highlights, social inclusion policy tends to concentrate purely on the challenge of making heritage accessible and increasing those visitor numbers. In fact such policies and debates are often framed in terms of how excluded groups may be, “recruited into existing practices”, and how, “non-traditional visitors” can be attracted or encouraged to visit heritage sites (Smith, 2006: 37). In effect, this establishes a conceptual framework whereby conservation practitioners, “must simply add the excluded and assimilate them into the fold rather than challenge underlying preconceptions” (Smith, 2006: 37). In other words, for practitioners, social inclusion seems to be about saying, “come and be like us” (Young, 2002: 211). As Pendlebury et al., (2004: 23) observe, “merely enabling more people to enjoy heritage, or extending how it is defined to recognize the

diversity of society, does not in itself challenge power relations and control over the process by which heritage is defined and managed”.

This apparently simplistic outlook, however, has led to a rather narrow focus on exploring why people choose to visit heritage sites, in order to, somewhat inappropriately, find or create ‘a place’ for marginalised groups (Cowell, 2004; Mason, 2004a, 2005; Whitehead, 2005; Phillips, 2006; Waterton, 2010). Newman (2005b: 327) emphasises that social inclusion in the context of heritage sites and museums appears to focus entirely on, “... access and audience development”. Indeed, the title of the four-year Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) ‘Audience Development Programme’ serves to confirm this criticism.

More specifically, Smith and Waterton (2009a:12) show concern for the direction of travel of visitors to heritage sites. They argue that instead of trying to encourage non-traditional audiences to visit English stately homes, the real question should be why do the middle classes not visit, “working-class life in industrial regions”, or, heritage that represents, “less comforting aspects of history, such as slavery, the experiences of migrant communities and colonisation”. The emphasis of this argument, however, also appears to miss the point. It continues to focus on a misplaced desire to inflict one version of heritage upon another in an assimilatory fashion. By contrast, comprehensive, socially inclusive heritage conservation should be about *equitably* recognising, designating and conserving the multi-valued aspects of heritage. Crucially, this does not mean pressurising others to value something that they do not, or trying to reach a consensus, but instead recognises difference and respects it.

The focus on ‘audience development’ illustrates a clear desire to, “reveal and measure” (Waterton, 2007:47), rather than to critically engage communities to explore the nature of heritage in a more philosophical way. This could be described as an activity which focuses entirely on outcomes, rather than processes.

The Outcomes of ‘Heritage’

This criticism is reinforced by the examination of social inclusion research programmes which have progressed in close allegiance with this policy direction. Such research clearly focussed on outcomes, attempting to uncover what people may get out of heritage (i.e. social/economic benefits, also labelled instrumental values) (Jeannotte, 2003; Newman, 2005a, b; Newman and Whitehead, 2006, 2007 Clark, 2004; 2006). Other research has attempted to break these down into public

value and/or value for money (Clark, 2006), educational benefits (Scott, 2002), wellbeing outcomes (Silverman, 2002) and outcomes pertaining to identity issues (Newman and McLean, 2006; Newman, 2005a).

The focus on education in particular aligns with other observations of a “persistent emphasis in policy discourse on awareness-raising and education” (Owens and Driffill, 2008: 4413). It is argued that government campaigns have often been centred on a rationalist ‘information deficit model’ (see Burgess et al., 1998). In other words, an assumption is made by the model that, “education, drawing from scientific work, will lead to people making the link between policy and action, and acting in order to meet policy objectives” (Eden, 1996: 197). This model, however, has also been widely criticised, “both on epistemic grounds (the ‘facts’ may be contested and the problem framed/interpreted in different ways) and for its failure to take account of the social, cultural and institutional contexts in which attitudes and behaviours are formed” (Owens and Driffill, 2008: 4413).

In relation to heritage conservation, a focus on outcomes fails to critically question, “what ‘the marginalised’ are being invited to ‘learn’, ‘access’ or ‘participate’ in” (Waterton, 2007: 50). Arguably, this is an established process which is shaped by traditional Western conservation norms. Perhaps the question should instead be reversed to ask what heritage as a construct and a process can get out of social inclusion. Clearly such approaches to social inclusion fall short of engaging critically with the aforementioned multi-faceted (Waterton, 2005) and socially constructed (Smith, 2006) nature of heritage. Instead, social inclusion (both ideologically and practically) appears to be underpinned by the desire for certain “heritage outputs” (Corsane, 2005: 8). To understand how these parameters became established in policy and practice, it is helpful to briefly explore the impact of the Social Exclusion Unit, set up in August 1997 under the then recently elected New Labour Government.

New Labour and Social Inclusion

In a policy sense, social inclusion/exclusion is explicitly associated with the establishment in 1997 of the Social Exclusion Unit (Mason, 2004a), and post 2006, the smaller Social Exclusion Task Force. Among several documents discussing the mission of social inclusion within the heritage sector, one key document included the ‘Progress Report on Social Inclusion’ (2001c), authored by DCMS. The report made the following statement:

If having nowhere to go and nothing constructive to do is as much a part of living in a distressed community as poor housing or high crime levels, culture and sport provide a good part of the answer to rebuilding a decent quality of life there. Such communities have not had their fair share in the past (DCMS, 2001c: 4).

It is clear to see in the above extract that the notion of social exclusion has been simplified to a seemingly straightforward problem with an equally straightforward solution (Waterton, 2007; 2010). The notion that the 'problem' can be solved simply by encouraging participation in cultural and/or sporting activities broadly echoes the nineteenth century philosophies of Ruskin and Morris introduced in Chapter 2. A better society (educated and proper), they believed, could be established through culture. Indeed, this attitude infuses much of the literature concerned with social inclusion (DCMS, 1999a, b, 2001b; 2002a,b ; Newman, 2005a; Waterton, 2010). With this outlook, the public are relegated to passive participants of the social inclusion process.

The Passive Public

Such beliefs can be linked to the notion of the expert's role as 'stewards' engaging in a form of 'pastoral care', which is seemingly deemed essential to *fix* or *improve* the excluded, subordinate or marginalised groups within society (Smith, 2006). This links closely with the sentiments of Evans and Harris (2004: 71), who argue:

The corollary was that citizens as 'beneficiaries' of professional expertise were subordinated to professional authority in what were seen as their own best interests...

This policy stance resonates with the dominant ideology thesis, drawn on in Chapter 2. As Ashworth and Howard (1999) point out, those subordinate groups may passively accept the heritage they are given and thus accept their subordination. Alternatively, they may ignore completely such dominant ideas; a common reaction according to Ashworth and Howard (1999). Caffyn and Lutz (1999: 218) agree that, "the marginalised" may even be hostile towards traditional or dominant conceptualisations of heritage. Clearly, this situation only serves to amplify the problem of social exclusion. Whilst there have been many attempts to overcome some of these problems, Ashworth and Howard (1999: 63) argue, "however honestly meant, such attempts to bring subordinate groups into the museum, just like the similar attempts at taking culture into the community, usually leave the definition of culture firmly in the hands of the dominant group, who thus can be perceived as seeking further recognition of their dominance".

This once again exposes the notion of power, dissonance and tension; concepts underexplored within the extant literature dealing with social inclusion. Within such situations, imbalances of power are exposed and consequently, trust is diminished (Smith, 2006). As Waterton (2007: 51) argues, “simply ‘opening the doors’ fails to acknowledge the ‘hidden power’, or ‘hidden agenda’, of discourse, utilised to sustain subject positionings and practices”. Such deep and complex issues, however, appear to have been generalised, and woven into a seemingly coherent, straightforward solution by the policy literature. Despite the above, social inclusion, in principle, remains high on the academic and policy agenda.

A Growing Desire for Inclusion

The need, and in some cases the desire to be socially inclusive has arisen as a consequence of, “the agitation by [excluded] groups for greater inclusion and consideration of their own needs, aspirations and values” (Smith, 2006: 35). It, however, is also a consequence of disconcerting survey results which highlight that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, those engaging with heritage were still traditionally white (97%), middle class (74%) and middle-aged (45+ 51%) (MORI, 2002). Not only do these figures mirror the traditional elitist conceptions of conservation exposed in Chapter 2 (see also Littler, 2005; Barthel, 1996), but they also suggest that poverty and ethnicity may be barriers that need to be tackled if genuine inclusion in heritage work is to be achieved. Whilst Heritage Counts (2003) publicly acknowledged that one of the greatest challenges facing the sector is the perception that heritage is elitist and irrelevant to many sections of society, it does however react aggressively to this, stating in its mission statement:

By working with communities we will create a more inclusive definition of heritage which allows personal, local and cultural perceptions of what is important about the historic environment to be valued alongside traditional definitions. By appreciating different notions of heritage, we can celebrate the richness of multicultural England (English Heritage, 2003: 3.5)

This rather bold statement is a strong signal of the desired step change in conservation theory and practice in the twenty-first century, yet again; it does not explain how these challenges will be met. As Hobson (2004:53) stresses, while it is relatively easy to champion community involvement and cultural diversity in short statements like these, it is, “far more difficult to work it into interpretation of...conservation responsibilities”. Again this fuels a crucial question about rhetoric and reality.

Parallel to this, there is evidence to suggest a growing desire among communities for involvement in heritage issues (Hall, 1999; Ling Wong, 1999, 2000; Littler and Naidoo, 2004; Smith, 2006). As clarified by Smith (2006), this desire is not only applicable to 'indigenous issues' (a key topic of debate in terms of World Heritage). It is however also relevant to many Western countries, as witnessed by organisations such as the Black Environmental Network (BEN) in England. Acting on behalf of ethnic communities, BEN²⁰ has lobbied for greater involvement of such communities in conservation issues (Ling Wong, 1999, 2000). Other scholars have also identified a growing interest of local community groups to engage influentially in heritage conservation matters (Hall, 1999; Littler and Naidoo, 2004; Smith, 2006)²¹.

The above highlights that issues of social inclusion cannot be debated without drawing on wider moves towards the recognition of multiculturalism (Colley, 1999; Modood, 1998; UNESCO, 1998; 2000; 2002; Arizpe, 2000; Parekh, 2000a,b; Mason, 2004a: 61; Graham, 2002; Newman and McLean, 2004; Naidoo, 2005; Ang, 2005).

Multiculturalism

Like heritage, 'multiculturalism' is a topic much contested within the academic literature (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), yet consensus exists that it is increasingly significant in the twenty-first century (Ang, 2005; Harrison, 2010a). Intrinsically linked with globalisation, multiculturalism has been fuelled by, "large-scale immigration in the second half of the twentieth century and the acceleration of transnational movements in the later part of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries" (Harrison, 2010a: 165). Consequently, many countries now are home to, "large ethnic 'minorities'", with some nations composed of, "many different ethnic, racial and cultural groups" (Harrison, 2010a: 165). Indeed, the 2011 Census for England and Wales revealed that, "in 2011, 13% of people resident in England and Wales were born outside the UK and the share of the population from minority ethnic groups is projected to continue to rise over the next decade" (Foresight, 2013: 5).

A key message from the Council of Europe, which underpins the Faro Convention of 2005 is that, "in [this] increasingly globalised world, marked by the exchange of

²⁰ BEN also played a key role in the production of the national guidance document, *Power of Place* (English Heritage, 2000) which sought to bring minority ethnic groups into the heritage mainstream (discussed in Appendix F).

²¹ Notwithstanding this, it is also important to acknowledge that not all communities will wish to be empowered and engaged in such processes (Shore, 2007).

ideas and people's mobility, the search for connections and roots reflects the individual's need to belong and to know who he/she is" (Council of Europe, 2012). For professionals in England, understanding identity²² in the UK (linked with the changing nature of society) will therefore be, "increasingly important for effective policy making and implementation" (Foresight, 2013:8). Young (2008:77) agrees with this position, arguing that, "locating, articulating and engaging cultural meanings have become dominant issues in our time". Consequently, Hall, ([1999] 2008: 225) believes, "The first task, then, is re-defining the nation, re-imagining 'Britishness' or 'Englishness' itself in a more profoundly inclusive manner". The practical complexity of this, however, cannot be overlooked (Ashworth, 1998; Modood, 1998; Murphy, 1999; Ling Wong, 1999; 2000). Such issues clearly are important in the context of this research and further justify the need to redefine the very essence of heritage in a comprehensive, socially inclusive manner. They, however, also suggest an urgent need for critical engagement with the notion of 'community'.

'Community': a Multi-layered Concept

Issues pertaining to multicultural communities naturally demand a brief reflection on the notion of 'community' itself. Recognising the expediency of the term in establishing the social relevance of heritage, there have been recent academic calls for further debate and "a new theoretical momentum" about community heritage and how it is recognised in practice (Watson and Waterton, 2010a: 2; Watson and Waterton, 2011). 'Community', like the term, heritage, is another highly contested concept (Hoggett, 1997; Burkett, 2001, Howarth, 2001, Anderson, 2006; Neal and Walters, 2008, Waterton and Smith, 2010). Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 13) note that, "community is never simply the recognition of cultural similarity or social contiguity but a categorical identity that is premised on various forms of exclusion and construction of otherness". This notion of 'otherness' can therefore be unhelpful because it creates an invisible, ideological gap between minority communities and wider society.

As Evans and Harris (2004: 70) point out, such groups tend to be subsequently framed in terms of the "deviant other" who exclude themselves from the "normal majority". This serves to shift the blame and perhaps the responsibility from the

²² A summary of the debate on links between 'multiculturalism', 'identity' and 'belonging' can be found in Appendix E.

'experts' to the 'public' and further distances the 'marginalised' from the 'rest' of society, and from the 'experts'. As Jones (2005: 95, citing Hall, 2000: 221) argues:

The result of these combined strategies is that a core underlying homogenous national heritage is maintained ...the norm against which "difference"...is measured.

Expanding on this idea, Smith (2006)) argues that such 'social inclusion' processes may indeed be part of a wider defensive move towards reclaiming a singular national past and a traditional, white, middle class English identity. *In extremis*, the AHD thus *causes* the disinheritance of heritage associated with 'the marginalised' (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999; Ashworth, 2002).

For many commentators, 'community' has become, "something of a misnomer: 'a fantasy'" (Clarke, 2005, cited in Neal and Walters, 2008: 280). In other words, the intricacy and sometimes ephemeral nature of the term has resulted in it meaning virtually nothing. Clark (2006) likens this to the term, 'identity', which has also become highly ambiguous and puzzling. Often both the terms 'identity' and 'community' are fused together, tied up with negative connotations. Indeed, 'communities' are deemed those "nebulous groups" that have a particular need to establish and cement their "identity"; unlike the rest of us, who somehow do not have or need an identity. Such 'communities' therefore stand apart from wider society and are side-lined as, "those...that "feel" and offer little more than subjectivity; compared to professionals and the well-educated who "think" and "know", [using] objective truth to support scientific reasoning" (Clark, 2006: 97; See also Crang and Tolia-Kelly, 2010).

Marrying the notion of 'community' alongside that of heritage is thus particularly complex, with both concepts representing, "vague and elusive ideas" (Crooke, 2010: 17). As such, scholars argue that dealing with this complexity in practice has been less than effective (Smith and Waterton, 2009a). Indeed, commentators argue that, "by ticking a few boxes about including working-class and ethnic minorities", practitioners have effectively distorted the meaning and purpose of social inclusion. In particular through a misplaced focus on visitor targets, for example, the purpose appears to be more about "effective marketing", than establishing the heritage values within diverse communities. As such, it appears that social inclusion applied to heritage processes fails to democratically extend, "the idea of what heritage is, and how it should be promoted" (Smith and Waterton, 2009a: 12). As such, 'the

community' (and by virtue, heritage) risk being simplistically reduced to something devoid of complexity.

Communities Devoid of Complexity

Perhaps facilitated by the convenience of 'box-ticking' in conservation planning work, ideas about social inclusiveness tend to focus on reaching certain "difficult" or "hard-to-reach" groups in society through community involvement. This has indeed become a political imperative and is often implemented without examining the community's definition or content (Waterton, 2005; Crooke, 2007; Tlili, 2008; Smith and Waterton, 2009a; Watson and Waterton, 2010a; Waterton and Watson, 2011). This is a particular issue for planning practice where, until recently, the public were more or less considered to be one homogenous group. Le Corbusier's "modular man" is a notable example (Gans, 2006). His standard measure for building and urban design was based on a 6 foot tall man (which, *ipso facto* excludes men who are shorter than this, and excludes women, who tend to be shorter than men on average). The composition of the community is supposedly recognised today as an important factor in planning practice, and encouraged through tasks such as area profiling which is promoted in non-statutory guidance for Core Strategy preparation (PAS, 2010). Whether this takes place (and to what level of detail) and whether it informs heritage conservation is however unexplored.

This draws parallels with general barriers to community involvement in planning, which will be explored next.

4.3 Community Involvement in Planning Practice

The apparent growing desire to 'include' has been accompanied by an array of policy documents and other grey literature published over the last decade putting a firm emphasis on wider participation (DCMS, 2007; English Heritage, 2008a; 2011a; 2012a; CLG, 2010). This section briefly unpacks how public participation became a key part of planning processes, before examining what elements of planning theory can bring to the debate.

The Skeffington Report (1969)

The publication of the Skeffington Report in 1969 was a critical point for participation in planning (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003). Prior to this, participation was not high on the policy agenda, perhaps due to a high degree of political consensus following the post-war period, and a general degree of trust in the 'experts' (Cullingworth and

Nadin, 2003). It was however as a consequence of growing dissatisfaction with the perceived inequitable distribution of benefits and the lack of transparency in decision-making that prompted a, “turning point in attitudes to public participation in planning” (Pickvance, 1982; Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003: 432). Whilst the Skeffington Report of 1969 was influential on a conceptual level, its recommendations, however, were considered, “mundane and rather obvious”, for instance, it advocated simply informing the public of plan preparation and seeking comments (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003: 432).

Critics argued that planners were operating within a “structural straightjacket” (Healey, 2006) and, that irrespective of the alternative values at stake, planning will inevitably serve certain interests over others (Ambrose, 1986). In other words, the planning process was seen to be legitimising the existing order and, “supporting a charade of power sharing” (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003: 433). Crucially, the general planning process was already criticised for promoting a value-free dominant ideology and, the interests of those outside of the dominant discourse were not perceived to be met. This criticism clearly unites planning and heritage theory.

Whilst the Planning Act 1968 made public participation a, “statutory requirement in the preparation of development plans” (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003: 433) the procedures this entailed were criticised. Public participation was considered expensive, resource-intensive and it was considered that the benefits did not outweigh the costs incurred (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003). A key consequence of this was the adoption of a, ‘prepare, reveal and defend’ strategy or even, ‘attack and response’ (Rydin, 1999: 188 and 193). From the lay-public viewpoint, the implication of this was that planning proposals/decisions were presented as a *fait accompli*. This served to increase mistrust between ‘experts’ and the public and led participants to question the value of their input (Cullingworth, 1964).

Negative Attitudes towards Public Involvement

Several scholars have inferred that there may be an “underlying caution” to consult in professional practice (Maginn, 2007: 25). This reluctance among professionals is, “despite their [outward] policy support for community participation” (Maginn, 2007: 25; Winkler, 2009: 68; Pendlebury and Townshend, 1997; 1999; Boland, 1998; 1999; Gibson, 2009). This is confirmed by work conducted by Pendlebury (2009a: 140) which revealed that practitioners often felt negatively towards public involvement, particularly during disputes about buildings which in the professional’s opinion had, “insufficient special architectural or historic interest”. He added that

there appears to be a general, “unwillingness to relinquish expert pre-eminence” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 141), although he also noted that there is limited empirical evidence bringing together notions of public involvement and the conservation planning system (Pendlebury, 2009a: 140).

Furthermore, Pendlebury’s (2009a) study also exposed a blurring of the meaning of public consultation with other meanings such as ‘awareness raising’ and ‘education’. Such observations also echo arguments presented in the heritage literature about the passive role afforded to communities as beneficiaries of heritage (Waterton, 2010; Smith and Waterton, 2009a) and suggest further significant barriers to genuine social inclusion in conservation planning. Notwithstanding this, the growing political importance placed on community involvement and social inclusion has been an impetus for persistent debate in the planning theory literature. The following section turns to unravel what such debates can offer this research.

Communicative Planning Theory

In the 1990s planning theory underwent a sea change, culminating in a significant step away from the rational planning of the 1960s and 1970s. Instead it turned towards the need to acknowledge the, “varied and constructed nature of knowledge” and of “power relations” (Habermas, 1984, cited in Healey, 2006: 239). This new way of understanding the world, focused on an assumption that we are, “diverse people living in complex webs of economic and social relations, within which we develop potentially very varied ways of seeing the world, of identifying our interest and values, of reasoning about them, and of thinking about our relations with others” (Healey, 2006: 239). In a practical sense, this line of reasoning suggested that if professionals seek genuine social inclusion, as is set out in policy documents (DETR, 1998a,b; ODPM, 2003; SEU, 1998; 2000; 2001a,b), genuine attempts need to be made to recognise the heterogeneity of values. These ideas are the broad basis for communicative planning theory.

Communicative planning theory, whilst heavily debated and contested within the literature, was given paradigmatic status by several planning theorists; deemed a means to establish democratic planning processes and ultimate social justice (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002). The seminal works that fall under the umbrella of communicative planning theory include Healey’s ‘Collaborative Planning’ ([1997] 2006) and Forester’s ‘Planning in the Face of Power’ (1989) and ‘The Deliberative Practitioner’ (1999).

Simplistically, communicative planning theory is based on the assertion that debate between all relevant stakeholders should aim towards the establishment of an agreement (Healey, 2006). Here, agreement means, “the most appropriate and democratic means of decision-making in planning and urban governance” (Healey, 2006: 239). The theory draws on the work of Habermas (1984), who claims that, “the discussion arena for communicative planning is inclusive and power differentials are mitigated by meeting the conditions of...[the] ideal speech situation” (Bond, 2011: 164). In Healey’s (2003: 239) explanation of the ideal speech situation, she asserts that Habermas is, “deeply committed to reconstructing a public realm which more fully reflects the range of ways of knowing and reasoning than the narrow diminished world of instrumental rationality and the dominant interests of economic and bureaucratic power”. Habermas, she argues, recognised that, “our ideas about ourselves, our interests, and our values are socially constructed” (Healey, 2006: 239). This idea is important as it clearly draws parallels with the heritage literature and the notion that heritage is socially constructed (Smith, 2006).

Further, Habermas argues that, “implicitly in our communicative acts is a normative judgement that people should relate to each other in ways that aim for comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and truth” (Healey, 2006: 239; See also Habermas, 1984: 1987; 1993). The concept of ‘truth’ however can also be viewed critically, particularly when linked to the established conservation philosophies discussed in Chapter 2; namely that of positivism and notions of “observation”, “rationality” and a search for the ultimate “truth” (Nisbet, 1980: 171). Clearly, the aim for one objective truth is problematic if subjective social heritage values are to enter planning’s discursive space.

Nonetheless, this ideal speech situation, Healey (2003; 2006) argues, emphasises and promotes democratic practice. It shifts the meaning from a traditional representative form of democracy to more participatory forms based on *inclusionary argumentation*. Crucially, inclusionary argumentation theory advocates transparency and inclusivity in practical processes, and seeks to defuse power differences among participants (Habermas, 1984). In other words, Healey (1999:119) considers that, “the power of dominant discourses can be challenged through the transformations that come as people learn to understand and respect each other across their differences and conflicts”. This stance however is based on an assumption that decision-making processes *can* be inclusive and that power differences *can* be diffused. Whilst this idea is positive in theory, it appears rather

idealistic, lacks any critical dimension and overlooks previously identified philosophical underpinnings.

Young (1996) argues that, to counter the risk of privileging dominant forms of argumentation, different types of communication should be accepted as legitimate forms of deliberation. Such forms, he suggests could include greeting, rhetoric and storytelling. In a similar vein, Benhabib (1992: 8) argues for a model of deliberative democracy that is, “sensitive to differences of identity, needs and modes of reasoning”. This idea acknowledges that stakeholders may be more comfortable using particular modes of reasoning or deliberation, which are appropriate to them (Bond, 2011). Crucially, this line of argument can be linked firmly to the problematisation of articulating heritage values to ‘experts’ in planning arenas.

To explore this idea of modes of reasoning further, it is important to note that both Young (1996) and Benhabib (1992) seek to, “avoid pitting ‘emotional’ (deemed irrational and illegitimate) against ‘reasoned’ (legitimate) deliberation” (Bond, 2011: 167). This ideology exposes a clear point of conflict when considered in the context of the coalescence of heritage conservation with planning. Indeed, in terms of ‘heritage conservation, such ‘social’ or ‘communal’ values are likely to sit distinctly within the ‘emotional’ category. This therefore begs the question of whether in the planning arena ‘emotional’ forms of reasoning which perhaps relate to ‘spiritual’ or ‘social’ heritage values are deemed irrational and carry less weight than ‘reasoned’, ‘tangible’ and ‘scientific’ values. This also links back to the ‘community’ literature analysed above which argues that “communities” are simplistically characterised as those that “feel”, as opposed to the ‘experts’ who “think” and “know” (Clark, 2006: 97; Smith and Waterton, 2009a: 52).

In this vein, Norval (2007) notes that even the broader conceptualisations of argumentation outlined above can lead to, “privileging rational argumentation over other affective, emotional or embodied forms of talk”, thereby also limiting the socially inclusive potential of communicative planning (Bond, 2011: 167). Healey’s (2006) solution to this is to find, “modes of discourse within which inclusionary discussion can take place” (Healey, 2006: 241). This translated into the concept of Collaborative Planning (Healey, [1997] 2006).

Collaborative Planning

Building on both Habermas’ concept of communicative rationality and Giddens’ structuration theory, Healey (2006: 106) develops the notion of ‘collaborative

planning'; an evaluative framework, "for assessing the qualities of interactive processes". By following collaborative planning principles (see Appendix B), she considers that decision-making arenas will be more pluralistic and democratic (Healey, 2006).

A core part of collaborative planning, Healey ([1997] 2006) stresses, is the need to embrace the heterogeneity of knowledge (Brand and Gafkin, 2007). To accomplish this, she states that, "all stakeholders must be equally informed, listened to, and respected" (Innes and Booher, 1999: 418). What appears to be overlooked in this description is firstly the impact of power differentials (possibly *assumed* to have been defused) and secondly, the underlying ideologies of the stakeholders involved.

Moreover, this collaborative approach, Healey ([1997] 2006) considered would foster consensus building and it would demand a shift in the nature of the planning professional's role. Indeed, she states that the 'experts', traditionally seen as the regulators, must now become facilitators and intermediaries, "as knowledge mediator and broker" (Healey, [1997] 2006: 309).

Whilst Healey ([1997] 2006) acknowledges that her attributes are rather simplistic, criticisms of collaborative planning and communicative planning theory generally, are well rehearsed (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Hillier, 2002; Huxley, 2000; Purcell, 2009; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998). There are, however, a number of specific issues raised in this section which are particularly relevant to the arguments developed in this thesis. These are critiqued below.

Critique of the Planning Theories

First, it is essential to question the notion that through inclusionary argumentation "people learn to understand and respect each other across their differences and conflicts" (Healey, 1999: 119). The statement is idealistic and lacks any critical foundation. The notion that, "the power of dominant discourses can be challenged" (Healey, 1999: 119) is clearly based purely on optimism. Young (1996) too argues that dominant forms of argumentation can prevail, despite Habermas's claims that dominant discourses are challenged through communicative planning. The idea of a dominant discourse, links clearly to the way in which reason is relied on as the, "means to determine which arguments in the deliberative arena are considered (theoretically) better and will therefore prevail" (Bond, 2011: 165). Habermas (1998) links this idea to the evaluation of a reason's validity, claiming that, "the underlying

validity of the reasons put forth in argumentation are either accepted or rejected” (Bond, 2011: 165).

Habermas considers that there are four types of validity claims: “comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness or sincerity and normative rightness” (Habermas, 1998: 23). Of these validity claims, the latter has been most strongly critiqued within the literature because it, “requires that arguments are made in recognition of prevailing norms and values” and it consequently demands that stakeholders, “agree to such recognised norms and values” (Bond, 2011: 165). With this outlook, the focus is on the ‘common’ good in a search for ‘consensus’ (Hillier, 2003; Bond, 2011). *In extremis*, this implies that, “democracy requires a procedure involving the co-operative search for a single truth” (Bond, 2011: 165). This clearly compels the planning process and its stakeholders to accept one philosophical stance and one set of values as prevalent and valid, which not only obscures the competing epistemological perspectives of stakeholders, but also excludes those whose values do not align with these norms. As argued throughout this thesis, to strive for consensus has consequences “for community groups seeking to assert an alternative understanding of heritage” (Smith and Waterton, 2009a: 77).

In rebuttal to attacks on the notion of consensus, Innes (2004) maintains that to seek consensus is an appropriate objective. Healey (2006), on the other hand agrees with the criticisms. Reconsidering her original position in 1997, she notes that:

A “consensus” itself needs careful critical scrutiny, and is best understood as a fragile, incomplete and contestable outcome, which may not have enduring effects in structuring subsequent relations. These effects may be liberating and creative, but they may also be oppressive (Healey, 2003: 114).

Furthermore, it is unrealistic to expect consensus to be equitably and transparently reached from a process in which power relations are in operation (Bond, 2011). Mouffe (2000) argues instead for an ‘agonistic pluralism’ that recognises that, “mutually incompatible positions are a legitimate and necessary part of democratic debate” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 221). This notion appears more appropriate in the light of recognising and respecting difference and legitimising alternative versions of heritage. Such agonistic pluralism however does not sufficiently consider the balance of power which is of course required to cope with such “mutually incompatible positions”.

Finally, it is important to draw out the aforementioned idea that ‘emotional’ deliberation could be deemed irrational and illegitimate compared to ‘reasoned’ (legitimate) deliberation” (Bond, 2011: 167; see also Young, 1996; Benhabib, 1992). This draws parallels with earlier debates pertaining to the AHD and the prioritising of rational, scientific heritage values over the more intangible, and often emotionally-charged values which are associated with ‘social’ and ‘communal’ aspects of heritage value. As Sandercock (2000: 26) argues, it is important to recognise the role of the emotional in practice to allow, “the whole person to be present in negotiations and deliberations”. This is particularly important for conservation planning, which clearly conjures emotional reactions and articulations. If, as raised above, there is a distinction and tension between ‘reasoned’ and ‘emotional’ deliberation, it may be that alternative social heritage values are marginalised or discredited due to their seemingly ‘irrational’ and ‘illegitimate’ framing in planning processes. Indeed, one of the criticisms of ‘history from below’ (discussed in Chapter 3) is its perceived emotionality (Harrison, 2010a). Whilst an individual making an emotional claim to designate a site or place of *personal* value would be inappropriate for wider planning protection, when that emotional value represents a collective (and thus is valued socially, rather than individually) it should be able to be rationalised subsequently. Building on this idea, several scholars (set out below) argue that rationalisation of the social/emotional may now be taking place as planning has entered a post-positivist paradigm.

Post-Positivism

Despite the above positivist concerns, Allmendinger (2002) showed in developing a post-positivist typology of planning theories that planning has become more fragmented and more pluralistic in recent years (Allmendinger, 2002). Indeed, Hartmann (2012: 244), as well as others (De Roo and Silvia, 2010; Gunder and Hillier, 2009) claim a contemporary understanding that planning has moved, “beyond rationalist reasoning”. Clearly, collaborative and communicative planning theories seek a planning arena, “in stark contrast to the rational planning [arena] of the past that saw the planner as an expert” (Weston and Weston, 2012: 2). Whilst post-positivism theory accepts that knowledge is based on human conjectures and thus reality can only be known imperfectly (no ultimate, single rational ‘truth’), it nonetheless is far from a form of relativism (Robson, 2002). Indeed, it continues to pursue objective truth. Clearly such a shift in epistemological position is encouraging, yet it remains inadequate in the context of heritage conservation,

which earlier arguments in Chapter 2 suggest demands multi-dimensional understandings of reality in order to accept diversity of interpretation.

The final section of this chapter combines the literature explored thus far to drill down deeper on what is a timely and politically visible point of conflict: a 'new' social discourse infused with the conservation planning orthodoxy. It draws on explicit examples in conservation policy and guidance which appear to seek, "to fuse a traditional *material* perspective with a distinctly *social* one" (Smith and Waterton, 2009b: 289). It thus focuses on the unification of conservation planning policy and guidance with the objective of opening up heritage to the public and embracing a wider understanding of heritage value. It argues that this represents a further repositioning of conservation philosophy and that the Local List is perceived as one of the key processes in which this new hybridisation can be most readily executed.

4.4 A new Conservation Philosophy for the 21st Century

Introduction

The evolving conservation philosophy, seemingly explicit in policy documents and other grey literature published in the twenty-first century, appears to have been gathering momentum. These trends fit in as part of a more international agenda, demonstrated *inter alia* by the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (2005)²³. It is indeed clear at all spatial scales that there is a wider liberal agenda that is, "seeking to create a more widely defined and inclusive process of conservation" (Pendlebury, 2009: 208). Within this context, the chapter closes with a narrow focus on the growing importance of the *local*, and specifically, the stated intention for democratisation and community empowerment at this local level of governance. Crucially, this chapter is supported by Appendix F which maps out the recent policy, guidance and legislation (since the year 2000), which together demonstrate a shift in conservation philosophy. These publications are traced and critically examined in order to cement the underpinning foundation that such a *stated intention* exists. The chronology of policy/legislation traced in Appendix F explicitly exposes the steps which have led to what this chapter now turns to examine: the Local List Best Practice Guide.

²³ The Faro Convention is concerned with, "the value of cultural heritage for society", which it firmly links to, "the individual's need to belong and to know who he/she is" and this it states is neatly tied up with the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (Council of Europe, 2012).

The Local List Best Practice Guide (2012)

The Local List Best Practice Guide is, “the first comprehensive guide to local listing in England” (English Heritage, 2012a: 6). The author, English Heritage, in a somewhat non-committal tone, stated in 1998 that a Local List guide would only ever be produced when there was a clear desire and need for one (Boland, 1998). Evidently, the time has come. Produced during an economic recession, and swallowing substantial English Heritage resources (both financial and time), the need for the guide must have been considered paramount.

The Guide epitomises the new conservation philosophy and paradigm shift alluded to throughout this thesis and developed in Appendix F. It clearly emphasises from the outset the new conservation philosophy it is adopting. For instance, it is stated upfront that Local Heritage Designation plays, “an essential role in building and reinforcing a sense of local identity and distinctiveness” (English Heritage, 2012a: 5). Moreover, the guide emphasises the importance of public participation and collaboration, stating that:

Local heritage listing is a means for a community and a local authority to jointly identify heritage assets that are valued as distinctive elements of the local historic environment (English Heritage 2012a: 7).

The introduction of the term ‘historic environment’, however, links closely with arguments presented earlier by Smith and Waterton (2009b: 298) who argue that, the use of this term intentionally limits the nature of heritage to something which is physical and firmly located in the past. Despite this, the guide remains clear in the role it gives to the Local List as a tool to implement an adjusted conservation philosophy, stating:

[Local Lists] provide a unique opportunity for communities, in partnership with local authorities, to identify heritage assets that they wish to protect at the local level (English Heritage, 2012a:5)

The Guide also emphasises that understandings of heritage:

...should extend beyond the confines of the planning system to recognise those community-based values that contribute to our sense of place (English Heritage, 2012a: 5).

This statement is important in its acknowledgement that a process integral to the planning system may be constrained; possibly by some of the factors exposed in the above analysis of planning theories. It also makes clear the intention to overcome such blockages.

Moreover, the guide also appears to make a discernible leap away from an emphasis on ‘experts’ in decision-making, towards the ‘public’, for instance in the Guide’s reference to independent panels used in the Local List decision-making process:

Membership [of decision-making panels] should be drawn from a representative cross-section of the community and not restricted to professionals (English Heritage, 2012a: 26).

Indeed, the overwhelming commitment to community involvement and collaborative planning cannot be masked. This emphasis is subsequently matched by the encouragement of the formulation of locally-specific selection criteria, including more intangible aspects of heritage such as ‘social’ and ‘communal’ values. For instance, the Guide emphasised that, “The community will play an important role in...the development of selection criteria” (English Heritage, 2012a: 20).

Moreover, the Local List Guide provides a table of “commonly applied [local] criteria” as part of its dissemination of best practice (Figure 4):

Figure 4: Commonly Applied Selection Criteria for Assessing Local Heritage:

Criterion	Description
Age	The age of an asset may be an important criterion and the age range can be adjusted to take into account distinctive local characteristics
Rarity	Appropriate for all assets, as judged against local characteristics
Aesthetic value	The intrinsic design value of an asset relating to local styles, materials or any other distinctive local characteristics
Group value	Groupings of assets with a clear visual, design or historic relationship
Evidential value	The significance of a local heritage asset of any kind may be enhanced by a significant contemporary or historic written record
Historic association	The significance of a local heritage asset of any kind may be enhanced by a significant historical association of local or national note, including links to important local figures
Archaeological interest¹⁴	This may be an appropriate reason to designate a locally significant asset on the grounds of archaeological interest if the evidence base is sufficiently compelling and if a distinct area can be identified
Designed landscapes	Relating to the interest attached to locally important designed landscapes, parks and gardens
Landmark status	An asset with strong communal or historical associations, or because it has especially striking aesthetic value, may be singled out as a landmark within the local scene
Social and communal value	Relating to places perceived as a source of local identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence; often residing in intangible aspects of heritage contributing to the “collective memory” of a place

Source: English Heritage (2012a:16)

It is the final criterion which is of overriding importance in the context of the identified evolving conservation philosophy. The criterion refers explicitly to social and communal heritage values (as discussed in Appendix F in relation to ‘Conservation Principles’ (2008)). These intangible values relate to ascribed social

meanings and nebulous, subjective notions such as 'local identity', 'social coherence' and 'collective memory'. The inclusion of this criterion is demonstrative of what emerges as an attempt to radically transform traditional perspectives on heritage conservation.

The explicit reference to, "intangible aspects of heritage" clearly indicates a stated desire to broaden the spectrum of eligible, accepted, and legitimate heritage values at the local level of heritage designation. Such explicit encouragement to recognise the intangible, more elusive aspects of heritage is clearly a notion which is far removed from the traditional conservation orthodoxy, as well as standing in marked contrast to the propositions put forward by Smith (2006) in her characterisation of the AHD. Such conceptualisations of heritage clearly do not appear to privilege an object's physical form. These examples challenge the established epistemological perspectives of heritage, discussed in Chapter 3. Moreover, they provide further evidence of the mutability of the heritage discourse, at least at the level of rhetoric.

The unauthoritative tone of the Local List Guide, however, must be criticised. The text repeatedly emphasises that the advice contained within the Guide, as well as the local criteria, are mere *suggestions* and that it is entirely up to the Local Authority if they wish to take the advice on board. The degree of flexibility conveyed through the Guide could be interpreted as a lack of commitment to the cause, somewhat diminishing the potential of the document to make any real impact on widening conceptualisations of heritage in practice. Nevertheless, the extracts drawn on above all represent what appears to be an evolving conservation perspective, which illustrates a much wider understanding of heritage and a seemingly radical change from the traditional canons of conservation thought. It is unknown however to what extent such repositioning has translated into processes on the ground. As Pendlebury (2009a: 186) argues, it is questionable, "whether the sector is really prepared to relinquish a measure of their control or whether the rhetoric of pluralism is used merely as lip-service to sustain control in the face of a broader political agenda". Clearly, the political context is important in its potential to shape processes and approaches to practice. Subsequently, this chapter closes with a final area of contemporary debate, particularly relevant to this thesis; the localism ideals espoused by the current Cameron-Clegg administration.

Localism

Much has been written about challenges facing English government institutions and English local authorities more specifically (Karataş-Özkan and Murphy, 2010;

Entwistle et al., 2005; Pratchett, 2004). Periods of change in local authorities are of particular research interest due to the generally static nature and strong organisational culture of local authorities (Thornley, 1993; Allmendinger and Thomas, 1998; Parker and Bradley, 2000; Garnett et al., 2008; Andrews et al., 2008; Inch, 2009). Indeed, the current period of change in local authorities has been the subject of much recent academic attention, reflecting its contemporary relevance and importance (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013; Haughton, 2012; Deas, 2013; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2013). Such strategic adjustments *inter alia* have been characterised by extensive use of symbolic changes, most visible through an intention to transfer power in a way that would fundamentally reform established practices and organisational culture (Cameron, 2010). For local authorities, these changes have presented themselves as cost-cutting measures, removal of overhead and regional layers. These have translated into issues of limited resources, internal fight for survival, increased competition, mergers, and restructuring measures, just to name a few.

Of these radical changes, the Government's priority (building on the Conservative's Manifesto) was the idea of the 'Big Society', and from that the notion of *localism*²⁴. Clearly a Government priority in 2010, the localism agenda, "developed rapidly in the first months of the new administration, with a Localism Bill published in December 2010 and enacted 11 months later" (Deas, 2013: 67). Indeed, David Cameron and Nick Clegg initially outlined their plans for change in their coalition agreement, published in May 2010. They set out the underlying purpose and underpinning of *localism*:

The government believes that it is time for a fundamental shift of power from Westminster to people. We will promote decentralisation and democratic engagement, and we will end the era of top-down government by giving new powers to local councils, communities, neighbourhoods and individuals (HM Government, 2010b: 11).

These statements describe a vision for localism which broadly resonates with earlier visions of social inclusion, born out of the previous Labour Government administration (Levitas, 2004; Mason, 2004a). Particular emphasis is on community empowerment (Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Valler et al., 2012; Spours, 2011) and devolution (Deas, 2013; Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013). It must however be noted that just because the current administration says it promotes localism this

²⁴ Note that localism has different dimensions and is interpreted differently by different 'actors'. For this thesis, it is the interpretation relevant to Town Planning (and specifically the Department of Communities and Local Government) which is applicable.

does not necessarily mean a straightforward, unproblematic step away from the long-standing history of centralism in the UK. Localism, as a rather nebulous concept, is presented as, “a desire to devolve power and responsibility... to a variety of local institutions and actors” (Deas, 2013: 68). These local actors, however, are described rather vaguely in terms of, “a series of abstract nouns: neighbourhoods, communities, and local people” (Deas, 2013: 68). As Pendlebury (2009a: 221) points out, it is also crucial to “tread carefully” with issues of power devolution because, “devolving power to local communities may result in empowering NIMBYISM²⁵.” It is therefore important to recognise, “the complexities of power shifting”, and ensure that, “the *right* power is devolved to the *right* people in the *right* ways, and for the *right* reasons”. Applying such notions back to heritage and conservation planning, Pendlebury (2009a: 221) explicitly questions whether, “sustaining the power of a cultural elite is necessarily worse than ceding power to an economic elite or to an exclusionary local politics”. Baker and Wong (2013) argue that such concerns are misplaced because the localism agenda in fact strengthens central direction, rather than removing the ‘top-down’ approach.

Notwithstanding the above, the primary means set out by the Coalition Government for achieving this desired transfer of power, “lay not with extra resources or major legislative reform (the Localism Act notwithstanding), but with reductions in public expenditure”, in addition to, “specific national policy initiatives” (Deas, 2013: 68). The Government simplistically assumed that, “cuts could be absorbed by local authorities”, through ‘efficiency gain’ and that, “a range of societal actors would fill the void left by state retrenchment and develop alternative forms of bottom-up, community-initiated regeneration”, and planning processes (*ibid*).

Criticised as a smoke-screen for cuts, localism, according to Haughton and Allmendinger, (2013: 2), is characterised by, “a series of contradictions”. Indeed, the strategy has been met with much “bewilderment” and “hostility” (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2013: 6- see also Hall, 2010a; Lock, 2010, Shepley, 2010). Moreover, several scholars argue that it is nothing new; instead it is a bland continuation of ‘social inclusion’, and other neo-liberal centralist strategies (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013; Deas, 2013). According to Haughton and Allmendinger (2013: 1) localism is merely, “a new “mode” or “motif” of neoliberal thinking”, which they describe as a, “repeated reform with various repackaged

²⁵ The term stands for ‘not in my backyard’ and is used to refer to local citizens who express opposition to certain types of development in their local neighbourhoods.

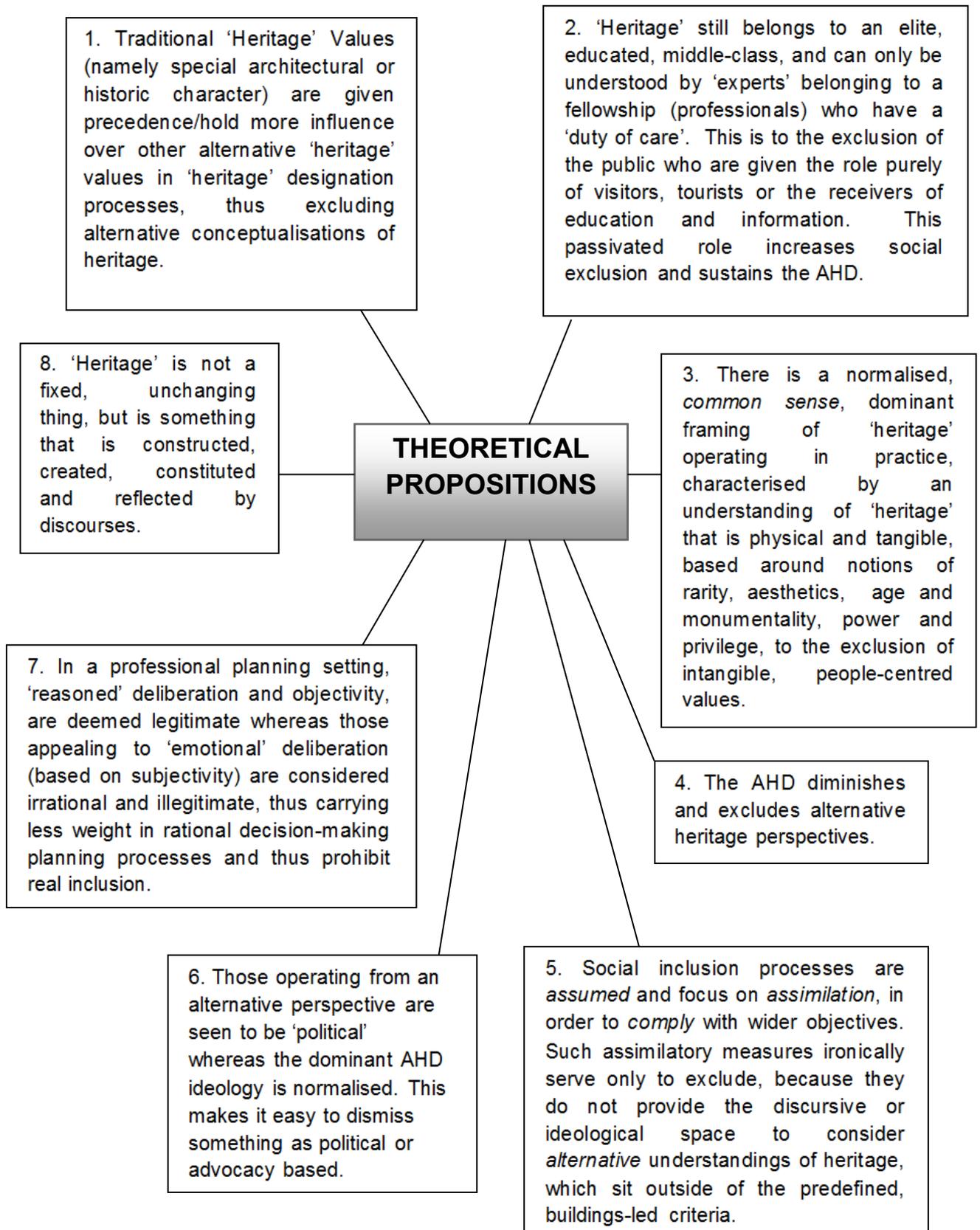
elements". As such, they are highly sceptical about current claims that it represents radical change. Hall (2010b) on the other hand, describes localism as a 'revolution' in planning processes.

Finally, Haughton and Allmendinger (2013: 4) point out that despite the initial momentum driving the localism agenda, "neither Coalition nor Opposition leaders mention the term any more- it is always simply planning". This may imply ephemerality, or in other words, that localism has perhaps already been replaced by other more pressing political agendas. Whilst not in direct agreement with Hall (2010b), Haughton and Allmendinger (2013: 5) however are adamant that whichever label is used, "English planning now finds itself undergoing one of its periodic transformations from one paradigm to another". They qualify this statement in a subsequent piece of research as a, "major reorientation" (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2013: 6). Such a neo-liberal reorientation appears to align with arguments developed above (and explicitly mapped out in Appendix F) about a national-led desire to democratise heritage and reposition conservation philosophy.

Cumulatively, the legislation, policy and guidance examined throughout this chapter, interwoven with academic debate, supports the case that planning and conservation in England is facing new challenges seemingly centred on devolving power from the expert to the public(s), working closer with communities and recognising the social relevance of heritage.

Please see overleaf for a succinct visual summary (Figure 5) of the ensuing theoretical propositions within which the thesis is bounded.

Figure 5 Theoretical Propositions (Guiding Parameters of the Research)



Source: Author

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

5.1 Research Purpose

The central aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the philosophical, theoretical and methodological assumptions and approaches which underpin this research. A thorough understanding of such issues is a vital part of research as “the way we think the world is, influences what we think can be known about it and how we think it can be investigated” (Fleetwood, 2005: 197). Such assumptions and approaches and their apparent sequential, pre-defined routes of academic enquiry are however far from uncontested and thus warrant clarification within this chapter. In essence, such competing approaches, “are contrasted on (a) their *ontological* base, related to the existence of a real and objective world; (b) their *epistemological* base, related to the possibility of knowing this world and the forms this knowledge would take; [and] (c) their *methodological* base, referring to the technical instruments that are used in order to acquire that knowledge” (Corbetta, 2003: 12-13). The following section makes explicit the ontological and epistemological orientation which inherently underpins and shapes this research.

5.2 Ontology and Epistemology

To begin, it is necessary to briefly define what is meant by the term ‘methodology’, so as to clarify why such philosophical considerations are essential. A methodology may be defined as an, “intricate set of ontological and epistemological assumptions that a researcher brings to his or her work” (Prasad, 1997: 2). The methodology thus derives, in part, from the researcher’s philosophical deliberations. More specifically, ontology concerns, “the very essence of phenomena under investigation” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 1) and, at its simplest, it can be understood “as *being*, what *is* and what *exists*” (Hay, 2002: 61). A fuller explanation offered by Blaikie (1993: 6) states that ontology “refers to the claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social enquiry makes about the nature of social reality-claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with one another²⁶.” Epistemology, whilst closely related to ontology, is fundamentally different. Epistemology is concerned with how one knows what one knows, in other words, the study of knowledge (Bryman and Bell, 2007). According to Blaikie (1993: 6-7) it includes, “the claims or assumptions made about

²⁶ In other words, ontology asks the question “is there a reality?” Ontological relativism says “no”; the phenomenon does not exist and thus cannot be studied. Ontological realism says “yes”; we accept the existence of phenomena and can therefore study them.

the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge of reality”²⁷. These terms however have been the subject of much debate in the literature (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), and thus require further clarification.

Ontological Considerations

At its basic level ontological perspectives can be found between poles of realism (objective) and relativism (subjective) (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Whilst it is useful to make explicit the ontological perspective of the researcher, this belief, according to Powell (2003: 287) has, “no research consequences”. In other words, such ontological beliefs do not subsequently determine the epistemological position of the researcher. On the other hand, other scholars disagree with these claims, arguing that ontology “matters” (Fleetwood, 2005) and that approaches to social science should be divided into clear, mutually exclusive categories polarised as either ‘subjective’ or ‘objective’. Moreover, they claim that this accordingly determines a study’s epistemological stance (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). This perspective however is arguably misleading as it suggests: a) that the researcher must make an important and distinctive choice between two general extremes, and b) that ontological beliefs result in pre-defined epistemological and methodological positions. Ontology, this thesis asserts, must be considered independently of epistemological assumptions for reasons that are outlined in more detail below. First, however, the importance of ontology for heritage and conservation practice requires critical discussion.

For heritage, this ontological importance relates primarily to notions of consciousness. ‘Heritage’ for example, has been described as a, “manifold of entities, some of them anchored in the same physical and material whole, but others constructed from the individual and collective consciousness” (Meraz Avila and Hanks, 2007: 6). In other words, for humans, a building is not only a real object but, “something beyond that reality” (Ingarden, 1989: 255). Ingarden explains that “this reality (the being-real) itself plays no particular role in our attending to the building as a work of art”. This leads other scholars, for example Tait and While (2009) to stress the importance of exploring the *nature* of the objects that conservation seeks to conserve; to uncover the real source of significance. Indeed, conservation has traditionally focused on ‘the building’ as the unit of conservation and this is clearly

²⁷ Epistemology asks the question “how can we study reality/what is our worldview and how does this affect how we study the phenomenon?” Epistemological realists/positivists say: there is only one reality. Epistemological relativists say: many interpretations are possible depending on, for instance, context, experience, origin and culture.

evident through regulatory mechanisms of statutory protection, such as Listing. This focus on 'the building' allows (and to some degree, forces) conservation practice to concentrate on the physicality of the building/structure (Turnpenny, 2004). Thus this focus on 'the building' is central not only to the "overarching objectives of statutory conservation...but also the practice of conservation itself" (Tait and While, 2009: 722).

Whilst it is recognised that a more self-conscious, or as Hayden (1997: 11) describes, "politically conscious", understanding of heritage has been attempted through emphasising social values, communal memories and *spiritual* aspects of heritage, Tait and While (2009: 723) argue that, "conservation thought and practice embedded firmly in either perspective fails to recognise the interconnections between the physical and social/cultural/economic elements of buildings". They draw on the work of Upton (1984), Goodman (1992) and Jubien (1997) to argue that such tensions will only be resolved if a different perspective on 'the building' is adopted, which understands, "how it meshes with complex and changing social, cultural and political considerations" (Tait and While, 2009: 723).

While this is an important ontological backdrop for the arguments presented in this thesis, the fundamental message presented here is that whilst many people may have dissimilar attitudes toward the same building or place, what is crucial from an ontological perspective, is that these differences do not change the *basic reality* or *existence* of the entity. To clarify, if one is to investigate the nominating and assessing of 'local heritage assets' by local planning authorities to be registered on a Local List, the basic *existence* and *reality* of such objects/places must be recognised by the researcher (regardless of whether their heritage value relates to their physical fabric or is an intangible, ascribed social value). It is therefore important to make explicit that this study is positioned within the zone of *ontological* realism.

Epistemological Considerations

Like ontology, epistemological debates also tend to be polarised within the literature. Such polarised perspectives may be positioned between *epistemological* relativism (subjective) at one end of the spectrum and epistemological realism/positivism (objective) at the other. Whilst some scholars argue that one must determine whether one generally falls exclusively on one side of the spectrum or the other (put simplistically, subjective or objective), this mistakenly implies, for instance, that an *ontological* realist must by default, be an *epistemological*

realist/positivist, firmly rooted on the 'objective' side of the spectrum. This research fundamentally disagrees with this argument and instead agrees with the position of Lawson (2003: 162):

I do not suppose for a moment that social ontology or anything else could be represented or produced in other than a manner that is conditioned by our socio-cultural (or biological or physical) determinations. This is precisely what lies behind my acceptance of an epistemological relativism...within the realist project... [Epistemological relativism] expresses the idea that our categories, frameworks of thinking, modes of analysis, ways of seeing things, habits of thought, dispositions of every kind, motivating concerns, interests, values and so forth, are affected by our life paths and socio-cultural situations and thereby make a difference in how we can and do 'see' or know or approach things, and indeed they bear on which we seek to know (Lawson, 2003: 162).

In other words, epistemological relativism (also sometimes referred to as epistemological pluralism) argues that knowledge is highly contextualised by historical, cultural and other factors and thus this affects the acquisition of knowledge. *In extremis*, however, pure (epistemological) relativists argue that there are *no* absolute truth-values. They dismiss any access to concrete and material realities, instead replacing them with an egalitarian belief in the, "...multiplicity of (incommensurable) perspectives", thus adopting the position that it is impossible to establish either truth or falsity amongst these perspectives (Hay, 2002: 230). Such perspectives however are rather unhelpful and confusing, particularly when applied to processes taking place in practical reality. It is however important to note that there are epistemological positions between the polarised ends of the spectrum, which sit more comfortably with this researcher, and will be discussed below in the context of the positivism-anti-positivism debate; a debate which is extremely relevant to considering heritage.

Positivism

One of the central epistemological debates discussed in the literature centres on the anti-positivism-positivism debate (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 5), although it is important to understand that there are many differing positions which claim to offer an alternative position to the positivist orthodoxy²⁸. Positivism can be explained as follows:

...there is a separate and distinct 'social reality' 'out there' somewhere, separated from those who experience it, and that it is the scientist's job to uncover this separate reality and report on it, for that is the essence of 'Truth' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003b: 629)

²⁸ Such examples include interpretivism and constructionism (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 19; 23).

Positivism is thus the belief in the objective nature of “truth” and, (often in a professional environment like planning and conservation practice), the assumption that knowledge of this truth can solve societal problems (Marston, 2004). More specifically, the quotation above echoes many of the ideas established during the Enlightenment, critically discussed in Chapter 2. Such ideas centre on the notion of “objectivity”, “fact and value”, “value-neutrality” and a “neglect of the normative” (Fischer, 2003a: 119). This fact-value dichotomy of the Enlightenment, some argue, is, “an implicit part of the rhetoric of contemporary public policy-making” (Waterton, 2007: 60). Fisher (2003a: 122) explains that in practical reality, “the normative orientations of ‘the everyday’ are overshadowed by empirical or ‘factual’ based knowledges, particularly at a methodological level”. Whilst this statement is arguably essentialised, it cannot be denied that policy-makers and other professionals appear to be increasingly bound by such objectivity and facts, as evidenced by the push towards more scientific approaches to policy-making and a necessity for a robust and comprehensive technical evidence base to underpin decision-making (see PAS, 2010; CLG; 2008; DCLG, 2012).

It has been argued that despite criticisms of positivism in the social sciences, it remains, “socially convenient for policy-makers, external funding agencies and other political vehicles to absent themselves from the social and subjective world” (Waterton, 2007: 59). Other scholars (for example Hajer, 1996 and Christians, 2003) add that policy-makers appear to prefer facts derived from *numbers* as opposed to *words*. For heritage conservation, the reality of this epistemological position would be misrecognition of the multiplicity of meanings attributed to ‘heritage assets’, as well as an increase in levels of social exclusion in conservation processes. Essentially this ideology would serve to undermine the existence of any qualitative, alternative approach to issues, thus making invisible the multifaceted nature of heritage (Capdevila and Stainton Rogers, 2000: 153; Waterton, 2007; 2010). Such arguments demand an exploration of the critics of positivism.

Positivism is criticised by those who subscribe to the view espoused by Foucault (1970) that there are no objective truths and that everything is socially-constructed. The key criticism of positivism is the concern with objective truth and the ensuing assumption that such objective truth is self-explanatory and/or common sense. Such assumptions echo concerns raised in the heritage literature (Smith, 1994; 2001; 2004). Smith and Campbell (1998) express strong concerns with this epistemological position because they argue that it permeates legislation and policy set in place to manage, protect and conserve heritage. Within these parameters,

“notions of ‘fact’ and ‘knowing’”, they argue, “have been naturalised into a privileged position that assumes precedence over ‘value’ and the more subjective states of mind” (Pels, 2003: 78). Such concerns are echoed by a number of planning theorists (see Chapter 4).

Moreover, the privileging of ‘fact’ and ‘objectivity’ over ‘value’ and ‘subjectivity’ also links to other debates already discussed in the literature about heritage professionals being the group which have an ability to provide *objective* statements about the past (Preucel, 1990; Smith, 2001) thus giving them the ‘power’ to identify heritage, over the layperson. Those who can reason with objectivity are set up as the ‘experts’ (Zimmerman, 1998). The importance of this objective-subjective divide extends further when considered in the context of the literature on collaborative planning; particularly the problems that more subjective (emotional/irrational) reasoning may encounter in a *rational* planning environment. Furthermore, in such professional circles, a reliance on objective evidence creates a dependent relationship between professionals and their data, while consequently by-passing the public itself, who scholars argue, are brought in at the end of the process, usually as the recipients of education and/or information (Waterton, 2005; 2007; Waterton et al., 2006; Jackson, 2010). As Fischer (2003b: 216) argues, “Empiricism, in its search for such objective generalisations, has sought to detach itself from the very social contexts that can give its data meaning”. Consequently, a positivist position would not uncover the *meanings* behind heritage nominations or decisions. Such a philosophical stance would fail to *explain* the complex and multifaceted ways in which heritage is defined and interpreted. A positivist grounding thus does not bode well for the approach to this thesis’ central research questions.

Critical Realism

Critical realist epistemology, on the other hand, attempts to “dismantle the antithesis of positivism and relativism” (Waterton, 2007: 64). Critical Realism (CR) is most associated with the philosopher Roy Bhaskar (Bhaskar, 1986; 1989). It draws together a, “philosophy of science (transcendental realism) with a philosophy of social science (critical naturalism) to explain the interface between the natural and social worlds” (Bhaskar, 1989: 89). CR holds that “there *is* a real material world but that our knowledge of it is often *socially conditioned* and *subject to challenge and reinterpretation*” (Della Porta and Keating, 2008: 24). In other words, it finds a “...real world of consequence” in which to ground itself (Smith, 1996: 97). From a

CR perspective, the distinction is that, “no given person constructs reality her- or himself, but instead authors an *understanding* of reality” (Waterton, 2007: 64). Social reality is therefore, “both context and people dependent, but neither people nor context exhaustive” (Harré and Bhaskar, 2001: 28). Unlike pure positivist thinking, critical realist epistemology considers, “all knowledge claims to be fallible”, thereby introducing relativism into the equation (López and Potter, 2001: 97; Waterton, 2007).

Consequently, CR finds a position between positivism and relativism, accepting that, “the world can be seen to exist independently of knowledge, but that knowledge is produced through social practice, and therefore, must be approached with caution and critique” (Bhaskar, 1989: 24). In terms of heritage, realities are clearly characterised by much complexity, ambiguity and contestation and this has important implications for the position adopted by this thesis. Such “sensitivity” as described above is therefore helpful to investigate why only certain aspects of heritage may be addressed in the Local Heritage Designation process, and moreover, why the interests of some groups may be excluded and/or diminished. Such an ideological position is therefore appropriate for this thesis and can be explained further by way of the subjective research paradigm within which such views are positioned²⁹.

5.3 Research Approach

In terms of research approach, this study adopts an inductive form of reasoning. In other words, the final intention of this thesis is inductive theory building. As Bryman and Bell (2007: 581) explain, within inductive research, “data are collected to build theory rather than to test it”. This position however needs to be justified. Indeed, in philosophy, Plato, Descartes, and Kant were all, “advocates of the primacy of consciousness” (Locke, 2007: 888). Thus, they believed that, “the senses were not valid”, and ‘truth’ was “discovered by deduction from ideas implanted in the mind independently of experience”. By contrast, Aristotle, Bacon, and Rand were “advocates of the primacy of existence”, and consequently “believed that knowledge was discovered starting with observation by the senses followed by the inductive integration of sensory material by reason” (Locke, 2007: 888). As Locke describes, this could be visualised as a, “battle between deduction and induction...a duel between Plato and Aristotle”, and he argues that it is Aristotle’s inductive approach that, “has moved science- and the world- forward”.

²⁹ See Appendix G for a detailed explanation of the research paradigm adopted.

In accepting this world view, the inductive research approach undertaken in this thesis is underpinned by a belief that knowledge is acquired by 'adding to what we know', or 'discovering more' about something, rather than testing and falsification. As explained in the quote below:

Anyone can invent a theory off the cuff. But for it to be tied firmly to reality and therefore have lasting value, a valid theory needs to be gradually built from an accumulating body of evidence (Locke, 2007: 884).

In other words, knowledge develops incrementally; by a process of continuous discovery.

Indeed, while some researchers stress the importance of testing hypotheses (Platt, 1964), these advocates pay little attention to the questions of how such theories and hypotheses were developed in the first place (this, I argue being a role of inductive research). Furthermore, there is clearly no certainty in testing or falsification as a research process because to test involves gathering additional primary data that will supposedly prove or disprove a theory/research finding. In such a situation, "how do you know whether *that* evidence is valid? You would need to see if you can falsify your falsification" (Locke, 2007: 869).

It is therefore considered that concepts are formed inductively, from observing and critically analysing reality. Such knowledge claims of conceptual theory or theoretical conclusions from empirical data can then be theoretically and contextually valid. In simple terms, contextual validity relates to the context-dependent nature of the process (Ketokivi and Mantere, 2010). In other words, contextual authenticity is achieved when the most suitable explanation of the existing data in the contexts provided is given. Moreover, theoretical contextualisation is achieved when interpretation of the data is linked (and synthesised) with a theoretical discourse/propositions. In doing so, it is deemed "warranted and valid" (Ketokivi and Mantere, 2010:324).

Whilst this research uses an inductive form of reasoning, it has nevertheless been guided by theoretical propositions drawn from the literature survey (Chapter 4, Figure 5).

Having set out the philosophical stance of the researcher in broad terms, the subsequent sections outline and justify the research design, research processes and the methodological tools which are most appropriate to best conduct this research, answer the research questions and thus solve the research problem.

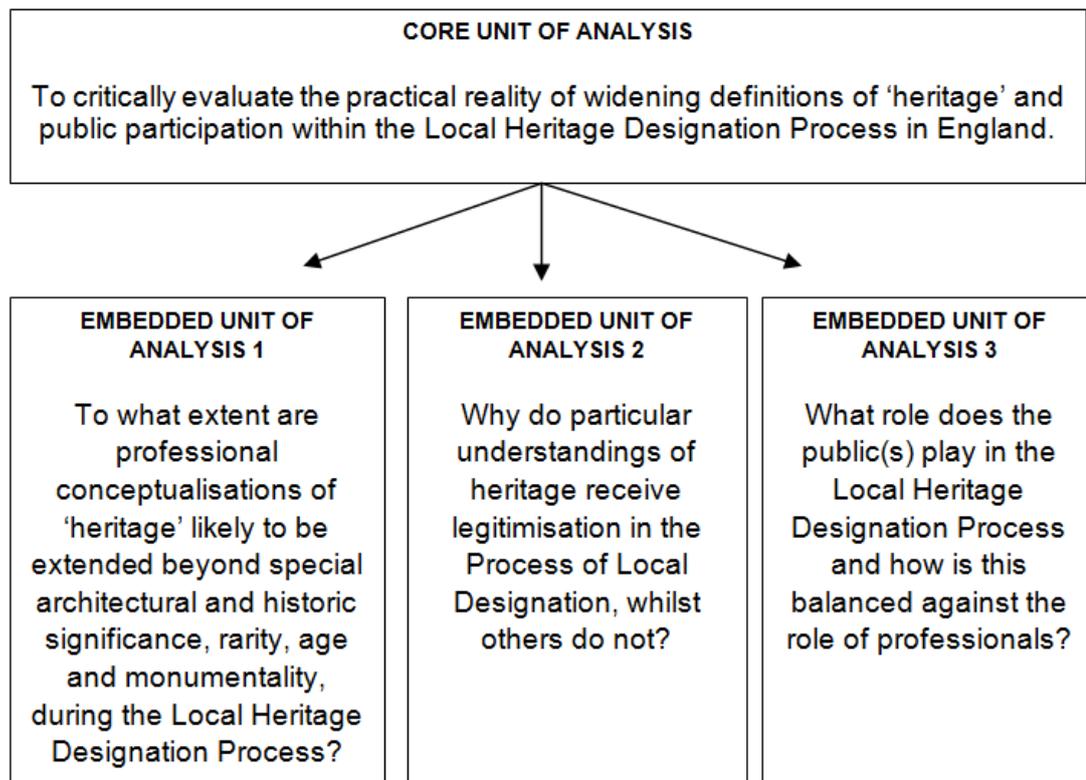
5.4 Research Design

"[The Case Study is] a logic of design...a strategy to be preferred when circumstances and research problems are appropriate rather than an ideological commitment to be followed whatever the circumstances" (Platt, 1992: 46).

Research Strategy

Based on the research problem, the nature of the research questions, the theoretical focus of the study, and the philosophical considerations outlined above, the chosen research strategy is that of a multiple-case study with subordinated units of analysis (Figure 6). The core unit of analysis is the overall aim of the research. Three embedded sub-units of analysis facilitate a more structured approach and are based on the overarching research questions. Case study researchers (Yin, 2003) emphasise the importance of identifying the unit(s) of analysis in order to maintain a coherent thread through the data collection and analytic phases.

Figure 6: Units of Analysis



Source: Author

In the words of Meyer (2001: 329), a case study, "allows tailoring the design and data collection procedures to the research questions". The case study strategy

provides the, “opportunity to explore issues in-depth and in context [which] means that theory-development can occur through the systematic piecing together of detailed evidence to generate [or replicate] theories of broader interest” (Cassell and Symon, 2004: 323). As explained generally by Yin (2003) and specifically (in relation to planning) by Punter (1989), the case study offers an ideal vehicle for exploratory and explanatory research. Indeed, the holism and depth of analysis it provides is considered essential to fully satisfy the research questions.

The flexibility of the case study is emphasised by Silverman (2005) who defines case study research as a study of a specific case (or small number of cases) in as much detail as possible or as required to conduct the desired research. This degree of flexibility however stresses the need for a robust research design, to ensure a comprehensive strategy and consistency between and within cases. To achieve this, case studies must strive to fulfil four design tests: internal validity, external validity, construct validity and reliability (Yin, 2003). It is important to note however that depending on the characteristics of the research conducted, there are cases where not all tests are applicable (*ibid*). Indeed, as this thesis did not aim to establish causal relationships, only the latter three tests were relevant and were fully addressed, as explained in the relevant sections below. First, however, it is necessary to explain in more detail why a multiple-case study design was chosen.

5.5 Case Study Research

Merits of Multiple-Case Design

According to Yin (2003: 13-14) the case study inquiry copes with, “many variables of interest”, “relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion”, and, “benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis”. A multiple-case design has been selected because the evidence collected from multiple-case designs (as opposed to single-case) has been regarded as more compelling, leading to more robust results (Herriott and Firestone, 1983). In agreement with the claims of Herriott and Firestone (1983), Yin (2003: 19) claims that multiple-case designs are, “likely to be stronger” than single-case designs and are consequently encouraged in his work. If conducted effectively, the multiple-case study design is thus a comprehensive strategy and comprises an all-encompassing method. In multiple-case designs however, it is crucial that cases are selected appropriately and that

external validity can be addressed. For this to take place the researcher must adhere to replication logic.

External Validity and Replication Logic

The ability of case studies to achieve external validity or generalisability has been criticised within the literature (Campbell and Stanley, 1966; Dogan and Pelassy, 1990; Diamond, 1996) however this is usually by those who contrast a case study to wholly quantitative research techniques, in which a sample (if selected using a statistical procedure) readily generalises to a larger universe (Hersen and Barlow, 1976; Yin, 2003). This analogy to samples and the universe is however wholly irrelevant and indeed incorrect when dealing with case studies. For this reason it is erroneous to apply “sampling” logic to multiple-cases (Yin, 2003: 47). Instead, multiple-case studies must be, “carefully selected so that they either (a) predict similar results (a literal replication) or (b) predict contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication)” (*ibid*). According to Yin (2003), a few cases (2 or 3) would be literal replications and would be sufficient to convince the reader of a general phenomenon. Establishing replication logic will vastly strengthen the external validity of findings compared to those of a single-case study; the external validity being one of the key tests of a successful case study design. This thesis not only achieves a literal replication to fulfil the external validity test, but also employs what Yin (2003) refers to as “analytic generalisation”. In analytical generalisation, the researcher strives, “to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory” (Yin, 2003: 37). In other words, previously developed theory (see Figure 5 Theoretical Propositions) is used as a template to compare the empirical results of the cases.

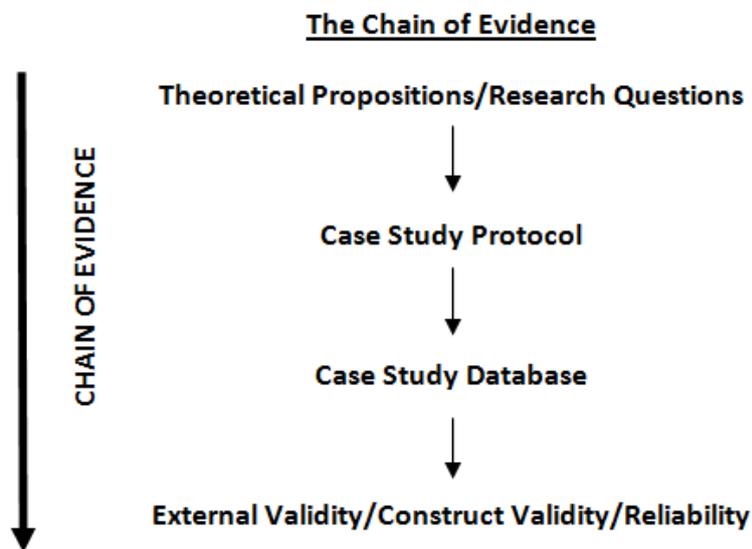
Data Triangulation: Construct Validity and Reliability

The use of multiple data collection methods within the multiple-case study strategy is also encouraged as it enables “data triangulation” (Patton, 1987; Yin, 2003). This procedure must however be distinguished from other types of data triangulation, such as the employment of multiple methods, which would include other research strategies (Yin, 2003: 99). This thesis was underpinned exclusively by one research strategy; a multiple-case study, yet adopted various data collection methods. The multiple sources of evidence generating data thus contributed towards the establishment of construct validity; a test which was also satisfied through various project-specific measures, for instance a ‘case study tactic’ was that key informants

reviewed and verified their interview transcripts³⁰ to confirm their accuracy (Yin, 2003: 34).

Furthermore, to increase construct validity and to achieve reliability, case study research requires the construction of “chains of evidence” in order to establish correct operational measures across all cases. The rationale of the chain of evidence is summarised in Figure 7.

Figure 7: The Chain of Evidence



Case Study Protocol

A further ‘case study tactic’ for ensuring reliability is the creation and use of a case study protocol (Yin, 2003). According to Yin (2003), the case study protocol is an important part of case study research and is indeed essential when conducting a multiple-case study. This is because it contains the procedures and general rules to be followed throughout all case studies. The protocol is thus intended to guide the researcher in carrying out the data collection and ensures each case is conducted consistently. It is therefore a crucial contributor to ensuring reliability. The broad outline of the case study protocol can be found in Appendix I. The ‘case study questions’ represented a synthesis of the overarching research objectives and the

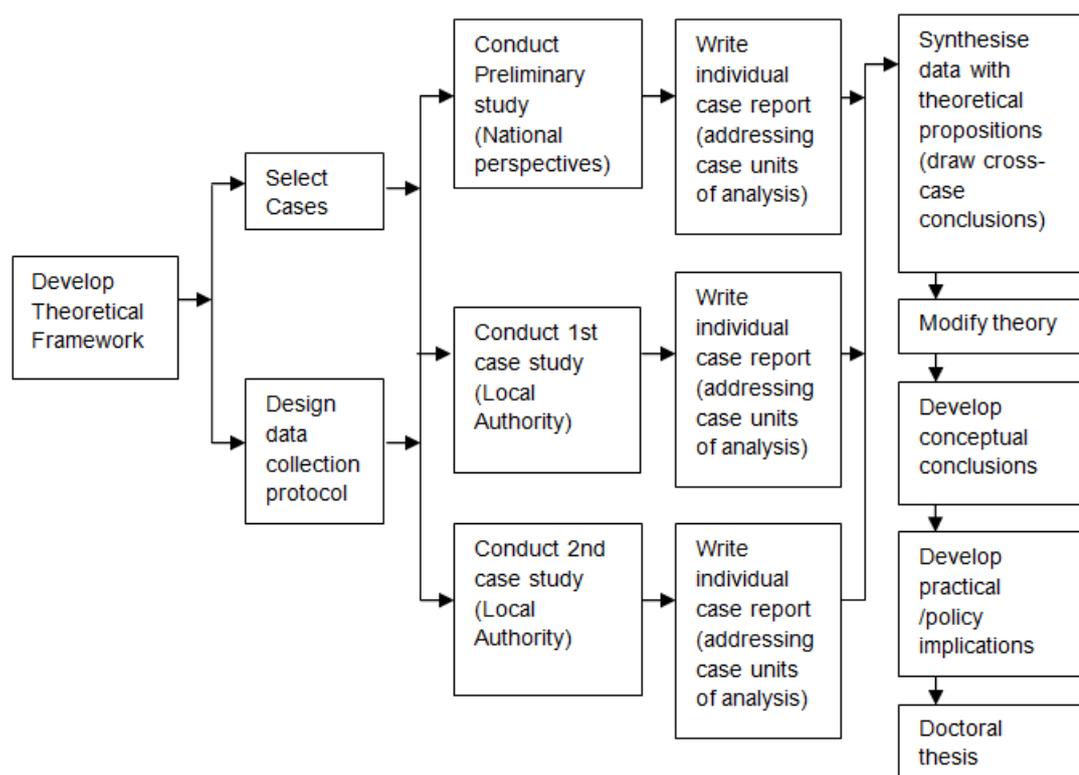
³⁰ A typical interview transcript can be found in Appendix H.

theoretical propositions. Together, the chain of evidence, case study protocol, key tests and case study ‘tactics’ outlined above enabled Cresswell’s (2005) evaluative criteria for high quality research to be met. This self-evaluative tool ensured that the study met the following criteria for exemplary research: rigorous data collection, consistency with philosophical assumptions, use of an appropriate and transparent, replicable approach to inquiry, and use of validity strategies to ensure accuracy of research.

5.6 Phases of Research

The research strategy had three main stages: 1) Define and Design, 2) Prepare, Collect and Analyse and 3) Analyse and Conclude (Yin, 2003). Figure 8 below illustrates this process.

Figure 8: Phases of Research



Source: adapted from Yin (2003)

5.7 Screening Case Study Nominations

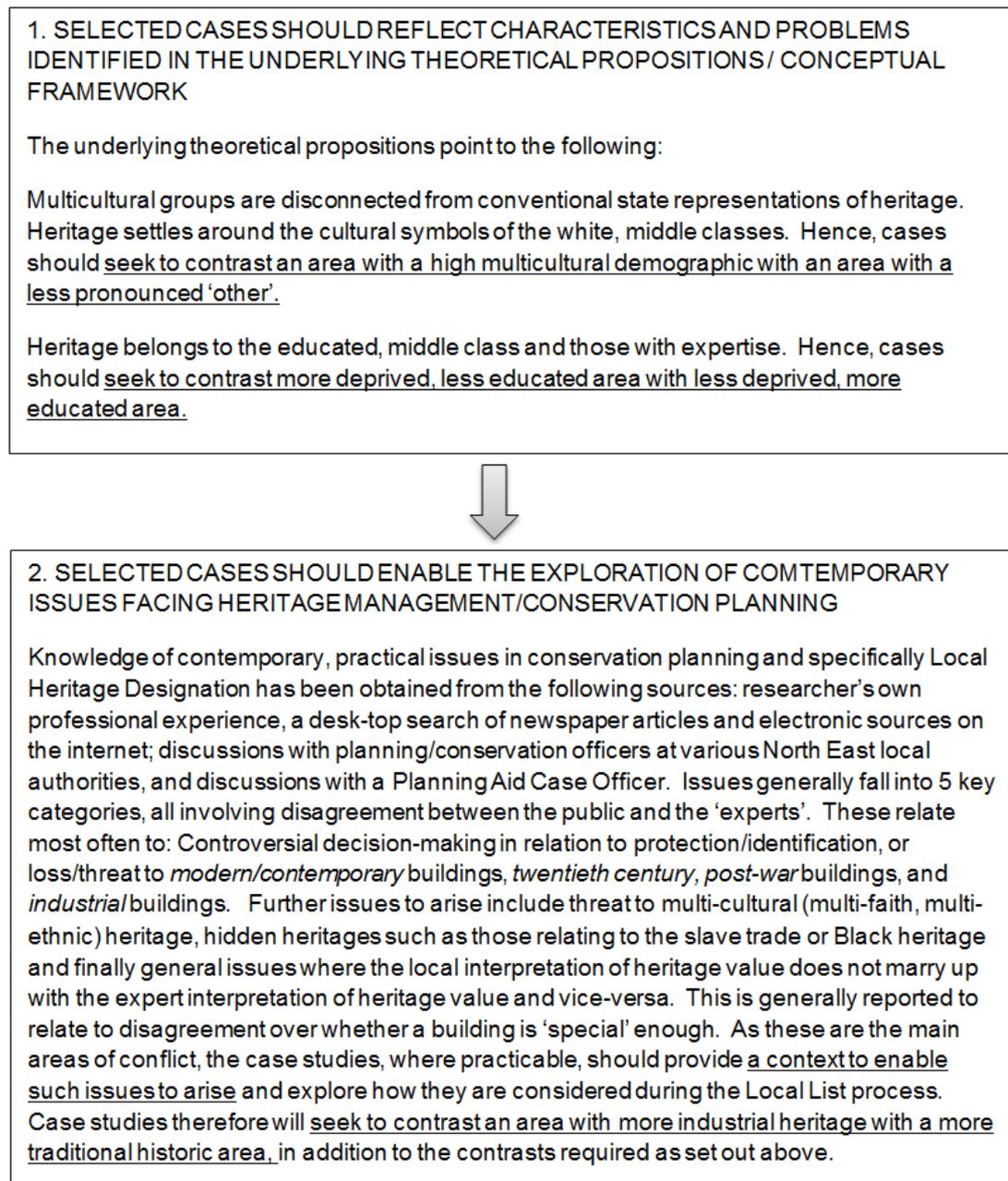
Once the multiple-case study strategy was chosen, it was important to identify the qualifying case study candidates (Yin, 2003). As this thesis is concerned with examining a local authority process and how this process is implemented, the

setting for the cases was local authorities (specifically the department carrying out the process). It was however also considered that a national perspective would be beneficial to supplement the local case study work. As Graham et al. (2000) point out, it is often not helpful to look in isolation at one level of governance because of the undeniable linkages between the two tiers. For instance, strategy conception at the national level is expected to be rather seamlessly implemented at the local level. Building on this notion, an important preliminary stage of national-level data was collected. This preliminary research served a number of purposes. Firstly, it highlighted and validated the identified key issues (and observed contemporary academic and policy emphases) surrounding heritage. Moreover, it exposed the various discernible planes of enquiry, each revolving around the 'rhetoric' and 'reality' of heritage in practice, and raised new unidentified issues which could be probed deeper at the local level. It thus provided a national context in which to embed the subsequent local case studies, and to contextualise the study, within its wider political setting. Secondly, capturing and understanding these various points of disjuncture and conflict prior to the local case study work provided a clear vantage point for designing relevant and probing interview questions to guide the local level research. As two complimentary layers of enquiry, the overall level of analysis was deepened. Analysis of the nationally collected data can be found in Chapter 6.

In order to select appropriate local case study locations, a thorough sequential process was undertaken. A factor of prime importance to local authority selection was the *timing* of the Local Heritage Designation process at the local authorities. As the key publication directly affecting this process (the Local List Best Practice Guide) was first published in draft in March 2011, it was considered crucial that the selected cases had substantially undertaken their Local List post March 2011. As such, they would have had access to the guidance and it could potentially have informed the process undertaken. Moreover, given widely acknowledged issues with participant recall (Palakshappa and Gordon, 2006); local authorities which were currently going through the process, or had gone through this process most recently were favoured. Another important consideration included whether the local authority had planned consultation events and whether the timing of these correlated with the timing of data collection. This was important because a key part of the case study research involved the researcher attending such events, thereby creating opportunities for data collection.

The research questions, together with the characteristics and problems identified in the theoretical framework determined the specific *requirements* of the case study locations. Primarily these *requirements*, together with theory pertaining to case study research (Yin, 2003), determined the *number* of case study locations chosen. The sequential approach to Case Study selection is explained in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Sequential Approach to Case Study Selection





3. SELECTED CASES WILL NEED TO ALIGN WITH TIMING REQUIREMENTS- LOCAL AUTHORITY MUST BE CURRENTLY PREPARING/REVIEWING THEIR LOCAL LIST AND THERE MUST BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ATTEND A COMMUNITY CONSULTATION EVENT

Local Authorities must be currently conducting or reviewing their Local List. This is important to enable potential use of the English Heritage Local List Best Practice Guide publication (published in draft in 2011). Furthermore, to include the non-professional perspective in the study, there must be an opportunity to observe consultation processes and speak with the public(s). Lists of English local authorities currently producing a Local List were sought from three sources, all familiar with local 'heritage' work in England. These sources included English Heritage, English Historic Towns Forum and Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC). Whilst this method was effective to quickly obtain a list and discover English local authorities which were in this qualifying position, no claim is made that every single qualifying English local authority was identified. This exercise generated an enthusiastic response; further indicating the importance of this topic. For every local authority mentioned, a validation exercise took place (an internet search of their website or where necessary a telephone call to the planning/conservation department) to confirm at what stage the local authorities were at with their Local List. Following this research, the list of local authorities was discounted to include only those which were currently undertaking their Local List and had consultation event(s) scheduled to take place during Year 2 of the PhD journey.



4. SELECTED CASES WILL NEED TO ENABLE THE CONTRAST OF HIGH MULTI-CULTURAL DEMOGRAPHIC WITH LESS PRONOUNCED MULTICULTURAL POPULATION, MORE INDUSTRIAL-BASED AREA WITH MORE TRADITIONAL HISTORIC AREA AND MORE DEPRIVED WITH LESS DEPRIVED AREA. To narrow down the six local authorities which remained at this stage, the following work was undertaken: Each local authority census profile was explored to discover degree of ethnic diversity (by %) and degree of multi-faith residents (by %), unemployment rate (%), Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) and % no qualifications and % highest level qualifications. Moreover, a brief search to establish the nature of each local authority area, i.e. historical evolution, key facts about the place, was undertaken. This revealed the type of 'heritage' to be most prominent/relevant to that area (i.e. industrial, traditional) and any potential hidden or less pronounced heritages. Using the above information, a matrix was compiled to assess each potential case study area, and led to the selection of four qualifying case study locations. The sequential process undertaken, together with follow-up telephone calls with the key officers at each of the remaining local authorities led to the final selection of two local authorities. A key reason for discounting local authorities at this final stage of the sequential process were issues such as set-backs which prevented the local authorities commencing the Local Heritage Designation Process during the time of data collection.

Source: Author

This sequential approach thus narrowed the case studies down to two: South Tyneside Council in North East England and Oxford City Council in South East England.

The following section sets out and justifies the methodological tools chosen to conduct the case studies.

5.8 Data Collection

A Qualitative Methodology

This thesis, based on the questions set out in Chapter 1, took a predominantly qualitative approach. This was deemed necessary because the qualitative, drawing “from the stem word *quality*, takes as its prime motivator the socially constructed nature of reality” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a: 13; Gomm, 2004: 7). Consequently, this research sought, “to construct an understanding of the experiences, behaviours, meanings and contexts” as understood by professionals (Devine, 1995: 197). This approach was thus “concerned with *who* and *why*, rather than *how many*” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a: 13; Waterton, 2007: 86). It is important to make explicit that both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been criticised and debated within the literature but as such debates are well-rehearsed and sufficiently covered elsewhere (Bryman and Bell, 2007), it is deemed that they do not warrant further exploration here.

Specifically in relation to Heritage Studies, the move towards qualitative methodologies is relatively recent (Waterton, 2010). Such a move represents a somewhat symbolic step away from the somewhat elitist conjecture of Hewison and Wright, for example, who were rather taciturn in approaching people to establish what they thought and felt about heritage (Meethan, 2001: 105; Merriman, 1991: 12; Waterton, 2007). Indeed, as Mellor (1991: 100) argued, “...we have neglected to ask the punters what they think”. Building on this, many scholars (Bagnall, 2003; Crang, 1996; Smith, 2006; Smith and Van der Meer, 2001; Smith et al., 2003 and Waterton, 2005; 2007; 2010) have developed their analyses using an assortment of qualitative research methods and particularly draw attention to the value of in-depth interviewing. The following section explains and justifies the particular methods chosen to conduct this research.

5.9 Methodological Tools

The case study strategy requires suitable methodological tools which can sufficiently extract, firstly, an understanding of how the concept of heritage is extended through the Local List process; how it is understood and defined by professionals, and secondly, an understanding of the role that the public play in the Local List process. Whilst there is a magnitude of strategies and approaches that propose to assist the researcher in the extraction and analysis of such types of data, it is important to select and adhere to the *most suitable* methodologies, each capable of yielding a useful assortment of data. As aforesaid, the research questions must guide the choice of appropriate methods and guide the inquiry (Janesick, 1998: 37-38; Avis, 2003). Furthermore, in case study research, a *selection* of data collection methods is encouraged in order to satisfy the design tests, explored above (Yin, 2003). Based on the above factors, this thesis focuses specifically upon the procedures for undertaking in-depth interviewing, document analysis and supplemented by participant surveys.

5.10 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews represented the prime method of data collection. In-depth interviewing is a common method employed in social research (Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Seale, 1998: 202) and is a qualitative method which can denote a number of epistemological positions (Madill et al., 2000). For critical realists, interviewees' accounts are treated as, "providing insight into their psychological and organizational lives". To ensure accuracy of accounts, critical realists consider it useful to, "compare interview findings with those obtained through other methods" (King, 2006a: 12). Linked closely with aspects of phenomenology (*ibid*), it is accepted that data produced during interviews is shaped by context. Thus, in-depth interviews were considered a suitable methodological tool to generate useful data to best conduct this research.

Guided by the central research questions, it was considered crucial to identify professionals' values and justifications underpinning conservation decision-making and practice (as applied in the context of the Local Heritage Designation Process). Guided by the research questions, it was those professionals, also referred to as the 'experts' who were particularly targeted because they are most responsible for the creation, interpretation and reinforcement of norms. Indeed, it is these professional attitudes and opinions which act as a filter legitimating heritage values (Hobson,

2000). Focusing on 'professionals' or 'experts' thus forms the basis of the methodological considerations and for the reasons aforesaid, interviewing appears to be the most suitable methodological tool to extract such data.

Notwithstanding the above, it was also considered helpful to include non-professional perspectives within the study. The way in which these were sought is explained and justified in the appropriate section below. It is however important to stress that the focus was on the professional/expert perspective (not to disregard the importance of the public's heterogeneous voices) but because it was deemed most suitable to satisfy the aims of this research agenda.

Recruitment of Interviewees

A total of 30 interviews were undertaken with both conservation and planning professionals and members of the public. The selection of the professional participants was based upon two key factors: first suitability with regard to job description and specific role in the Local List process, and second, access. An Elected Member from each Local Authority was also interviewed; chosen based on involvement in the Local List and/or role as 'Heritage Champion' for the Local Authority. A political perspective was deemed useful, given that the final Local List document needed to be endorsed and formally adopted by elected members of the respective local authorities.

The professional interviewees were mainly white, middle-class senior managers/officers working within a range of government departments, heritage organisations and within the local authorities selected. Whilst not selected on the basis of gender, the participants represented a mix of both males and females and initial analysis confirmed that in the data collected, gender did not appear to be a determinant of difference. The national interviewees were selected based on knowledge and expertise in the heritage sector and position in the respective organisation. As English Heritage's response to the current Coalition Government's cuts was to make redundant the social diversity unit in English Heritage (in order to concentrate on their 'core' business) it was considered useful to interview those who were involved in this decision and those who previously worked closely with this unit. Secondly, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) has in recent years continued to gain a great deal of influence in the heritage sector. Indeed, having obtained direct control of conservation grant aid from English Heritage and funding key projects such as the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI), the HLF is a driving force behind more 'community' and 'socially inclusive' heritage aims. As such, it was considered

important to interview a manager at the HLF. Thirdly, and echoing the words of Ruskin himself (1865:24),

Be sure that you go to the author to get at his meaning, not to find yours,

it was also considered fundamental to interview the author of the Local List Best Practice Guide (2012), an employee of English Heritage. Such an interview was considered crucial to explore the significance, purpose and discourse behind the guide and what its real intention is for extending conceptualisations of heritage and opening the process up to the public. Other interviewees included *inter alia*, directors, senior managers and departmental heads at the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and English Heritage.

Interviewees at the local case study locations included local planning officers, conservation officers, and historic building advisors³¹. In both cases, the officers directly managing the Local List Process were interviewed. No claims are made that the interview sample represents the composition of the heritage sector. The recruitment of interviewees was indeed considered most appropriate to obtain data evidence to answer the research questions.

The sensitive nature of the views espoused (particularly given the turbulent economic period faced by most during the period of data collection) necessitated guarantees of anonymity of the names of individuals. As such, interviewees are cited in the text of the thesis by interview transcription number (i.e. Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012). Moreover, names contained within interview data extracts have been replaced with pseudonyms. Where requested by the interviewee, job titles have also been anonymised. This approach was agreed with the research participants.

The selection of the non-professional participants was based upon convenience; namely their attendance at each Local List consultation event, availability and agreement to participate. All members of the public(s) in attendance were approached, regardless of gender or ethnic origin. Whilst attendance was low, the number of interviews undertaken was determined by the number of people who agreed to participate. Moreover, an additional interview was conducted with a secretary at a local Mosque³². In total, those non-professionals agreeing to

³¹ See interviewee schedule in Appendix J.

³² This particular interview was conducted because the local authority being studied claimed it was particularly difficult to communicate with representatives from this Mosque.

participate in the study included four males and four females. The result enabled the inclusion of some non-professional voices, serving to draw out some alternative understandings of heritage. For more information about the participants please see the interviewee schedule in Appendix J.

Conducting the Interviews

Initially, participants counter-signed informed consent forms (a copy is available in Appendix K) and were notified about the broad nature of the study, the key terminology employed and the interview process itself. A briefing note for participants was also prepared (a copy is available in Appendix L). This set out the nature and purpose of the research, and the researcher's contact details. Participants were invited to keep a copy of this briefing note. The interviews undertaken were based on an interview protocol consisting of a selection of questions revolving around pre-defined key themes (relating to the theoretical propositions that emerged from the literature survey). During the interview, however active and conscious identification of possible emerging themes were also probed more deeply.

The interviews followed a non-directive approach. In other words, control was transferred to the participant, encouraging them to impart information in a way that made sense to them (Waterton, 2007). The researcher however played an important, active role in each interview by revisiting questions, offering counter-arguments and probing areas that provoked emotional or animated responses. Following the guiding questions (set out in the interview protocol) during each interview enabled data to emerge around the same, standard topics without restricting participants to prescriptive answers. Following the first preliminary stage of research (national data collection process), the interview protocol was modified and re-evaluated to encapsulate the important issues and to arrive at the final guides used during the local level interviews (see Appendix M).

In terms of interview technique, the 'snowball effect' was used. This allowed participants' responses to lead the researcher backwards, forwards and sideways through the interview questions so as to gather as much information as possible, allow a fuller sense of the issues surrounding the Local Heritage Designation process to develop, and to create as complete a picture as possible. As Wetherell and Potter (1992: 99) set out, by following this approach, the interview itself becomes a social interaction in its own right. Bryman (1988) agrees that the interviewee should have a freer rein; something which other data collection

techniques such as questionnaires and structured/closed-question interviews do not allow. Measor, in Bryman (1988:46.) clarifies:

Inevitably the interview will "ramble" and move away from the designated areas in the researcher's mind. The interviewee in rambling is moving onto areas which most interest him or her. The interviewer is losing some control over the interview, and yielding it to the client, but the pay-off is that the researcher reaches the data that is central to the client.

Crucially, this interviewing style provided firm data evidence which could be enhanced and contextualised further by the other data collection techniques used. Scholars such as McLellan et al. (2003) suggest that transcription is an essential part of data analysis. Consequently, all audio files were transcribed in their entirety, including those informal "back channels" such as *yeah* and *ok* (Wetherell and Potter, 1992: 100), together with speech errors. All transcripts were sent to participants for comment and verification before analysis.

Interview Data Analysis

Several scholars (McLellan et al., 2003; Guest and McLellan, 2003; McCormack, 2000a, 2000b; Ryan and Bernard, 2003) have explored and highlighted challenges associated with the thematic analysis of data. For instance, large data sets require comprehensive and detailed frameworks for analysis, centred on organisation, consistency and clarity of analytical procedures. Such steps are essential to prevent compiling narrative accounts based on the simple listing of interview quotations, which by virtue would lose pertinent theoretical and practical foci. Such steps therefore are vital in order to align with widely accepted academic standards. It was therefore crucial from the outset, to make explicit how transcripts would be analysed.

To assist the analysis phase of research, the decision was taken to employ computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). It is useful to make clear however that academic opinion is divided with regard to the benefits of utilising such software packages. Ryan (2004), for instance, argues that the functions of regular word processors such as Microsoft Word are just as competent at data analysis. On the other hand however, the functions of such familiar everyday software such as Microsoft Word are unlikely to outperform purpose-built qualitative data analysis software. Despite this, qualitative data analysis software does have some well-rehearsed disadvantages. Bryman and Bell (2007) for example, point out that such disadvantages include the temptation to quantify data, fragmentation of textual materials, de-contextualisation and incompatibility with

certain types of data (such as focus groups and multiple interviewees). Moreover, Coffey and Atkinson (1996) express concern with the pre-defined setting of restricted 'types' of analysis based on coding and retrieving text. Despite such criticisms, it is considered that CAQDAS does facilitate the organisation of raw data and transcripts, offers complex coding and retrieval functions, and enables the connection of inter-related 'trees' and 'nodes', which are more likely to increase the rigour of analysis (Silverman, 2005).

Moreover, it is necessary to highlight that CAQDAS is not an analytical procedure in itself, but merely acts as a technical resource to facilitate thorough analysis; thus adopting a limited role within the data analysis process itself (Fielding and Lee, 2002). As Bryman and Bell (2007: 604) explain, CAQDAS "cannot help with decisions about the coding of textual material or about the interpretation of findings". Whilst acknowledging the disadvantages and appreciating the need for awareness of the risks associated with utilising such software, a decision was made to employ CAQDAS for this thesis.

Following the decision to employ CAQDAS, it was necessary to confirm a specific software package. Miles and Huberman (1994: 316) argue that Nudist, the technical foundation of NVivo9, offers a number of useful functions which were deemed particularly beneficial for this thesis. Such functions include "coding", "search and retrieval", "database management", "data linking" and "theory building". Given the volume of data and the type of analysis to be performed, together with the access to detailed training provided in this software, NVivo9 was considered an appropriate software package to achieve the desired objectives, and was thus employed.

In addition to the decision to use purpose-built software, other technical and process-based issues were fully considered such as data storage and verification. One of the prime components to consider however was the identification of themes from data. For this thesis, the broad pathway of theme-based analysis was influenced by the previously conducted extensive literature survey and ensuing theoretical propositions; however the coding process itself also resulted in the emergence of patterns and themes, as outlined below.

Thematic Analysis

According to Cassell et al. (2006: 294), in, "template analysis, the research produces a list of codes representing themes identified in the textual data". It is

however crucial to point out that the themes used to organise the interview protocol did not by default determine the codes which were used for the latter stages of data analysis. To clarify, Ryan and Bernard (2003: 88) explain that codes/themes used in analysis, “come from the data (inductive approach) and from the investigator’s prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study (*a priori* approach)”. The emergence of themes from data is particularly important in the context of case study research. Yin (2003), for example, stresses the importance of being open to alternative perspectives and rival propositions in order to conduct exemplary research. Thus it is vital that new themes are allowed to emerge from the data. This process can be facilitated by the use of templates and coding.

Templates and Coding

Codes can be described as labels or categories for assigning units of meaning to data (Silverman, 2005). Template analysis is a list of codes (‘template’), compiled by the researcher, representing themes identified in the data (Cassell and Symon, 2006). The template is then organised in a way which represents, “the relationships between themes, as defined by the research”. (King, 2006b: 256). The qualitative analysis software was thus used to facilitate the organisation of the textual data in the transcripts into specific codes³³. It was important to consistently maintain the distinctions between respondents of different organisations. Each section was therefore carefully referenced back to its source respondent and its location in the transcript. Working in this thematic arrangement, views could be identified with greater clarity and the relative incidence of certain issues weighed against one another. Despite following the interview protocol, the national interviews, unlike the local authority case studies followed no narrative as respondents were discussing quite abstract issues. This presented the main difference in the treatment of the data between the national and local interviews. Clearly, the issues in the case studies were more easily recognisable since they were embedded in the circumstances of each local authority. It was therefore crucial to present research findings and immediately relate them back to their relevance in the template.

5.11 Documentary Evidence

Whilst the interview transcripts were the prime source of data, other methodological tools were used to supplement this. They served as a further means to contextualise the key issues coming out of the interviews and to enable data

³³ The list of coding categories (nodes) extracted from NVivo can be found in Appendix N.

triangulation (discussed above). Palakshappa and Gordon (2006: 392) emphasise that, “an important aspect of case research is the use of multiple sources of evidence...to help reduce the problems associated with respondent bias or poor-recall/articulation through the interview process...and allow for consideration of a broader range of issues and within method triangulation”. Consequently, a second source of data collected was documentary evidence. Irvine and Gaffikin (2006: 128), provide a somewhat critical review of the role of documentary evidence for social science research. They accept that documents should be acknowledged and considered to avoid distortion of organisational contexts, however, they warn that this type of data, “construct a particular view of reality”. As a result, the *process of understanding* the data is limited to the context in which such documents were written, and in this case, represents an exclusively professional perspective. However, as this thesis focuses predominantly on the professional perspective (those who manage the Local List process and implement the guidance/policy) such documentation and consequent analysis was considered to be valuable, and thus justified.

The documentary evidence drew from two foundations: documentation associated with marketing the Local List process (for example leaflets, posters, newspaper articles, and material published on the Local Authority website) and secondly, documentation produced internally as part of the Local List process³⁴. These included notes, memos, emails, the Local List document itself and associated policy documents (for example the Local List Supplementary Planning Document (SPD)). Analysis of these documents fulfilled a number of purposes. First, they enabled within-method data triangulation. In other words, what interviewees said in their respective interviews was compared with their *actions* in undertaking the process (for example, what they had written/what steps they had taken). Second, they enabled an analysis of how both formal and informal text described and framed heritage, the specific words used when explaining what the Local List was, what its aim and intentions were, and how the text referred to the public, involvement, inclusion and ownership (of heritage and of the Local List itself). In other words, they were used as clear evidence to answer the research questions.

It immediately became apparent however that the documentary evidence was about more than simply finding out and verifying facts (for instance about what criteria are used to determine what constitutes heritage, what values are attributed to heritage

³⁴ See Appendix O for a list of the documents which made up the secondary data evidence.

by professionals, whether or not the public were involved and to what extent). Indeed the *language* used revealed a lot about the underlying ideologies of the professionals, perhaps even on a sub-conscious level. Thus the exploration of the use of language within these documents was considered valuable to analyse the heritage discourse: how heritage was interpreted, valued and dominantly framed; as well as uncovering professional attitudes to the public's role during the Local List process. In reacting to negative stereotypes associated with documentary research (Thompson and McHugh, 1995), and building on the key theoretical underpinning of this thesis (the possibility of a dominant AHD), the notion of 'discourse', and discourse analysis was deemed an appropriate analytical technique.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Waterton et al. (2006), Waterton (2007, 2010), and Smith (2006) have argued that discourse is an important component of heritage planning and management and *inter alia*, these scholars are all advocates of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in heritage studies. Linked to the underpinnings of Critical Realism (discussed above), CDA aligns with the position that every person authors an understanding of reality. It is this particular emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality that enables CDA to facilitate an understanding of, "the how and why" (Clarke, 1996: 158; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003a:8), a capability that is very useful for meeting the aim and objectives of this thesis. It is a method that critically examines how individuals use language to produce explanations and create or uphold a version of the world and of reality. CDA can expose those hidden meanings and/or agendas which may convey something completely different to what, on the surface, was originally said. CDA is *critical* in the sense that language is not necessarily deemed to reflect the nature of individuals, relationships and the world, but it is deemed a tool to actively *construct* these domains (Dick, 2006: 203). CDA thus takes up a 'Critical Realist/neo-Marxist' underpinning and employs a 'social constructivist' view of language (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 1; Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 497). Fairclough (1995: 7), a key author in this field, defines discourse as follows:

Discourse is use of language seen as a form of social practice and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice.

Another useful definition is that of Hajer (1996: 44):

...a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities.

A key influence for critical discourse analysis (CDA) came from Michel Foucault (1980; 1983), (but also others, for instance, Louis Althusser, Mikhail Bakhtin, Antonio Gramsci and Umberto Eco) and specifically, the idea of language being a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989). From a Foucauldian perspective, what constitutes knowledge is discursive in nature. Indeed, it is created by language, and is not necessarily related to the discovery of 'truth', thus counter to the broad arguments of positivists- discussed above (Dick, 2006: 203). Hastings (1999: 94-95) links the importance of discourse to planning and specifically to the policy process. She argues that the way policy 'problems' are constructed is a matter of discourse and such discourse forms the key to the rest of the policy process; especially the nature of the solutions proposed:

All conceptions of social problems invoke a theory of causation...Causal theories about social problems can be understood as discourses in the broadly Foucaultian sense, in that they are selective explanations of the nature of a phenomenon, and are productive of knowledge and action in the policy processes.

A further example from Hastings (2000: 133) relates to housing policy documents but makes an important and very relevant point:

The growing literature which analyses housing policy documents...shows, for example, how language is marshalled to construct selective versions of the nature of the problem, or how narrative devices are employed as part of a persuasive strategy to convince readers of the appropriateness of a policy 'response'. Overall, the studies point to the documents as aspects of social action rather than transparent means of communication.

The above clearly suggests that language is used by professionals within policy documents to justify a particular course of action. Clarke (2007) further supports this view. In her work exploring discourse in the context of how to tackle social exclusion in disadvantaged areas, she claims that, "the concept of social exclusion became more strongly rooted in a moral underclass discourse, which focuses on individual parental failings". She argues that this reflects a New Labour discursive strategy of arguing that social exclusion results from individual behaviour. In other words (and as already discussed in the literature survey) a particular cause for a social problem is constructed, leading to particular solutions being proposed to solve it.

Discourses thus constitute, "certain knowledges, values, identities, consciousnesses and relationships, and are constitutive in the sense of not only sustaining and legitimising the 'status quo', but in transforming it" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). As such, language offers much more than mere description and is indeed envisaged within politics as, "an interpreter, educator and constructor of meaning"

(Waterton, 2007: 70). With this understanding of discourse, it becomes clear that how professionals ‘talk about’ or ‘write about’ heritage also constructs and mediates the ways they carry out their conservation work in practice; and creates and preserves the knowledges and beliefs that consequently work to sustain and legitimise that way of ‘talking’, ‘thinking’ and ‘writing’ (Fairclough et al., 2004: 2; Marston, 2004: 36). Thus a dominant, common sense discourse may be formed and will hold power over alternative, competing discourses, which may consequently be neglected or ignored. Thus, it is impossible to explore CDA without briefly acknowledging assertions of power.

Power, in the Foucaultian³⁵ sense, “is not examined in terms of its properties or source, but in its *modus operandi*, how it produces compliance or resistance” (Dick, 2006: 203). As such, discourse can contribute to what Foucault (1977) terms *disciplinary power* which causes a *regulatory effect* which occurs as a consequence of ‘normalizing judgements’. Dick (2006: 204) however points out that, this, “disciplinary power never secures complete compliance”. In other words, there are, “always alternative discourses available that enable different individuals and groups to resist the regulatory norms in any specific social domain” (Dick, 2006: 204). This view aligns with theories in the literature survey which suggest that a dominant version of heritage has been *normalised* through discourse embedded, and thus legitimised, in legislation and policy, to the complete exclusion of alternative discourses which do not align with the accepted version (see Smith, 2006, Waterton, 2005; 2007 and Watson, 2013 for instance). In addition to the identification of dominant discourses, CDA may also enable identification of *who* benefits from their dominance.

A key theme weaving through the literature survey, for instance, is that powerful elites (those belonging to ‘the fellowship’- intellectuals, middle class, well-educated) exercise the power over others on how heritage is defined and interpreted. This power may be visible both in terms of unequal participation in discourse events (such as public meeting/consultations), and in terms of, “unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed” (Fairclough, 1995: 1). Discourse analysis can thus expose such uses of power and reveal to whose advantage such dominant discourses serve. The capability of CDA to explore such issues is highly useful to addressing the thesis’ central research questions. Moreover, it allows research insights which can advance current thinking in the

³⁵ Alternative form of the term ‘Foucauldian’.

wider area of heritage studies. To borrow from Hastings (2000: 136), it is possible to, “use a focus on language to show how the (policy) orthodoxies have become established and accepted”. CDA thus provides methodological steps which enable the systematic unravelling of a, “complex layering of linguistic, rhetorical and semantic devices” (Waterton, 2007: 73; Janks, 1997: 335).

Despite not holding particular expertise in the field of linguistics, there are a number of aspects of discourse analysis which were deemed feasible, manageable and suitable for this thesis. The technique employed followed a framework previously developed by Fairclough (1992). The following section briefly sets out the three broad levels of CDA (Fairclough, 1992) before exploring the linguistic elements and CDA strategies and techniques in more detail.

CDA technique

Employing the ideas of Foucault, Fairclough (1992) (and others- see Hollway, 1989 and Mama, 1995) has developed a clear framework for conducting CDA, which was used to guide this thesis. Within this framework, there are a number of analytical features of CDA that were deemed suitable, and thus adopted. Such aspects which formed the basis for the analysis undertaken in this thesis included: attitudes to difference, assumptions/implications, intertextuality, evaluation and modality. The analytical framework is summarised in Figure 10 overleaf and explained in more detail in Appendix P.

Figure 10: Critical Discourse Analytical technique

Critical Discourse Analysis Framework	
<p>Difference: How does the document's text consider difference?</p>	1. Dialogical Text- this text is de-privileged and acknowledges competing points of view.
	2. Undialogical Text- this text is authoritative or absolute (does not acknowledge competing points of view).
<p>Assumptions: Does the text contain any assumptions? Are there statements written as if they are facts, presented as uncontested and common ground? Do these statements reduce difference (by assuming the existence of 'common ground' between voices)?</p>	1. Existential Assumptions- these are usually in the form of causal relationships which refer to an apparent inevitability of something (i.e. an outcome of the heritage process).
	2. Propositional Assumptions- these are usually vague statements that express the person's intuitive judgments about something (i.e. the syntactic, truth-conditional, or referential properties of expressions).
	3. Evaluative Assumptions- these statements provide a biased evaluation of something (i.e. the existing conservation process) and presents it as common knowledge in an attempt to justify the process. Linked to this is the notion of instrumental rationalisation. The text is shaped to present a moral logic to justify a process or what the author has said/done.
<p>Intertextuality: Is the text framed in relation to other texts?</p>	Intertextuality opens up difference (by bringing various other 'voices' into a text). Does the text purposefully exclude or include certain discourses?
<p>Modality: Is modality used to express the author's/speaker's commitment and/or obligation to a particular understanding of truth or to reveal who the author/speaker considers the 'active stakeholders' to be?</p>	Does the text use modal verbs (should or must), modal adverbs (possibly, certainly), modal adjectives (probably), participle adjectives (required), verbs of appearance (appears, seems), verbs of cognition or mental process clauses (I think, I believe), copular verbs (is), markers (obviously, in fact) and hedges (kind of)?

Source: Author

Given the suitability of thematic analysis (discussed in relation to interview analysis), and the depth and detail which CDA brings to analysis (Appendix P), both methods were employed to all forms of text/speech data evidence (interview transcripts and documentary evidence).

The third supplementary method of data collection employed was the use of participant surveys.

5.12 Surveys

It was considered that the above datasets (interview and documentary data evidence) would be further contextualised with the aid of a third, supplementary data collection method; a self-completion survey. According to Bryman and Bell (2007: 246), semi-structured interviews can be used in conjunction with self-completion surveys to gain a speedy understanding of the perspectives of different groups of participants. In other words, the use of the survey as a complementary data collection method, offered a means to trace some 'quieter' voices and recognise and define a marginally *fuller* range of perspectives regarding heritage, using a different technique. As such, it enabled the recognition of both normative and some alternative understandings of heritage.

As an additional data source, its purpose was threefold: first, it provided further data evidence to establish how heritage is conceptualised by both professionals and non-professionals and how the respective role of the professionals, in comparison to the public(s) is perceived (by both of these two broad groupings). Secondly, it presented a mechanism by which to draw general similarities and differences between the views of professionals and non-professionals to look for broad areas of potential agreement and disagreement, and third, it enabled the process of data triangulation to enhance the study's construct validity.

The surveys were completed by professionals³⁶ and non-professionals and were an integral part of the local case study protocol. They were completed during this stage of research because it was the only stage which usefully brought together a number of non-professionals (during public consultation), with the context of local heritage designation. Two almost identical versions of the survey were designed, one adapted for professionals, and another adapted for non-professionals (note that

³⁶ Please note that to enable effective data triangulation a separate set of conservation/planning professionals completed the surveys to those which were interviewed.

the same questions were used; only phrased differently). This made it possible to uncover both community and professional responses and extract notions of consensus, as well as areas of potential difference.

This supplementary data collection method thus was used simply to identify patterns/clusters of similarity/difference as a fabric for weaving together a more comprehensive overview of conceptualisations of heritage, understandings about local heritage designation, and the perceived role of the professionals and communities in the process. Thus, the use of the survey as a third data collection method enriched and enhanced the overall understanding of the issues.

Method

The survey was first piloted with former professional planning colleagues, as well as other persons known to the researcher. The pilot led to the re-phrasing of several questions and a change to the format, i.e. lines were inserted to distinguish between questions more clearly (see Appendix Q). The survey was conducted at the case study locations by willing professional and non-professional participants. Two public consultation events, organised by each local authority, were attended by the researcher and used as an opportunity to obtain responses from non-professionals. Every non-professional attending the event was approached by the researcher and asked to complete the survey. This approach is described by Cresswell (2005) as convenience sampling. An explanation of the research was offered to each participant and the confidentiality and ethical implications were explained. The leaflet, discussed in relation to conducting the interviews (above), was also given to each respondent. To give informed consent, participants not only had to verbally agree to complete the survey, but also had to initial the bottom of their completed survey before returning it to the researcher. This ensured all ethical considerations were met. Each survey was self-completed in person and apart from explaining the meaning of a question (if required) the researcher did not make comments during the completion process.

The survey's overwhelming strength lies in its ability to generate a *feel* for the discourses and ideas that surround heritage (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The analysis of the survey results thus placed emphasis upon visual patterns, seeking to observe potential signs of similarity and difference between groupings of professional and

non-professional participants³⁷. The clustering of perspectives offered a *signal* for enhancing understanding.

It is important to stress that the surveys conducted served a distinct purpose. They offered material to supplement the discussion rather than to provide empirical data of an absolute nature to confirm or deny any theoretical argument. Within these parameters, they helpfully contextualised the main data findings.

Through the aforesaid suite of methodologies (in-depth interviewing, documentary evidence (including textual analysis) and supplementary participant surveys) a complex and substantial set of data material was generated. Together the data evidence comprised 30 interviews, supplemented by 23 documents and 66 surveys. This data was then drawn upon to weave together a salient picture of the conceptualisations of heritage, views on Local Heritage Designation and the perceived role of the public/professional to the Local List process.

Whilst the selection of suitable methodological tools is crucial for the conduct of exemplary research, another vital element of such research is the consideration of potential ethical issues. Thus, it is important for research to be carried out to a high ethical standard.

5.13 Ethical Issues

According to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) (2010: 2) a principal aim of ethical awareness for a researcher is, “as far as possible, to protect all groups involved in research: participants, institutions, funders and researchers throughout the lifetime of the research and into the dissemination process”. Specifically, the FRE sets out 6 key principles which must be followed for research to be ethical. In short, these include:

1. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and transparency.
2. Research staff and participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved.

³⁷ Note that IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor was used to record and explore the data descriptively (see Appendix R for an extract of the data), however no complex statistical analysis was undertaken as quantifying results statistically was: 1) deemed unnecessary and unhelpful to answer the central research questions, 2) is more appropriate for deductive research, and, 3) the sample size would not have produced statistically robust results.

3. The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.
4. Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion.
5. Harm to research participants must be avoided in all instances.
6. The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit.

(ESRC, 2010: 3)

These principles, whilst adopted by ESRC to assess applications for funded research, are general principles of good practice and can usefully be used as an ethical checklist for this thesis. The research strategy and data collection methods set for this thesis involved interviews and surveys with individuals. At the most basic level, each interview/survey was conducted on the premise of informed consent, such that each participant was given an overview of the research prior to agreeing to participate. Fundamentally, this consent was then reiterated at the start of each interview/survey, and agreements were drawn up to enable all participants to *see* and *vet* the transcripts of their interviews (and their self-completed surveys) before submission. Participation in the study was therefore completely voluntary and participants had the explicit opportunity to withdraw at any stage. It was also made clear to interview participants that they could request for the audio recording to be stopped at any time during the interview process, or choose for the interview not to be audio recorded at all. With regard to the protection of participants, it was made clear that confidentiality could be ensured, if preferred. Such processes were deemed to fully satisfy the FRE principles, as well as reflecting best practice set out in the literature (Cassell et al., 2006; Richards, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Gill and Johnson, 2002). Furthermore, adhering to recommendations in the literature regarding the need for on-going critical self-reflection (Altheide and Johnson, 1998), such a critical self-awareness and self-reflective approach was actively employed throughout the research process. In addition to fully considering the ethical implications of the project, exemplary research must also respect the limitations of the research process and the methods employed.

5.14 Limitations

There are some research limitations associated with the complex processes set out in this chapter. Primarily, and despite the advantages of qualitative methods (discussed above), it is clear that the qualitative nature of data collection and

analysis involves active interpretation by the researcher. Consequently, there is potential for influencing, unconsciously or otherwise, the data collection proceedings and the generation of findings. In relation to the analytical phases of the research process, the identification of themes and discourses (during thematic analysis and application of CDA techniques) are interpretative exercises, leaving open the possibility of bias. There is no such thing as objective analysis of text/transcripts. As such, insights are automatically subjective. Whilst this must be acknowledged as a limitation, there are steps that can, and indeed have been taken to minimise these effects.

Principally, it was considered that each step in the research process must be carried out in a self-aware, self-critical and self-conscious manner, and in a consistent and systematic way with no (or where impossible, minimal) variation between cases. This was achieved through the adherence to the pre-defined interview protocol. Whilst, this was only a guide and provided the flexibility to 'snowball', a conscious effort was made to keep returning to the protocol. Template analysis using the principles of coding enabled a clear conceptual framework for writing up results consistently. Whilst the themes or codes reflect the researcher's interpretation of the most salient issues, they were compiled with an open mind, as fairly as possible, guided primarily by existing theoretical propositions which emerged from the literature survey. Likewise for CDA techniques, Fairclough's (1992, 2003) framework of analysis was utilised on a consistent basis, and the research insights were aligned with the themes and 'codes' defined during the thematic analysis. Consequently, all data was treated in the same justifiable manner.

Arguably, a second research limitation relates to the generalisability of findings; also a common issue with qualitative methods. The data compiled however is rich, detailed and in-depth, exploring the complexities and contradictions of real-life situations in context (Seale et al., 2004). It is also supported by national perspectives. Indeed, the messages coming down from the national level are likely to be reinforcing the same position regardless of which local authority is studied. Nonetheless, if different local planning authorities had been selected, the findings *may* have altered the conclusions. To minimise this limitation, and to increase the generalisability of findings, the notion of replication logic and specifically *literal replications* was embraced (Yin, 2003). Furthermore, the principles of analytical generalisation and construct validity (Yin, 2003) were also followed. That said, it must however be firmly acknowledged that the research followed an *inductive* form of reasoning and is thus high in validity, yet low in generalisability. The research

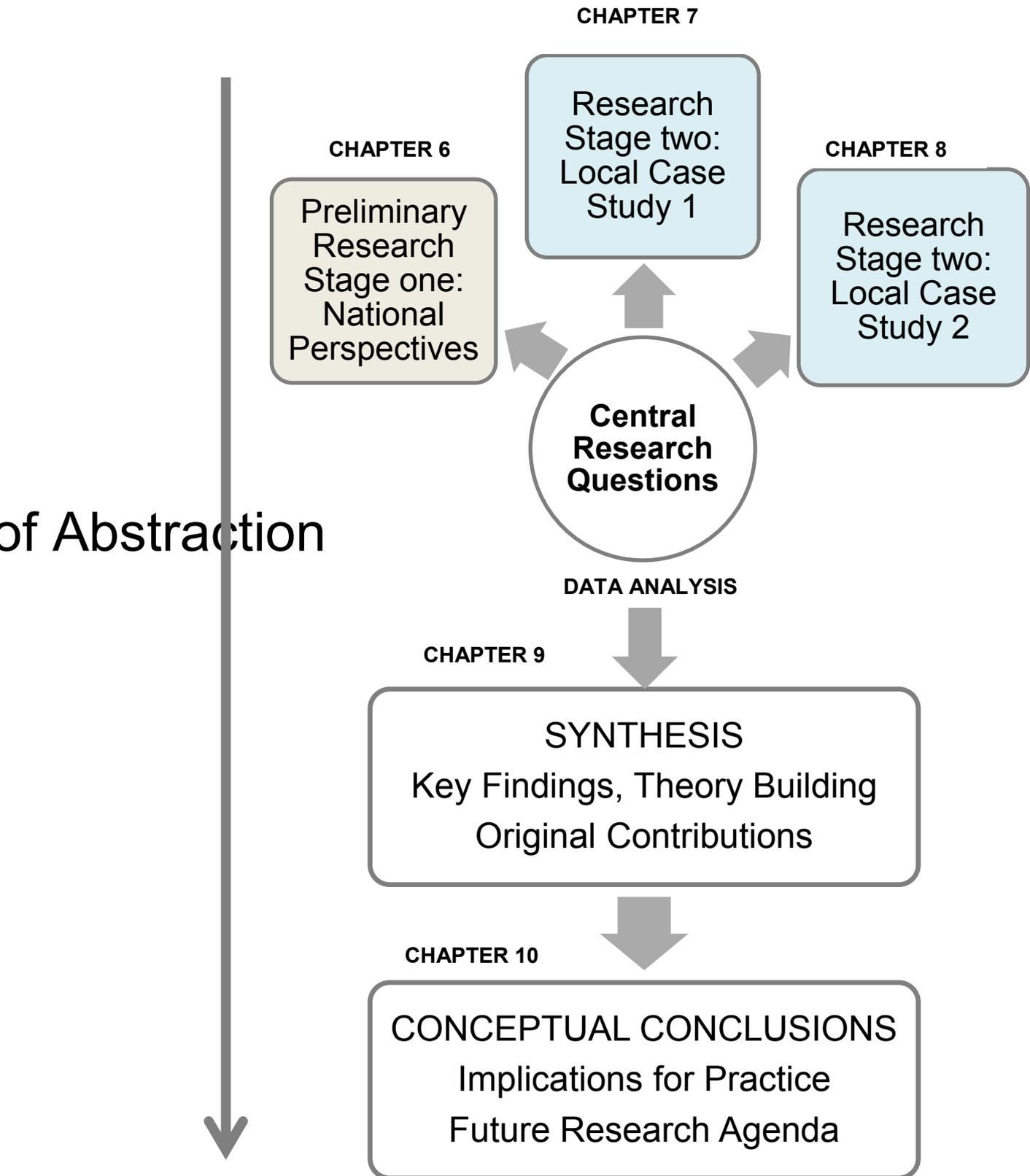
findings offer a distillation of insights based on a sample of attitudes, opinions and behaviours throughout one aspect of conservation practice at a particular point in time. They cannot proclaim definite answers which are necessarily nationally or universally applicable.

In order to comprehensively answer the thesis' central research questions, this inductive research was carefully designed to uncover in-depth, detailed understandings and underlying meanings (using a practical, real-life and relevant setting). With this in mind, it is useful to highlight the argument compiled by Seale et al (2004: 425) that, "from both an understanding-oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur". Moreover, according to Dick (2006) with discourse analysis the focus is on the text, "to provide an in-depth analysis that is focussed on explanation, rather than generalization" (Dick, 2006: 207). Notwithstanding the above, by adhering to the principles of replication logic and analytic generalisation, this research has ensured that the results presented in this thesis are as generalisable as *practicable*, which reflects appropriate research conduct.

5.15 Summary

This chapter has introduced the philosophical, theoretical and methodological underpinnings that guide the research undertaken for this thesis. The dataset generated for this thesis was a product of a combined approach that included in-depth interviewing, documentary evidence and participant surveys. All three data collection methods were briefly examined in this chapter and were shown to be relevant and useful ways of accumulating the sorts of data considered most suitable to approach the research questions. The use of multiple data collection techniques increased construct validity through data triangulation. Likewise, the mixed analytical procedures provided a richer dataset and enabled within-method data triangulation. Moreover, this chapter has reflected upon ethical considerations relevant to this research, and has drawn attention to the limitations. Part II of this thesis presents and analyses the data collected. The following flow chart (Figure 11) illustrates visually how the evidence will be presented.

Figure 11: Presenting the Evidence



Source: Author

Part II

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF THE PRIMARY DATA

STAGE ONE: NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first stage of analysis and scrutinises the national interview data collected (see interviewee schedule in Appendix J). For clarity, it is structured around the thesis' central research questions³⁸ and draws out the key issues which emerged from this preliminary analysis³⁹.

Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 1

To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process?

6.2 The Widening of the Normative Heritage Framework

National Perspectives

The chapter begins by drawing on data evidence which points to a clear discursive broadening of the 'heritage' construct. The following extracts unpack what is really meant by *local* heritage from the *national* perspective:

1. I think heritage has got a very broad meaning, it's broader than historic environment... I think heritage includes pretty much anything that anyone in their own definition defines as heritage (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

2. I think if you look back kind of 20 years or so I think there is a sense in which people thought of heritage as the particular kind of special things...special in terms of ... the highly designated things. I think there has been much more of a sense of a shift towards heritage being what's all around us so very much the kind of non-designated as well...you know the very fact that kind of everything all around us has kind of interest and value and significance (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

3. ...the policy is to take a very broad view of it now and it includes everything, not just castles and Stonehenge and monuments like that but also local heritage that's important to local people (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

4. I think what we have been trying to promote ...is that it's the connection between the tangible and the intangible that is important to people... So while English Heritage's remit is very much caring for the physical fabric, I don't think we can divorce that from what it means to people. Buildings on their own don't make history, its people that make history, so it's that combination that is heritage for me (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

³⁸ These are the study's embedded units of analysis.

³⁹ Please refer to Appendix S for a fuller analysis of the national data, which has informed this study.

5. ...for Local Listing or local heritage ... there are discussions about kind of intangible heritage and the idea of traditions, also more on history (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

6. ...it is possible for more local schemes to have a more balanced approach [to social and material based values] (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

7. I think it's very broad, I think it can include things that aren't built, so it obviously can include artefacts and portable heritage, but I think it can also include natural heritage and it can include things like songs, dialect, poetry, but it also I think includes memories, stories, things that aren't physical. So I think it's got a very broad meaning and I think that meaning is different for different people. So if you're being totally democratic about it then something that one person finds to be heritage may not be the same for another person. I think there's probably a very broad consensus on many things but there will be lots of things that people regard as part of their heritage that others don't (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

The collection of extracts above indicate a somewhat rich assemblage of interpretations of 'heritage', each conveying a clear over-arching message that definitions appear to be developing in practice. There is a strong message contained within all of the extracts that heritage is no longer confined to the grand and monumental examples, but instead includes subaltern and vernacular heritage that is all around us. As such, 'heritage' appears to mean much more than its traditional framing would allow. Indeed, 'heritage' becomes a tenuous 'everything' (extract 2) and 'anything' (extract 1). Furthermore, data suggest an acknowledgment that heritage is dissonant; it means different things to different people; and that it goes beyond bricks and mortar; the physical entity is likely to embody meaning, and both are of value (extract 4). Indeed, data imply that 'heritage' is a much broader phenomenon than it was deemed to be 20 years ago, particularly at the *local* level of heritage management, where *intangible* aspects of heritage (ascribed social meanings) appear more tolerable (extract 5 and extract 6).

On deeper inspection however, the use of the words *kind of* intangible and the *idea of* traditions (extract 5) are revealing. They are examples of modality, expressed as hedges (Fairclough, 2003: 171) and as a linguistic term, such hedges may be used to qualify and tone-down the statement in order to reduce the 'riskiness' of what has been said. The use of such hedges may imply that the acceptance at the local level of these intangible aspects of heritage is only partially true, or is true only in certain respects. In other words, it raises the question of whether the interviewee is in fact fully convinced that intangible aspects of heritage such as ascribed meanings related to traditions and social history are included in definitions of heritage in reality.

Moreover, the idea of a heritage value underpinned solely by such intangible and social meanings appears to be seen as largely irrelevant to heritage work in England, and consequently, outside of the established norms. For instance, the explicit reference to *English Heritage's remit is very much caring for the physical fabric* (extract 4) seems to reaffirm that it is the deep-rooted, tangible heritage values that are well-established in heritage practice and thus appear to remain the priority. It is in fact the general omission of clarity, together with the inauthoritative tone within all of the above extracts, which highlights what appears to be a lack of real commitment to, and lack of consensus about this wider interpretation of heritage.

This analysis is confirmed when one of the interviewees was asked if he thinks that other professionals managing the Local Heritage Designation Process would see heritage in the same way as he described, and he answers:

8. Probably not (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Consequently, whilst the statements appear on the surface to stand in marked contrast to the nineteenth century conservation orthodoxy, the evidence above also implies that certain aspects of this wider interpretation of heritage may not be fully engrained or universally accepted. Nevertheless, further data can be drawn upon to provide evidence that such wider conceptualisations of heritage are beginning to have a real impact at both the International and National level of heritage management and this has potential implications for Local Heritage Designation, as explained below.

Illustrations from World and National Level

Specific examples in the data collected highlight some small, but palpable steps forward in the mobilising of the philosophical principles underpinning heritage. At both international and national level, there is a growing recognition among heritage specialists that there are important heritage values which are not captured through the common designation process. The following extracts draw on examples related to World Heritage designation:

9. The UNESCO 72 Statement of Outstanding Universal Value is now the basis for management of World heritage but there is an acknowledgement that this relies on evidence from when the site was initially nominated, therefore there is limited information... very physical-based rather than social...spiritual or cultural. Everything is currently trying to play catch-up- world heritage and national heritage. There are retrospective statements being produced since 2007 and these hopefully ...may capture these aspects of heritage. Local heritage designation needs to learn from this and set the example...get it right from the beginning (Interviewee Twelve, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 26 October 2012).

10. After the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, Durham Cathedral was used by Oliver Cromwell to hold Scottish prisoners-of-war. About 3,000 were imprisoned...1,700 died in the cathedral itself, kept in inhumane conditions, without food, water or heat. It is an important part of the history of the cathedral, but not so palatable...but of course it should be included. There is in fact increasing consensus that the statements for world heritage need to be revised and must include such information as it is part of the cathedral's social history and just as important as the architectural, the historic fabric and the spiritual history (Interviewee Twelve, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 26 October 2012).

The statements above not only highlight that the notion of heritage is, at least to some degree, being problematised at the international level of heritage management, but they also provide an example of the *type* of intangible historical narratives that were not originally included in World Heritage List inscriptions. There is reference to an *increasing consensus* in the *need* to revise the statements (extract 10) and a strong desire to capture such aspects of heritage. Whilst this may represent only a veneer of consensus, there is little doubt in the belief of the interviewees regarding the importance of capturing such social aspects of heritage. This is conveyed through the work of modality, marked out by the archetypical modal verbs such as *need* and *must* (extract 10), which reveal the interviewee's stance, or affinity, with what they are saying (Fairclough, 2003: 166; Hodge and Kress, 1988). These modal verbs are attached to an epistemic knowledge exchange associated with asserted, positive statements (Fairclough, 2003: 168-169). Together, these textual clues suggest that there is no reluctance on the part of the interviewees regarding their understanding of heritage. In particular, extract 9 makes a direct link between the current discursive platform at international level and implications for local heritage designation, demanding that broader interpretations of heritage (which draw on intangible, social heritage values) are an explicit and integral part of the local level process from the outset.

What is important to note however, is the conveyance of doubt in the actual realisation of this potential change at the international level. The use of the words *hopefully* and *trying* ('to play catch-up') in extract 9 suggest uncertainty about the realisation of these apparent attempts to widen heritage values. The fairly hopeful statement swiftly becomes a personal desire that these intangible heritage values

may (and the modality attached to this word is important here) lead to a reconsideration of the concept 'heritage'. The use of the word *may* is concerned with the status of the proposition; a judgment based on the interviewee's beliefs. In this case the modal force is clearly that of possibility, rather than any degree of certainty or conviction.

Whilst there is uncertainty in the reality of such claims at the international level, data reveal that revisiting listing inscriptions to include wider conceptualisations of heritage has already started to happen at the national level of heritage designation:

11. So we started with ... the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in 2007 and looked at ways that we could draw out currently designated things of which there was much that didn't have that particular history flagged up in the list description so we did a lot of amendments to bring that history much more closely to the fore... Likewise on the women's history front, that was sort of using things which are already on the list which are significant for aspects of women's history but it might not actually be set out in those particular list descriptions (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

12. We realised that English Heritage had focused very much on the architectural history of its properties that it cares for and not on the families who had owned them and so we made a commitment to actually do a piece of research. ... it's very interesting... yes, people developed quite large portfolios of interests in Jamaica and they were basically slave owners... we have properties that were founded on that and others where there was a considerable influx of money through marriage to an heiress with a background in that sort of trade or slave compensation was paid at the end of slavery to the owner and they seem to have invested some of the money in housing. It is... very important to be upfront about that and talk about how that did affect the history of the built environment in Britain (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

13. I think that's really important to remember that it's not just about fabric, it's about history too and largely the relationship of the two. We're looking at sport, for example, with the Olympics coming up but doing much more kind of interrogation of the list because there's so much on there and it's really, really interesting (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The above extracts provide strong evidence of a shift, or *adjustment* in the philosophical stance underpinning heritage at the national level of conservation management in England. The fact that time and resources have been allocated to revisiting list descriptions to incorporate the social and cultural narratives central to buildings and places is clearly a fundamental step forward in acknowledging wider heritage values. The extracts above combine to offer what appears to be a consensual view that the intangible, social heritage values are important and need to be drawn out alongside the normative heritage values, under which they were originally listed. The repeated reference to how *interesting* such heritage narratives are suggest, at least a recognition of an alternative and different type of heritage significance that is relevant to heritage in England. The widening of this

philosophical stance however, is constrained by the fact that the work being done at the national level is based purely on revisiting existing entries on the List, rather than nominating new entries based on such intangible heritage values. Moreover, the repeated word, *interesting*, by no means implies essential. The consideration of such social values appears to remain outside of the mainstream national designation process, which it would seem is still dominated by, and focussed on the normative heritage values. As extract 14 confirms:

14. The key thing in English Heritage's work of course is that it has to have an element of architectural merit, so we never...are going to give Grade I Listed status to a garden hut... at any rate... just because it's the place where a great treaty was signed or so on, there is that balance... So I think it's about additionality, in terms of what English Heritage is doing I would suggest that at local level you may find that the balance is rather more equal (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

This statement is not suggestive of a more critical engagement with discussions of value, nor does it prompt questions about the ideological uniformity of such value norms. Indeed, the normative framework still holds and the intangible aspects of heritage are seen as standing outside of the established norms. They are additional and thus can be of *additional* benefit and by consequence, surplus to requirements. This notion of additionality appears to be important and will need to be revisited and examined in greater depth at the local level of analysis.

Furthermore, the expression *of course* (extract 14) is used to convey a sense of inevitability about the decisions made to recognise some things, as 'heritage' and some as falling short of that evaluation. The authoritative and dialogically closed use of the word *never* leaves no space for negotiation and the phrase *at any rate* as a marker of an additive and contrastive semantic relation, makes it clear that in no eventuality, indeed, no matter how you look at it, will national heritage be acknowledged for purely social or cultural reasons. Accordingly, anything 'ordinary' that nevertheless has a social or cultural heritage value will not meet the criteria for heritage at this level. What can be concluded from this is that the 'anything' and 'everything' included in earlier extracts appears to have already evaporated.

The above examples however illustrate that there is a dialogue beginning to emerge within the heritage discourse at both international and national level, and there are rumblings of acknowledgement and championing of alternative heritage values relating to social and cultural aspects at these levels. What is most significant is that it is at the *local* level of heritage designation that most national heritage specialists consider there to be scope for a much wider understanding of heritage

(see extract 5, 6, 9 and 14 for instance). This sentiment threads through all interviews analysed and thus further justifies the need for research at this level.

Whilst the combination of data explored above has clearly demonstrated a stark transformation in the way heritage is defined *discursively* at the national level, and examples from both international and national heritage designation have illustrated some real practical implications of this shift in discourse, the extracts below are suggestive of a very slow rate of evolution in conservation philosophy:

15. I think it is an evolving thing but it is quite slow (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

16. ...there's been some quite reasonable examples of work being done that actually start from the communities and actually look at heritage rather than coming with a predefined idea of what heritage is about, but I think it's still... it's quite difficult... it's changing very slowly (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

17. ... at the moment in terms of what English Heritage does, I don't think we're very good at picking up on those things yet [social/cultural values], but I'd like to think it is changing and I'd like to think that we're starting to address some of those issues and trying to build them into the heritage protection system in some way. But I think most people are more comfortable with bricks and mortar heritage (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The above statements confirm an apparent, yet measured shift in the values underpinning heritage designation, and point to an unhurried and sedate state of transition in assumptions about 'heritage'. These extracts suggest the need for a deeper analysis at the local level of implementation to investigate and expose the real level of commitment to change, and the realities of this purported transition in practice. The reference to people being *more comfortable with bricks and mortar heritage* (extract 17) raises questions about the pervasive hold of the dominant heritage discourse, and suggests that for one reason or another, it may not be so easily fissured.

Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 2

Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?

6.3 Barriers to Negotiating Alternative Heritage Values

The evidence presented thus far raises some important questions for deeper investigation. It appears that there may be certain factors which prevent the rebalancing of the heritage discourse to equitably validate material and social heritage values. The following section draws on data which provides some clues

about how the *nature* of heritage is determined and the consequent critical barriers which may hinder social and material hybridity in local heritage designation.

Misunderstanding Social Significance

Whilst the idea of a *social heritage value* was formalised in English Heritage guidance in 2008⁴⁰, there appears to be various problems with how this value is understood and applied. The following data extracts express professional views on the technicalities of applying the social/communal value, as set out in the Conservation Principles guidance in practice:

18. ... the historic and communal value provides us with an opportunity to give additional importance. As I say, I think it would be extremely rare for us to actually start with historical value and say, well, there's nothing there, but because it's so important we're going to risk it anyway, that's not going to happen, it's not our job I would suggest (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

19. The difficulty is if you identify a building or a site which has really no aesthetic merit at all but is important historically. That's where I think some people might start to balk at it because you're identifying something which might even be an eyesore, but which is important historically (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

20. I don't think local authorities do use it [the social/communal value as defined by the document 'Conservation Principles']. I don't think on a day to day basis within planning departments decisions made... are based around a careful evaluation of those four headings, they just are not. At the most you'll get an evaluation from the Conservation Officer under architecture and history, but you won't get it under evidential, historical, communal, aesthetic (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

21. So I think there probably is a deficiency in many local lists that you're not... unless you're responses as a result of this kind of consultation generate lots of stories and memories and things ... If you just look at a building how are you meant to know whether it's got historical association without doing research? So I think many local lists probably do suffer from not being informed by stories and memories and the non-physical stuff (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

The above quotations reveal a number of interesting findings: one, they suggest that the *Conservation Principles* document (and specifically the notion of social/communal value) is not firmly embedded in conservation practice in the local authority setting; two, there appears to be no comprehension of a social/communal value as being independent; rather it is seen as an addition to one of the more traditional conservation values; thirdly, if social values are included in the Local Heritage Designation Process they are usually included accidentally (they are rarely proactively sought), and finally, the two buildings-led, well-established (and national statutory criteria) 'architectural and historical significance' remain the key criteria used by local professionals to evaluate significance. Not only does this suggest a

⁴⁰ See Appendix F 'Policy Development in the 21st Century'.

lack of understanding of heritage as a complex, multi-faceted concept but it also further implies that precedence is given to ideas of inherent or intrinsic value, rather than the importance of ascribed social values. The potential ensuing powerlessness and superficiality of the *social value* unfolds clearly in an example referred to by Interviewee Four:

22. ... if you take the Abdullah Quilliam Mosque in Liverpool ... what was one of the very early, if not the earliest house mosques in Britain. Over the years it has suffered extensively and there is very little apart from I think the shadow of one Moorish arch left actually in the building. It would be very difficult...to give that a ... list status because the fabric has already been so bashed about. But on the other hand, nobody could dispute the historic and communal importance of that site and that obviously gives it a different dimension which should be noted (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The resounding focus on the physical fabric as a means of establishing significance again suggests that the physical entity in itself, is the 'heritage', and is consequently more important than the ascribed meanings. The coupling of the two seemingly dependent conservation values, 'historic' and 'social/communal' also emphasises the close association between the two. Moreover, the notion of authenticity comes to the fore (extract 22). The condition of the physical fabric and whether it is, and can be proven to be original and intact appears to be of key importance to heritage specialists. Despite the seemingly strong, prevailing centrality of materiality and authenticity to heritage value and significance, when asked if this bias towards materiality is shared by communities, or whether communities are interested in intangible ascribed meanings and values, Interviewee Five conceded that community interests indeed tend to lie more with the latter.

Whilst the above has shown that the social value concept appears to be misunderstood and difficult to comprehend, data reveal that the actual purpose of the Conservation Principles document and the four conservation values is also unclear. Interviewee Two, a senior professional at the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) made the following comments about the role of this guidance document in practice:

23. I think you'll have to speak to English Heritage about that. I mean they don't directly have any relevance is the answer. English Heritage try to align their thinking on the two but I'm slightly confused by it as well. The answer is they don't directly play into it because we can only list things on the basis of the statutory criteria (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

The swift rebuff, expressed particularly through reference to their *irrelevance*, is striking. This clearly suggests that they are not yet fully engrained in the mainstream heritage discourse. Moreover the reference to English Heritage and the

clear distancing strategies used (*speak to them about it*) to distinguish between them (English Heritage and their document) and DCMS (and the statute) is telling. The use of the word *try* ('to align their thinking on the two') also illustrates firstly, that this alignment is something they are yet to achieve, and secondly, that this is *their* (English Heritage's) thinking, not *ours* (DCMS). Whilst the confusion about the values set out in Conservation Principles was evident within DCMS, English Heritage appeared clearer on their purpose and role, yet this understanding has serious implications for conceptualising heritage during the local designation process. The extracts below elaborate on this role and purpose:

24. Conservation principles are there to help inform questions of change essentially whereas the statutory criteria of designation remain the same but conservation principles help to sort of shape sort of a sensible and thoughtful approach to what we do with things once they are designated (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

25. The conservation principles are used much more to guide our approach in the consent process rather than the designation process (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

26. I think conservation principles would largely be used in terms of looking after things locally rather than designating things locally, would be my thought, yeah (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The extracts reveal that the Conservation Principles document and all of the advice contained within, including the four conservation values (aesthetic, evidential, historic and social/communal) are inapplicable to designation. They are in fact intended to guide the way professionals manage heritage that has already been designated. This disclosure is fundamental in that it effectively exposes little real mobilisation of heritage conceptualisations in determining what is and what is not 'heritage'. Instead, Conservation Principles and their veneer of inclusivity around intangible aspects of heritage actually have no impact upon heritage designation at all. Their remit is immediately and significantly curtailed to avert guiding how heritage is identified and defined in practice. They have no power to transform or adjust the established conservation orthodoxy. This serves to further weaken and diminish the social value discourse, which so far, appears to operate very much at the level of rhetoric. Consequently, the earlier, abstract references to intangible aspects of heritage, such as social and cultural significance appear to be floating concepts without much leverage. Indeed, unless professionals discover for themselves, and decide to implement the modest references to intangible aspects of heritage and social and communal values within the Local List Best Practice Guide (2012), there may be little deviation from the norms that underpin heritage

designation processes. The realities of this clearly require further investigation within the local case study work.

The Notion of Longevity

A further key issue to arise from the national data is the notion that something can only be 'heritage', (hence is only a legitimate heritage value), if it has a particular degree of longevity. The point at which 'heritage' mysteriously becomes 'heritage' is therefore relevant and requires critical appraisal. This point in time appears to be determined by 'experts' and appears to be quite deeply embedded in the ideologies of practitioners:

27. I think it would be sensible to stick to some kind of 30 year rule though, otherwise you're going to get crazy suggestions I would have thought. So probably a 30 year rule would be good (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

28. ...you would have to have some kind of longevity there for it to be valid... Heritage is defined to a degree by longevity, by time and I think you have to have some kind of sensible 30 year rule type of thing. You might want to reduce that slightly at a local list level because things can become locally important in a shorter timeframe, I don't know, maybe (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

29. ...a lot of communities identify what they feel is heritage within their own community and as long as it's over 10 years old then we would agree with that (Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012)

30. But I would say in general, yeah, I'd say most conservation officers are probably happy with sticking to that kind of rough 30 year yardstick. But I think that could discount quite a lot of interesting heritage along with architecture that's happened in the last 30 years, but again, it's up to the local area to decide that (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Longevity, as an organising concept, appears to be fundamental. This finding raises the question of whether alternative conceptualisations of heritage may be hampered by such an explicit assumption that 'heritage' requires a particular degree of 'longevity' to be valid and legitimate. Whilst there is a consolation in that the time-depth required may reduce *slightly* (to over ten years) during the Local Heritage Designation Process (extracts 28 and 29), it still appears to fail to understand heritage as something beyond an artefact, confined to a past (albeit a more recent past than the traditional normative heritage framework would permit). Whilst this ideological representation of heritage is clearly an important part of conservation planning, it is not the only dimension of heritage. Indeed, this deeply held assumption about time-depth raises certain questions about when something becomes heritage and whether abstract notions of history (i.e. having to do with history/tradition) and something established in the present representing a 'historical'

moment (i.e. the first of its kind) are valid parameters of heritage legitimacy. This is important because the use of the word *valid*, (extracts 28) which refers to legitimacy and official acceptance unfolds as an implicit assumption that a particular type of 'longevity' somehow implies authenticity and/or integrity. Despite the concerns of Interviewee Six that this *could discount quite a lot of interesting heritage* (extract 30) he nevertheless disregards this promptly and harks back to the flexibility which is central to the Local List Best Practice Guide: Local Authorities can decide for themselves what criteria they use to designate heritage, including any age criterion. Ironically it is largely this degree of flexibility (and by implication, lack of commitment to the cause) which may be constraining the evolution of 'heritage'.

Whilst there is little evidence to indicate that national heritage specialists see this close association between heritage and history/longevity as problematic, data from the Black Environment Network explicitly call for a reconsideration of this implicit assumption:

31. [We need] a shift of vision ... to value cultural and social heritage at the point at which they happen (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

This extract appears to request an understanding of heritage as something that is constructed and created in the present. Indeed, the following extracts elaborate on the complexity associated with the notion of time and the consequent potential for exclusion:

32. I've had questions from people about things like there was a riot here in this site during the Industrial Revolution, could that go on the Local List even though it's now a modern shopping plaza or something. My feeling is that yeah it could, why couldn't you do that? Why couldn't you commemorate an area for an intangible event that's happened there? (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

33. ...in terms of community heritage ...the Neasden Temple which is a huge beautiful building now, but they originally met in what was a modern local garage. So there are buildings and properties which have a resonance and a meaning to those communities which are not necessarily seen as part...are often lost in terms of when people talk about historical value or architectural value (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

34. ...you might well ...[have] an example of a Muslim community centre or a Hindu community centre or something like that, that looks damn ugly, yeah, okay, I can see that, but is important culturally, socially to that group. But I think you would have to have – going back to my comment about the 30 year rule – you would have to have some kind of longevity there for it to be valid (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

35. I'm sure if you asked 90% of historic environment professionals whether you would expect the Coatsworth Road synagogue to be on a local list ...90% of them would say no, because it's nothing to write home about, but if it's important to the social, cultural or religious, blah, blah, blah, then why not? (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

These examples highlight the potential exclusionary power of this ideological norm centring on longevity and prompt questions about interpretation of this heritage parameter at the local level of designation. They illustrate specific cases where the particular heritage value has proven controversial as a result, and ultimately may be marginalised and disregarded by the professional. They therefore reveal that the physical remains of the *past*, notions of intrinsic merit, and aesthetic values appear to not only be prioritised, but also may exclude other potential considerations. The initial claims made earlier regarding the broadening of heritage conceptualisations to include subaltern and everyday heritage are clearly caveated. This caveat seems to centre exclusively on the presence of other, relevant normative heritage values such as aesthetics and a particular age-dependent time-depth. The derogatory expression *if it's important to the social, cultural or religious, blah, blah, blah* (extract 35) also suggests that intangible aspects of heritage not only seem to be seen as additional and outside of the established conservation orthodoxy, but are deemed elusive, abstract and even nonsensical. The irrationality of them seems to be uncomfortable for professionals.

Notwithstanding this, it is however suggested by Interviewee Six that it is considered appropriate for such intangible, social heritage values to inform the designation of heritage at the *local* level:

36. I think the advantage of things like Local Listing is I think you have a bit more latitude, I think you probably could have a go at trying to have that kind of system. As I said before, I don't see any reason why you couldn't put something on a Local List because it was associated with a major event such as say, the Miners' Strike (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Crucially, there appears to be an expectation or at least a possibility that conceptualisations of heritage are more all-encompassing at the local level of designation. This prospect however appears somewhat naïve in the context of the data analysed above. Whilst this expectancy of the Local Listing process serves to further justify the need for the planned in-depth study at the local level, it nevertheless must be taken with caution. Indeed, despite the optimism conveyed in the above, it is somewhat diminished by the summative tone in the following extracts:

37. But I think it does come down to the whole thing of professionals like bricks and mortar and I think they're less comfortable with designating something that doesn't have some kind of physical presence and physical value. I think possibly that's something that's going to evolve in the future but at the moment we're stuck with what can we see and what can we record (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

38. No. No, I don't think they do [take into account social aspects of heritage]. I think this is partly because...of the difference between built environment professionals and cultural professionals. Cultural professionals are much more interested in memories and stories and that kind of thing, built environment professionals are interested in bricks and mortar. ...So if a local list is coming from the built environment professional department they won't be targeting, they won't be highlighting, they won't be working with the memories and the stories around the heritage...they're not interested in it (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Despite an infusion of social-based discourses, tangibility appears to continue to prevail as most important. Furthermore, social and material hybridity appears to be hindered to some extent by the silo working of Local Government departments; implying that a multi-disciplinary approach is crucial to comprehensive heritage identification and management. This notion is supported by other statements, which indicate that a collaborative approach should be central to local heritage designation.

39. Local authorities tend to split their heritage work in two. You usually find built environment professionals working on heritage within the planning team usually and you also find cultural museums type people working on heritage as well often within a cultural service...So if looking at a local list its most likely to come from the built environment professional side of things This is the issue I think (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

40. Certainly when I worked in local museums, they were the fount of knowledge as well as the local archives for how things have changed over time in that way and have often done, a lot of oral history and recording and I think drawing on those kind of things is very important and having worked across the sector I would really encourage the breaking down of boundaries and getting everybody involved in that place making point of view (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The above extracts are suggestive of a need for collaboration in terms of a fusion of built-environment and cultural services. Whilst the first statement refers to departments internal to Local Authorities; the latter expands this collaborative approach to include external (or sometimes arms-length) organisations such as museums. The key message here is that the physical, buildings-led approach to local heritage listing is insufficient; it is only one half of the necessary skills and knowledge to comprehensively identify and designate heritage. This reiterates earlier messages conveyed in relation to the importance of both social and material aspects of heritage value. It will be important to deepen this analysis by exploring the realities of such collaborative, multi-disciplinary approaches to local heritage designation.

These statements, together with the preceding extracts also combine to raise further questions for investigation. Indeed, if the Local Heritage Designation Process sits within the built environment department (a traditionally rational planning environment), how are the more subjective emotional dimensions of heritage managed? Building on this, the following section provides further clues as to why certain conceptualisations of heritage may receive legitimisation, whilst others, like the examples highlighted by the interviewees may not.

Objectivity and Rationality

The theoretical complexities of the analysis require simplification when framed in the context of objectivity and truth. As such, the call for social and material hybridity can be simply understood as a requirement to rebalance more subjective reasoning (social) with more objective reasoning (material) to the point at which a fusion of the two receives equal legitimisation. The national data, however, are suggestive of a favouring of objective facts and concrete evidence in heritage designation processes. When asked directly whether conservation officers and planners give more weight to such objective (scientific/rational) reasoning when assessing the significance of heritage values, as opposed to more emotive reasoning (intangible meanings including memories, association and cultural identity), interviewees considered that they probably do.

This view is emphasised in a number of extracts which all point to such positivist ideologies and norms of behaviour:

41. [You must] make sure that decisions are clearly justifiable in the light of the published criteria ... and that it's all justifiable and properly evidenced and everything (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

42. So how you define that I guess is partly about the technical things like intactness, significance, integrity and so on and so forth, that you can analyse, evaluate almost scientifically I guess (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

43. No, in practice, social value is not considered to be relevant in defining what heritage is... it is deemed to be a subjective emotional attachment, and therefore not relevant (Interviewee Seven, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 23 February 2012).

44. I guess it comes down to the evidence that you have that it happened in that spot, so if you don't have the evidence I think it's probably quite hard to justify that (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The use of the words, 'evidenced,' 'justifiable', 'technical', 'analyse', 'evaluate' and 'scientifically' all emphasise rationality, objectivity, positivism and the desire to 'prove' or 'justify' and find the ultimate truth. Indeed, the undialogical statement

made by Interviewee Seven (extract 43) conveys a sense of inevitability that subjective social heritage values are to be discredited as irrational, and thus illegitimate. Here, objectivity and subjectivity are pitted against each other, and it becomes clear that while the latter may have found some semblance of a place within the heritage discourse, the former does not appear to have relinquished its stronghold. This perceived need for evidence and justification promptly materialises as directly linked to an increasing fear of challenge at the local level.

Defending the Indefensible

Numerous interviewees refer to the need to scientifically defend decisions on what is identified and designated as 'heritage'. Indeed, in the selected extracts below, particular reference is made to an imaginary, yet conceivable appeal situation, and the consequent need for careful scrutiny of heritage nominations to ensure they are defensible; the notion of defensible being explicitly linked to tangibility and irrefutable evidence:

45. So I think that the criteria that have been used do vary from authority to authority and I'm not sure they're as rigorous perhaps as they should be and if somebody wanted to be really a proper git about it I'm sure somebody could challenge something legally based upon some of those. They probably wouldn't ever need to but you could imagine somebody hiring a barrister and doing some kind of cage rattling within a local authority ... So I worry that some of the criteria are not quite as carefully phrased as they might be and that the selection isn't quite as careful as it might be (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

46. You see, this is another reason why professionals generally agree that technical, expert screening is essential. It is the professionals who have to defend the building's retention (Interviewee Seven, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 23 February 2012).

The extracts refer to a need to tighten up the criteria and the process in order to defend decisions made. There is reference to the need to be *careful* (extract 45) and a general agreement that a professional, technical, expert *screening* of the nominations for the local List is *essential* (extract 46). These extracts point to an implicit, and uncritical view that it is only the heritage 'experts' who are in a position to validate what is and what is not 'heritage'. Professionals, in the form of 'experts' therefore appear crucial to ensure heritage lists are defensible. This defence, it would appear, can only be made using traditional and well-established heritage values. From this, questions clearly arise around the implications for the democratisation of local heritage processes, as well as the implementation of localism.

Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 3

What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

6.4 A Competing and Incompatible Growth Agenda

Linked to the above, the national data point to another wider conflict affecting heritage designation. Indeed, they suggest that the discernible social discourses appear to have been largely silenced by an even stronger discourse; that pertaining to the growth agenda:

47. I think things have moved on. I wouldn't say that social inclusion isn't a priority but it's probably not the top one now. I mean it fits in with big society and localism which clearly are priorities. I mean personally I feel there's a bit of tension between some of those objectives and things like the growth agenda which is the biggest priority of all and some of these things, they don't actually fit together very well. They can't do everything (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

48. ...there is such a view from Government at the moment on obviously enabling growth into helping to make designation much more ... sort of post designation much more efficient to allow change to happen ... without kind of getting bogged down with endless consents. So I think there's probably quite a lot of Government will behind that I think (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

49. I mean a few years ago I think the Government was much keener on that [social inclusion] than they are now (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

50. I think at the moment there's not a movement to do this [involve communities] because there's various things competing for the attention (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

51. I think times have just moved on a bit since then. There is a bit of a tension between having an efficient and speedy system and having lots of public involvement and consultation and I think there's a bit of a balance there which perhaps wasn't fully thought through originally (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

The above statements made by senior managers in both DCMS and English Heritage reveal a clear conflict in Central Government objectives. They allude to mixed strategic messages, and indicate that, in this imagined battle of the strategies, it is the growth agenda which is probably travelling with more conviction down to the local level. This stronger, more powerful, pro-growth message may be reaching the coalface largely at the expense of the social inclusion-localism message; which, it appears by virtue, is being diluted and vaporised. Consequently, any shifting or reconfiguration of the norms and practices of local conservation planning will most likely be in response to the most powerful message conveyed to local authority

planners and conservation professionals. As such, this implies a need to explore the coherence between 'declared' national strategies and their understanding (and subsequent implementation) at the local level. Linked to the above, several other issues emerged as potentially prohibitive of real change at the local level.

Lack of Central Government Support to Deviate from Norms

One of the crucial factors to emerge during the interview process as potentially prohibitive of real change was the lack of Central Government support to deviate from the long-standing conservation norms and ideologies. This idea is expanded in the extracts below:

52. They need a clear and strong message and almost a sort of implementation plan or strategy. It needs to be thought through and then strongly and positively conveyed to those professionals and the wider communities or nothing will ever change. It will remain business as usual (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

53. So [there has been] oral history type projects and those sort of projects that look at community and its existence in the UK, but there hasn't really been the support there for a real strategic programme (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

54. Its happening but it's very hit and miss as to how it's happening, there's no strategic support really to pull all those things together (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

The statements point towards a strong consensus that there is a lack of clear, defined, strategy for implementing a more socially-centred form of conservation management. Ideas are vague, social projects are ad hoc and there is no means of pulling together and integrating the limited progressive steps made into the mainstream. There is no implementation plan, or well-informed guidance to follow. Furthermore, the modal use of the word *need* (extract 52) stresses that a strong message from Central Government (conveyed through a clear strategy) is indeed essential if change is to happen. The use of the adverb *positively* is also interesting in that it exposes an implicit assumption that the social message could in fact be negatively conveyed (extract 52). The use of the adjective *real* (*for a real strategic programme*) in extract 53 also portrays the speaker's underlying and inherent understanding that the strategy to date has been illusory, and confined to the mere level of rhetoric. This lack of strategic clarity is impounded by the explicit malleability and consequent lack of obligation conveyed in national guidance notes. For instance, advice set out within the Local List Guide to be socially inclusive and include intangible, social/communal aspects of heritage value in decision-making

criteria is hollowed out by the parallel flexibility. It thus becomes somewhat futile:

55. Well in the Guide we haven't really said these are the criteria you absolutely have to have. The approach we've taken in the Guide is really to say...ultimately it's up to you, if you want to design some that suit your local needs then that's what you should do (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The tractability of this advice, together with the apparent blurring of the social message and the explicit lack of strategic support to deviate from the established norms highlighted above, is seemingly further hindered by severe budgetary cuts, which have further consequences for heritage processes which begin with communities.

Lack of Resources

The impeding issue of resources (staff, funding and time) emerged as a dominant theme during the national interviews. The recent depletion of resources ironically stands in opposition to the stated desire for localism. This, together with the lack of advocacy further implies a lack of commitment from Central Government to bring this strategy to fruition at the local level.

56. Unfortunately we have lost a lot of staff over the last 18 months or so and I think that was just seen as...I guess designation and things like that are our core role and things external to that are nice to have but when it comes to cutting they're the first things to be cut and I think that's probably common in local authorities as well. My role is only until the end of next month, so that's the end of my role (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

57. The people that we most need to help us get this up and running are getting thin on the ground. There's just no getting away from the fact that local authorities are really stretched at the moment and will probably be stretched for quite a long way into the future... I think that's just the reality of the situation (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

58. It puts pressure on local authorities and we all know that they're being, you know, tightened up in terms of numbers and resourcing so it is, yeah it's another sort of conflict there (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

59. I think it's very difficult for authorities at the moment, what they've got to look at and the cuts they've got to take over the next three years are substantial and I still honestly think, and bearing in mind I've met with the vast majority of the chief execs from the authorities, they're working through...their primary concern is to maintain the services, the essential services to the community (Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012).

60. I think the authorities themselves are going through a real difficult time in having to manage the budgets, but also all the personal issues that surround that as well and actually still providing the high quality service (Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012).

61. They [conservation officers] have been trying and I'd say a lot of good things are happening, but unfortunately they're the first things to disappear when funding dries up or funding becomes tight (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

62. Outreach is still seen as a luxury item for many people or for many organisations (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

63. Well, as I say, I speak for an organisation that had 32% cuts in the last year, so we're not going to be in a position to do more I'm sure (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

This collection of statements regarding resourcing issues is fundamental as it reveals a number of consequences. Firstly, there is a clear consensus that local authorities are presently under a lot of pressure, jobs are being lost or are threatened, and this clearly brings with it personal issues; stress, uncertainty and demotivation. In such a cultural climate, asking those professionals to change or adapt their established ideologies and ways of working and to step outside of their comfort zones may be particularly challenging.

Secondly, the direct implication of reduced resources is a need to realign priorities and focus purely on core work or frontline, key services. This paradox is described by Interviewee Five as a *conflict* (extract 58). This conflict seeks to reaffirm a growing assumption that the social-localism discourse has lost its momentum, is not *the* priority for national Government, and thus may not be translating into local practice. Moreover, the use of the word *external* (extract 56) is particularly revealing as it resonates with the initial assumption that recognising the social relevance of heritage is seen as something *additional*; something *outside* of the established norms. What is more, the involvement of communities (which would be necessary to reveal such social aspects of heritage) is considered a *luxury* (extract 62), rather than something central to heritage designation. Indeed, it is important to note the degree of undialogicality in the final statement above (extract 63). The speaker's absolute and authoritative tone leaves no doubt that as a direct consequence of 32% cuts, there will be no progress made towards meeting the elusive objectives of localism (no advancement in social inclusion processes and no headway made in relation to identifying and legitimising the social aspects of heritage value). These consequences are expanded by the statements set out below. In particular, emphasis is placed upon the need for cultural change and a reconsideration of the

underlying philosophies underpinning conservation and heritage practice:

64. They [planners/conservation officers] retreat back into what they feel is what their day to day service is going to be, rather than taking chances and being more imaginative and actually using that chance to rethink how they do things, rather than just falling back to their traditional audiences. I think it's still quite a difficult mindset to break through within local authorities. Outreach is still seen by many as the luxury end of what they do and it will be as long as all you're doing is Outreach. If you're doing Outreach there needs to be in-reach as well, it needs to be used to change the mindsets of those who are making decisions and taking the opportunities for the noise that is being developed to actually become part of the mainstream process. Until that really happens it will always be a bolt on project at the end of the day and it doesn't help when the lead organisation running the heritage get rid of their education department and their Outreach people when funding disappears and it just becomes...yes, they will have moved on from where they were but there's still that mindset that there is only certain things we should be doing (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

65. I think one of the issues with heritage is that there's so much day to day work to be done...and I think it's really hard to step back and think about things in that more philosophical sense, I guess, because we just don't have the resources to do it (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The extracts suggest that the aforementioned mixed strategic messages at National Government level, together with reduced budgets and diminishing capacity result in planning and conservation professionals confining their daily working practices to those which reflect longstanding practices and processes (in other words, orthodox approaches to conservation). Such intrinsic processes are likely to be considered less risky, and are thus more comfortable and reassuring in a period of uncertainty and ambiguity.

Moreover, the point made above about *outreach* and *in-reach* (extract 64) is also important, and requires deeper investigation within the local analysis work. The point made here is that the term, outreach, used as a noun, suggests an act of extending services/benefits to a wider section of the population, which is something 'special' and 'uncommon'; something outside of mainstream practice. Ironically, *outreach*, as an *act* becomes further compartmentalised and exclusive; hindering integration of such inclusive practices as part of the mainstream normative approaches to conservation work. Moreover, whilst some outreach work may take the form of standalone projects in certain departments of the local authority, if this is to become a standard part of mainstream work, there is a wider challenge to overcome. This challenge, according to the data evidence, may rest with the *mindsets* of the planning and conservation professionals (extract 64). The interviewee argues that a form of in-reach needs to take place in order to change the underlying culture of the profession. Extract 65 above agrees that there is a fundamental necessity to re-evaluate the very ideologies and philosophies which

underpin the conservation planning profession. Whilst he suggests that this re-evaluation is hindered by a lack of resources, this will need to be examined within the local case study work. Clearly, such innate values and working practices are difficult to transform; suggesting a need for real strategic leadership and advocacy, and continuous reinforcement of contemporary values and tenets. This is something that, according to the national data, appears to be lacking.

6.5 Building the Arguments

Collectively, the analysis above points to several themes which require deeper investigation at the local level of heritage designation. The national data evidence points to somewhat subtle transformations in the way 'heritage' is conceptualised, but crucially, a particular stark contrast in how it is *imagined* to be understood and applied at the local level of designation. Indeed, it is the local level of heritage designation which is perceived as having the scope to be more inclusive, as well as the responsibility to implement nationally-devised strategies.

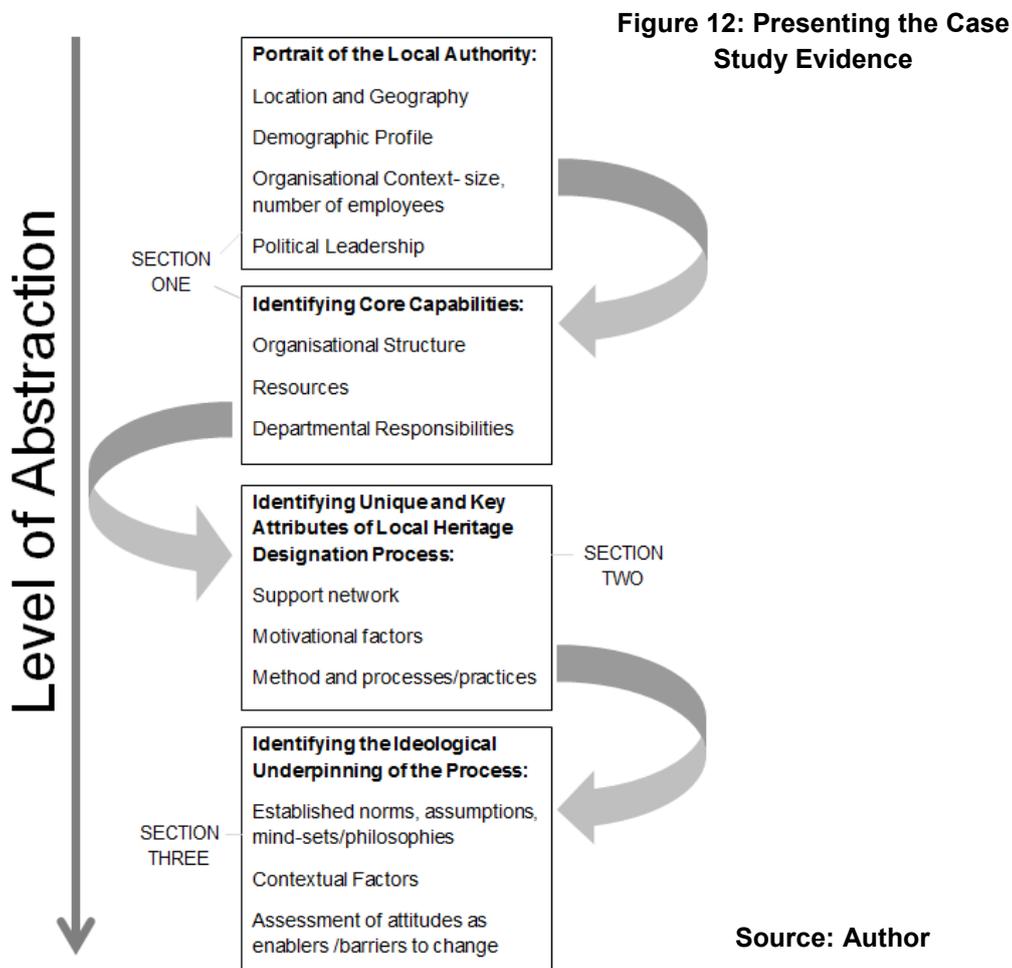
Notwithstanding this, it also points to several fundamental reasons why social and material hybridity in Local Heritage Designation may remain problematic for practice. The following chapters pick up on these multiple lines of enquiry to deepen the overall level of analysis. Building on these leads, the data collected at the local level within the two Local Authority settings presents a second layer of inquiry in order to comprehensively answer the central research questions

CHAPTER 7:

CASE STUDY 1: SOUTH TYNESIDE COUNCIL

7.1 Introduction

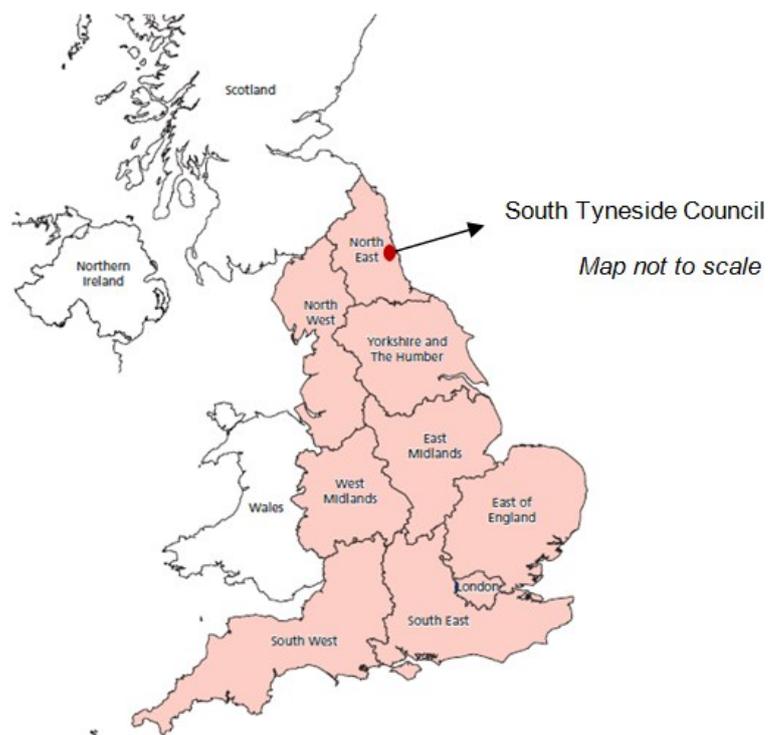
Case Study One uses South Tyneside Council (referred to *ergo* as STC) to provide an in-depth analysis of the Local Heritage Designation Process *in situ*. The chapter is divided into three sections: section one sets out a brief introduction to the case, including setting out its unique characteristics; section two presents and critically examines factual information relating to the Local Heritage Designation Process undertaken, and section three critically analyses the multiple forms of data collected (primary interview data, documentary evidence and survey results) to unravel the complex ideological and discursive content underpinning the process (Figure 12). To enable the development of the thesis' arguments to be followed more clearly, the third section is further subdivided into three parts; part A: analysis of data primarily relevant to addressing research question 1; part B: analysis of data primarily addressing research question 2, and part C: analysis of data primarily addressing research question 3.



Section 1: Portrait of the Local Authority

STC is a Metropolitan Borough Council in Tyne and Wear in North East England (Figure 13). The administrative area is distinctive in terms of its former Roman occupation and strong industrial heritage (shipbuilding, mining, heavy engineering and port related industries). This industrial heritage is responsible for periods of wealth, and later, high levels of unemployment and associated deprivation following the decline of these industries during the latter half of the twentieth century. STC is also distinctive in terms of its multicultural composition. It has a well-established Yemeni British community, which is one of the oldest Arab and Muslim communities in the UK (Ngoo, 2008). Despite a large Yemeni community, South Tyneside is predominantly home to a White British population. Other distinctive characteristics include a higher than average unemployment rate and a higher than average percentage of residents with no qualifications (ONS, 2011a). These unique characteristics, along with other background information about the case are drawn out in more detail in Appendix T. Based on the arguments presented in Chapter 5, such statistics make STC of particular interest as a case study to explore Local Heritage Designation Processes.

Figure 13: Map showing Location of South Tyneside



Source: ONS (2012)

Whilst the above has set the context for the case study and has drawn out some of the Local Authority's unique attributes, section two examines more closely the features of STC's Local Heritage Designation Process, including the organisational structure and contextual factors underpinning the process.

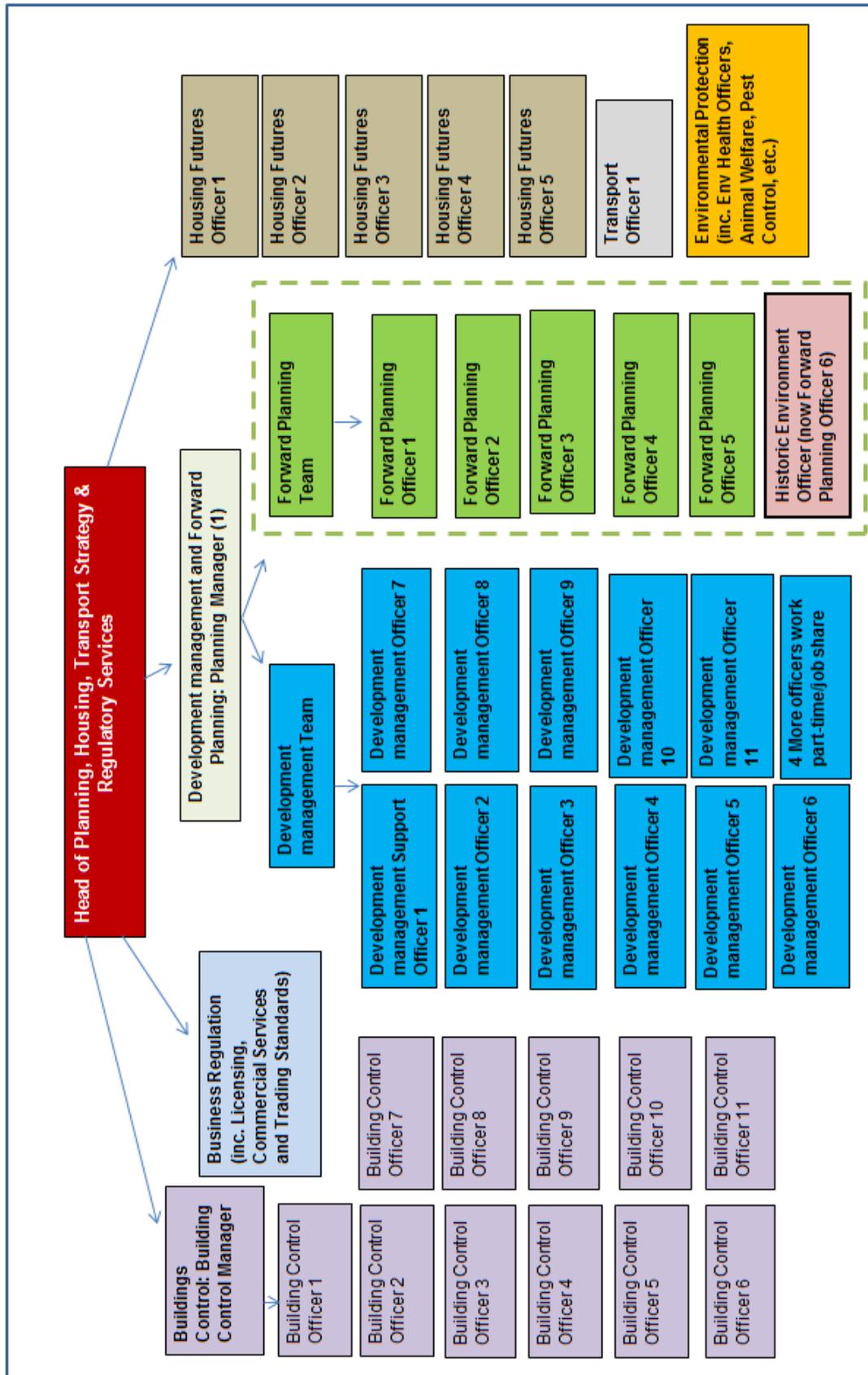
Section 2: Analysis of the Local Heritage Designation Process

7.2 Context and Core Capabilities at STC

The Local Heritage Designation Process at STC falls within the remit of the Planning Service. The Planning Service is divided between Development Management (control/regulatory services) and Forward Planning (strategic/policy-making). Within STC the responsibility for undertaking Local Heritage Designation lies with the Historic Environment Officer; an officer integrated within the Forward Planning team. One of the other five Forward Planning Officers was seconded to the Historic Environment Officer to assist with the process. Thus, in total two officers worked on preparation of the Local List. The detailed structure of the Planning, Housing, Transport, Strategy and Regulatory Service is set out in Figure 14.

Positioned within the Forward Planning Team, it is important to highlight that heritage work and conservation planning are not the core remit of the team, and indeed form a rather small part of the workload. The Forward Planning Team's core responsibility is undoubtedly the preparation of various local planning policy documents, which are intended to strategically guide future development within the borough. During the data collection period, the team's main priority was working on policy documents which formed part of the Council's Local Development Framework (LDF). These included general, strategic spatial planning documents such as the Core Strategy; more detailed development control policies; topic-related Supplementary Planning Documents (SPDs) covering wide-ranging subjects from housing and planning obligations to flood risk and green infrastructure; as well as a series of Area Action Plans for various towns and regeneration areas within the borough.

Figure 14: Organisational Structure at STC



Source: Author

As the chart shows, there were no conservation officers within the Council at the time of the current study, and only one Historic Environment Officer. This officer was responsible for all conservation work, including advising Development Management⁴¹ on planning applications and preparation and implementation of Conservation Area Character Appraisals and associated Management Plans for all of the borough's 11 conservation areas. The Local List work therefore had to fit into the Historic Environment Officer's already heavily populated work programme. Whilst this suggests a lack of strategic support for the Local List, and implies that it is considered of low priority, it was in fact considered necessary and of great importance for South Tyneside, as explained below.

7.3 Background, Support Network and Motivating Factors

The Local Heritage Designation Process, (supported by associated planning policies) was considered of high importance and received both officer and political support. The impetus driving the initial production/review of South Tyneside's Local List, however, related entirely to traditional conservation norms and values. Interviewee Thirteen explains below:

1. We've always had problems ensuring that any changes are made sympathetically and certainly my colleagues in Development Control recognised that we needed to recognise these buildings and somehow introduce some sort of control and the Local List was the only way that we could really do this (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

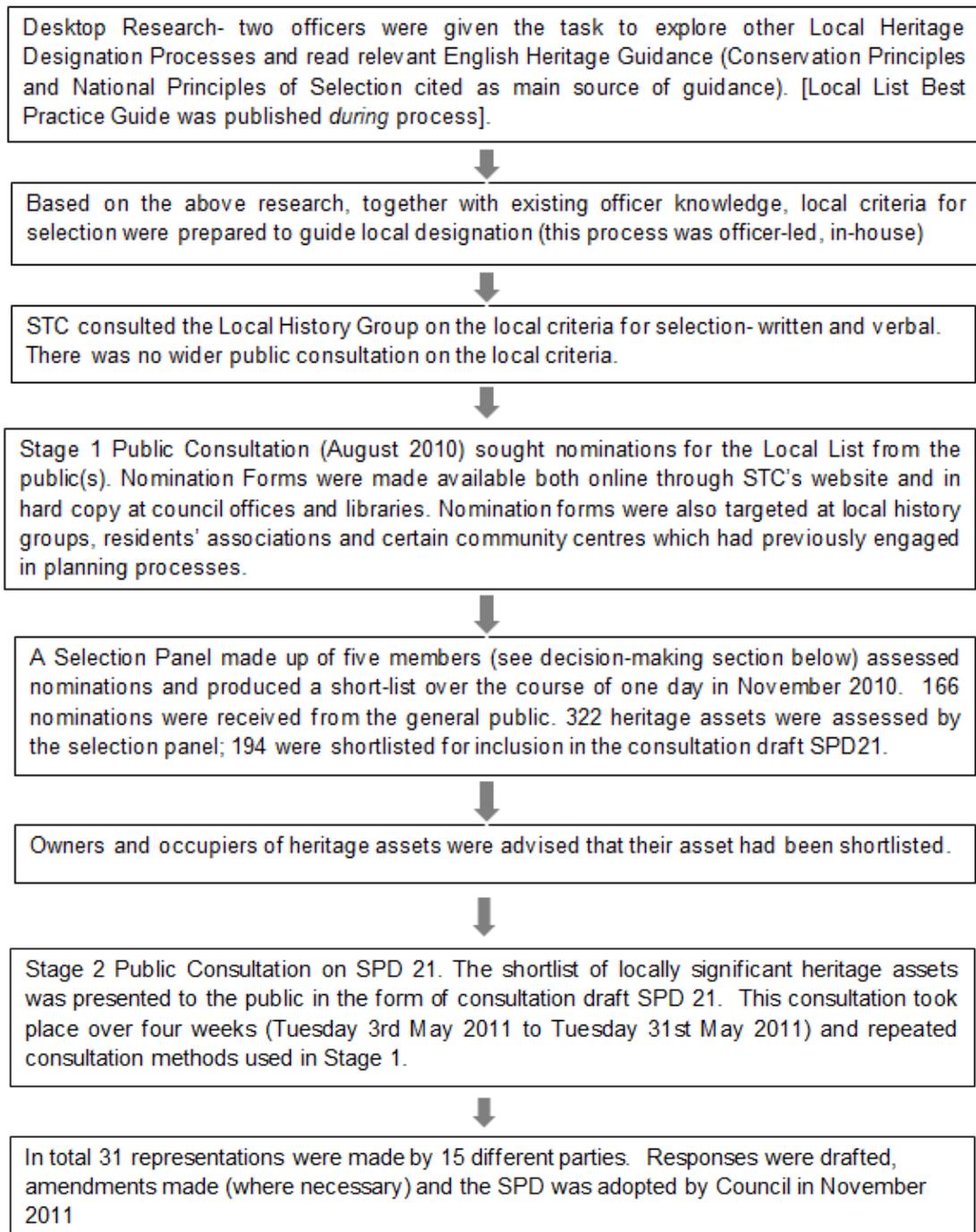
As such, it is clear that STC's Local List was underpinned from the outset by traditional conservation concerns about the appearance of its historic and architecturally significant buildings. Whilst these are equally important matters for heritage conservation, an explicit desire to seek a rebalancing of the process to include the social relevance of heritage did not appear to be an initial motivating factor.

7.4 Methodological Processes

Work at STC commenced prior to the production of English Heritage's Local List Best Practice Guide. The Guide however was published during the early stages of Local List preparation and thus was available to inform the process. A brief summary of the steps undertaken at STC is set out in the flow chart (Figure 15).

⁴¹ 'Development Management' is also sometimes referred to as 'Development Control'.

Figure 15 Summary of the STC Process



Source: Author

7.5 Decision-Making and Extent of Consultation

Figure 15 highlights a number of key points. Crucially, officers relied entirely on existing guidance, knowledge and expertise to guide the process undertaken, and more specifically, to compile local criteria for selection to determine what is and what is not 'heritage'. Indeed, this list of local criteria was only presented for

consultation to a local history group; not to the wider communities. As such, it was predominantly informed and controlled by professionals or those considered to have a source of technical conservation and/or historic expertise. The consultation undertaken was in line with minimal requirements set out in the Council's Statement of Community Involvement⁴² (South Tyneside Council, 2006) and statutory procedures described in Part 5 of the SPD regulations (2012)⁴³. It did not appear particularly innovative in methods used and did not target communities beyond the usual parties involved in such built environment, planning processes. Figure 16 presents a more detailed picture of the consultation process undertaken.

Figure 16: The Consultation Process at STC

<p>Summary of Extent of Consultation</p> <p>Copies of the consultation draft SPD21 were made available at the following locations:</p> <p>South Tyneside council offices (between the hours of 8:30am and 4:30pm Monday to Friday): Town Hall and Civic Offices, Westoe Road, South Shields NE33 2RL, Jarrow Town Hall, Grange Road, Jarrow NE32 3LE, Hebburn Civic Centre, Campbell Park Road, Hebburn NE31 2SW</p> <p>South Tyneside libraries (during normal opening hours): Boldon Lane Library, Boldon Lane, South Shields, NE34 0LZ, Chuter Ede Library Access Point, Chuter Ede Community Centre, Galsworthy Road, South Shields, NE34 9UG, Cleadon Park Library, PCT Building, Prince Edward Road, South Shields, NE34 7QD, East Boldon Library, Boker Lane, East Boldon, NE36 0RY Hebburn Library, Station Road, Hebburn, NE31 1PN, Jarrow Library, Cambrian Street, Jarrow, NE32 3QN Primrose Library, Glasgow Road, Jarrow, NE32 4AU, South Shields Central Library, Prince Georg Square, South Shields, NE33 2PE and Whitburn Library, Mill Lane, Whitburn, SR6 7EN</p> <p>In addition, the consultation draft SPD21 could be viewed or downloaded from the council's website at www.southtyneside.info/consultation.</p> <p>Consultation on draft Locally Significant Heritage Assets Supplementary Planning Document ran from 3rd May to 31st May, which coincides with Local and Community History Month. A press release about the consultation draft SPD 21 was published on 6th May 2011. A statutory notice advertising the consultation was placed in The Shields Gazette on Tuesday 3rd May 2011. Letters or e-mails publicising the consultation were sent to statutory consultees, owners and occupiers of shortlisted locally significant heritage assets, residents groups, local history groups, councillors, relevant council officers and others who requested to be kept informed about general progress on the LDF. A display was placed in South Shields Central Library for the week commencing 9th May 2011 and officers were on hand in the library to answer questions on 11th May 2011.</p>
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Source: Author

In terms of seeking nominations for the List (consultation stage one) and consulting upon those that had been selected for inclusion (consultation stage two), the consultation involved posting information on the Local Authority's website, publishing two press releases and depositing information (leaflets and the final document itself) in Council offices and libraries. Officers were available on one day in the district's central library to answer questions (a venue which whilst open to the

⁴² A document prepared by local authorities to set out how (and who) they will consult on planning matters.

⁴³ The Town and Country Planning (Local Planning) (England) Regulations (2012).

public, did not necessarily appear to reflect local diversity⁴⁴). Furthermore, information was posted/emailed to the Local Authority's Local Development Framework (LDF) database. Apart from statutory consultees⁴⁵, this database includes only those who have previously requested to be involved in general planning matters. The consultation process therefore did not include any targeting of any particular communities or groups to actively encourage participation or to build new relationships. Moreover, the expert-led formulation of local criteria for selection suggests that limited discursive space was provided by the Local Authority to negotiate the very essence of 'heritage' with communities. It would appear that communities were not considered an essential part of the process of defining the parameters of heritage validity and legitimacy from the outset.

7.6 Criteria for Designation

The criteria produced by the officers were based on the officer's, "research on other Local Lists", and, "guidance set out in Conservation Principles" (Interviewee Thirteen). The formulated criteria are divided into four overarching themes: heritage interest, historic association, architectural and design merit and townscape merit, and are set out in Figure 17 overleaf. These criteria are undoubtedly wider than the national statutory listing criteria⁴⁶, (particularly because of references within the first two categories to, 'strong community' significance), however the social-related criteria may be somewhat constrained by the wider 'historical' umbrella under which they sit. In other words, such social values must have some degree of *relevant* historic significance to be valid and accepted. Whilst historic significance is an important part of heritage conservation, as an organising concept and criterion of heritage validity it nevertheless raises some concerns. Indeed, when is history? When does something become historic and what are the parameters associated with that legitimisation? Such questions are unpacked in detail in Section 3 below. Moreover, the criteria state that any historic association 'must be well-documented'. This is an important point and how this particular requirement is translated into practice and subsequently influences conceptualisations of heritage is unravelled in the 'Objectivity and Rationality' section (see p183 below).

⁴⁴ See table of key democratic attributes in Appendix T and Appendix U, Figure U3.

⁴⁵ Local planning authorities must consult certain organisations on planning applications. These bodies are called statutory consultees and include organisations such as English Heritage and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) for instance.

⁴⁶ See Appendix A.

Figure 17: The Local Heritage Selection Criteria at STC

<p>Historic interest</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">A. Does it relate to an important aspect of local social, cultural, religious, political or economic history?B. Is it historically associated with an important local feature? <p>Historic Association</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">C. Is it closely associated with famous local people, local historic events, strong community or social development significance or people? (This must be well documented).D. Does it relate closely to any statutorily protected structure or site? <p>Architectural & Design merit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">E. Is the surviving building/structure/park or garden the work of a particular architect or designer that illustrates local or regional architectural history or design?F. Does it show qualities of age, style or distinctive characteristics relative to the area? <p>Townscape merit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">G. Does it provide an important visual amenity locally? For instance, does it make interesting use of visually significant sites and form a landmark?H. Is it a notable building(s) on an important route into the area, which creates a vista or contributes to the skyline?I. Does it emphasize corner sites or provide focal points in the townscape. <p>Street furniture or other structures can also be included in the local list, for example, boundary markers, post boxes, memorials, lamp posts and statues. These will be assessed using the criteria above.</p>
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Source: South Tyneside Council (2011a)

The above has critically examined factual information relating to the Local Heritage Designation Process undertaken at STC. Section 3 overleaf deepens this level of analysis using the multiple forms of data collected. In doing so, it draws out the ideologies and contextual factors underpinning the process and influencing decision-making in practice.

Section 3: Analysis of the Ideologies Underpinning the Process

Part A: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 1

To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process?

7.7 The Widening of the Normative Heritage Framework

Nuances evident in Professional Conceptualisations of 'Heritage'

Whilst specific questions have been raised in section 2 above, there is nevertheless some evidence of transformation and evolution in the ways in which heritage is perceived and acknowledged in relation to the Local Heritage Designation Process at STC. The following data extracts cumulatively make a strong case that professional understandings of heritage have broadened beyond physical fabric, aesthetics, rarity, time-depth and expert judgements:

2. I think of heritage in a wider sense than I used to, I think it's come to mean more than just historic buildings, I think it's to do with culture and I think everyone's got a different view of what heritage is. But I think we shouldn't be narrow minded about it (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
3. Well certainly when we're talking about...in terms of the Local List what we were wanting to include was not just old buildings, we wanted to include things that were considered of importance to this area, social heritage as well as built heritage. Things that were important to the community (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
4. I think that it's kind of who you speak to I suppose. I think nationally, such as English Heritage, they have to be quite focused on what they consider heritage but I think we can be a bit more relaxed about it on a local [level] and a bit more inclusive and what English Heritage think might be a load of rubbish, you know the local community might think is brilliant and really sort of value it (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
5. You just need to look back at what was the local list prior to this review and the local list prior to this review was about buildings, about old buildings and you look at what we've got in the list now and you can see that there's elements of social history there. So this list is significantly different to the list that went before and also the procedures to [get] on the list before, basically the person was tasked with doing a local list for the UDP and they thought of the Borough themselves and what they thought were significant old buildings. They went to the planning officers and said "What do you think are significant old buildings," and they said, "Right," and that was the local list. It did go to the Tyne and Wear conservation officer... but again it was just purely conservation experts who looked at it and said these buildings, these old buildings are okay to put on your list. Whereas now, as I've said, it's more there's an element of social heritage in there as well, not just built heritage (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

6. So the idea of the Local List, I mean we've always had a Local List but it's always been dominated by buildings and certainly it's still buildings-focussed, dominated by buildings but I think it's developed into something a bit more, a bit more community friendly (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

The focus of heritage appears to have changed, at least on a rhetorical level, from centring on the buildings themselves, to the recognition of intangible aspects of heritage, such as ascribed social and cultural meanings. As one officer states, it is *to do with culture* (extract 2). Each extract draws a connection between, on the one hand, material and social *hybridity* of heritage, and on the other, the role and importance of the community: for example, extract 3 implies that *social heritage* is *important to the community* and that the process has *developed into something a bit more, a bit more community friendly* (extract 6). This highlights a clear meeting of traditional and social discourses. Indeed, heritage at the local level is considered more socially inclusive (extract 4); whereas it is explicitly acknowledged that Local Heritage Designation *used to be dominated by conservation experts* (extract 5).

Notwithstanding this evidence of evolution and an apparent direction of travel towards embracing the social relevance of heritage, linguistic analysis reveals some marked implications. For instance, the use and continued repetition of the words, 'I think' (extract 2) suggests a degree of tentativeness towards what is being said, and other lexico-syntactical elements include the use of *hedging* in extract 4. The hedge, *sort of* is a textual strategy of using linguistic means in a certain context for specific communicative purposes, such as for communicating vagueness or mitigation (Fairclough, 1992). Together these markers point to a general confusion about the social/communal heritage value concept at the local level of designation, implying that it is important, but rather vague and misunderstood. Moreover, the words '*a bit more*', used with, *a bit more relaxed, a bit more inclusive* (extract 4) and *a bit more community friendly* (extract 6), implicitly reveal that this transformation is more subtle than first implied. It suggests that any real change in practice is perhaps negligible. Finally, the admission that despite this social emphasis, the Local List is still buildings-focussed (extract 6) is also indicative of a dominant understanding and a normative working culture which, for one reason or another appears to be difficult to fundamentally change.

Nuances evident in General Conceptualisations of heritage

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the examples above clearly provide rhetorical markers to confirm that professional conceptualisations of heritage are wider than the national statutory criteria of 'architectural and historic significance' and the

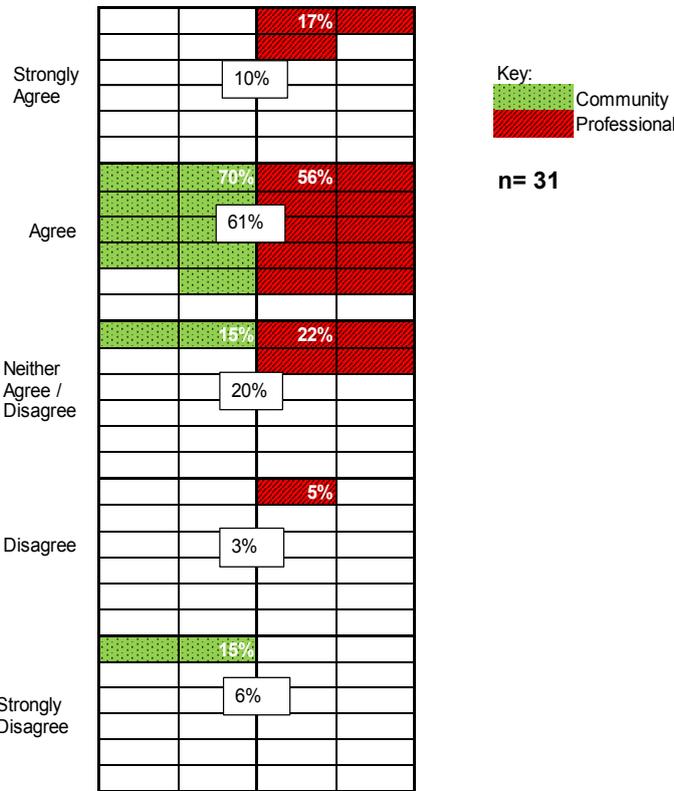
limited parameters of rarity, age and monumentality. This interpretation is further contextualised by the accompanying survey results.

Whilst a large majority of respondents either *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that the traditional conservation values: great architecture (94%), monuments (93%) and historical buildings (94%) constitute heritage, more than half of respondents also agreed that modern⁴⁷ buildings (71%) and industrial buildings (78%) could also be of heritage value and thus worthy of designation. This general consensus provides evidence of a readjustment of the normative heritage discourse; in other words, a degree of mutability. Indeed in assessing the 194 accepted entries on the Local List, several entries referred to the designated asset as being 'part of our industrial heritage' as justification for inclusion on the Local List (e.g. entry numbers 2, 8, 35 and 62 among others). There are also examples of more recently constructed buildings identified as local heritage such as an Eco Centre (built in 1996), which is argued to be 'a pioneering idea', and the Quadrus Centre (built in 2005) which is described as a 'striking landmark' and 'an example of contemporary Dutch architecture' (STC, 2011b). Whilst such evidence suggests that these types of heritage value have become a natural part of the normative heritage discourse, it is still important to note that in most cases, the significance of these buildings was deemed inherent in their physical fabric. Notwithstanding this, the survey results confirm this observed transition graphically, illustrating clear patterns of similarity between professional and non-professional views (see visual mapping of results in Figure 18 and Figure 19). Indeed, they reveal a pattern of broad consensus in positive attitudes towards these post-industrial, late twentieth century inspired conceptualisations of heritage.

⁴⁷ Within this thesis, reference to 'modern' heritage should be understood to mean buildings or structures 'recently built' (i.e. anytime within the last ten years). This was clarified with research participants from the outset.

Figure 18: Survey Results: “Modern” Structures and “Heritage” Eligibility

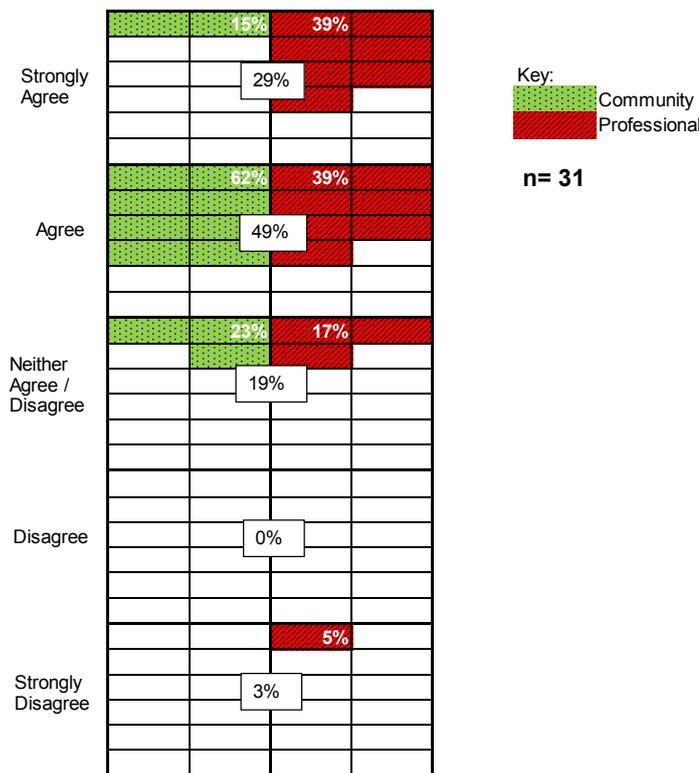
Heritage is Modern Buildings
(contemporary/new - age of building is irrelevant)



The visual mapping of the survey results show the responses separated: **by group** (community responses on the left (represented by dots) and professional responses on the right (represented by stripes)), and also: **by degree of agreement to the statement** (from strongly agree at the top, down to strongly disagree at the bottom). Each shaded box represents one survey response. The percentage of responses to each category is provided, as well as the total percentage for each category of agreement (including both professional and non-professional respondents) n = total number of respondents answering this question at the respective case study location.

Source: Author

Figure 19: Survey Results: “Industrial” Structures and “Heritage” Eligibility



Heritage is Industrial Buildings

Source: Author

Such broader conceptualisations of heritage also filtered through into the formulation of the local criteria for selection (introduced in section 2- Figure 17, p157). The officers leading the Local Heritage Designation Process took a view that it was advantageous to include more wide-ranging local criteria (beyond purely traditional values relating to aesthetics, age and monumentality). Indeed, four of the nine criteria related to social and economic history and historical association. Whilst somewhat vague, criterion C also sought heritage values which relate to *strong community or social development significance*. This seemingly flexible and comprehensive approach to setting the local criteria however was not a conscious response to calls for a more social, participative approach to heritage designation, nor to the national localism agenda. Instead, officers were benchmarking against other Local Authorities and did not want *to miss anything* (extract 7):

7. We did a lot of research on existing Local Lists ... pretty much countrywide, and we just made sure that we had everything covered. I think we felt that we'd rather have more criteria than people might think necessary than to miss anything, so we tried to make it as comprehensive as possible within what we could do (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

The reference to *more criteria than people might think necessary* indicates that in the view of the officer, some of the criteria used are outside of the expected conservation norms. Moreover, the quotation also points to a strong culture of positively learning from other Local Authorities, however this is simultaneously coupled with an implicit feeling of operating within clearly defined boundaries. The constraints embedded in this understated clause, *within what we could do* are important, and clearly contrast with the flexible tone of the Local List Best Practice Guide, as well as more general localism and social-orientated principles. It implies that officers may strive for innovation and inclusion within conservation processes, yet may be somewhat constrained by the legislative and/or operational parameters of their profession and the wider environment in which they work.

Notwithstanding the above, the following extracts, taken from publicity material and the formalised Local List SPD in fact suggest a largely unconstrained widening in professional understandings of heritage, which appears to stretch beyond the aforementioned material-based nuances and indeed appear to recognise social significance:

8. The list includes a variety of heritage assets that use traditional vernacular materials and construction techniques, are local landmarks, are good examples of buildings or structures by local architects, or simply are historically or socially important to the borough. The list also includes assets that contribute positively to the local street scene or have a distinctive character or identity (SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets)
9. Significance refers to the value of a heritage asset ... because of its heritage interest. That interest may be archaeological, architectural, historic or cultural (Article for South Shields Local History Group Newsletter)
10. Cultural heritage [include] inherited assets which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and traditions of others (SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets)

These extracts are clearly suggestive of a continued transition in the way heritage is conceptualised at the local level. Crucially, heritage discourse appears to be adjusting to the injection of social-related discourses. Indeed, discursively, equal weight appears to be given to both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage values. Specifically, it is stated that heritage interest may be *cultural* (extract 9) and that cultural heritage is about values which *people* ascribe to something, rather than it being merely concerned with the aesthetics or materiality of the buildings themselves (extract 10). Most importantly, it is acknowledged that something may be valued as heritage because it is a *reflection* or an *expression* of beliefs and traditions. This represents a step change in professional, orthodox understandings of heritage, which have traditionally centred on historical and architectural significance, rarity and monumentality. It also signifies an important transformation in the ontological status of buildings in the conservation of built heritage.

Of further note, the use of the conjunction *or*, in extract 8 (*historically or socially important*) is of particular significance in its grammatical use to represent alternatives. In other words, it appears to demonstrate the categorical nature of the two types of heritage significance, 'historical' and 'social', implying that these are indeed independent of one another. As such, the implication of this conjunction is that a social value does not appear to require a historical element. Furthermore, the use of the verb *evolving* (extract 10) in relation to *evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions* also suggests that time is not a restraining factor in cultural heritage values. The verb suggests a process, something gradual, or developing. At what stage such beliefs and traditions *become* heritage is rather ambiguous, but does not yet appear to be constrained by time-depth. This idea will be scrutinised further below.

The Notion of Longevity

As argued in Chapter 2, whilst conserving heritage for its historic significance is an essential part of conservation of the built environment, it is not the only form of heritage significance. The data evidence appears to reflect this understanding to some extent, demonstrating some degree of flexibility in relation to the age of a building eligible to be designated. Data suggest that in practice, some degree of effort is being made by officers to reduce the emphasis on age as a parameter of heritage legitimacy. This notion is apparent in interview data as well as promotional material for the Local List. As the data evidence below demonstrates, particular emphasis is placed on the understanding that something does not have to be 'historic' to be heritage.

11. The council is not just looking for 'historic' assets. Nominations could be relatively new but just as locally significant (Article for Local History Group).
12. More recent buildings, structures or spaces can be just as important to our local heritage (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
13. The council is not just looking for 'historic' assets. Nominations could be relatively new but just as locally significant. One example is the ferry landing at Mill Dam which is by no means a historic structure but it is locally significant and is an important gateway into South Tyneside used by thousands of people every year (Article for South Shields Local History Group Newsletter).

Whilst the above extracts imply that heritage can be something *relatively new* (extract 11 and 13) or *more recent* (extract 12), it is important to highlight that there remains an underlying tendency to associate time-depth or longevity with integrity and/or validity. For instance, the example referred to in extract 13 above (the ferry landing) is analysed more closely to illustrate this point.

Figure 20: The Ferry Landing



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

The ferry landing (Figure 20), whilst built in 1989, is referred to as *new* (see extract 14 below). At the time of writing (2013), however, the ferry landing is in fact 24 years old (thus inclusion of this structure is not a major departure from the 30 year rule applied to the national statutory list). Moreover, the *new* ferry landing replaced a century old landing. Indeed, there have been ferries operating across the Tyne River since the fourteenth century. In discussing changing perspectives on the importance of age to heritage designation, an officer made the following comments:

14. I guess in terms of age, no, ... for example, the Ferry Landing, now that is significant to South Shields, it's part of what makes South Shields what it is, we've got a ferry that goes back and forward between the North and South Shields and that was put forward as a nomination. That was built 1989, the new one. A ferry back and forward, there is longevity in that, but that particular structure that we've got on the Local List, that's not an old structure (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

The history of a crossing and of a ferry landing at South Shields, (together with the officer's comment, *there is longevity in that* (extract 14)) implies that the notion of longevity or time-depth in some form remains a critical factor in the heritage designation process and is certainly more theoretically complex than first thought. Likewise, in the justification for inclusion, stated in the Local List Technical Appendices, the reason for the ferry landing's designation is stated as, "historically a crossing at this point". Whilst initial interpretation would suggest that the age of a building, structure or site is irrelevant to heritage legitimisation, there nevertheless appears to still be a need for some form of history *associated* with the material object. This indicates that more abstract notions of history are becoming embedded in decision-making, yet it still appears that professionals are looking for a particular type of history and/or historical association. This could potentially be obstructive to calls for the recognition of heritage that does not conform to a historic time-depth and is, instead, produced in the present (for instance, the establishing of a traditional non-British or other minority community's mosque, school or community/spiritual centre⁴⁸). Notwithstanding this, it does however demonstrate clear shifting perspectives on how 'history', and its relationship with heritage, is perceived and interpreted at STC.

Despite such apparent subtleties regarding the legitimisation and validity of such heritage values, this complexity does not appear as relevant when the heritage value relates to a building/structure of architectural quality. The Quadrus Centre at Boldon Business Park, for example was built in 2005, and acts as a gateway to

⁴⁸ Specific examples of this arise in Case Study 2.

South Tyneside on the main A19 trunk road (Figure 21).

Figure 21: The Quadrus Centre



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

The building which is included in the Local List is only seven years old at the time of writing (2013), but is deemed of high architectural value, and has received several awards for its ‘iconic’ design. The justification for inclusion given in the Local List Technical Appendices is that it is a “striking landmark”. Whilst the Quadrus Centre is considered of high aesthetic value, high architectural significance and high townscape value, it is less than 10 years of age. Despite this, it is included on the Local List and considered a legitimate aspect of heritage because its aesthetic value is given priority in the decision-making process as a determinant of heritage. This suggests that heritage integrity is more easily identified if it relates to one of the predefined, naturalised determinants of heritage. These naturalised determinants still seem to revolve, first and foremost, around a building’s aesthetics and physical appearance. The Quadrus Centre, whilst demonstrating no historical significance, clearly appealed to a more comfortable, traditional understanding of heritage as something *architecturally* significant. This long-established conservation value has sufficient power *alone* to secure legitimisation in the designation process.

Despite this apparent departure from the traditional familiarity of time-depth, on deeper analysis of documentary evidence publicising the Local List process (reports prepared for the community area forum(s) (CAF), the lead members briefing (LMB) and the Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) itself) they all appeared to continually slip back into describing the process as one which prioritises and is predominantly (or even exclusively) designed to identify and conserve *historic*

buildings, structures and sites:

15. This report provides the Community Area Forum with a progress report and information on the updated list of South Tyneside's locally significant historic assets (Hebburn CAF document)
16. The adoption of an updated local list as a Supplementary Planning Document is key to assisting in the protection and preservation of those heritage assets deemed by local communities to be of historic significance (LMB Report-Local List)
17. The recommendations will enable the local list to be updated and formalised as part of the council's Local Development Framework. This will ensure greater awareness and protection of the borough's locally important historic assets. (LMB Report-Local List)
18. [Heritage is] all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and landscaped and planted or managed flora. Those elements of the historic environment that hold significance are called heritage assets (SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets)

The descriptions above continually refer to the Local List as a tool to conserve '*historic assets*', and by virtue seemingly prioritising *historic values*. This demonstrates that on a subconscious level, history and longevity remain cultural norms in conservation practice. On deeper linguistic analysis of the quotations above, one can see further evidence of decision-makers clinging to certain orthodox conservation principles. The use of the verb *surviving* (extract 18) powerfully reinforces a traditional ideological representation of heritage, which implicitly and subconsciously shapes and postulates the context in which it is framed. It works to portray heritage as something old, precious and confined to the past. This harks back to traditional understandings of heritage, which suggest that at the core of heritage/conservation management issues is a duty to safeguard physical survivals of the past. Consequently, this form of value assumption appears to *justify* the traditional heritage discourse (these are the types of heritage which we have a *duty* (obligation) to identify/protect for the future). This also semantically reinforces the priority of future generations, while passivating present generations. As argued in Chapter 2, conserving heritage of this type (i.e. survivals of the past) is an essential part of conservation; however the undialogical text does not appear to acknowledge any competing or alternative points of view.

Indeed, the comments made by a member of the decision-making panel, tasked with assessing the nominations for the Local List at STC, confirm that age and historic significance were most often used as organising concepts to assess heritage validity and/or integrity:

19. I seem to remember there was a general historic one which appealed to the judges (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).
20. Historic interest and historic association were four of the eight and there's architectural and design merit and townscape merit and I seem to remember it was certainly those historic ones which we used more frequently (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Indeed, the historic criteria *appealed* to decision-makers. In other words, they were clearly comfortable with this traditional parameter of heritage.

7.8 A Dominant Framing of Heritage

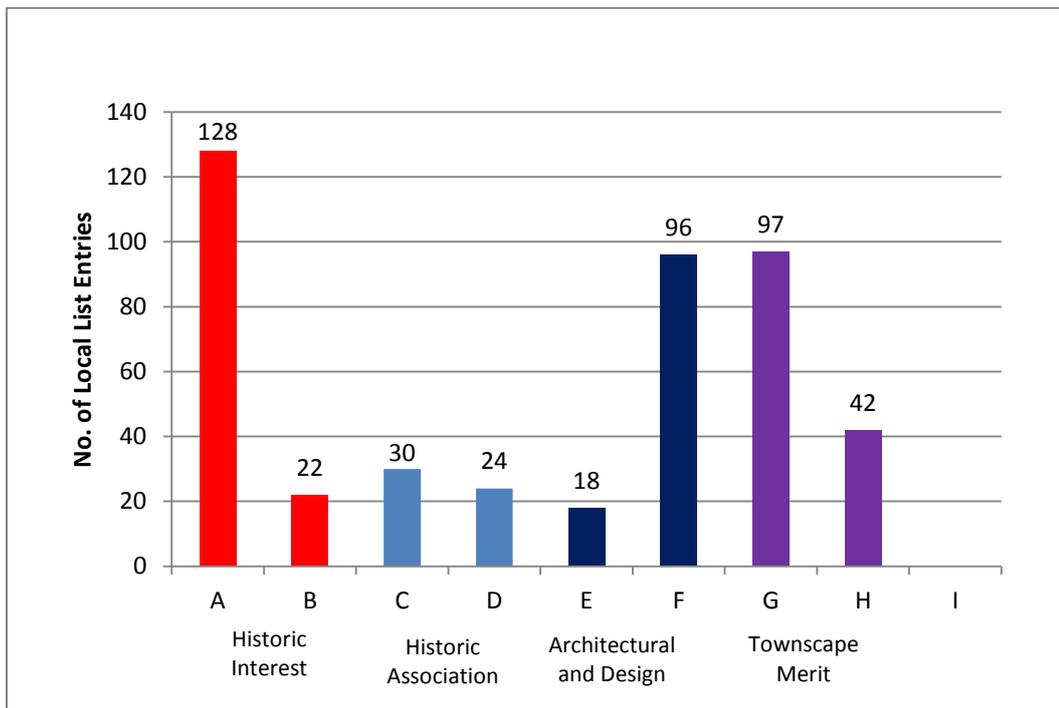
Privileging of Material Values

Despite the initial overt, yet discursive indication of much wider, more inclusive conceptualisations of heritage (expressed in earlier quotations) the data evidence unveils what appears to be an assemblage of often competing discourses. Indeed, social discourses are clearly permeating the traditional normative assumptions surrounding heritage value; yet there appears to be a sub-conscious retraction or regression back to the dominant notion of heritage which appears to allow it to prevail and to be privileged. For instance, while a wide range of local criteria were drawn up to assess nominations (including industrial heritage, townscape, local historic associations, strong community or social development and aspects of social and economic history), the associated SPD by contrast, did not draw out these alternative discourses of heritage and instead slipped back to the authoritative, absolute and dialogically closed statements relating to the comfortable, traditional buildings-led conservation values:

21. Significance is determined by an asset's heritage interest. This interest may be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic (Para 3.4 SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets).

To understand the consequences of this for practical implementation of the Local Heritage Designation Process, it was considered important to examine decision-making and justifications for including/rejecting nominations. This critical examination of the decision-making process revealed that Local Heritage Designation decisions at STC remain dominated by aesthetic and historical judgements. Figure 22 shows the Local List entries broken down by criteria used to justify designation.

**Figure 22: Values Framework:
Local Heritage Entries (broken down by criteria used for justification)**



Source: Author

The graph illustrates that the most commonly applied criteria used to justify designations are criterion A, F and G. These are set out below in full:

Historic interest
A. Does it relate to an important aspect of local social, cultural, religious, political or economic history?

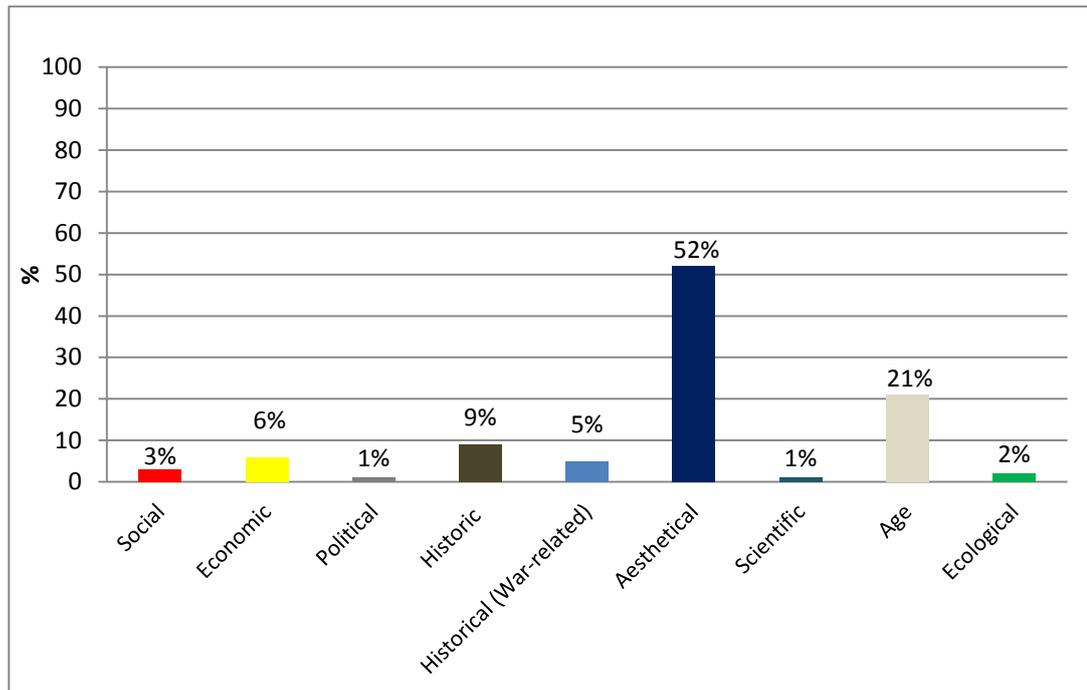
Architectural & Design merit
F. Does it show qualities of age, style or distinctive characteristics relative to the area?

Townscape merit
G. Does it provide an important visual amenity locally? For instance, does it make interesting use of visually significant sites and form a landmark?

Whilst thematically, these frequently used criteria correlate quite closely with national statutory criteria (historic and architectural significance) and the characteristics of the AHD (namely physical-led, material values related to aesthetics and age), criterion A is however rather ambiguous. Whilst it makes clear that history is a crucial factor in decision-making, it is unclear to what extent intangible aspects of different types of history receive legitimisation in the process. This is important to understand because it will reveal exactly what does and does

not qualify as heritage within the broader category of ‘history’ and will shed some light on why some versions may be valid whilst others are not. To investigate this further, Figure 23 presents a graphical display of the decision-making principles using a values framework which has been broken down a step further, to understand more clearly how heritage was assessed:

**Figure 23: Values Framework:
Local Heritage Entries (broken down in further detail)**



Source: Author

What is clear from this deeper analysis is that the most commonly accepted values to justify local heritage designation appear to relate to the building/structure’s aesthetical qualities (52%) and age (21%). There are clearly examples of other accepted heritage values, however where these were recorded, they were usually coupled with another more traditional conservation value pertaining to architectural or historic significance. For example, 1 – 18 Greens Place at Mile End Road, South Shields is awarded criteria A and C (both relating to history and association), yet is justified for inclusion in the Local List based purely on ‘*architectural merit*’. Despite detailing a historical narrative about the social significance of the buildings, the formal description focusses on the aesthetics of the buildings, “*They still have much of their original look and the influence of the 1930s Art Deco style can be seen in the shape of their windows and balconies*”. In other words, in terms of justification, the officers rely purely on architectural merit, rather than any social historical significance. There are many other examples of this such as West Hall Farm at

Cleadon Lane, Cleadon, which despite being awarded criteria A, is justified for inclusion only because the buildings are *intact*.

Indeed, in the majority of cases where criterion A was ticked, it was supported by architectural descriptions which were the main reason for justification on the List. Furthermore, criterion A appeared to be awarded somewhat frivolously (if the nomination in question had any known history to it at all). It therefore appears to be used merely for additionality. Whilst this approach clearly provides unique evidence of a much more relaxed understanding of heritage than the conservation orthodoxy would allow, the justification statements clearly remain dominated by values pertaining to the physical fabric and the age of the buildings/structures. Any historical narratives were seen as a supplementary point of interest, rather than central to decision-making.

Building on this, evidence also exposed that officers did not commit time to attempting to uncover such intangible heritage values:

22. I suppose we didn't really go out of our way to look for the social values, the narratives and things... (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Moreover, when probed about the use of criteria, officers took a view that the more criteria that were met, the more *significant* the nomination and the more confident professionals could be that it justified local designation (see extract 23 below):

23. ...you only need to meet one of the criteria to be successful but it's always best to try to meet as many as possible to help us justify the significance (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

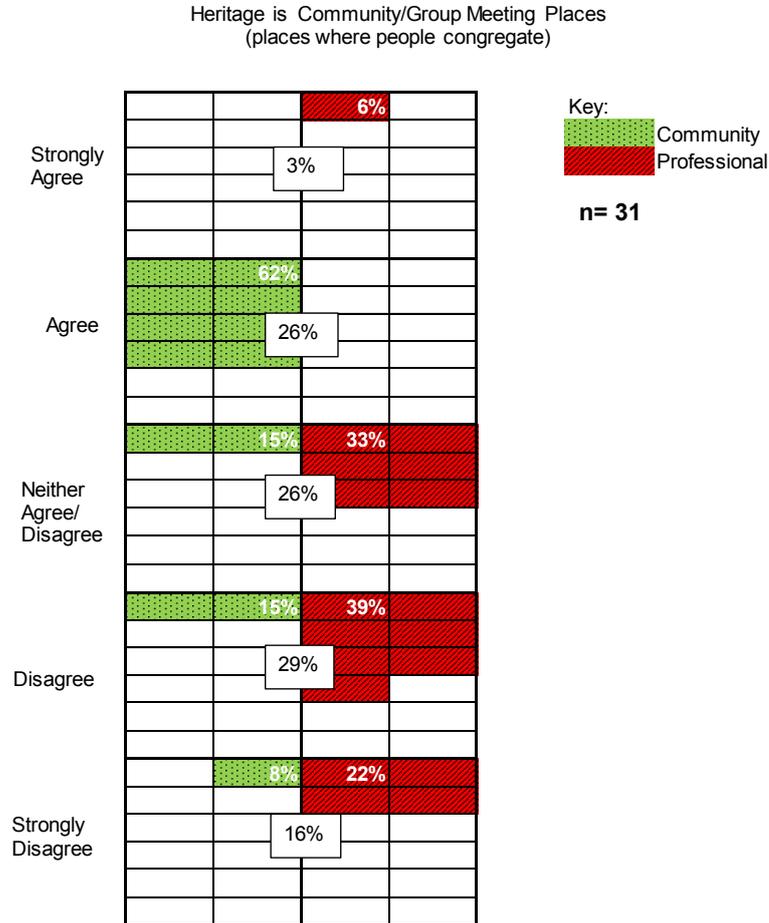
Whilst this may at first seem unproblematic, this viewpoint in fact has the power to be highly exclusionary. It is particularly problematic for the recognition and designation of social/communal heritage values which are not necessarily aesthetically pleasing and are not confined to a type of past deemed appropriate by professionals for designation (i.e. of a particular age, or pertaining to a particular form of 'history' like the ferry crossing which can be dated back to the fourteenth century).

Considering Social/Communal Values

From the above data evidence, a question arises around the implementation of the *social* heritage value. The survey data probes this issue further and reveals a point of tension which requires particular consideration. Indeed, Figure 24 highlights a clear pattern of difference between professional and community views towards the

statement that community buildings and/or buildings where people congregate (buildings with no architectural or historic merit) could be designated as heritage.

Figure 24: Survey Results: “Community Buildings” and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

The results show that a majority (62%) of the lay public agree that to them, such buildings are their heritage. By contrast, a majority (61%) of professionals disagree or strongly disagree with this interpretation of heritage. The fact that a third (33%) of professionals are uncertain (neither agree nor disagree) on this issue is perhaps a sign of the degree of infiltration of social-communal (and academic) discourses which have raised some awareness about social and communal heritage values and the valuing of heritage in the present. This discourse juxtaposition however appears to lack the strength of conviction, as the majority of professionals ruled out any possibility that heritage could be a building purely valued *socially* by a community. The following extracts from two members of the public (interviewed during a day of public consultation at the central library, South Shields) raise some light on the reasoning behind some of the publics’ views:

24. ...well I don't really know. Buildings I spend community time in, the community centre gives me a sense of belonging I suppose, like a community spirit that makes us all feel safe...and content. I go there every day or every other day, you see I volunteer (Interviewee Seventeen, male, member of the public, 11 May 2011).
25. I suppose more usual things, our community hub, the library, the community centre...where we have theatres, pantomimes, summer fairs, play school, and cultural events. Places where like-minded people congregate for the same reason. That couldn't be important to the conservation department though. But yes, functional places I suppose...they mean something to the community. It would be sad if it was taken away...even if it was demolished and rebuilt...I suppose that's a bit sentimental...but its special to us (Interviewee Sixteen, female, member of the public, 11 May 2011).

The extracts provide evidence of a fracture between professional and non-professional conceptualisations of heritage and are suggestive of an area of conflict. This gap is not only evident in the patterns observed in the survey data, but also in discursive constructions observed in the interview data. When asked about what heritage means to them the respondents both highlighted those places that give them a sense of belonging or a place where they feel safe or feel a sense of community spirit. Such examples included community centres, community hubs, and libraries. This evidence confirms the importance of the meanings ascribed to places and raises some controversial questions about traditional approaches to heritage conservation. It also illustrates that the creation of a sense of belonging/identity is somehow linked to heritage and is not necessarily dependent on architectural quality or age. It also points to the role of *function* and *cohesiveness* in heritage. The reference to *sentimentality*, with its negative connotations emphasises that the interviewee perceives that such reasoning which centres on emotion, romanticism or nostalgia will be disapproved of by the conservation professionals. This is further confirmed by the statement, *that couldn't be important to the conservation department though* (extract 25). This indicates an on-going tension between the professionals and the communities, and provides clues as to why more nominations based on social and communal heritage values may not come forward for consideration.

Examining Ascribed Social Values

Despite the ambiguity and apparent tensions surrounding social heritage values, some social narratives (albeit historical in nature) have been taken into consideration within the Local List decision-making process. This is clear evidence of a degree of relaxation of traditional views about what is important when describing heritage significance. In many cases, however, these social narratives were presented as supplementary information and were not used to *justify* designation. In total only 4% of accepted entries on the Local List were justified (in

the Local List text) using social historic narratives. Whilst this is a negligible proportion, it is however clear primary evidence of some degree of social and material hybridity in decision-making. The previous Local List, which designated buildings of architectural or historic significance, included no reference to such social, intangible heritage values. This finding clearly suggests a contemporary heritage discourse which has experienced permutations and goes beyond the notion that heritage value is purely inherent in the physical fabric of buildings and structures.

The Grotto and associated lift shaft at Marsden Bay, South Shields, for instance, is an example of such hybridity (Figure 25 and 26). Whilst it is designated because it meets a number of criteria (A, B, F, G and H), the description included in the Local List however is predominantly a social historical narrative:

26. The Marsden Grotto, a former Smugglers Cove in the early 17th Century is still said to be haunted by one of its earliest patrons. You may hear John the Jibber's moans and groans after he died a slow death after betraying fellow smugglers. It is said that he was hung in a cave close to the present lift shaft and left to starve. Until the pub was sold by Vaux, it was said that the landlord would leave out a special tankard of ale each night after closing and, in the morning, it would be empty (Local List Technical Appendices).

Figure 25: The Grotto and Lift Shaft



Figure 26: Inside the Grotto



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

Likewise, the White Horse on the cliff face by Marsden Craggs / Quarry Lane, South Shields is a further example of the interweaving of social and material heritage values (Figure 27). The narrative of the white horse is clearly deemed significant as it is set out in the statement of significance, however, ironically the designation in the Local List is justified only by meeting criterion G (relating to visual amenity). The use of a criterion relating purely to visual amenity and aesthetics to justify the designation appears to exclude or diminish the importance of its explicit historical/social significance:

27. Whitburn nobleman Sir Hedworth Williams and his wife would go riding along the beach at Marsden and picnic at a spot near Darding Lake. But one day Sir Hedworth had to leave on business so Lady Williams went out on her white mare alone. She was seen galloping towards Marsden Rock, which was then attached to the mainland and was last spotted riding into an opening in the rock. Search parties found no trace of her but Sir Hedworth carried on looking for two years until he accepted that the tide must have carried out both the bodies of his wife and her horse out to sea. Heartbroken, he lost all interest in his estate and gave all his horses to an ostler, Wareham, and his money to his gamekeeper, Peter Allen, who later became tenant of the Marsden Grotto. The Williamson family gradually faded out of the scene, but while Peter Allen made money at the Grotto out of visitor's curiosity about Lady Williamson's disappearance, Wareham thought of a more fitting tribute. As a memento to his former master's kindness, he scratched out a white horse with tar and limewash on Cleadon Hills for all to remember (Local List Technical Appendices).

Figure 27: The White Horse



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

Figure 28: The Man with the Donkey



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

The Man with the Donkey statue (Figure 28) and the Dolly Peel statue (Figure 29) are further examples of the recognition of social historic meanings ascribed to a physical entity. These statues, however, also have visual or aesthetic merit. The Man with the Donkey statue on Ocean Road, South Shields, for instance, is based on a historical narrative about Private James Simpson Kirkpatrick and his donkey:

28. ...during the Gallipolis campaign in the 1914-1918 war, Private James Simpson Kirkpatrick with the help of his donkey, carried upwards of 15 wounded soldiers through the enemy fire every day for 24 days from the front line in the battlefields to the dressing stations. Several of his donkeys were to die from enemy fire and 'the man with the donkey' was finally shot in 1915 by a Turkish sniper. Private Simpson was hailed as a hero in his native South Shields (Local List Technical Appendices).

The justification for inclusion on the Local List is that this is a “*fascinating story*” (hence its ascribed significance), but it nevertheless also is said to meet the more traditional heritage values sought after in criterion E and H. Whilst criterion C refers to the association (the narrative), criterion E relates to architectural/design merit,

and criterion H relates to townscape and visual landmarks. It therefore meets a number of criteria and thus could not be described as particularly contentious for local heritage designation.

Figure 29: The Dolly Peel Statue



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

Similarly, the statue of local nineteenth century heroine Dolly Peel at River Drive, South Shields (Figure 29) is another example of a narrative relating to the social history of the area. The story is that she helped men evade the press gangs and is said to have been one of the first nurses to work in the cockpit of naval vessels. The statue meets only criteria A and C (historical association and links to important local people). Whilst this indicates that the designation is justified purely for the intangible ascribed meanings, there is clearly some inconsistency between the decision-making for this and the previous statue. Indeed the Dolly Peel statute could equally have been designated for its architectural/design merit (criterion E) and contributions to townscape quality/visual landmark (criterion H), as the Man with the Donkey statue was. Whilst the decision-making must be criticised for inconsistency, the fact that the Dolly Peel statue is indeed designated based purely on historical narrative and social history is a clear example of the somewhat wider acceptance of such intangible heritage values in the local designation process.

Designating Non-British and other Minority Heritage

In addition to the Dolly Peel statute, there is one further example of a local heritage designation which, according to officers relies purely on social, intangible heritage values. This example is the Al-Azhar Mosque at Laygate, South Shields, which, at the time of writing (2013), was the only non-British/minority heritage to be designated. The Al-Azhar Mosque was purpose-built in 1971 to satisfy the religious needs of South Shields' established Yemeni community (Figure 30).

Figure 30: The Al-Azhar Mosque



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

Whilst the Local List text describes the architecture of the mosque as *somewhat 'underwhelming'*, the social history of the mosque is what is considered by the officers to make it special. The accompanying description explains that in 1977 the boxer Mohammad Ali visited Al Azhar to worship and to have his marriage blessed by the local Imam. Consequently, it has become a cherished landmark of South Shields. Several data extracts, however, highlight how unusual it is to designate such a building with no aesthetic or historic merit:

29. ...we do have a few examples of things that we wouldn't have even dreamed of normally associating with a Local List. We've got a 1971 mosque which is not the most attractive building in the world but I think it was nominated more for its place in the community (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

30. Yeah, it's a God awful building to look at, but you look at the social history behind it and they really are significant and really do deserve to be on the list... We are doing something different here (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
31. The mosque architecturally is incredibly dull...it has no merit, but the social history attached to that building is amazing and it needs to be recognised for that and recognising it makes it heritage because it is significant to our community. I mean, it's all interlinked isn't it? ... There's difference of opinions as to whether you think it's architecturally interesting and it certainly isn't old, per se. ... I think that in itself makes it of value and it's that cultural heritage, it's that in those architecturally contentious buildings (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Whilst these examples provide evidence of a fusion of values, drawing together materiality and social significance, this synthesis, however, is conveyed as an exception to the norms. The sentence, *we are doing something different here* (extract 30) not only implies that such decision-making is quite uncommon in heritage designation, but it also presents the STC Local List process as novel and progressive. The question posed in extract 31 also exposes a glimpse of hesitancy or uncertainty in the interlinking of social/communal meanings with the material form in this way. This hesitancy is most likely to be related to the apparent uncertainty and confusion surrounding the 'social value' concept, discussed above.

This indication of doubt is coupled with repetitive references to attractiveness and architectural merit. Such ubiquitous references to the physical fabric and aesthetics of the building implicitly highlight how naturalised and deeply embedded material values are within traditional heritage and conservation thought and decision-making processes. It covertly reinforces that designating something which is not attractive or architecturally significant remains a form of reasoning which is controversial and outside of the mainstream. Extract 31 appears to suggest that if an entry on the Local List is not of architectural merit, then there is a particularly strong need to justify why it is on the list, *it's that cultural heritage, it's that in those architecturally contentious buildings*. Furthermore, whether the mosque is in fact of architectural merit or townscape value is not so clear cut. The dome rooftop, for example, is an architectural element which, according to Huda (2013), holds little spiritual or symbolic significance, and is mainly aesthetic. It clearly provides a landmark and/or point of visual orientation in the streetscape. According to the Local List Technical Appendix, the mosque is said to meet criteria A and C and is described in terms of justification for inclusion on the List, as holding *a distinctive piece of local history* and as being *purpose-built*. There is no explicit recognition and description of the sense of belonging and/or identity for the Muslims for whom this building is so important. It is also worthy of note that the Yemeni community was not proactively

contacted as part of the consultation process.

Whilst the Al-Azhar mosque has found a place on the Local List, it is important to point out that it is also clearly seen as part of *history*; thus it meets a historical heritage value (in addition to being of social value) and is perceived to have an appropriate degree of longevity. Indeed, built in 1971, the mosque (at the time of writing (2013)) is 42 years old and consequently would in fact qualify to meet the more familiar national statutory parameters for age (the 30 year rule), which reflect established, conservation norms. Thirdly, it has taken STC 42 years to recognise the Mosque as being of local significance; 36 years after Mohammad Ali's visit. It is also important to stress that the Baithul Mamur Jame Masjid Mosque and Islamic Centre, the South Tyneside Bangladesh Muslim Cultural Association and Mosque, and the Yemeni school next door to the Al-Azhar mosque were not even put forward for consideration. As aforementioned, it was not considered important to proactively attempt to engage the Yemeni community in order to uncover how they define heritage and/or what is important to them.

The evidence presented above shows that social history and oral narratives have played a role in decision-making for the STC Local List. These examples are clear evidence of the widening of the heritage construct in a practical setting; beyond the level of mere rhetoric. Nevertheless, what is also evident is that this role has been negligible in the wider context of justifications. Indeed, very few entries actually fall into this category of social and material hybridity. Even fewer entries are identified and valued *solely* for social meanings ascribed to structures/spaces (without being further justified by more meaningful, powerful criteria pertaining to normative, well-established conservation values). Of 194 entries, only nine were clearly linked to a social value. This highlights that the local designation process at STC remains dominated by physical, buildings-led values, rather than social heritage values; also implying that many social heritage values are not being captured through the process adopted. The following section will explore in more detail the notion of heritage legitimisation by examining some of the key barriers to negotiating alternative heritage values, observed during the case study process.

Part B: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 2:

Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?

7.9 Barriers to Negotiating Alternative Heritage Values

Authenticity

The notion of authenticity is of prime importance to officers' conceptualisations of heritage (extract 32) and was indeed used to reject nominations for designation (extract 33 and 34). There are two assumptions which are important here and require investigation; one relates to the condition of the physical fabric and an assumption that it must be proven to be largely original and intact to be authentic. The second relates to intangible heritage values such as meanings expressed through oral narratives and an assumption that these must in fact be genuine and true. Data collected focusses more on the former, which is indicative of the predominately physical, buildings-led nature of the Local Heritage Designation Process. Officers made considerable reference to the importance placed on the authenticity of the physical fabric of a heritage nomination:

32. I certainly think that authenticity is important (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
33. Well we actually had a few that used to be on our old list that didn't make it back on, and that was mainly because they've been knocked about since, usually under permitted development rights. It might be that they've ripped out the windows and put PVC in and they've taken so much away from it that it doesn't meet the criteria any more (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
34. [The main reason for rejecting nominations was] authenticity...because ... if something had been altered...if it was an older building and it had been altered beyond what was felt to be original. I don't think I'm explaining this very well. Let me think of a particular example. There were some farm buildings that were on the original list but when we went back to them for this list they'd been converted to properties and it was felt that they had gone from one thing to another thing and there were so many alterations from the other thing. Some had been taken down, yes, the old stone had been used but they'd been built in a different form so you couldn't really say that they were what they had been. So there was an element of authenticity in the assessments that the judging panel made (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Despite such strong claims in the interview data above regarding the importance of authenticity to heritage designation, evidence suggests that authenticity as a determinant of heritage validity is nevertheless more contentious in practice. Indeed, one nomination was designated, despite it being a replica nineteenth century drinking fountain (Figure 31).

Figure 31: Replica Nineteenth Century Drinking Fountain



Source: South Tyneside Council (2011b)

The officer's description of the fountain as *fake* and its inclusion as *slightly bizarre* (extract 35 below) highlights the controversial nature of its designation:

35. Well, there is the slightly bizarre...the cast-iron drinking fountain at Bolden Colliery. As it turns out, this is actually a 1980s replica, but because everyone involved thought it was still an important part of history, because it's associated with the colliery, they felt that it was kind of an identity for them and they felt it should still be on there. So you're looking at like a fake, a fake replica, but people still think that it should be on (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

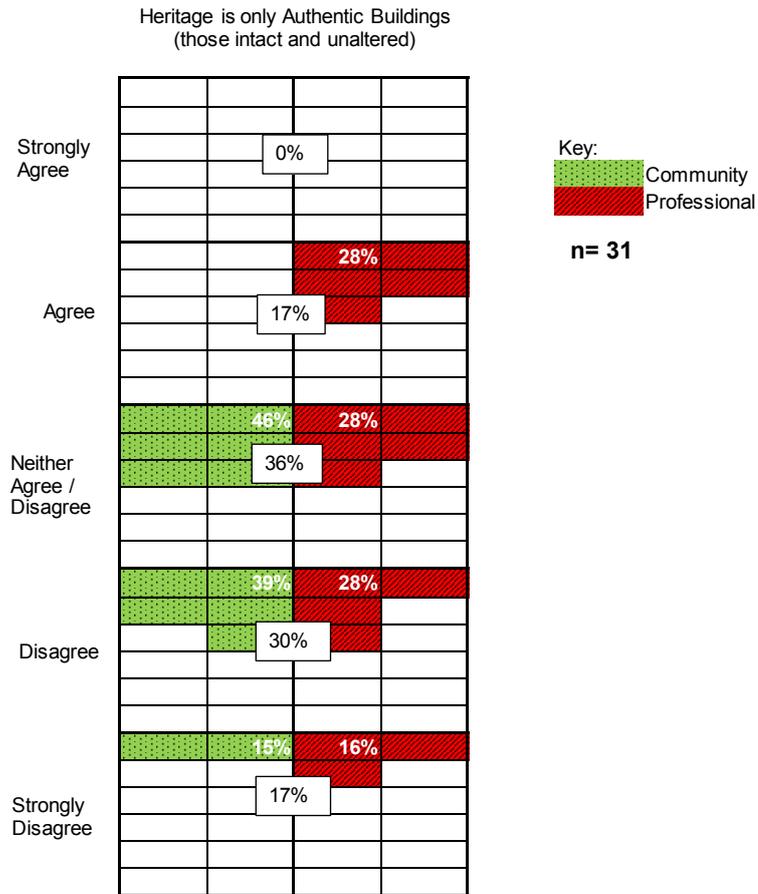
The reasons used to defend the decision to designate refer to social factors such as an *association with the colliery*, and therefore it being *part of history*. The use of hedges (*kind of*) however, when discussing the link between the fountain and *identity* serves to qualify and tone-down the statement in order to reduce the 'riskiness' of what has been said. It exposes ambiguity and confusion, similar to that discussed earlier about the social value concept generally. The use of such hedges implies that what is being said (the link between heritage and 'identity') is unclear, and may only be true in certain respects. In other words, the interviewee is not fully convinced that such inauthentic replicas are markers of identity and belonging.

The officer's comments about this designation are also marked by identificational meaning, creating an important distinction between the roles and responsibilities of the various 'actors' involved in the designation process. For instance, *but people still think that it should be on* (extract 35) makes a clear distinction between heritage

specialists on the one hand, and a somewhat vague, elusive grouping of *people* on the other. As such, this identificational meaning creates an imaginary gap between the professionals and everyone else, and it highlights the dissonance of heritage. Whilst in this one case, the replica was in fact designated; a sense of incredulity is conveyed through the language used by the officer. Rather than the designation representing a transformation in understanding/ideology, these comments signpost a tension: on a rational level, 'experts' disagree with the designation of such 'inauthentic' nominations, yet, perhaps the social pressures on them (in some cases) result in such examples being accepted, albeit reluctantly. Such acceptance becomes an unwilling consolation, rather than any real shift in norms.

This consequent complexity surrounding views on authenticity is revealed by the patterns identified in the survey results (Figure 32). When asked if heritage is only valid if it is authentic (for example buildings/structures which have not been altered and therefore remain intact and in their original form), most respondents disagreed with this statement. Nevertheless, just over a third (36%) held indifferent views towards the statement. This could perhaps be a consequence of the complexity surrounding the notion of authenticity or the sense of struggle/tension alluded to above. Whilst a general consensus on the issue of authenticity appeared to emerge, 28% of the professional respondents *agreed* that heritage was only valid if authentic. This figure represented only a small proportion (17%) of total respondents but nevertheless highlights the existence of some disparity and a convincing gap between expert and non-expert views on authenticity.

Figure 32: Survey Results: “Authenticity” and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

The second issue regarding authenticity (and/or validity) of social heritage values becomes particularly relevant when exploring the officer’s emphasis on evidence, rationality and the need to defend designations, analysed below.

Objectivity and Rationality

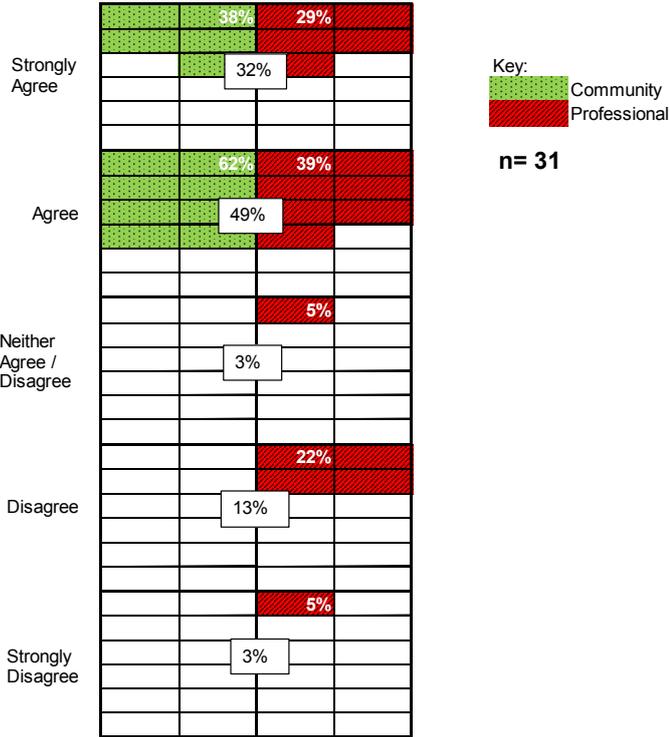
Evidence shows what appears to be a desire for the Designation Process to be as scientific and rational as possible:

36. Officers will fully analyse responses to the formal consultation and seek adoption of Locally Significant Heritage Assets as a Supplementary Planning Document to the council's Local Development Framework in June 2011 (Hebburn CAF document).
37. Comments must be received by Tuesday 31st May. These will then be analysed and a final version will be produced for adoption by the end of June to become part of the Local Development Framework SPD 21 (Consultation Press Release).
38. Historic Association C: Is it closely associated with famous local people, local historic events, strong community or social development significance or people? (This must be well documented) (SPD 21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets).

The use of various conjugations of the verb *to analyse (fully analyse, analysed)* illustrate an unsurprising pragmatic approach to assessing nominations. This natural desire for objectivity however becomes potentially problematic in relation to the historic association criterion C. It is stated that for nominations to meet criterion C (historical association/community/social significance) they *must be well documented*. Whilst it may seem appropriate for professionals to seek such evidence, the potential for exclusion occurs if this documentation is required to be presented in the form of tangible, objective facts. A question arises about the handling of subjective heritage values which relate to memories and other intangible reasoning which cannot be proven or formally documented. Whilst officers did not consider the decision-making process to give more weight to objective fact-based reasoning (rather than intangible, subjective, emotional reasoning), survey results and the clear concerns raised about defensibility (see below) suggest otherwise:

Figure 33: Survey Results: The Privileging of Material “Heritage” Values

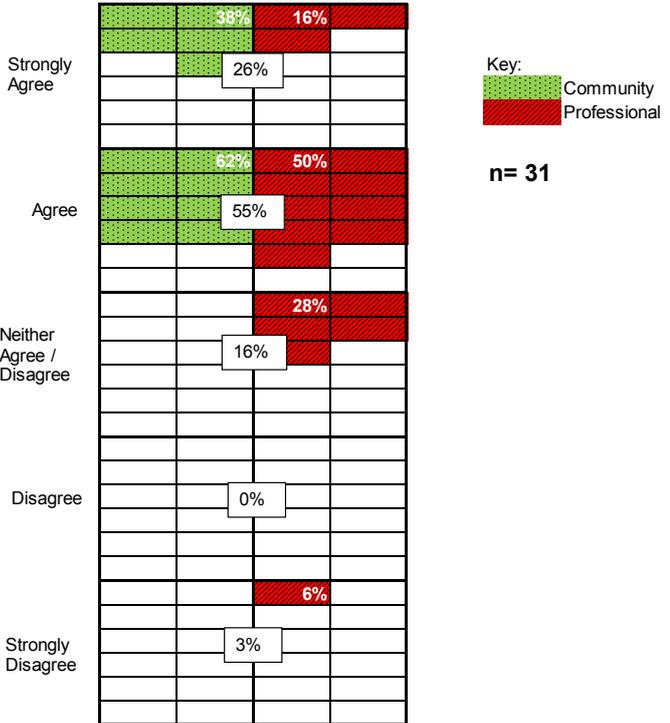
To Conservation Planning Professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values



Source: Author

Figure 34: Survey Results: “Memories”, “Emotions” and “Heritage”

Memories and Emotions are important aspects to consider in heritage designation



Source: Author

When responding to the statements, 'To conservation planning professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values' (Figure 33) and, 'Collective memories and emotions are just as important to heritage designation as decisions based on objective, evidence and scientific fact' (Figure 34) the patterns to emerge are very revealing. Indeed, the majority of respondents (both professional and communities) agree or strongly agree with both of the statements (81% in each case). This exposes what appears to be a paradox affecting Local Heritage Designation in practice; on the one hand there is general agreement that memories and emotions are important aspects of heritage (providing further evidence of the infiltration of social discourses) whilst on the other hand, it is revealed that the tangible, physical structures themselves appear to be *more important*, and are thus privileged by professionals.

Notwithstanding this, the results do however point to a discursive change in the normative heritage discourse. The pattern of consensus in acknowledging the importance of emotions and memories to local heritage designation is clear evidence of a more comprehensive understanding of heritage. Clearly on a rhetorical level, professionals recognise the importance of intangible meanings but perhaps real equality in social/material aspects of heritage is oppressed by the rational environment in which they work. For example, officers may struggle with how to operationalise such intangible aspects of heritage in practice. Building on this argument, the following section unravels the direct link between such operational issues and the reliance on rationality and objective fact.

Defending the Indefensible

The data reveal a strong concern about the defensibility of local heritage designations. The impetus for this concern is directly linked to a seemingly genuine and increasing risk of appeal and/or legal challenge to the Local List. The following extracts all confirm this growing concern:

39. ... you've got to be careful about the decisions you make and how much you weight it, because it could come back to bite you if something goes to appeal...especially now there's a focus on delivery (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

40. The difficulty you have with that [community taking the lead] is that the conservation officer would be the one who was then defending that Local List in terms of appeal. If there was any planning applications where the Local List was the consideration of determining weight, your conservation officer would have to have enough faith in that document to be able to then defend it at appeal... especially given the emphasis on growth... and it would be the council's money that would be on the line... and possibly our jobs (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
41. ...we did have a chap who... said that he was actually wanting to go to judicial review on the fact that his house was in the list (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
42. Yeah, it's always difficult to justify the intangible because a lot of it is just hearsay and you don't know how accurate it's going to be (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
43. ... There is that proviso that it would be the council's money that would be on the line in terms of appeal and the council officer who would have to defend the document (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Clearly there exists a genuine threat of challenge/appeal at the local level of heritage designation (extract 41) and a perceived threat to job security (extract 40). These concerns appear to be exacerbated by a growing anxiety, evidently fuelled by a shift in National Government priorities towards *growth* and *delivery* (extract 39 and 40). The consequence of this is a perceived need to ensure all designations can be robustly defended. Indeed the repeated references to the need to *defend* the document at appeal (extracts 39, 40 and 43), together with the need to be *careful* (extract 39) all appear to seek caution in the approach undertaken and the decisions made, and consequently tighten control of the process.

Moreover, the repetition of the concern about the *Council's money being on the line* (extract 40 and 43) highlights not only a fear that designations not underpinned by objectivity and rigorous evidence may lose at appeal and the Local Authority may need to pay costs, but also stresses the current emphasis in Local Authorities on resources and the need to be financially vigilant.

Indeed, extract 42 makes explicit that it is deemed *always difficult to justify the intangible*. This assumption that a successful defence can only be made using tangible, objective, and therefore material-led conservation values appears to emphasise how deep-seated both the conservation orthodoxy and rational planning practice remains. It seems to be primary evidence of a real contemporary problem in practical reality, which appears to inhibit change. The question arises whether this apparent privileging of traditional, tangible heritage values is thus an involuntary necessity (due to the aforementioned contextual factors), or is a particular desire to exclude alternatives.

The following section specifically turns to examine the role of the public(s) in the Local Heritage Designation Process at STC.

Part C: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 3

What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

7.10 The Role of the Public/Expert

‘Expertise’ and ‘Power’ to make Decisions

Despite earlier findings in relation to objectivity and rationality, the interview and documentary evidence below illustrate what appears to be a significant *discursive* shift in the *stated* role of the public(s) in the Local Heritage Designation Process. The extracts below point to a notable shift in power and control from the professional, to the public(s). Indeed, STC take a particularly innovative approach to promoting the Local List concept, which seems to put the public(s) at the heart:

44. Since no one knows the value of local heritage better than the community, the council is asking us to nominate buildings, structures or open spaces that we feel are worthy of inclusion on the Local List. They want to know what is important to you, or what you would miss if it was no longer there or if it were to be altered in an unsympathetic way (Local List Poster and Article for South Shields Local History Group Newsletter).
45. Well, I think they're [the community] the people that should be telling us what they think is important and we shouldn't be dictating to them what we think is important ...and they've got all the knowledge as well, people who have lived here all their lives or 80 years, they know much better than I do about what's important (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
46. SPD21 provides an opportunity for the local community and the council to jointly decide what in South Tyneside they would like recognised as a 'locally significant heritage asset', and therefore, what in South Tyneside is worthy of some degree of protection in the planning system (SPD 21 Statement of Consultation).
47. It is...important that the council engages members of the public to help in expanding and updating the list, making it more comprehensive and no doubt highlighting assets the council may not be aware of, or are unaware of their local significance (LMB Report-Local List).
48. I think when you're talking about the Local List, yes, you have to have a really broad spectrum. It's not for me to tell residents that something is not important when they really, really think it is and they have the information to back that up. So yeah, I think you have to be flexible (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
49. If your community doesn't want to get involved then can you in all honesty claim it to be a Local List? It's an officer's interpretation of what is significant, so to me the key players are inclusion of the community (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Whilst the documentary evidence stresses the importance of the public(s) in the process (extracts 44, 46 and 47) this notion is also supported by the interview data

(extracts 45, 48 and 49). This confirms a palpable infiltration of social discourses into conservation planning. The way in which the Local List publicity documentation questions *what you would miss if it was no longer there* prompts a thought process which is particularly inclusive and accessible. It does not appear to confine heritage to the grand, rare structures of the past, or to those purely of architectural/historic significance. Moreover, there seems to be a clear appreciation that the designation process *relies* on the knowledge of communities (extracts 44, 45, 47 and 49). This positively expresses the need for a genuine two-way dialogue, and a *joint* approach to identification and decision-making (extract 46). The reference to providing an *opportunity* for such joint working, however fails to convey such collaboration as *essential* to comprehensive heritage designation, and indeed lacks the conviction of any necessity. Nonetheless, the humility resonating from the officers is refreshing and indicative of a cultural change, at least at the level of rhetoric.

Closer analysis of the language used in the extracts, however, reveals something about the professional's uncritical and rather simplistic view of the public(s). The definitive article *the* (extracts 44 and 46) used when referring to *the community* suggests a homogenous community, devoid of complexity and differentiation. If the community are largely *treated* as homogenous, this understandably makes the role of the professional easier, but simultaneously fails to acknowledge the heterogeneity of heritage. This is important because a *Local* List needs to recognise such local heterogeneity to capture a comprehensive picture of heritage, and to get closer to communities (particularly in the context of Localism and social inclusion). Furthermore, references in extract 48 to requiring *information* to back up why residents think something is of heritage value relates back to discussions about defensibility and thus how to legitimise heritage value. Generally, this need for information may, to an extent, be appropriate, but not if the caveat is that this information must be objective fact, which can be proven or confirmed scientifically, representing absolute truth.

In addition to an apparent uncritical view of *the community*, comprehensive Local Heritage Designation at STC was further hindered by the lack of preparatory work undertaken before commencing the process. Indeed, a general perception emerged that exploring the demographic profile of the area (understanding the existing people who live there) and exploring immigration patterns which have influenced the social and physical evolution of the area is somewhat of a nonessential step. There is a firm belief that this preliminary work is not necessary,

or is one task which can be circumvented due to resource constraints:

50. ...Exploring the historical evolution of the area and immigration patterns and things...no, not in so much depth as that. ... We certainly didn't do it in that kind of depth (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
51.there hasn't been a systematic trawl of sites, buildings, places, landscapes within the borough to actually find something; it's been a little more ad hoc than that (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).
52. No...there's the old adage that you look at stuff which isn't quite good enough to be nationally designated, I think that's always a good place to start (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).
53. I think it's a good place to start (national statutory criteria)...it is a starting point and you can develop from there (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Not only does the data show that in reality minimal work was done to 'understand first' (the current content of communities for instance), it also exposes the unplanned and informal nature of the process. This is somewhat ironic, given the desire for rationality and objectivity discussed earlier. If the Local Authority do not see this preliminary step as critical to comprehensive local heritage designation, they are likely to miss an array of heritage values, which contribute to social development, identity and sense of place.

Moreover, extract 52 (a comment by a heritage specialist involved in the decision-making process) uncovers the tenacity of the conservation norms and ideologies which impinge on more progressive approaches to capturing social heritage values. This extract (together with extract 53) suggests that the naturalised buildings-led, statutory criteria (centred on special architectural and historic interest) are considered appropriate starting points for the local designation process. This view appears to completely fail to acknowledge the general principle that heritage is more than the physical, tangible fabric of buildings and structures. It fails to appropriately respond to the social discourse and it provides an uncritical assessment of using the normative conservation values to guide and shape Local Heritage Designation. Indeed, the emotional content of heritage and the importance of culture discussed earlier in the interviews swiftly evaporates as the professionals appear to revert back to the traditional norms, beliefs and tenets they are most used to and seem to be most comfortable with.

Moreover, this default approach to heritage identification and designation belongs firmly to the realms of expertise, training and technical skill. On deeper interrogation of the data evidence, the *initial* progressive outlook identified in earlier data extracts,

appears to reduce further to somewhat rhetorical statements. Indeed, the following examples highlight the central role of the trained conservation professional, in the form of the 'expert' in leading and controlling the Local Heritage Designation Process:

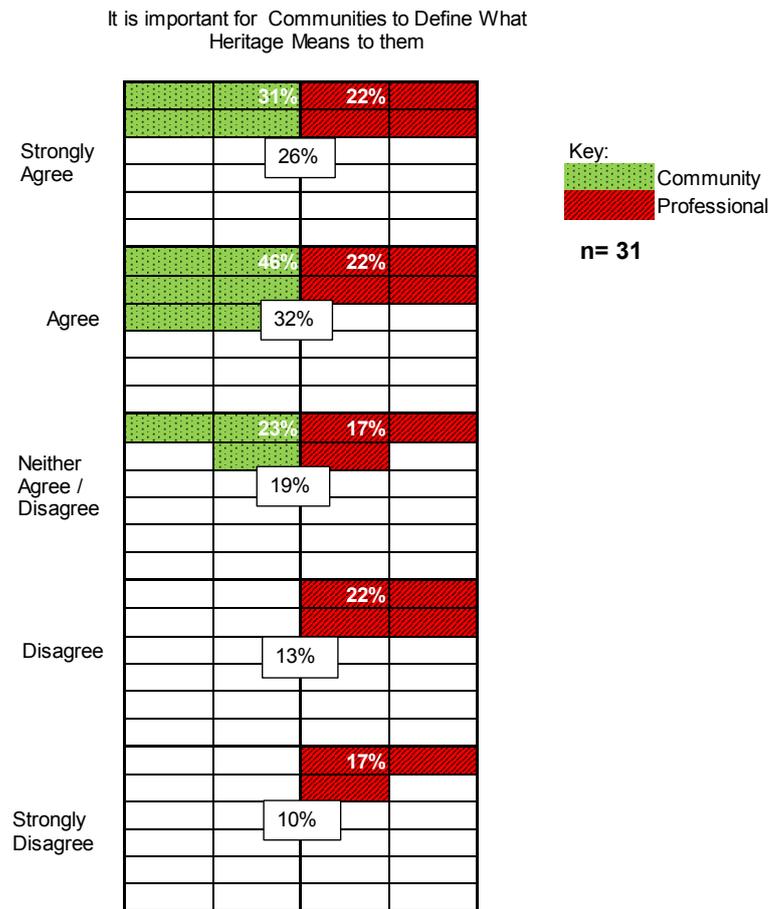
54. Your nominations will be assessed by a panel of independent experts who will determine which buildings, structures and open spaces will be included in the revised Local List (Local List A4 Leaflet).
55. In order to determine whether or not your nomination will be included in the local list when at its next review, the advice of experts in history, architecture and building conservation will be sought (SPD 21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets)
56. ...with the help of a panel of heritage experts, each nomination was assessed for inclusion on this draft list (Hebburn CAF document)
57. ...there is a Councillor who is the historic environment champion and that Councillor...sat on the...internally we called it an expert panel...he sat on the expert panel (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
58. So there were five of us, me, John, Matthew, the councillor and the journalist and we were all there because we were seen as the great and the good sort of thing (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

The apparent dominance of the 'expert' as decision-maker, deemed in a position to determine what is and what is not heritage is in marked contrast to the aforementioned data extracts, which appear to rescind some of their power to communities. Whilst some marketing and internal documentation (not included here) refers only to an 'independent panel'; it is the absence of the word 'expert' which comes across as conspicuous in such examples. This is confirmed by the numerous extracts above which explicitly refer to a decision-making panel of independent *experts*. What also requires highlighting is the uncritical assumption that somehow allows the terms, *experts*, *history*, *architecture* and *building conservation* to hang so seamlessly together in the decision-making context (extract 55). The assumption which appears to be made here is that there is no conceptualisation of heritage outside of those boundaries and that there is no particular need to provide the negotiating space for *alternative* constructions of heritage that may begin with communities themselves. The examples thus highlight the apparent unrelenting dominance of the trained conservation professional in defining what constitutes heritage, and are suggestive of a continued stronghold of the 'expert' in decision-making.

Once more this apparent subconscious lapse back into the subliminal, normative ways of thinking reveal something about how deep-rooted the traditional, conservation ethic seems to be and how easy it is to slip back into the guiding principles of the conservation orthodoxy. Crucially, this perhaps unintentional

retreat happens despite notable discursive attempts to appear to be embracing a more contemporary conservation ethic, which empowers communities and is equally accepting of the social significance of heritage. The tenacity of these ideological assumptions is further contextualised by the survey results (Figure 35).

Figure 35: Survey Results: Communities should define what “Heritage” is?



Source: Author

When asked for levels of agreement about the statement, “It is important for communities to define what heritage means to them”, some indication of difference can be observed. Indeed, the majority (77%) of communities responding to the survey agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. In other words, they considered it important that non-professionals are given the negotiating space to actively define the very essence of heritage. It also implies that communities consider heritage to be dissonant and subject to diversity of interpretation. By contrast, less than half (44%) of professional respondents agreed with the statement.

Whilst there was some level of uncertainty and disagreement on both sides, a small proportion (17%) of professionals *strongly* disagreed with the statement (and just over a third (39%) disagreed to some degree). The signs of dissonance and the reality of some *strong* disagreement towards this notion is an indication that there exists in some capacity a continued, tenacious, deeply held assumption that heritage is one-dimensional and homogenous, and can only be understood by trained 'experts'.

The Passive Role of the Public(s)

The above point is elaborated by the quotations below, which use evaluative assumptions about the Local Heritage Designation Process, thus divulging the latent passivity of the public(s), positioning them as beneficiaries of the process:

59. The information contained in a local list ... is of significant public benefit (Para 6 SMT Briefing Note 10 June 2010).
60. The purpose of the local list is to inform owners of the significance of buildings, structures and spaces so that they can take pride in their care (Para 3.1 SPD 21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets).
61. It's all about education and raising awareness. We need to teach them...train them up so they can understand. Then they will benefit considerably, I'm sure, and want to be involved in the future (Interviewee Eighteen, male, elected member, STC, 11 November 2010).
62. South Tyneside Council is asking people for their views on how locally important buildings, structures and spaces should be preserved for future generations (SPD 21 Consultation Press Release Facebook).

Despite the progressive and rather humbling sentiments uttered earlier regarding the need for a collaborative approach between the professionals and the communities, the data above carves a clear understanding of a dialogically closed relationship in which knowledge exchanges are predominantly one-way. The public(s) appear to be not only deemed passive participants in the process (beneficiaries of something unspecified- extracts 59 and 61) but also appear to be by-passed in favour of nebulous future generations (extract 62). This conceptualisation appears to formally present heritage as something firmly belonging to the past, with the sole purpose of being passed on, untouched to the future. The undialogical language is powerful as no alternative versions of this understanding are offered; indeed the omission of relevance to the present generation as active 'stakeholders' is noteworthy. Moreover, the reference to *public benefit* signals the use of instrumental rationalisation, in which the public

benefit becomes the generalised, moral logic behind the method, justifying the process undertaken, as well as the norms which have shaped it.

Extract 61 provides a somewhat condescending view that the role of the 'expert' is to *educate* the public and *raise awareness* so that owners, for example, *can take pride in their care* (extract 60). These statements develop no sense of the on-going relationship between people and heritage. The degree of modality is high (*we need to/must teach them*), and is coupled with an assumed unidirectional flow of 'instruction' regarding the assessment of significance and meaning of heritage, taken, here, to be the remit of the 'experts'. It appears that the public are not only to be instructed and educated, but they are to be told what is heritage and what is not.

While the public(s) are clearly referred to in earlier sections as a *key player* in the Local Heritage Designation Process (extract 46, 47 and 49), it seems that they are still not afforded active roles in the process. In fact the role of the public(s) is very unclear, despite the rhetorical diminishing of any notions of elitism and/or exclusivity surrounding local heritage designation. The public(s) are still generally excluded from debates surrounding the very essence of heritage (i.e. in the formulating of criteria and subsequent decision-making), and are *formally* (in documentation at least) considered the beneficiaries of the process. This obfuscated role requires further unravelling in the context of the interlacing social/localism discourses which appear to be interlocking with the normative heritage discourse. The following section examines the extent to which such social discourses are travelling from the national government level of strategy-making down to the coalface, and the impact of such discourses, both ideologically and practically on the Local Heritage Designation Process.

Travelling Concepts: Social Inclusion and Localism

When asked for views on whether there is a strong, strategic message filtering down from Central Government to be socially inclusive in local heritage processes, the rather vague responses were striking:

63. Not necessarily from the government... I think English Heritage have been pretty good at pushing the issue and that's certainly one of the reasons why we have tried to take that [social inclusion] on board (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
64. I certainly felt that the English Heritage guidance wanted you to do that, it wanted you to be wider than just a historic building, but... and yes, I guess government as well. They had social exclusion units didn't they and came to certain conclusions from those social exclusion units and presumably their policies are more about social inclusion. I guess that's where localism is (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
65. I think English Heritage ... put so much emphasis now on community engagement... localism... the Government yes I suppose but without any clear direction as to how to achieve it (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
66. ...it's not really a priority and the priority is the economy and jobs and that kind of thing (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Data presented above on the one hand portrays a strong notion of social inclusion and the need for community engagement, yet on the other, they do not describe this message as a strong *Government* strategy. In fact extract 66 suggests a competing Government agenda, focussing on growth and the economy, which appears to have overtaken social inclusion as a key priority. It appears to be English Heritage (Government advisors) who promote community engagement and the spirit of localism more explicitly, whereas the uncertainty and confusion portrayed in extract 64 reveal that the message from the Government is somewhat unclear. Indeed *social exclusion units* no longer exist and in fact were central to the strategies underpinning the previous Labour Government's manifesto. Moreover, extract 65 makes reference to a lack of action plan for how to implement and achieve social inclusion. The officer draws a strong parallel between the social inclusion message and the current ideas underpinning *localism*. Clearly these two rather vague central Government strategies are being packaged together, into one elusive, rhetorical, political message. One officer expresses what the two Government strategies (social inclusion and localism) mean to her:

67. It should be bottom up, that's what we were aiming for with this document, giving people ownership (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Both officers insist (extracts 63 and 67) that STC has *tried* to take such social inclusion/localism messages on board. The language used in both extracts however reveals something about the strategies themselves. For instance, the use of the verb *to try*, suggests an attempt or an endeavour to accomplish what could be an impossible task. Indeed, the use of this verb indicates a lack of certainty or confidence in actually completing the task successfully. It relates to an *aspiration*

without any real conviction about its achievement or implementation. Likewise the verb *to aim* (extract 67) used in the statement, *aiming for* is indicative of the intention to do this, perhaps without any real belief that it will happen. To unravel what this actually means in practice, officers were probed more critically about implications of the social inclusion/localism message for the Local Heritage Designation Process:

68. It's trying to reach as many people as you can. Trying not to isolate anyone. Just trying to be as considerate as you can, without being pushy (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
69. When we started out we thought it was really important to home in on the community engagement side and make everything very transparent so that everyone could follow exactly what we were doing and why we were doing it and to ensure we had enough social inclusion and localism as well (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
70. We wrote to all of the community associations and residents' associations and we even wrote to all the community centres. We also went to the community area forums and we sort of invited ourselves along to any residents' group meetings and things like that that we could get to, just so we could meet people first-hand. We distributed a lot of nomination leaflets, posters in the papers and things like that and the website as well. We did as much as we thought we could without actually posting something to every single person who lives here (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
71. Well, we certainly made sure that the forms and the leaflets were in places where people gathered, but I don't know whether we...in fact I can't think that we did any positive discrimination, we didn't actually think okay, right, we need to have more people of an Asian background to give us nominations, we didn't positively discriminate (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
72. Looking at the questions that you've asked, would it have been better had we done any positive discrimination?In the places that we advertised I felt that there was enough inclusion, but would it have been different if we'd positively discriminated at all? (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
73. ...we've treated everyone the same and left it up to them whether or not they want to be involved (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
74. It may be that as a Council we might need to go out and tell people a bit more about localism, maybe that's what we need to do, but that's a more strategic decision (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

The selected extracts clearly reveal a degree of social consideration at STC through *trying not to isolate anyone*, being *very transparent*, writing to *community centres* and attending *residents' group meetings* for example. These processes however did not *positively discriminate*, in other words, they did not target any particular community groups/individuals and did not actively encourage wider involvement in the process. Extract 74, for example, confirms that the Local Authority is yet to promote or explain the idea behind localism to communities. Consequently, they

did not promote a heritage process that was *significantly* different from any that has gone before. They did not explain to people what they could achieve through this process of consultation (press releases, websites, community forums, etc.). They did not actively contact the Yemeni community, for example.

Indeed, the professionals did not actively prevent anybody getting involved, but they also did little to actively promote involvement of new communities. Indeed, STC seem to relinquish any responsibility for the engagement of those communities. The point which appears to be missed by this particular outlook, is that many communities do not know how to get involved, misunderstand the process, or perhaps do not know that their heritage is relevant. They may consider their conceptualisations of heritage to sit outside of the traditional rigid boundaries defined by the conservation orthodoxy. The earlier comments from members of the public regarding valuing important community meeting places for their ascribed social meanings (sense of belonging and community spirit for instance) are a prime example of this.

Moreover, the references in extracts 69 and 72 to having *enough* social inclusion and localism highlight the ambiguity that encapsulates the terminology and the political strategies. The question arises as to whether there can be varying degrees of social inclusion. It appears that in practical reality there are. Yet to include *some*, naturally means to exclude others. There was indeed no mode of measurement to determine how inclusive the process has been. Furthermore, the Local Authority officers did not appear to be particularly concerned with which communities they had reached and where nominations had come from (extract 75):

75. We didn't do any kind of profiling on who submitted nominations because that wasn't important to us, it was just about getting the nominations, whether they came from someone with an ethnic minority background or whether it was a planning officer, it didn't matter (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).

Once more, this comment illustrates a simplification and rationalisation of heritage, which may constrain its social evolution. The multifaceted nature of heritage appears to be forgotten and/or diminished. It is not considered problematic that such latent forms of heritage significance remain hidden behind the dominant, one-dimensional and homogenous form of heritage captured in the process. The concern raised in extract 49 about a Local List only genuinely being a Local List if the community are the key players in the process and it belongs to them, once again, appears to evaporate.

Instead, the priority for professionals appears to be a more rational, completion of the task, rather than comprehensive, inclusive heritage identification. Provided nobody is actively or purposefully excluded from the process, it is deemed irrelevant or perhaps unfortunate if the process remains expert-led and dominated by nominations put forward by 'experts'. This fails to appreciate that without such contributions and active collaboration from the public(s), alternative conceptualisations of heritage will be omitted from the process. Indeed, a member of the decision-making panel confirms the expected source of the majority of nominations:

76. I think a lot of the suggestions probably came from within the authority ... from officers (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Moreover, the Panel member further exposes that the consultation process relied on those who usually take part in such consultations, rather than reaching out to engage other communities:

77. ... I think they [nominations] ... came from members of the community that we all know about and that would be because you'd go to them and specifically ask them, I think. So local historians, people involved in amenity bodies, people who are always in contact with the council about built environment things (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Not only does extract 77 reveal a rather inadequate approach to social inclusion, it also draws attention to the seemingly constraining context into which the Local Heritage Designation Process has been shoe-horned (described generally here as the *built environment*). As heritage has evolved since the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its positioning within the Local Authority and the skill-base/experience of the officers required to undertake the process also needs to be reconsidered. For example, STC's *cultural* service (a separate department) was not involved to any extent in the Local Heritage Designation Process; despite earlier rhetorical statements about the importance of *culture* to heritage (extracts 2, 9 and 10). If culture is a central aspect of heritage, clearly the Local List process requires wider input.

The above has shown that whilst the social inclusion-localism discourse has met with the traditional heritage discourse there is a lack of strategy and implementation plan behind such political rhetoric. Whilst STC consider the Local Heritage Designation Process to be as socially inclusive as possible (and in broad conformity with the spirit of localism), this can be disputed on a number of levels: they have not taken the time to understand the composition of the area first; they have not actively

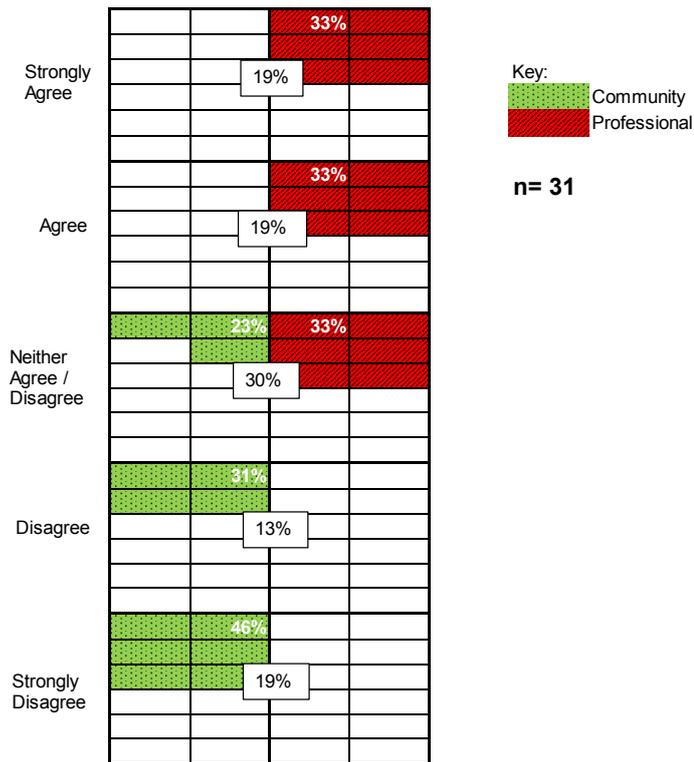
built new relationships with diverse communities, they have not gone out to communities to ask what heritage means to them, they have not sufficiently understood what *localism* means *internally* for practice and they have not conveyed this externally to the communities, and finally they have not monitored the source of nominations, accepting, uncritically, that most are submitted by other built-environment officers. Notwithstanding this, STC operated to a standard model of conservation designation, originally prescribed by English Heritage, and they operated with limited resources. Within these constraints, STC in fact demonstrated a degree of progression from standard consultation approaches. Nevertheless, there is little evidence to suggest any palpable influences of the social inclusion and/or localism message on the STC Local Designation Process beyond the standard community involvement methods used in planning processes. The survey results below supplement this argument by providing further evidence that the social inclusion/localism political rhetoric has made little headway in terms of its influence at the level of local heritage designation.

The Expert-Community Divide

The survey results below indicate contemporary tensions between the professional and the public(s) and highlight significant, continued disparity between the views of the professionals and the views of the non-professionals about the role of the public(s) in the Local Heritage Designation Process (Figures 36 and 37). Indeed, the findings, together with data evidence analysed above, are suggestive of a *growing* divide.

Figure 36: Survey Results: The Process Provides Discursive Space for Communities?

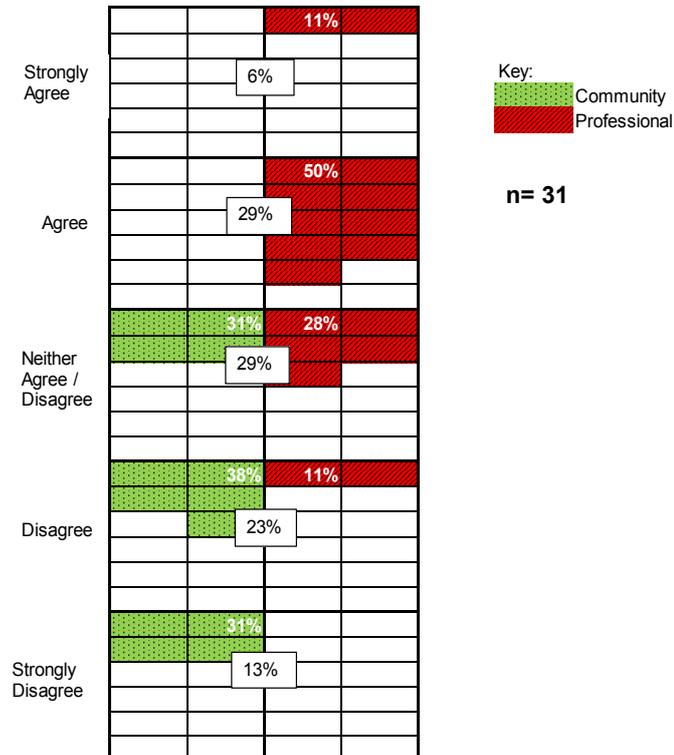
Communities are given an opportunity to talk as part of the Local Heritage Designation process



Source: Author

Figure 37: Survey Results: The Process Allows and Facilitates the Involvement of Communities

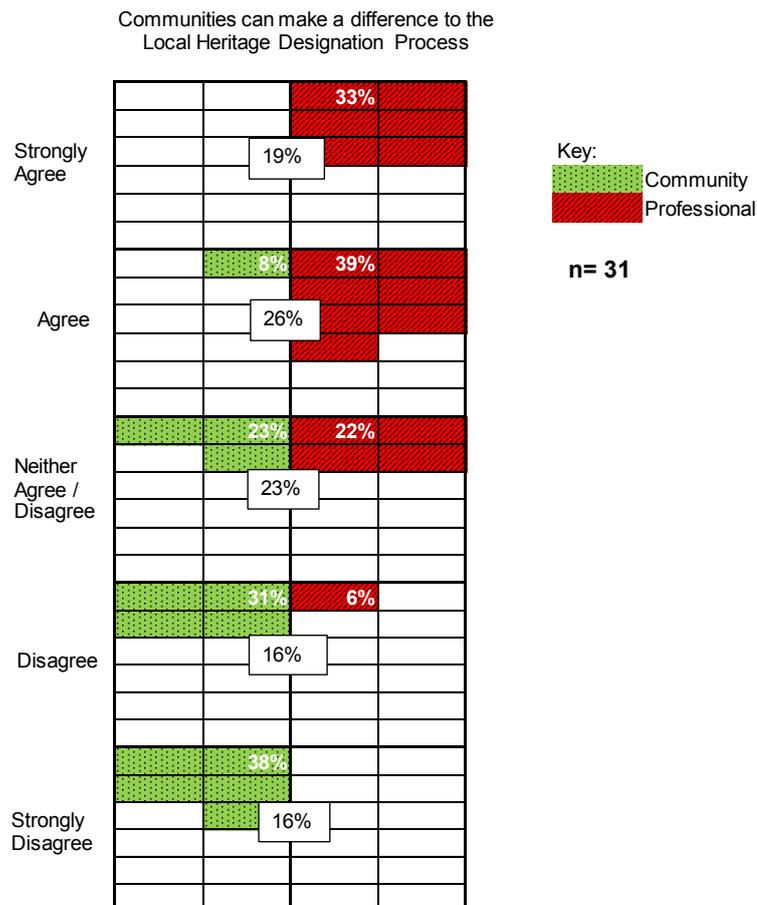
It is easy for the community to get involved in the Local Heritage Designation Process



Source: Author

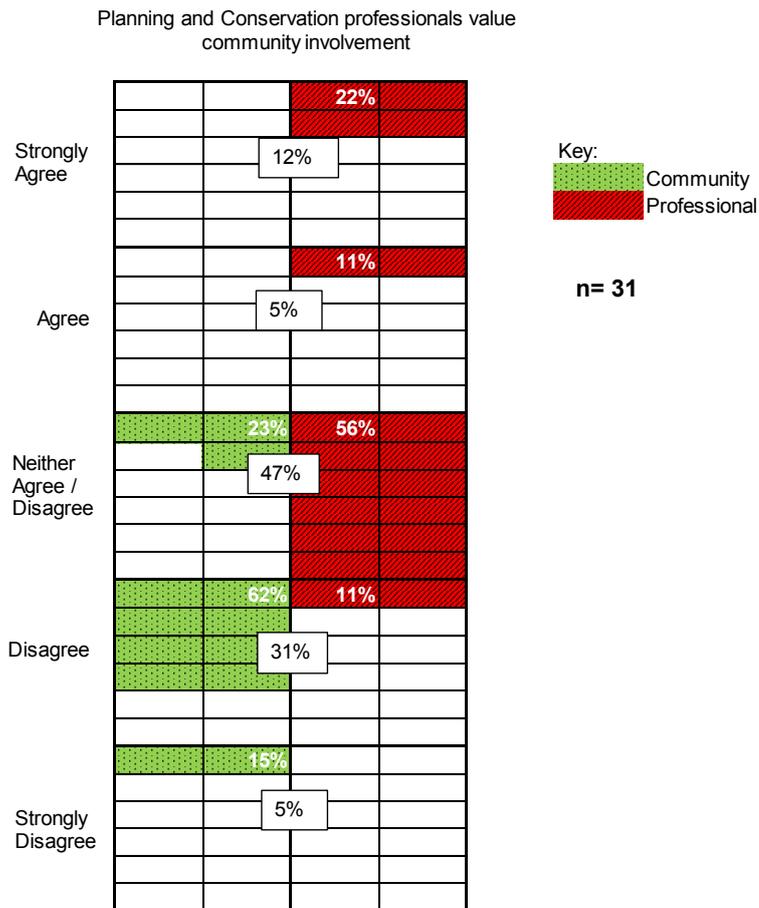
The pattern of difference visible in both Figure 36 and 37 indicates conflict and polarised views. Indeed, the majority (66%) of professionals consider that communities are given an opportunity to talk as part of the Local Heritage Designation Process; whereas the majority (77%) of community respondents felt that they were not. Similarly, most (61%) professionals agreed that it is easy for the community to get involved in the Local Heritage Designation Process, whereas most (69%) community respondents disagreed entirely. Whilst it is clearly important to remember there is also likely to be conflict within and between the communities, the opposing views between communities and professionals reveal not only a deep fracture, but also raise concerns for the general implementation of national strategies pertaining to *localism*. Moreover, survey results reveal that communities feel under-valued and peripheral to the Local Heritage Designation Process; thus unable to influence it (Figures 38 and 39).

Figure 38: Survey Results: Communities are Given Genuine Negotiating Space to Make a Difference?



Source: Author

Figure 39: Survey Results: Professionals Value Communities' Involvement in the Process?



Source: Author

Figure 39 reveals that over half (56%) of professionals felt indifferent (neither agreed nor disagreed) to the statement 'planning and conservation professionals value community involvement', while a small proportion (11%) disagreed with the statement entirely. This suggests an even more fundamental concern that there is indeed an on-going, persistent assumption that heritage can only be defined by a group of trained professionals and is reliant upon 'expert' judgements. This corresponds to earlier arguments developed around the need for defensibility (synonymous with rationality and objective truth). The survey results indicate that the community are not deemed central, or in some cases, of any value to the process. Linked to these findings, Figure 38 shows that the majority of non-professional respondents not only considered themselves undervalued, but also felt unable to influence the process (69%). Aside from this apparent point of tension between professionals and communities, a further, practical issue emerged as a key barrier to effective engagement with the public(s).

7.11 Lack of Resources

The interview data evidence highlight that scarcity of resources is an issue for STC, and as such has played a restraining role in approaches to the Local Heritage Designation Process, and specifically engagement with communities. The following extracts confirm such issues:

78. ...well, it's also having the staff time to do it, but to be able to engage on a more regular basis with certainly the local history groups just to get the information to put in the statements of significance, but you're limited to what you can do. I've got other things as well as the Local List (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
79. We are pared down to the minimum in terms of historic environment officers (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
80. You can see that you could actually use a lot more people to do it and you could...we feel that what we produced was a good document, but if somebody had given us three more people would it have been a fantastic document? Would there have been an opportunity to address more local community groups? ...perhaps we could have done more. There was a finite...we had a timeframe, we knew what we had to do in the timeframe and Mary knew that she was given me for a specific length of time, so she knew she had to make best use of my time and her own time in that timeframe that we had to do it (Interviewee Fourteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
81. I don't know if my job is safe. I hope so but conservation is at risk in Local Authorities. There is a lot of uncertainty (Interviewee Thirteen, female, senior professional, STC, 28 March 2012).
82. Certainly because of the emphasis on growth and delivery, we're conscious of potentially more appeals...so we need to prioritise heritage assets which are defensible, clear-cut and valued by many. Conservation officers don't want to raise their heads above the parapet right now in this period of diminished resources (Interviewee Fifteen, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

Whilst STC is clearly constrained to a degree by resources, there is however a more fundamental issue which is conveyed by the above data extracts. This relates to the Government's current political emphasis on growth, together with the cost-cutting measures facing Local Authorities at the time of writing (2013). These two external factors have some important consequences for Local Heritage Designation Processes at STC. For instance, extract 82 implies that the apparent emphasis on growth and delivery has created an environment in which STC are less confident that they can be successful if they are faced with an appeal. This appears to lead directly to an increased need to tighten control and rationalise heritage designation, using evidence which can be confidently and technically defended (extract 82).

Furthermore, the austerity measures which create a climate of uncertainty and job insecurity (extract 81 and 82) appear to force conservation specialists to retreat back to established, largely uncontested norms which are comfortable and

predominantly unchallenged in the built environment arena (extract 82). Under such circumstances, officers are naturally unlikely to have the confidence and enthusiasm to deviate from established practices. Ironically, this situation is likely to do little to narrow the practical and ideological gap between conservation professionals and communities.

The reference in extract 82 to prioritising heritage assets which are *valued by many* also requires highlighting due to its potential to be highly exclusionary. For instance, this somewhat unspecified, *many*, might exclude a small minority community, whose heritage is nonetheless of parallel significance. Whilst STC clearly had very limited resources it is also important to remain sceptical about the implication of resources on social inclusion and the comprehensiveness of the heritage designation process. Indeed, extract 80 questions whether such resources would make much of a difference to the process. The question raised is important because the extracts above clearly do not present a convincing picture that there is a substantial correlation between resources and the underlying barriers to more comprehensive, multi-layered heritage designation processes. No resounding argument can yet be constructed that increased resources would result in a meaningful shift in underlying ideologies. In other words, there is nothing to suggest that increased resources would result in the inclusion of more diverse communities or that the nature of heritage would be engaged with critically and viewed heterogeneously. Crucially, there is no evidence to suggest that more resources would facilitate the validity and legitimisation of subjective lay-values in what appears to remain a positivist, rational environment.

7.12 Building the Arguments

The evidence suggests that the normative heritage discourse in England is in a state of transition and has experienced some subtle permutations and modifications at the local level of heritage designation. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the extent of evolution in the heritage discourse thus has important limitations which all irrepressibly combine to sustain a dominant version of heritage, defined and controlled by 'experts'. Questions have arisen about particular cultural norms and established practices which appear to represent major stumbling blocks to equitable social and material hybridity. Crucially, the data evidence points to an environment that appears to oppress, rather than support change.

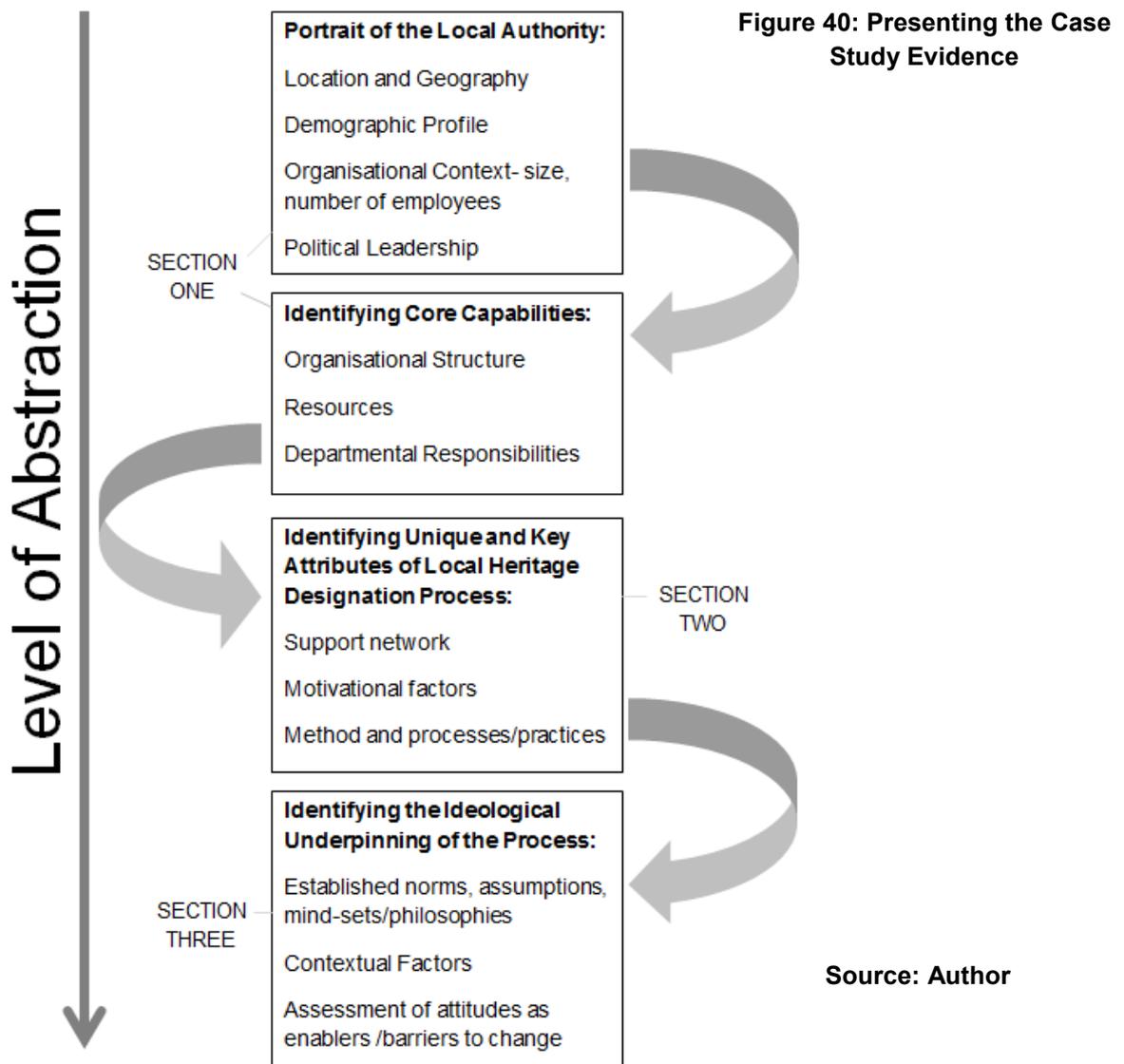
The following chapter turns to critically analyse the second local case study.

CHAPTER 8:

CASE STUDY 2: OXFORD CITY COUNCIL

8.1 Introduction

Case Study Two uses Oxford City Council (referred to *ergo* as OCC) to provide an in-depth analysis of the Local Heritage Designation process *in situ*. Like Case Study One, the chapter is divided into three main sections: section one sets out a brief introduction to the case setting, including setting out its unique characteristics; section two presents and critically examines factual information relating to the Local Heritage Designation process undertaken, and section three critically analyses the multiple forms of data collected (primary interview data, documentary evidence and survey results) to unravel the complex ideological and discursive content underpinning the process (Figure 40).



Section 1: Portrait of the Local Authority

OCC is a City Council in Oxfordshire in South East England (Figure 41). Oxford's Core Strategy describes Oxford as, "a compact city with a unique and world-renowned built heritage" (Oxford City Council, 2011: 10). Famous for the poet Matthew Arnold's 1865 description as the 'City of Dreaming Spires', Oxford is known as one of the most photographed, filmed and written-about cities in the world (Pevsner, 1974; The Oxfordshire Tourist Guide Ltd., 2013). These images and media attention focus predominantly on Oxford as a traditionally beautiful, historic city. Indeed, historic Oxford, based around the university colleges, attracts millions of tourists annually (Oxford City Council, 2011). In addition to its historic status, Oxford is also distinctive in terms of its high student population and multi-ethnic composition.

Figure 41: Map Showing Location of Oxford



Source: ONS (2012)

Indeed, OCC has the third highest minority ethnic population in the South East (ONS, 2011b). Despite this, it is predominantly home to a White British population. Other distinctive characteristics include a higher than average percentage of people stating to be Buddhists, Jews and Muslims, a lower than average percentage of

people with no qualifications and a higher than average percentage of residents with higher level qualifications⁴⁹ (ONS, 2011b). Oxford also has a lower than average percentage of unemployed residents and stands at position 122 in the index of multiple deprivation (hence generally not a deprived area⁵⁰). These unique characteristics are drawn out in more detail in the background information found in Appendix U.

Whilst section 1 above has briefly introduced the setting for the case study and has drawn out some of the Local Authority's unique attributes, section 2 examines more closely the features of OCC's Local Heritage Designation Process, including the organisational structure and contextual factors underpinning the process.

Section 2: Analysis of the Local Heritage Designation Process

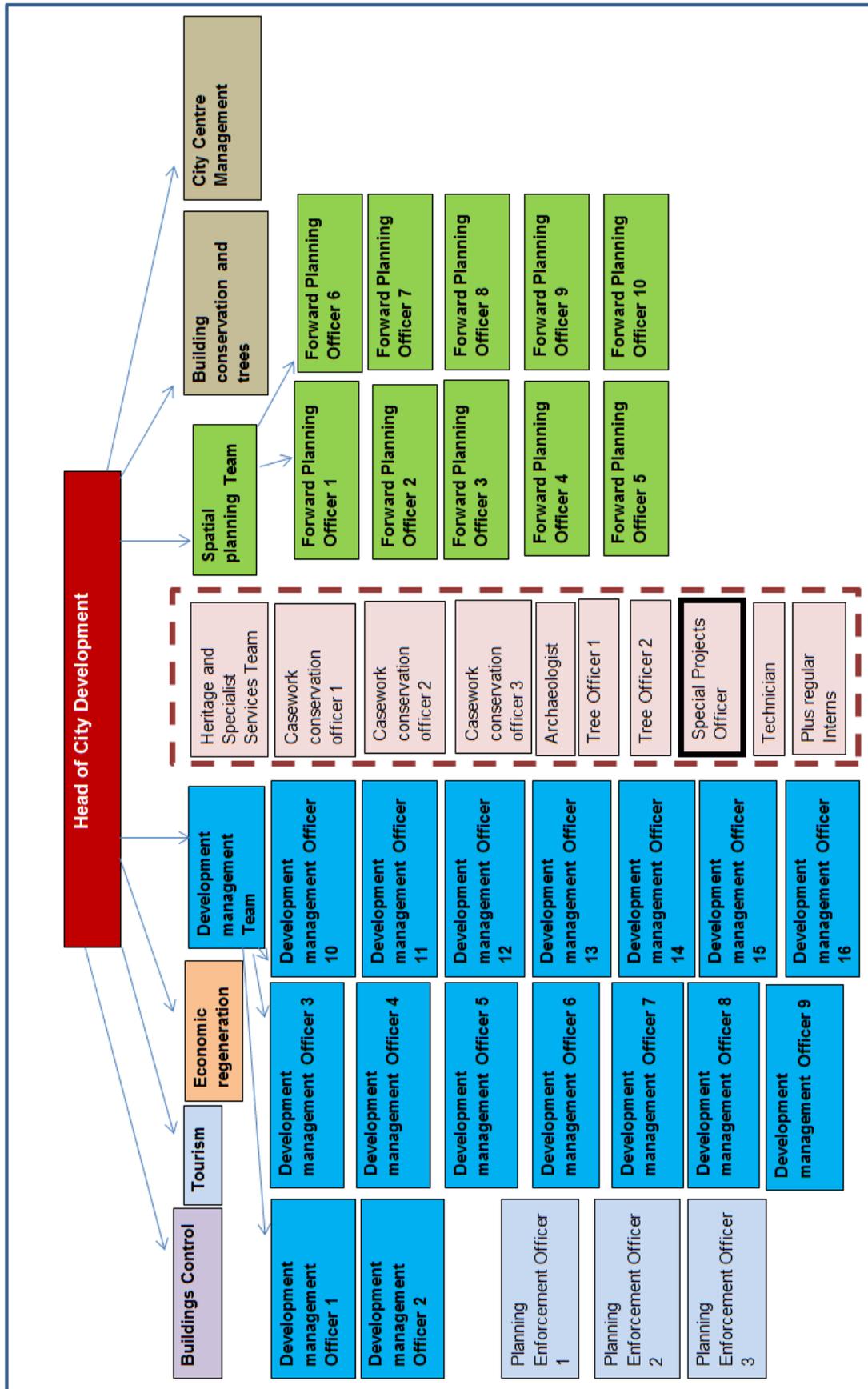
8.2 Context and Core Capabilities at OCC

The Local Heritage Designation Process at OCC falls within the remit of the Heritage and Specialist Services Team. Specifically, this team forms part of (a sub-team within) the wider Development Management team, located within the City Development Service. The Heritage and Specialist Services Team consists of eight officers; three Casework Conservation Officers, one Archaeologist, two Tree Officers, one Technician and a Special Projects Officer. The Special Projects Officer was given full responsibility for the Local Heritage Designation Process. Thus, whilst being a planning service made up of 16 Development Management Officers, 10 Forward Planning Officers and 8 Conservation and Specialist Service Officers, only one officer worked on preparation of the Local List. This officer however was able to work full-time on the Local List (in this case four days per week) and thus did not have any competing priorities to manage as part of a wider work programme. The detailed structure of the City Development Service is set out in Figure 42.

⁴⁹ People aged 16-74 with highest qualification attained level 4 / 5 (see ONS, 2011b).

⁵⁰ Oxford does, however, have pockets of deprivation (ONS, 2011b).

Figure 42: Organisational Structure at OCC



Source: Author

As Figure 42 shows, OCC benefits from a dedicated Conservation and Specialist Service Team, in addition to relatively large Development Management and Forward Planning Teams. The Conservation and Specialist Service Team is an independent service working alongside, but separate to the core planning work of the other teams. This indicates a high degree of strategic importance placed upon the specific remit of the team.

8.3 Background, Support Network and Motivating factors

As a world-renowned historic city, it is perhaps unsurprising that heritage and conservation matters are a high priority within the Local Authority. One commitment set out within OCC's Core Strategy is the production of an Oxford Heritage Plan and it was this plan which set a marker down for local heritage designation in Oxford. As Interviewee Nineteen explains, the impetus for the Local List (referred to at OCC as the Local Heritage Asset Register) came out of this wider plan:

1. We have a programme to produce the Oxford Heritage Plan which is in the core strategy, and that's an adopted core strategy and that received political support. One of the things that we said we would do as part of that was to create the Local List (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The Oxford Heritage Plan in fact set out a number of projects and priorities for delivery between 2010 and 2013. These included the production of a Character Assessment Toolkit, Character Appraisals, a Views Study and an Archaeological Action Plan (just to name a few). Being packaged up in this way, it is naturally unclear whether the Local List project alone would have received political support. Figure 43 presents a chart showing the various projects to be scheduled as part of the wider Heritage Plan.

Figure 43: Oxford Heritage Plan Timeline (Oxford Project Vision)

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Project Initiation	Project Design			
Scoping Assessment		Consultation Framework		
Quality Assessment	Oxford Heritage Statement			
	Scoping Report			
	Steering Group Consultation			
			OSP Consultation	
			Heritage Asset Managers Consultation	
Research Design	Oxford Character Appraisals			
	Character Assessment Toolkit			
	Oxford Views Study			
	Oxford Archaeological Action Plan			
	West End Historical Context Study			
			Oxford Heritage Asset Register	
			Oxford Tree Strategy	
Collect/Analyse/integrate			Heritage Plan Website	
Priorities & Principles				Action Plan & SPD
Monitoring & Outreach				Outreach Strategy

Source: Oxford City Council (2010)

Following the outlining of the Heritage Plan, OCC found itself in a somewhat unusual, yet privileged position, receiving financial support for the Local List from English Heritage. English Heritage was in the final stages of producing the Local List Best Practice Guide and as such considered it appropriate to award OCC £60,000 as an incentive to prepare the Local Heritage Register (as an integral part of the wider Heritage plan) in line with the new Local List Best Practice Guide. Some of the press releases about this financial award are presented below:

2. A history project in Oxford has been awarded £60,000 by English Heritage to help conserve unprotected local buildings and landmarks (BBC News Oxford Newspaper Article).
3. English Heritage has given Oxford City Council £60,000 to create a register of “heritage assets”, including buildings, sculptures or open spaces which are not listed under planning law (Oxford Mail Newspaper Article).

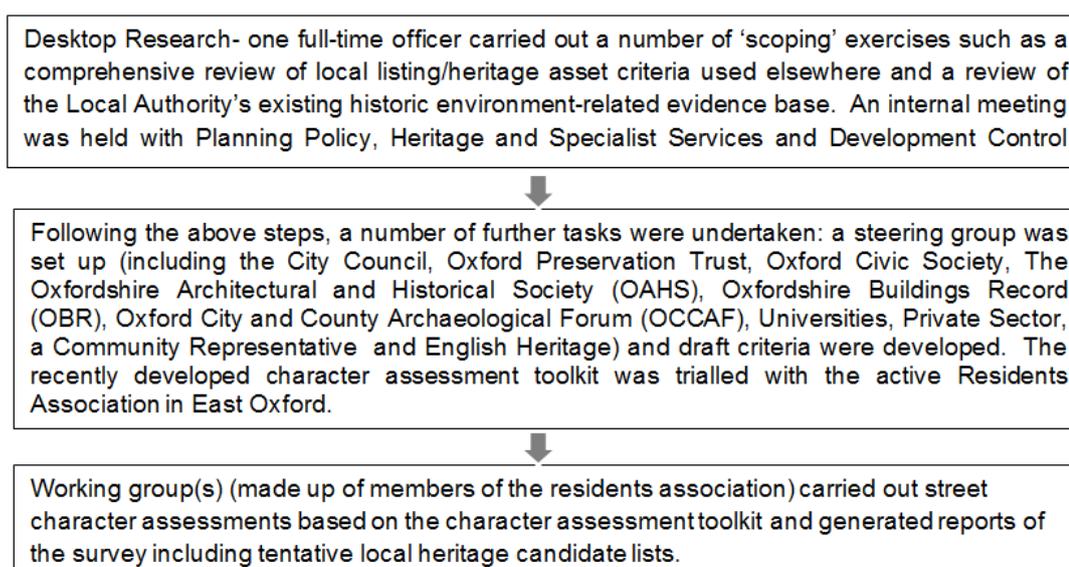
The above extracts show that the securing of resources was presented in the media as an award to carry out a project about *history*. This, together with the reference to creating a *register of heritage assets* which are *not listed under planning law* serves to frame the project within the context of orthodox heritage designation and thus subconsciously paints a picture of a typical, traditional heritage project, albeit at the non-statutory level. It does not necessarily promote or present a widened construct

of heritage. Moreover, the intertextuality which draws in the normative heritage discourse (through reference to statutory listing and planning law) implies that the type of *heritage assets* that will be legitimate are those which could be, or have been put forward for statutory listing, but did not make it on to the Statutory List. Thus, whilst Oxford's Local List was not explicitly underpinned from the outset by traditional conservation concerns about the appearance of its historic and architectural buildings, neither was it presented as something innovative or different from the norm. The following section sets out the steps undertaken to prepare the Local List.

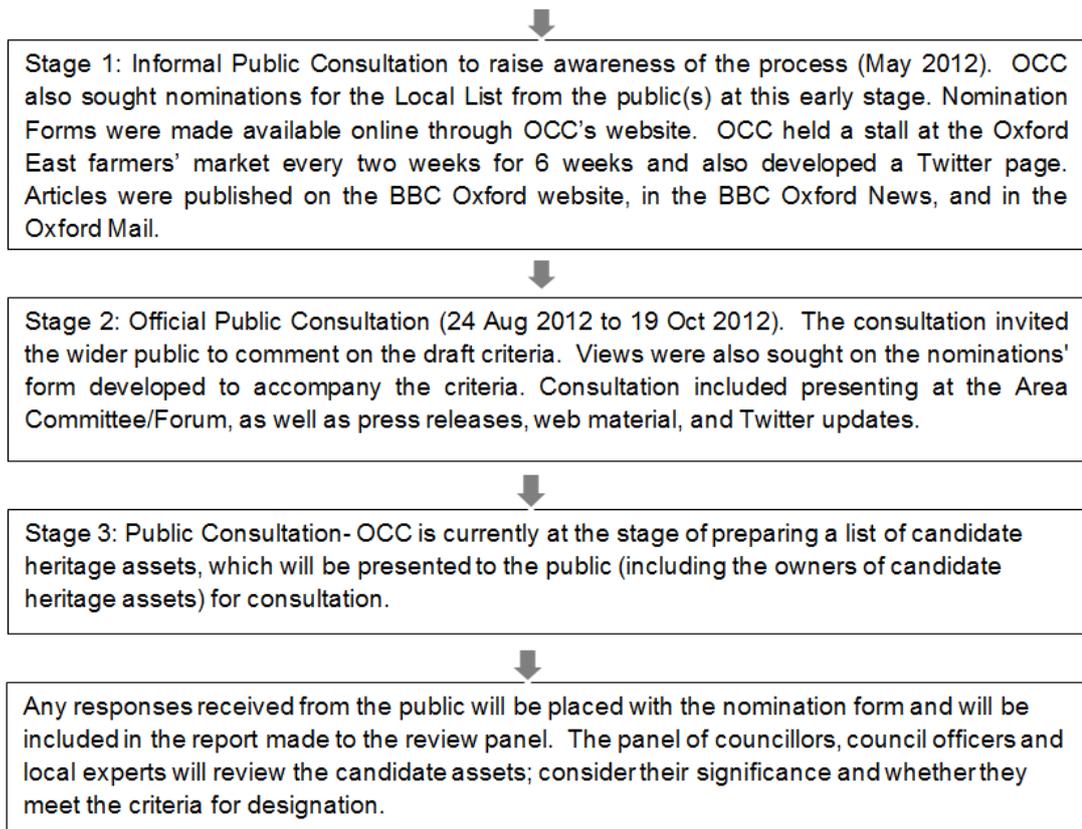
8.4 Methodological Processes

Responsibility was given to the Special Projects Officer to produce the Local List in four stages, covering four areas of Oxford: West Oxford, East Oxford, Summertown and Blackbird Leys. The first stage (also referred to by the Local Authority as a Pilot Study) was to cover East Oxford⁵¹. Having received the funding from English Heritage, it was explained by the lead officer that there was an aspiration to produce a comprehensive Local Heritage Register, and to be as socially-inclusive as possible in this process. As such, the Local List Best Practice Guide was to be followed as closely as possible. A brief summary of the process at OCC is set out in Figure 44.

Figure 44: Summary of the OCC Process



⁵¹ Data collection was undertaken early during the process at OCC. As such, the process at the time of writing (2013) was not yet complete.



Source: Author

8.5 Decision-Making and Extent of Consultation

The flow chart above highlights a number of key points. First it is clear that the planned Local Heritage Designation Process at OCC involved three stages of public consultation and the consultation activity was front-loaded. Indeed, a lot of emphasis was placed on initial awareness raising; consulting the wider public at the beginning of the project in relation to the proposed local selection criteria. These criteria, however, were first prepared by officers and taken to the Project Steering Group for consideration, thus were not initially developed with the public(s). The Project Steering Group was clearly dominated by conservation/heritage professionals or 'experts' and included only one *community representative*. Given the heterogeneity of communities, it is naturally difficult, if not impossible for one person (in this case the leader of a residents association) to represent the entire mix of communities. Notwithstanding this, the difficulty in achieving a panel which is 'representative' must, however, also be acknowledged. Whilst OCC did at least attempt to provide a lay view on the steering group, this group was undoubtedly dominated by professional views. As such, decision-making was undertaken in an environment which was predominantly informed and controlled by professionals or

those considered to have a source of technical conservation, architectural and/or historic expertise. As the Local Heritage Register project was funded by English Heritage, the Special Projects Officer leading the process was guided not only by existing guidance, knowledge and expertise, but also by the draft of the English Heritage Local List Best Practice Guide. The emphasis on community involvement within this document prompted an approach which sought to be open, participative and transparent. As such, the consultation methods were designed to go beyond the minimum requirements set out in the Council's Statement of Community Involvement (SCI). Indeed, the consultation methods included setting up a stall at a Farmers Market, as well as exploiting social media sites to publicise the Local List process. Figure 45 presents a more detailed picture of the consultation process undertaken.

Figure 45: The Consultation Process at OCC

<p>Summary of Extent of Consultation:</p> <p>Information about each round of consultation could be viewed or downloaded from the council's website at http://www.oxford.gov.uk/PageRender/decP/HeritageAssetRegister.htm</p> <p>Updates were made through 'tweets' using the social media site, Twitter at: https://twitter.com/OxfordHeritage</p> <p>OCC held a stall at the Oxford East farmers' market every two weeks for 6 weeks during consultation stages.</p> <p>A press release was published during each round of consultation on the BBC Oxford website, in the BBC Oxford News, and in the Oxford Mail.</p> <p>Letters or e-mails publicising the consultation were sent to statutory consultees, residents groups, local history groups, councillors and others who requested to be kept informed about general progress on the LDF.</p> <p>Meetings were held with Area Committees and the Residents Association in East Oxford.</p> <p>A Historic Character Assessment Workshop (based on the Character Assessment Toolkit) was delivered on Friday 26 October 2012.</p> <p>One-to-one meetings: OCC met with one of the local vicars from the Anglican Church, the Church of England.</p> <p>OCC worked with the Museum Service who ran an oral history evening/event.</p>

Source: Author

The local authority focussed heavily on online tools and used some innovative techniques such as the social media website, Twitter. Moreover, a key part of the consultation was capacity building work through delivering character assessment training sessions to communities. The training sessions sought to train communities how to undertake character assessment work, to enable them to actively participate in the process and be able to influence it. Such training clearly goes beyond standard consultation methods. Furthermore, the setting up of a stall at the local Farmers markets was deemed by OCC to be a location which may reflect some

local diversity⁵². Notwithstanding this, during the time spent at the market, the officer did not record engagement in any way and did not particularly attempt to draw people to the stall. The result was that the interested non-professionals attending the stall tended to be those of a particular social group: generally white, British.

Thus, despite a significantly increased level of consultation, the form/type of consultation, did not particularly facilitate the achievement of genuine social inclusion. Whilst some ad hoc one-to-one meetings were held (for example with a local Church of England vicar), these were not necessarily inclusive or comprehensive. Indeed, 'unrepresented' communities were not specifically targeted or encouraged to get involved. Moreover, the character assessment training, whilst a seemingly valuable capacity building tool to encourage lay public involvement, ironically involved a predominantly one-way dialogue that focussed on educating the lay public how to define heritage like the 'experts' (discussed in more detail in section 3 below). Whilst clearly good-intentioned, the consultation in fact appeared to promote a veneer of consensus about the nature of heritage, rather than encouraging alternative heritage values to be offered and articulated.

8.6 Criteria for Designation

The criteria produced by the lead officer (and considered by the Working Group) were based on the officer's comprehensive research on local selection criteria used in other Local Authority's Local Lists. This formulation of criteria was thus directed by the officer's own experience, expertise and lessons learnt from other Local Authorities. The local criteria produced are set out in Figure 46.

⁵² See table of key demographic attributes in Appendix U.

Figure 46: The Local Heritage Selection Criteria at OCC

<p>The Criteria:</p> <p>Registered Heritage Assets must meet all of the four following criteria:</p> <p>Criteria 1. They must be capable of meeting the government's definition of a heritage asset.</p> <p>Demonstrate that your candidate is able to fall within the government's definition of a heritage asset; i.e. a building, monument, site, place, area or landscape.</p> <p>Criteria 2. They must possess heritage interest that can be conserved and enjoyed.</p> <p>Identify the properties of your candidate asset that need to be cared for as heritage – this is its <i>heritage interest</i>. This might include physical things like its appearance and materials, as well as associations with past people or events. Consider whether the physical features of the candidate asset help to illustrate its associations. The four types of heritage interest listed are recognised in national planning policy.</p> <p>Criteria 3. They must have a value as heritage for the character and identity of the city, neighbourhood or community because of their heritage interest beyond personal or family connections, or the interest of individual property owners.</p> <p>Tell us why or how the heritage interest you identified in your answer to Question 2 is of local value - this is its <i>heritage value</i>. The types of heritage value suggested on the nomination form are based on national guidance by English Heritage.</p> <p>Criteria 4. They must have a level of significance that is greater than the general positive identified character of the local area.</p> <p>Tell us what raises your candidate's heritage value to a level that merits its consideration in planning. Many features of the historic environment are a valued part of local character that should be managed through policies relating to townscape character in the local plan. Registered heritage assets should stand out as of greater significance than these features for their heritage value. The suggested options listed on the nominations form are based on national best practice. If you think your candidate asset has special local significance for another reason please state what it is.</p>
--

Source: Oxford City Council (2012)

Initial analysis of the criteria highlights some key issues. Firstly, the multiple references made to *national* definitions and *national* policy/guidance serve to draw parallels between the *national* approach to statutory listing and the local designation process. By doing so, it subconsciously shapes the way heritage is conveyed at the local level. Criterion 4 is particularly noteworthy as it implies that somehow *national best practice* can be appropriately applied to local heritage designation. For instance, to be significant, and thus worthy of inclusion, there is explicit emphasis placed on *standing out as of greater significance* than other valuable buildings and spaces that are managed using policies relating to townscape character. This seems confusing and draws parallels with the parameters of architectural grandeur and rarity (common aspects of the AHD). It appears to suggest that to make it on to the Local List, it must be something of exceptional significance; the best of the best. This clearly draws familiar connotations with the approach to national listing.

Moreover, the assessment process has been based on sequential stages; first, the

nomination must have the ability to meet the government definition; second, it must have an appropriate heritage interest; third, it must have an appropriate heritage value; and finally, it must have appropriate heritage significance. To be legitimate the candidate heritage asset must meet all four criteria. The criteria must be read in parallel with the nomination form. According to the nomination form, this must be completed, “to demonstrate how your candidate asset meets the criteria for inclusion on the Oxford Heritage Assets Register”. This form provides more detailed information to indicate what it is the Local Authority is looking for in terms of heritage. It also serves to steer what can and cannot be legitimised as such (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Extension of Selection Criteria- The Nomination Form at OCC

1. WHAT IS IT? Is it one of the following?	Tick
a building or group of buildings	
a monument or site (an area of archaeological remains or a structure other than a building)	
a place (e.g. a street, park, garden or natural space)	
a landscape (an area defined by visual features or character, e.g. a city centre, village, suburb or field system)	



2. WHY IS IT INTERESTING? Is it interesting in any of the following ways?	Tick / Rank
Historic interest – a well-documented association with a person, event, episode of history, or local industry	
Archaeological interest – firm evidence of potential to reveal more about the human past through further study	
Architectural interest – an example of an architectural style, a building of particular use, a technique of building, or use of materials	
Artistic interest – It includes artistic endeavour to communicate meaning or use of design (including landscape design) to enhance appearance	
What is it about the asset that provides this interest?	



3. WHY IS IT LOCALLY VALUED? Is the interest of the asset valued locally for any of the following reasons?	Tick / Rank
Association: It connects us to people and events that shaped the identity or character of the area	
Illustration: It illustrates an aspect of the area's past that makes an important contribution to its identity or character	
Evidence: It is an important resource for understanding and learning about the area's history	
Aesthetics: It makes an important contribution to the positive look of the area either by design or fortuitously	
Communal: It is important to the identity, cohesion, spiritual life or memory of all or part of the community	
How is the asset locally valued as heritage?	



4. WHAT MAKES ITS LOCAL SIGNIFICANCE SPECIAL? Do any of the following features make the heritage significance of the asset stand out above the surrounding environment?	Tick
Age ... Is it particularly old, or of a date that is significant to the local area?	
Rarity ... Is it unusual in the area or a rare survival of something that was once common?	
Integrity ... Is it largely complete or in a near to original condition?	
Group value ... Is it part of a group that have a close historic, aesthetic or communal association?	
Oxford's identity ... Is it important to the identity or character of the city or a particular part of it?	
Other ... Is there another way you think it has special local value?	
How does this contribute to its value?	

Source: Oxford City Council (2012)

The above additional information supports the local criteria and thus reveals some key points. Indeed, the explicit reference to, “local industry” and Oxford’s “local” distinctiveness suggest that locally important ‘industrial’ and ‘everyday’ buildings are eligible and legitimate parameters of heritage. Moreover, on first glance, explicit references to, “communal value”, “identity”, “cohesion”, “memory” and “spiritual life” suggest an even broader understanding of heritage legitimacy. The link between such intangible aspects of heritage and a physical object/place is overtly acknowledged as a legitimate form of heritage value. Whilst the nomination form (together with the local criteria for selection) provide explicit evidence of the juxtaposition of both material and social aspects of heritage, there however also

appears to be work being done here to sustain the dominance of buildings-led, traditional heritage values. To explain this point, interview data is drawn upon to clarify exactly how the criteria are used in practice and, as such, highlight some important constraining issues:

4. You first must have an interest. The value of the heritage comes from the interest. You can't have a value and not an interest...I guess its sequential (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
5. There are five different types of heritage value at that point that it could be valued for....So does it provide an association with an individual or a group of people or an event or a process in the past that has been influential in the identity and character of the area (Interviewee Twenty, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
6. Backing that up then we have the character statements that we are asking communities to prepare which provide us with the evidence of whether that is actually the case. So it doesn't stand alone, the criteria aren't alone, they have to be supported by that character statement and for that we are asking them to look at character (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

This explanation (extract 4), taken in conjunction with the criteria set out, reveals that to qualify in the first instance, the proposed heritage must have one of the four types of heritage interest listed and recognised in national planning policy: architectural, historic, artistic, or archaeological. This, in effect, means that something cannot be heritage based on a social/communal value alone, unless it can meet the 'historic' interest criterion. This once again, highlights the blurring of the social and the historic values, which implicitly excludes any form of social heritage value which does not conform to a time-depth deemed appropriate for inclusion (the Jewish Mikvah is an example of this detailed below). The specifics of this elusive time-depth determinant are obscure and left largely undefined by decision-makers. This ambiguity fuels further confusion in application of the social heritage value.

Moreover, the use of the definite article *the* in, *the* heritage and *the* value (extract 4), is highly reminiscent of arguments developed elsewhere, reinforcing the traditional idea that heritage is singular and already defined. The modal verb *must* is also revealing, expressing a range of meanings in terms of what Interviewee Nineteen thinks, does and how he identifies himself. It appears to be an explicit expression of assertion and authority, and is dialogically closed to any alternative conceptualisations of heritage interest, other than the four nationally listed.

Both extract 5 and 6 provide further detail about how the assessment criteria work in practice. Extract 5 puts the intangible aspect of heritage firmly within *the past* (note

that this is a singular past) and extract 6 qualifies this type of heritage further by narrowly implying that any ascribed meanings to buildings or spaces need to be reflected physically; hence tangibly. This links back to criteria 2, “Consider whether the physical features of the candidate asset help to illustrate its associations”. The flexibility conveyed in this statement swiftly diminishes when it becomes clear that any associations or other intangible aspects of heritage must be evidenced by physical features referred to in a completed character assessment. Clearly where such a *physical* significance exists, the character assessment toolkit is a valuable method for identifying what it is that makes it special physically, and consequently, what it is that should be conserved. This approach however is not necessarily appropriate in cases where the significance is in fact the social meanings ascribed to the building or place, which, whilst ascribed to physical things, cannot themselves be seen due to their intangibility (i.e. cultural/spiritual meanings, traditions, etc.). The question arises whether this apparent reliance and dependency on character assessment evidence has the power to exclude.

How these criteria and assessment requirements are actually translated into practice, together with the ideologies underpinning the process and decision-making are investigated within section 3.

Section 3: Analysis of the Ideologies Underpinning the Process

Part A: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 1

To what extent are professional conceptualisations of ‘heritage’ likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process?

8.7 The Widening of the Normative Heritage Framework

Nuances evident in Professional Conceptualisations of Heritage

Despite the aforementioned concerns, the following data extracts cumulatively point to a *discursive* broadening of professional understandings of heritage at OCC, beyond physical fabric, aesthetics, time-depth and expert judgements:

7. It's everything- it's now a much wider concept- intangibles, movable things, social, spiritual values, as well as the tangible things (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
8. We've got to understand what it is that people are valuing and it may not always be the tangible asset that we're conserving (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
9. It [heritage] might include assets such as areas of historic landscape or townscape value and sites of religious devotion. We might also consider intangible heritage (Assessing Significance document).
10. I'm an archaeologist so heritage tends to come down to things that are a material reflection of the past, the material remains of the past. That could be an awful lot of stuff, so there has to be a filtering process that means it has to be the material remains of the past that matter to people and give their lives meaning, so there has to be a relationship between the people and the stuff. That means heritage isn't the same to everybody, we all have our own subjective idea. As I've said, we can share subjective experiences, so a lot of that heritage can be the same for quite a lot of people and that is something that gives them identity as well, so that shared subjectivity is actually an important part of what it is (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
11. ...it might not always be the physical that we're trying to conserve when we're conserving its significance. It may be its associations and its historic connections as properties and that will influence our decision making (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Extract 7 describes a widening construct that has come to mean *everything*. Indeed, there appears to be an overpowering emphasis on the intangible content of heritage. This is followed by an explicit recognition of the role of, and need for *people* in the heritage equation (extracts 8 and 10). Indeed, it is the people who value something, give it meaning and make it heritage. This philosophy appears to bring together material and social aspects of heritage, to weave together a conceptually complex and progressive form of tangible-intangible hybridity. The focus on *people* is also indicative of a socially inclusive view of heritage designation and management (extracts 8 and 10); clearly a view of immense contrast to traditional conservation thought. Moreover, the officer explicitly acknowledges that with ascribed meanings and values, the heritage *significance* which requires conserving might indeed be something which is not physical. This understanding clearly poses some difficult philosophical questions for traditional conservation of the built environment. It also appears to contradict the criteria developed at OCC (discussed above) which demand that significance is illustrated by physical features.

Whilst the data extracts above are an overt indication of a broadening of understandings of what heritage could be, deeper linguistic analysis reveals a lack of certainty and commitment to such wider conceptualisation. Whilst the general feel of the extracts is fairly open, flexible and dialogical, the use of the word *may* (extract 8) and *might* (extracts 9 and 11) is revealing. Whilst clearly grammatically

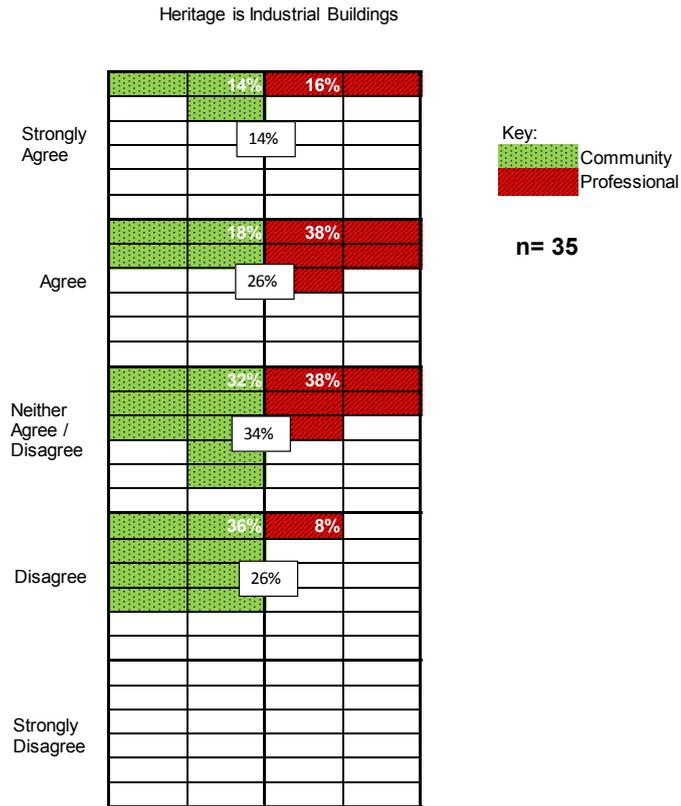
open to alternative suggestions or possibilities (rather than expressing categorical assertions), the use of these words signal a low level of truth and obligation to the sentiments expressed. *May* and *might*, as very clear markers of modalisation, identify only a slight commitment to the cause: a commitment that may also be overthrown by a more serious commitment to the normative heritage discourse.

Finally, the inclusive sentiments expressed in extract 8 are qualified by factors which restrict heritage to something from an earlier historical period; something confined to *the past* (extract 10). This, together with the noun, *remains*, powerfully reinforces a traditional ideological representation of heritage, as something exclusively old, surviving in physical form and confined to the past. Whilst this aspect of heritage conservation is important, its privileging appears as the moral logic which not only justifies the conservation orthodoxy, but also potentially prevents a rebalancing of contemporary parameters of heritage legitimisation. It raises the question of whether different interpretations of heritage value such as those relating to more abstract notions of 'historical association' or important contemporary developments relating to the identity, culture or traditions of diverse communities will be recognised. Meanwhile, it appears to implicitly de-value the present and prioritise the past. Finally, the use of the definite article, *the* (in *the past*) again could imply that there is only one singular, common *past*, which is already defined. As such, it seems to fail to appropriately acknowledge cross-cultural concepts of 'history' and the many interpretations of heritage, depending on context, experience, origin and culture.

Nuances evident in General Conceptualisations of Heritage

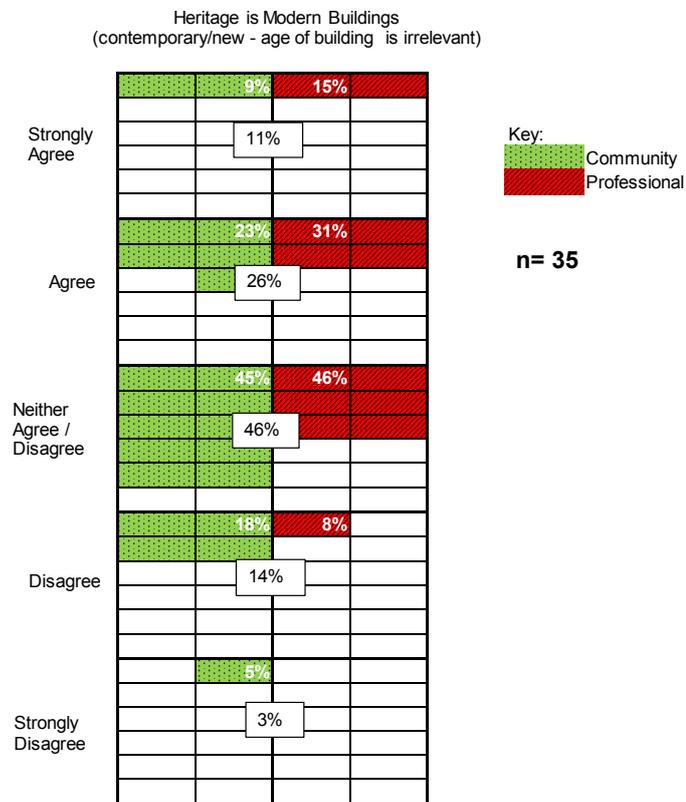
Despite the above concerns, the examples above nevertheless provide rhetorical markers to confirm that conceptualisations of heritage are wider than the basic national statutory criteria of 'architectural and historic significance'. These discursive markers are further contextualised by an interpretation of the survey results (Figures 48 and 49).

Figure 48: Survey Results: “Industrial” Structures and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

Figure 49: Survey Results: “Modern” Structures and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

Whilst a large majority of respondents were in agreement that the traditional conservation values: great architecture (97%), monuments (97%) and historic buildings (100%) constitute heritage, a little less than half of respondents agreed that industrial buildings (40%) (Figure 48) and modern buildings (37%) (Figure 49) could also be of heritage value and thus worthy of designation. The survey findings are clearly indicative of some alternative interpretations of heritage beyond traditional nineteenth century conservation values. Whilst, they signpost that the attitudes of communities and professionals towards industrial and more contemporary conceptualisations of heritage appear to be broadly aligned, perhaps the most important point to be drawn is the distribution of results. There is not a large majority agreeing or disagreeing. In both cases, however, more agree/strongly agree (40% industrial; 37% modern) than disagree/strongly disagree (26% industrial; 17% modern). Moreover, the largest collection of results can be found in the neither agree nor disagree category (34% industrial; 46% modern). Perhaps because of Oxford's reputation for traditional and grand historic buildings, 'industrial' and more recent heritage is perceived as of slightly less value by respondents; however the general eligibility of such forms of heritage is not particularly questioned by the evidence.

In addition to the injection of the above dimensions of heritage value into the normative heritage discourse, other adaptations are also highlighted by the data. For instance, extract 12 refers to a major reorientation in conservation practice during the late twentieth century; the idea of characterisation:

12. People are thinking more about the wider landscape than individual sites with limits, they want to see how things connect to each other, how whole areas work and provide character. Characterisation as a process being used in planning is the outcome of that I think, that that's feeding from the academic world into planning, people are wanting to see the whole and be a bit more holistic. Naturally at that point you find things that are giving people meaning and are historic and therefore heritage that fall outside the traditional boundaries of scheduled monuments, listed buildings and registered parks and gardens. So we have the option of having undesigned landscapes or farming landscapes as heritage assets, or views as heritage assets which is outside of that traditional remit (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The above appears to further highlight the mutability of heritage discourse. Indeed, the reference to *heritage that fall outside the traditional boundaries* suggest that heritage specialists are now legitimising alternative forms and conceptualisations of heritage they traditionally did not used to. This example relates to adopting a more *holistic* approach to heritage; seeing how buildings and spaces connect together through characterisation. Whilst this reflects undeniable progress in approaches to heritage conservation, this important evolution is nevertheless still dominated by a

type of significance that can be substantially seen and recognised visually (aesthetical/architectural values and historic fabric). One example referred to in the extract is undesigned heritage landscapes. Whilst progressive, the officer does not refer to any similar iconic movement in recognising the intangible, social aspects of heritage, which, in many cases, are not aesthetically pleasing or immediately visible to the eye. Whilst the example is therefore positive in suggesting that the dominant heritage discourse can adjust and modify, the question arises whether intangible heritage claims which are not visibly apparent are considered relevant and eligible for designation. The above links closely to notions of historical association and thus the following section investigates this point further, unpacking the practical confusion between *historic* association and social value, and the potential subsequent dominant framing of heritage.

8.8 A Dominant Framing of Heritage

The Notion of Longevity

Evidence suggests that when probed about the meaning and importance of social heritage values, officers clearly demonstrate confusion, instead usually understanding them to be equivalent to historic values. This misunderstanding and uncertainty manifests, discursively, in an apparent struggle to reduce the emphasis on historic parameters of heritage. Whilst there appears to be an ambition to ‘find a way’ or a ‘solution’ to unravelling the social value concept, the initial reaction of the officer nevertheless, reveals the evident gap between the rhetoric and the realities of implementing social/communal values in practice. This notion is apparent in the interview data as well as discussions about potential nominations for the Local List:

13. It seems difficult [a social communal value without the other three values]. Most of them are based on historical value, association (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
14. The one that isn't is the cohesiveness, that's it, the value to cohesiveness which is very much based on use, so it's where the community comes together to do things based on that heritage asset. If it's like a community centre where they get together to do events, then that is a heritage value at the moment. Based on Conservation Principles that might not be aesthetic or evidential or historical (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

From the initial swift rejection of the idea that something could be heritage with no historical element, the officer retracts this statement and instead discusses the notion of ‘cohesiveness’, which he claims is directly linked to use. This notion however is also ambiguous and misunderstood. The same officer, for instance, made the following comments at a later stage of the interview:

15. If they're important to the community particularly because of their use but aren't necessarily heritage, then we might recommend that they become community assets under the Localism Act, but we don't have a list of community assets yet within the Council, but I think that's a possible one for the future (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

What is evident here is the general vagueness surrounding the social value construct and the apparent inability to see heritage as something that is not inherent in the physical fabric of buildings or spaces and/or confined to a particular historical past. The notion of cohesiveness suggests unity (sticking together) that could stem from links in the behaviours and beliefs, perhaps characteristic of a particular social, ethnic or age group. It raises certain questions such as whether such meeting places could be heritage and at what stage they mysteriously become heritage. Such questions are either left unanswered by conservation professionals, are rationally and pragmatically managed by an age threshold, or simply transferred elsewhere. There appears to be no clear understanding of the situation when such a social value relating to *use* or *cohesiveness* would fall *into* the heritage category. Instead of seeking to expand conceptualisations of heritage, there is a risk that such difficult, uncomfortable and seemingly unmanageable social heritage values will simply be dismissed. The referral of such local heritage nominations to a currently non-existent, equally puzzling, list of 'Community Assets' is a superficial solution to the problem; shifting it, rather than addressing it. It also results in these nominations losing an official relationship to heritage. One example which has caused such confusion is the Jewish Mikvah in East Oxford.

The Jewish Mikvah

Whilst at the time of writing (2013) OCC were yet to unveil their final decisions on nominations for the Local List. Stage 1 of the process, however, had already caused some tension and unease. The first example of this relates to a Jewish community which, in 2008, built a traditional style Jewish Mikvah (Figure 50 and 51). The Jewish Mikvah is a pool of natural waters, constructed, prepared and maintained to particular requirements laid down by halacha (Jewish Law). The purpose of the Mikvah is for women to immerse themselves in a purification bath each month following menstruation. This immersion of the body in the water is a symbolic act of purification and spiritual meaning (Goldstein, 2013).

Figure 50: External view of the Slager Family Mikvah, at Oxford Chabad House, Cowley Road



Source: Oxford Chabad Society (2013)

Figure 51: Internal view of the Slager Family Mikvah, at Oxford Chabad House, Cowley Road



Source: Oxford Chabad Society (2013)

Externally, the Mikvah cannot be described as of architectural merit, and it certainly is not historic, having been constructed only 5 years ago (at time of writing, 2013). Furthermore, it is used by 30 women per month; only a very small proportion of the Oxford population. There was consequently a degree of dissonance surrounding whether it should be designated as local heritage, as shown by the following data extracts:

16. We have a Jewish Mikvah that is run by a local Jewish community and that potentially is another heritage asset, a very new one but a controversial one (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
17. I don't think we'll be including that. It's nothing to look at and it's not valued by many (Interviewee Twenty-one, male, elected member, OCC, 10 March 2012).
18. It was in the press but it's not particularly special in anyway so I don't think so...it's not old either (Interviewee Twenty-two, female, member of the public, 10 March 2012).
19. They want the Mikvah to be included but it's a controversial one. It looks like a garage or garden shed from the outside...no, certainly of no architectural or historic merit (Interviewee Twenty, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Whilst Interviewee Nineteen is most positive about the possibility that the Jewish Mikvah may be worthy of heritage designation, the linguistic use of the hedge, *potentially* may indicate tentativeness and uncertainty to this sentiment. The statement however does not completely close down the possibility of inclusion of the Mikvah in the Local Heritage Register. The other interviewees, on the other hand, are less convinced that such a building could have ascribed meanings worthy of heritage designation. Indeed, Interviewee Twenty appeared unconvinced of the heritage value of the Mikvah (extract 19) because it does not conform to traditional parameters of heritage value (architectural and/or historic merit). Moreover, it

seems from extract 17, that the proportion of people doing the valuing may also be important in decision-making at OCC. This understanding, however, is contradictory to section 3 of the nomination form which appears to recognise communal value. The explanation given of communal value is that,

20. It is important to the identity, cohesion, spiritual life or memory of all or part of the community (Oxford Heritage Asset Register Nomination form).

At first, this appears to give weight to the notion of cohesion, and crucially, it appears to acknowledge that something may be of heritage value to only 'part' of the community. Whether this 'part' is caveated, however, is unclear. Whilst the social-framed criterion initially appears to support the designation of the Jewish Mikvah, the sequentiality of the criteria (as exposed above, See Figures 46 and 47) and the need for a heritage interest which first belongs to the normative, national and seemingly exclusionary categorical realms of historic, archaeological, artistic and architectural interest appears prohibitive to the Mikvah's recognition.

The importance of this symbol of heritage to Jewish communities, however, transcends such normative parameters of heritage. The Jewish Mikvah for instance, is deemed significant because it enables Jewish women in Oxford to be able to fulfil a key part of their faith. This ritual is of great significance to the Jewish community and of prime importance in traditional Judaism (Roberts, 2012). The construction of the Mikvah was indeed so significant that the Chief Rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Yona Metzger, flew in from the Middle East for the opening ceremony (Bardsley, 2008). It was the Rabbi's first visit to Oxford (*ibid*). The social heritage value of the Mikvah is described below by the Rabbi Eli Brackman, who moved to Oxford in 2001:

21. It emphasises the importance of the family in Jewish tradition, more than prayer, worship or other practices...It is extremely important for us, as a young and growing community (Bardsley, 2008).

The extracts above however illustrate the conflict surrounding its potential local heritage status. This example is a key illustration of the potential exclusion and/or misrecognition of applying conventional conservation thought to alternative conceptualisations of heritage. This positions the social value concept in a contested, complex and ambiguous setting.

Indeed, deeper analysis of both the interview transcripts and the documentary evidence publicising the Local List process expose what appears to be a continual slippage back into associating the designation process firmly with the notion of

history and *historic* buildings, structures and sites. The Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document for instance, includes several photographs which intuitively shape the readers understanding of heritage. Both images (Figures 52 and 53) convey the message that heritage is about physical fabric and character, historic buildings and architectural significance. There are no illustrations included to demonstrate any alternative conceptualisation of heritage. Moreover, the descriptions of the images also draw the national statutory listing process closer to the Local Heritage Designation Process. The consequence of this association is the portrayal of a traditional image of heritage, understood by typical English, white, Christian, middle class citizens. It certainly does not appear to invite, encourage or explain alternative versions of heritage, which sit outside of this normative ideology. Such potential unconscious acts such as inserting these images, serves to sustain and strengthen what appears to be the dominant heritage discourse.

Figure 52: Photograph of a nationally significant heritage asset in Oxford



Photograph described as the “familiar image of Oxford’s nationally significant heritage assets”

Figure 53: Photograph of buildings deemed of potential local interest



Photograph with label: “Oxford contains areas and buildings that might not meet the national criteria for statutory designations but are still valued locally for their historic interest”

Source: Oxford City Council (2012: 2)

Source: Oxford City Council (2012: 2)

Indeed, this can be interpreted as an ideological struggle. On the one hand officers appear to be making some attempt to adapt to contemporary ideas and discourses. On the other hand, due to the apparent stronghold of the dominant normative heritage discourse (and a stronger, rigid dominant ideology) such attempts to deviate from the norms appear to be weakened and somewhat distilled. Whilst there is evidence of a mixing of heritage discourses, the subtlety of any real change is also clear.

Uncovering Social/Communal Values

Indeed despite the tensions surrounding social heritage values identified above, some social narratives (albeit historical in nature) have been actively sought as part of the OCC Local Heritage Designation Process. This is clear evidence of some relaxation of traditional views about what is important when describing heritage significance, and ensues as an apparent adjustment to the conservation norms:

22. One of the other bits of work I've been doing is working with our Museum Service who are running a series of oral history evenings or events and they get people in and give them a theme and they show them some pictures of the local area which push the memory a bit, push the memory buttons, and we start getting stories about the area and how people relate to it (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
23. So all this stuff about how does it give you meaning, well you need to find out what is giving people meaning and the best way to do that is through oral history or other forms of research like that (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
24. One of things we did, I interviewed a lady who is 93 and has lived in her house in East Oxford for her entire life and she was a brilliant source because she could document how the place had changed over time...Nationally those buildings are very different, tell a very different story, people don't necessarily relate to them in quite that way (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The evidence presented above suggests that social history and oral narratives are deemed important to the Local Designation Process. Moreover, in these examples narratives are being actively sought. They are not purely accidental discoveries. Furthermore, there appears to be a recognition that the Local Heritage Designation Process needs to become a multi-disciplinary, collaborative process. Indeed, OCC worked together with the Museum Service and have clearly found the skill-set there undeniably relevant. The data evidence above clearly deems such collaboration positive and useful.

Despite these examples of the widening of the heritage construct in a practical setting (thus beyond the level of mere rhetoric) the social heritage value appears to remain a nebulous construct, still conveyed as something more easily managed if it is imagined as something that stands *outside* of established values. For example, the following statement can be found in an OCC document considering the nature of heritage 'significance':

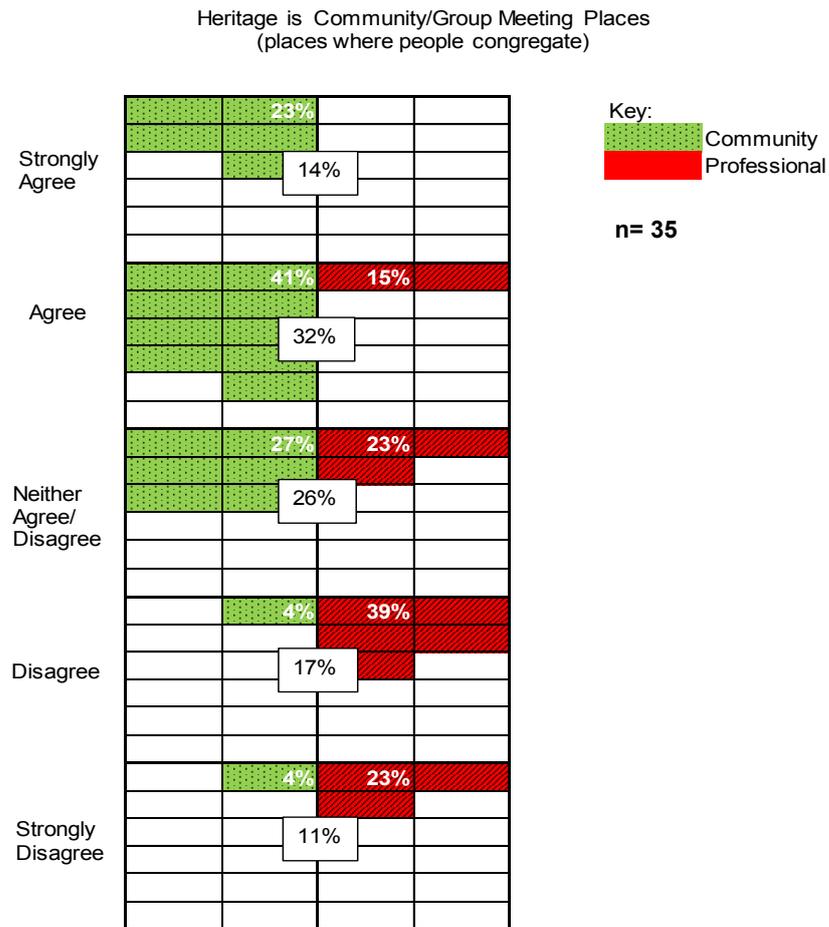
25. There may also be an economic or social value where communities or businesses have undergone an organic process of development or evolution that could not be replicated simply through design (Assessing Significance document).

This value emerges as an *extra* and is clearly physically separated on the page from the other, more familiar conservation values. The use of the word *also*, highlights that it is an addition to the norm. Again, the recurrence of the word *may* is a marker of modalisation, which implies only a slight commitment to the cause. The explanation of the *economic or social value* fails to draw attention to wider conceptualisations of heritage which relate specifically to identity, belonging or to heritage as a social process in the present. Instead, it describes it as something tied up neatly with history and the past. Once more, the clear evidence of a deliberate juxtaposition of the social and material content of heritage is tarnished by something which appears to prevent such understandings becoming embedded, equal and *natural*. The inconsistencies prevalent in the observed 'dipping in and out' of references to the social significance of heritage represent what appears to be the discursive fluttering between discourses. In such struggles, the dominant normative heritage discourse tends to prevail.

Community Places of Congregation

The survey data evidence expands on this point, exposing a point of tension. Figure 54 highlights a clear pattern of difference between professional and community views towards the statement that community buildings and/or buildings where people congregate (buildings with no architectural or historic merit) could be designated as heritage.

Figure 54: Survey Results: “Community Buildings” and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

The results show that 64% of the lay public strongly agree or agree that to them, such buildings are their heritage. By contrast, 62% of professionals disagree or strongly disagree with this interpretation of heritage. The pattern of discord provides evidence of disagreement between the views of the professionals and the views of the community when thinking about ‘community heritage’. It indicates a clear fracture and an important area of conflict. Moreover, the majority of professionals ruled out any possibility that heritage could be a building purely valued socially by the community. Clearly the aforementioned notion of ‘cohesiveness’ and the potential associated links to tradition, culture, identity and belonging have been largely diminished. The following extracts from two members of the public interviewed at the East Oxford Farmers market raise some light on the reasoning behind some of the publics’ views:

26. Well, they say that its historic buildings don't they? The really old buildings and also the ones that are really impressive in their architecture. Designed well, or unusually or something. I think that's right, isn't it? I'm sure that's what they always say and what I've read about it (Interviewee Twenty-three, male, member of the public, 10 March 2012).
27. I think so definitely but I don't think they say this is heritage no...it's just a normal building. No, it probably doesn't fit with what they say is heritage (Interviewee Twenty-four, female, member of the public, 10 March 2012).

When asked about what heritage means to them, instead of feeling able to discuss their own interpretations of heritage, the respondents focussed on what conservation specialists tell them is heritage. Clearly the discourse that these interviewees refer to is a discourse which emphasises an ideological representation of heritage as historic buildings and architectural significance.

Moreover, the derogatory tone conveyed in the comment, *it's just a normal building. No, it probably doesn't fit with what they say is heritage* exposes a form of exclusion. This exclusion may not necessarily be real in the sense that not *all* other alternative versions of heritage are excluded (such as vernacular heritage, for instance), however the misunderstandings due to miscommunication about what determines heritage validity and designation could represent a form of exclusion in itself. The fact that professionals appear to subconsciously espouse a particular, dominant heritage discourse is real and reflects a dominant ideology. It appears that little is done to rebalance this dominance and spread the word about alternative conceptualisations of heritage. Indeed, these extracts indicate an on-going tension between the professionals and the communities, and may provide further clues as to why more nominations based on social and communal heritage values do not come forward for consideration during the process.

To explore this point further, the following section examines some of the key challenges to arise when negotiating alternative heritage values during the Local Heritage Designation Process.

Part B: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 2

Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?

8.9 Barriers to Negotiating Alternative Heritage Values

Authenticity

The notion of authenticity emerged in the data as an important determinant of heritage legitimisation (extract 28). The following statement highlights the role of authenticity as an apparent critical factor in heritage designation:

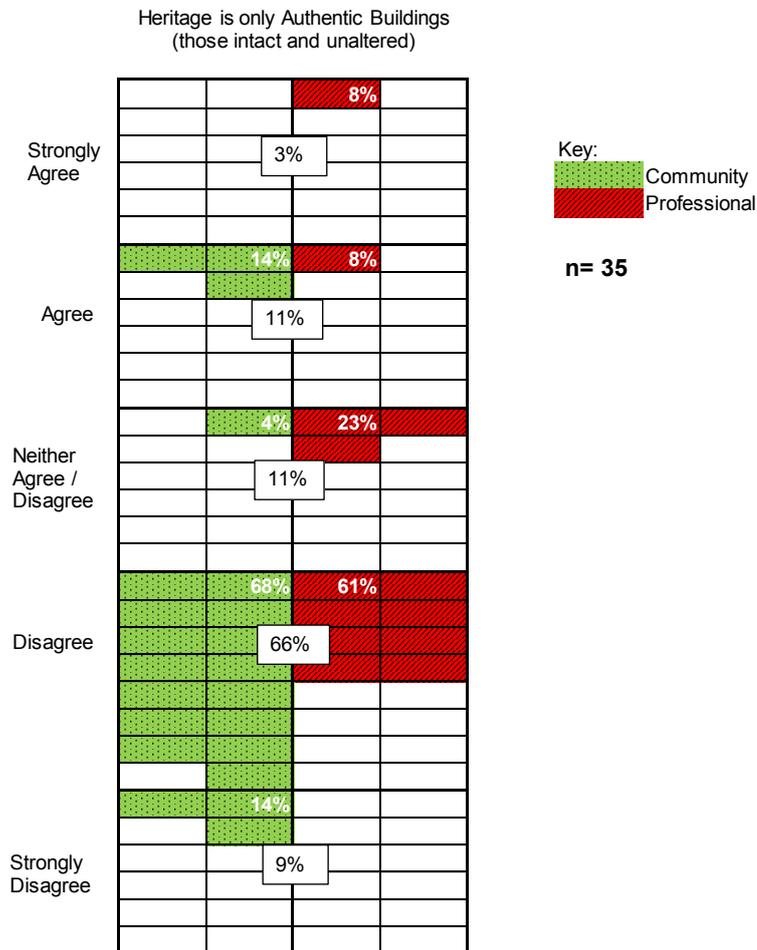
28. Well yes this is a good one because it is an example of great architecture, its historic (18th century), it's a rare example and it's authentic. Yes authenticity is important, it's about the original fabric, not copies, not fake restoration. There are examples of this too mind, but these wouldn't make it on to the list because they are terrible, pastiche, copies to try to make it look like the original. That's not in line with standard conservation principles (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The views expressed in extract 28 are clearly coming from a built environment, physical, material-led perspective. They relate to *standard conservation principles*, which I am not arguing to be irrelevant or inappropriate. Instead, they appear to be *inadequate* for dealing with other forms of heritage significance. For instance, when the physical, tangible object awakens the memory, sense of place, belonging and/or identity, or when the physical building is the place where a ritual or act of community cohesion takes place (for instance, the Jewish Mikvah), the physical *appearance* of the building/structure/place is of less importance. Indeed, it would most likely be of little implication if the building was altered or extended beyond its original form. In such cases the fusing of alternative, intangible social heritage values within the orthodox conservation model requires careful consideration. It seems impossible to equitably shoehorn intangible social heritage values into the existing model, because of, *inter alia*, such strong views about authenticity.

The survey data add a further level of richness to the controversial notion of authenticity as a key pin in heritage designation. Figure 55 reveals a visual pattern of results. When asked if heritage is only valid if it is authentic buildings most respondents disagreed with this statement. Nevertheless, 23% of professionals held indifferent views towards the statement. Whilst a general consensus between the professionals and community respondents' views emerged on the issue of authenticity, 16% of the professional respondents *agreed* and 8% actually strongly agreed that heritage was only valid if authentic (as in intact and largely unaltered).

Whilst this proportion of professionals is small, the results nevertheless point to an issue for social heritage values where the significance does not centre, or rely on the originality and/or intactness of the physical fabric.

Figure 55: Survey Results: “Authenticity” and “Heritage” Eligibility



Source: Author

This issue becomes particularly relevant when exploring the rational, positivist setting in which the Local Heritage Designation Process appears to sit, as analysed below.

Objectivity and Rationality

The search for an authentic, genuine ‘past’, emerges as a guiding principle underpinning the normative heritage discourse at OCC, and appears to remain crucial when assessing ‘heritage assets’ for designation on the Local List. Such authenticity and/or integrity seem to be tied up neatly with the need for objective facts which can be proven by evidence. Documentary evidence stresses the desire

for the designation process to appear as scientific and rational as possible, supported by such evidence:

29. The interest of an asset is the evidence it provides in its physical characteristics for the thoughts, actions and practices of past people (Assessing Significance document).
30. The character assessment toolkit provides an opportunity for local groups to put their knowledge into a structured form that can be used to articulate their views and help informed decision making (Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction).
31. You may wish to include a copy of your assessment forms and annotated maps along with your representations to provide evidence of how you came to your conclusions (Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction).

The repetition of the word *evidence* reveals the importance placed on it (extract 29 and 31). Moreover, extract 30 provides an example of an evaluative assumption. This assumption states that if nominations are based on evidence of what can be seen and recorded, they will be presented in a structured form and will be articulated appropriately for consideration in decision-making. The consequence of this evaluative assumption is the implication that those who nominate a 'heritage asset' without such evidence will provide unstructured statements, which will be less likely to inform decision-making. The evidence in question here also relates to the newly designed character assessment tool kit, founded by OCC, which is hoped to be used to inform conservation decision-making, including Local Heritage Designation Processes across England.

Ironically, the Character Assessment Toolkit was enthusiastically presented to the researcher, and to other local authorities, as an innovative solution to enhance social inclusion in Local Heritage Designation. OCC engaged a Residents Association and set up a training event (at which the researcher was in attendance as an observer) to illustrate how the Toolkit should be used. The intention was that the Residents Association would then proactively assess streets in the area, using the Toolkit to provide structured, well-articulated nominations to the Local List, supported by evidence of building/townscape merit⁵³. The following extracts taken from interview and documentary data evidence illustrate how this notion of objectivity, rationality and truth fit so comfortably with evidence based on character and physical characteristics of buildings and spaces:

⁵³ It must also be highlighted that not all local authorities have residents associations (and those that exist may not have the resources or inclination to undertake such work).

32. Residents will prepare character statements that highlight the key features of the local historic environment of each area, which will then be used to identify the heritage assets for the register (Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document).
33. Using the character assessment toolkit helps prepare a baseline of evidence (Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction).
34. Base your comments on the evidence of what you see and record this (Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction).
35. Use your findings as evidence (Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction).
36. We have the character statements that we are asking communities to prepare which provide us with the evidence of whether that is actually the case. So it doesn't stand alone, the criteria aren't alone; they have to be supported by that character statement (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
37. This is where the character assessment provides that detail that backs up the proposal for designation, if we've seen that the area has a high proportion of particular architectural style and this is a particularly good example of that style in the area or if it's the area that is being proposed as an asset then to have documented across that area what the variety of architecture is or its integrity by date or planning or whatever then we need that evidence (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The above extracts all relate to the centrality of the character assessment toolkit in heritage designations and decision-making at OCC, and clearly privilege tangible, material heritage values which can be physically seen and proven objectively by evidence. Such emphasis on the toolkit (indeed its necessity- see extract 36) combines to convey a conventional, ideological representation of heritage which focusses on physical fabric and urban form. Indeed, the tool kit is clearly building-focussed, fixated with building and urban design, age, and townscape qualities. By planning and implementing the Character Assessment toolkit and training, OCC have undoubtedly progressed their consultation processes beyond standard methods, however the consequences and limitations of this consultation method need to be highlighted.

The assessment form to be completed relates purely to tangible features, for example asking the respondent to comment on colours, materials used, scale, massing and other aspects of architectural form. Whilst OCC's attempt to engage with non-professionals must be positively acknowledged, the Character Assessment toolkit provides no space for comments of an intangible nature such as narratives of social values which relate to the building or space. Such a framing of heritage is one-dimensional and therefore potentially exclusive. Moreover, rather than engaging wider communities, the toolkit targeted the 'usual suspects' (Smith, 2006) and served to facilitate the comprehensive capturing of significance defined within the normative specialist arena. It consequently conveyed to non-professionals

exactly what can and cannot constitute heritage value and significance, and thus what is valid, relevant and legitimate. Hence, this toolkit appears to be underpinned by assimilatory techniques (privileging a particular version of heritage) and is clearly closed to any alternative conceptualisations, based around ascribed meanings, notions of identity, belonging and other intangible values. The above findings are contextualised further by the interview and survey data. When questioned about the distribution of weight given to heritage value claims, and in particular whether more weight is given to objective fact-based reasoning, as opposed to more emotive, subjective, intangible reasoning, Interviewee Nineteen's response is revealing:

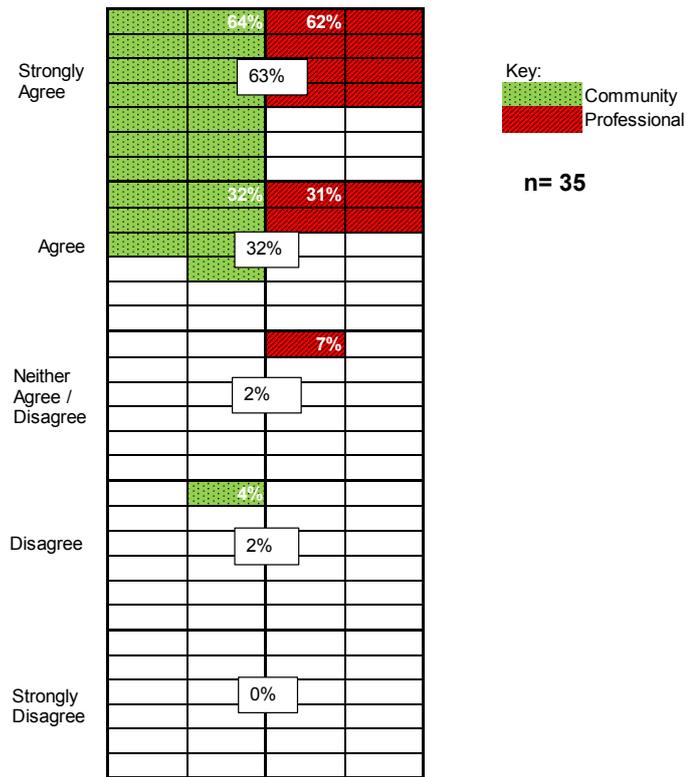
38. I don't think we'd want to but I think we would, yes, yes I think we would. The process that we set up with the criteria and with the Character Assessment Toolkit are based on observations and recorded observations given, value judgements based on recorded observations...we can't give them everything they want because not everything they want is actually practical or implementable (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
39. It has to be something that's physical and manageable, so that is an essential criteria (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The above extracts expose a process which, whilst clearly evolving, still appears to privilege material aspects of heritage. The working environment and long-established, rational ideologies of the professionals appear to necessitate such tangibility. Indeed the need for documentation, evidence, clarity and logic all seem to cumulatively manifest in the form of objectivity and positivist approaches to decision-making. This well-engrained approach works in such a conventional set-up, yet it poses problems for certain heritage values which cannot fulfil these requirements. The authoritative, undialogical statement (extract 39) closes down any conceptualisations of heritage which are not deemed *physical and manageable*; rather than seek a solution, such aspects of heritage appear to be unequivocally refuted and dismissed. Whilst this manageability appears to relate to wider systemic weaknesses, the earlier discursive comments about heritage being everything (extract 7), and having non-physical aspects (extract 11) nevertheless appear to have been consequently forgotten or simply discredited.

The survey results show a similarly unsettling picture (Figures 56 and 57).

Figure 56: Survey Results: The Privileging of Material “Heritage” Values

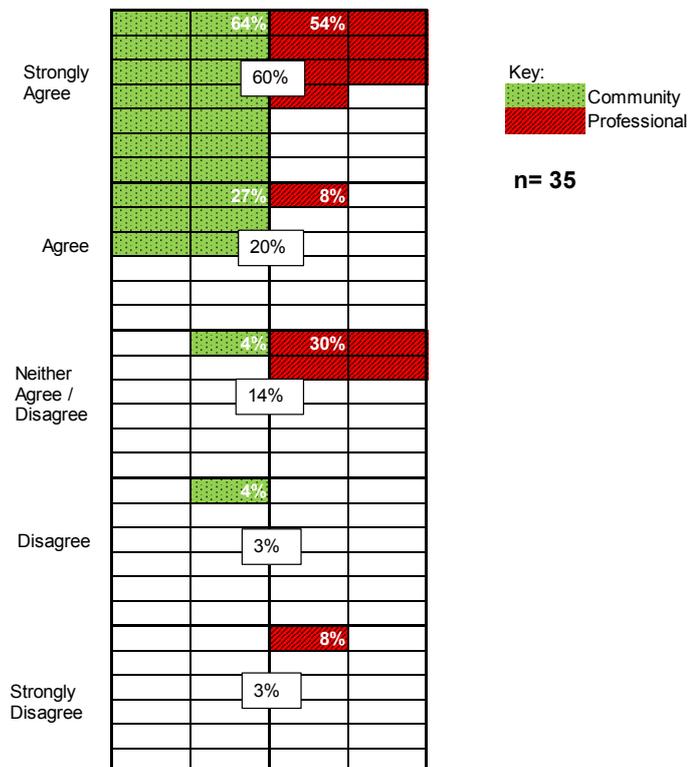
To Conservation Planning Professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values



Source: Author

Figure 57: Survey Results: “Memories”, “Emotions” and “Heritage”

Memories and Emotions are important aspects to consider in heritage designation



Source: Author

When responding to the statements, 'To conservation planning professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values' (Figure 56) and, 'Collective memories and emotions are just as important to heritage designation as decisions based on objective, evidence and scientific fact' (Figure 57) the patterns to emerge are very revealing. Indeed, the majority of respondents (both professional and communities) agree or strongly agree with both of the statements (95% and 80% respectively). This provides further primary evidence of a clear paradox affecting Local Heritage Designation in practice; on the one hand there is a general agreement that memories and emotions are important aspects of heritage (suggesting the infiltration of social discourses) and on the other hand, that the tangible, physical structures themselves are nevertheless *more important* in Local Heritage Designation than such intangible meanings and values. This illuminates what appears to be not only a rational, positivist context in which the Local Designation Process takes place, but it also implies a deep-rooted conservation orthodoxy, which continues to dominate Local Heritage Processes. Whilst evidence and rationality appear to be explicit forces of constraint in the evolving heritage discourse, it is not only a questioning of objective facts, but also a questioning of deeply held assumptions held up as 'facts', which appear difficult to negotiate, and breakdown.

The following section provides some light on why rationality and objective fact appear to be of growing importance in the practical reality of local heritage decision-making at OCC.

Defending the Indefensible

The data reveal a strong concern about the defensibility of local heritage designations. The following extracts all point to what appears to be a contemporary, strengthened link between rationality, objective fact and defending heritage designations:

40. We open ourselves up to a lot of compensation and that is not attractive to councils. We don't want to run the risk of having to pay for the value of a site that someone has now decided they can't develop because we haven't allowed them to demolish their building. ... Simply getting involved in that fight is not an attractive prospect (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
41. So yeah, it's definitely getting wider and I think that's good ... it's reflecting what people really find is meaningful. There comes a point where it could be unmanageable ... so we do have to have some limit. At the moment that limit is going to be based partly on what is defensible in planning, if we're making decisions and saying things are significant and it is shown to be that they might be significant to a very small group of people but not more widely, and therefore not really to the wider community, then we've gone beyond the bounds of usefulness (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
42. I think there's an opportunity, using something like the Character Assessment Toolkit that communities can start developing a robust evidence base that starts to give them the information that they can do local listing on. They need to have their criteria and they need to apply them rigorously I think, because otherwise they're going to end up with indefensible heritage assets (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Data evidence points to the need to be particularly careful that heritage designations can be robustly and successfully defended. This defence, it would appear, can only be made using evidence and objective fact, tied closely to physical assessments of character and significance. Extract 41 is revealing in its capacity to exclude all *minority* heritage values. It clearly contradicts earlier statements about recognising heritage of value to not only all, but also to *part*, of the community. Indeed, it appears that if the heritage significance is not relevant to *the wider community*, then it is of no use and will not be deemed relevant, appropriate or defensible. Clearly this statement is potentially highly exclusionary. It does not appear to acknowledge the heterogeneity of heritage. It does not appear to allow for diversity of interpretation based on *inter alia* context, experience and culture and it seems to close down and reject the very real existence of difference in twenty-first century England.

Extract 42, yet again, places prime importance on the assessment of character and implies that without this tool *for developing robust evidence*, communities would not possess the information or knowledge to identify their local heritage. Again, the officer associates this with the need for *rigour*, explicitly suggesting that without a physical-led assessment of character; community conceptualisations of heritage will be indefensible. Whilst potentially a useful tool for wider characterisation work and engaging communities, the character assessment toolkit does not enable any negotiating space for exploring the very nature of heritage. Yet, according to officers, in the planning environment in which the Local List takes effect, such evidence and physical recording (based on specialist training) is the key to a

successful defence at appeal. In other words, it seems that without such specialist skills, communities are unable to genuinely influence the process.

This leads to an analytical discussion centred on the role of the public, and how this is balanced with the role of the professionals.

Part C: Analysis of Data Primarily Relevant to Research Question 3

What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

8.10 The Role of the Public/Expert

‘Expertise’ and ‘Power’ to make Decisions

The Local Heritage Designation Process at OCC was intended to stand up as an example of best practice for social inclusion and community empowerment, in line with the general spirit of localism and English Heritage’s recently produced Local List Best Practice Guide. Whilst the approach to, and methods used in the consultation process at OCC have been unpacked in section 2 above, there is a need to further explore the intricacies of this consultation and its philosophical underpinnings in more detail. Initially, data evidence pointed to an apparent emphasis on the invaluable role of the public(s) in the designation process, as well as acknowledging the heterogeneity of the communities:

43. In terms of understanding what the community value about the area, we need to see it through their eyes, we need to get their point of view and yes, what signposts in that community’s life. You can think of each of those communities having a history of East Oxford, so there might be a Pakistani history of East Oxford, there might be a Jamaican history of East Oxford and those communities will have different buildings and places and areas that are their signposts of their communal identity. So yeah, essential, and it’s such a layered community landscape (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Ironically, this quotation conveys ‘minority’ heritage as *essential*. It implies openness to the diversity of heritage values, which illustrates significant progress in the recognition and relevance of the multi-dimensionality of heritage. This is somewhat contradictory to earlier quotations which claim that for designations to be defensible; they must be valued by the *wider community*. Extract 43 does not caveat the inclusion of such minority heritage, by saying that they too must be valued by the wider community. The extract is generally liberal and progressive in its perspective about the diversity and complex layering of heritage. The quotation however does not state in what ways such minority heritages will be sought or

captured through the consultation process adopted. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the statement, “we need to see it through their eyes”, is a marker of identification meaning which continues to activate the professionals, “we”, whilst at the same time considers the various communities to be passive participants. It positively suggests the need to appreciate and, perhaps research such cultures and histories, yet does not imply that the communities themselves will play an active part in this process of *seeing*.

Documentary evidence also illustrates what appears to be a significant discursive shift in the stated role of the public(s) in the Local Heritage Designation Process:

44. Criteria to question whether local communities value a building were used only rarely in the [national] survey of local listing criteria and yet this seems essential to demonstrate that a feature is locally valued (Assessing Significance document).
45. Community participation has been identified as key to the successful preparation of the heritage assets register...It will be needed to identify the components of the historic environment that are both valued locally and have significant local historic interest (Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document).

Whilst on the surface the above statements also appear to confirm a shift in power and control from the professional, to the public(s), deeper linguistic analysis exposes a degree of tentativeness towards this role, somewhat diluting the initial commitment to community empowerment and social inclusion. For instance, having acknowledged that other local authorities have rarely assessed whether communities value a building (note the exclusive reference to building), the use of the word *seems*, and its associated moral logic, provides no degree of certainty, confidence or commitment to involving communities.

Within extract 45, it is the second sentence which is most revealing. It is not suggestive of a more critical engagement with discussions of value, nor does it prompt questions about the ideological uniformity of the value assumptions discussed above. Indeed, the parameters which determine the legitimacy and integrity of heritage still holds, and the above text implies that the community can only comment on things of ‘historic interest’. Whilst community involvement is sought, this appears to be only if the community’s conceptualisations of heritage conform to the dominant ideology, can be easily managed within the existing constraints of the system, and do not sit outside of the predefined criteria, and deep-rooted values of the professionals.

Whilst community involvement is clearly a *concept* which has become naturalised in such planning-conservation processes, it is clear from interview data collected at

OCC that there is also an explicit attempt not only to retain expert status in heritage activity but to convince others of the essential role of specialists:

46. I think there's always going to be a need to have some...I would say some conservation officer, I would say! There's always going to be a need to have some professional representation, some professional inputbut there are good examples of things like the old Village Design Statements that aren't necessarily prepared ...with that much input from Conservation Areas and council professionals. I think some of the best probably were produced as partnerships though...It depends on how much knowledge there is in the community ... and at the moment I think that knowledge base is very poor (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Extract 46 provides some useful information about the barriers and issues facing community empowerment and such localism ideals. For instance, whilst there are good examples cited of documents, produced predominantly by communities, which have successfully fed into the planning process, it is considered essential to have a degree of professional, expert input. This clearly seems appropriate, given the need to conserve the normative, buildings-led heritage which can be identified most readily by trained conservation specialists. It however is equally important to have non-professional input to establish the social and emotional content of heritage, which can be identified best by communities. This outlook, on the surface, appears to be in agreement with the officer's view; *I think some of the best probably were produced as partnerships.*

What is concerning, however, is the then rapid deprecation of the value and/or use of the community, conveyed in the final sentence. Again this perspective comes full circle back to the very essence of heritage and a dominant ideology, which appears as a kind of default setting. For instance, the *knowledge* he refers to relates exclusively to knowledge of conventional conservation principles and norms. As he considers this knowledge base to be very poor, this again, explains the perceived need (discussed above) for such conservation character training. This emphasis on the importance of technical 'experts' is highlighted further in other data evidence:

47. We've decided that the decisions of what goes on the list have to be made by our review committee and the review committee will be made up of members of the Council and officers of the Council and a small number of local experts (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
48. I knew that within East Oxford certainly there was a request for us to do something like this, not necessarily exactly what we're doing. We had to bring in the expertise (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

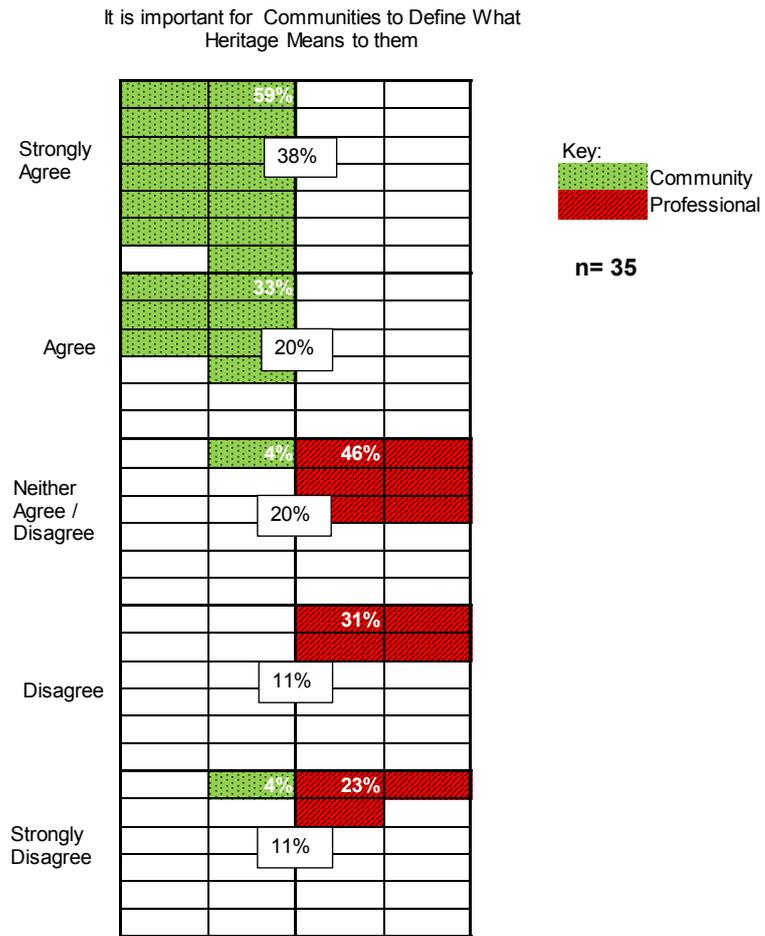
The dominance of the 'expert' as decision-maker, deemed in a position to determine what is and what is not heritage seems explicit. Moreover, such expertise is clearly not brought in purely to facilitate and assist and/or guide the communities, but is

brought in to *decide* on the nature of heritage value and significance. Extract 48 also implicitly suggests that the process undertaken at OCC is indeed not necessarily what the communities of East Oxford requested when they made an appeal for a Local Heritage Designation Process. It seems that the actual process was somehow shaped and constricted by *the expertise* (and consequent deep-set conservation ideology) that was *brought in*.

The tenacity of such ideological assumptions is further illustrated by the survey results. When asked for levels of agreement about the statement, “It is important for communities to define what heritage means to them”, a clear pattern of difference can be observed (Figure 58). The results point to a substantial gap between professional and non-professional views on this issue. Indeed, 92% of communities responding to the survey agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. In other words, they considered it important that non-professionals are given the negotiating space to actively define the very essence of heritage.

By contrast, not one professional respondent to the survey agreed with this statement. Instead, 54% disagreed/strongly disagreed and 46% were ambivalent to the statement. The survey is some indication of a long-standing, tenacious, deeply held assumption that heritage is one-dimensional and self-evident, and can only be understood by trained ‘experts’. The consequences of this, as stated above in relation to the interview and documentary data, are that the Local Heritage Designation Process appears to remain dominated by normative heritage values, together with an assumption that the process can only be properly influenced by such experts/specialists. Consequently, the public(s) become predominantly passive participants in the process.

Figure 58: Survey Results: Communities should define what “Heritage” is?



Source: Author

The Passive Role of the Public(s)

Further data evidence below unpicks this point of conflict further to reveal more about how professionals at OCC tend to offer the public(s) a somewhat passive, beneficiary role in the process:

49. Heritage can be a powerful educational tool, promote social inclusion and encourage a sense of identity (Oxford Heritage Plan).
50. There's another side of it which is to involve the community in that process and give them skills and knowledge and understanding to take part in the management process (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
51. The register will be publicly available and, we hope, it will be used by residents and businesses wanting to understand both the history of their local area and the characteristic or distinctive features that make up its 'sense of place' (Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document).
52. That's the point of the project really is to give them more of that knowledge and ability (Interviewee Twenty, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
53. We also want to celebrate and help people enjoy the historic environment, so we're revealing things about it for them that they don't necessarily know (Interviewee Twenty, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
54. We need to raise the awareness of the public and show them, teach them about heritage and about what is right in front of them, right under their noses. We have some highly intellectual people here, generally we have a bright community and they engage and they understand. That said, we sometimes have people who don't want to get involved or just don't get it. We need to get them interested and involved but it's hard. It's not an easy task (Interviewee Twenty-one, male, elected member, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The evaluative assumptions consider the public to benefit from education, social inclusion, a sense of identity, (extract 49) skills, knowledge, understanding (extract 50), information about what makes up a sense of place (extract 51), ability (extract 52), the opportunity to learn new things (extract 53), and to gain awareness (extract 54). None of the above statements however explain how exactly it will do this. Moreover, there is no room for doubt as to whether communities themselves may in fact know best what makes up their sense of place or identity, for example. Indeed, what unfolds from the data extracts is a dialogically closed relationship in which knowledge exchanges are imagined to be predominantly one-way. The many forms of *public benefit* also provide the instrumental rationalisation, the moral logic, behind the process undertaken. In other words, while the public(s) may not yet understand it, what is being done *for* them is for their benefit.

Extract 54 provides a rather condescending view that not only is the role of the 'expert' to *teach* the public but it also insinuates that only highly intellectual people (in other words, the educated) can understand what heritage is. This quotation espouses the passivity of all non-experts and appears to endorse a strict one-way dialogue. Consequently, it points to the continuation of some elitist, one-dimensional views of heritage which hark back to nineteenth century conservation philosophy. The degree of modality is high (*we need to*), and is coupled with an assumed unidirectional flow of 'instruction' where the public(s) are told what is

legitimate and what is not. It offers no discursive space for negotiating the parameters which determine this.

Despite increased levels of public consultation and frontloading of community involvement (such as consulting on the local criteria for selection), the point to note here is that the public's involvement still appears to centre on normative assumptions about heritage value and significance. Little seems to be done to engage minority communities, establish new relationships or to provide real discursive space to negotiate the primary parameters that determine heritage legitimacy. Moreover, the integrity of other alternative, social heritage values is not explained, and nominations based on such values are not particularly encouraged.

This vicious circle seems to present a paradox when considered in the context of both social inclusion and the new localism paradigm.

The following section builds on this and examines the extent to which such social discourses pertaining to social inclusion and localism are travelling from the national government level of strategy-making down to the coalface at OCC, and the impact, both ideologically and practically on the Local Heritage Designation Process.

Travelling Concepts: Social Inclusion and Localism

When asked for views on whether there is a strong, strategic message filtering down from national government to be socially inclusive and/or to empower local communities in heritage processes, the responses were revealing:

55. I don't think there is, no, actually... It is a changing world of planning out there ...we are being asked to work more with the community. In terms of the politicians I think they're pushing the community to take hold of planning, not pushing planners to get in touch with the community. I think it's more that way round, I think they're saying this has got to come from the bottom up. I think for planners to survive, they are going to have to show to the community that they are useful facilitators and they have to demonstrate their value in that process otherwise there's going to be an argument that an external consultant could do the job as well if they're not part of the community and involved with them. I think that's the way it kind of works (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
56. It's a difficult time right now for conservation officers. It's hard to do more when we're thin on the ground. It's also tough to expect us to expand conservation values when there is a more pressing growth strategy that needs to be thought about. We can't be seen to be being unduly prescriptive or else we'll probably face an appeal situation (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Firstly, extract 55 exposes that indeed the social inclusion and localism discourse coming from national government is complex and appears little more than political rhetoric. There is clearly no real implementation plan, and little or no guidance

and/or resource allocation. Instead, it is perceived as an elusive strategy which bypasses local government and rather proposes that the community take the reins. How they are to do this, however, remains unclear. Expressions used such as, *for planners to survive*, indicate a perceived threat to the profession and a need for the role of the planners, as 'experts', to change to that of facilitator. If they are unable to appropriately facilitate (as judged it would appear by communities) an external consultant may be required to take their place. This effectively suggests that the actual role/job of the conservation officer/planner is at risk. This clearly would explain the reason why interviewees attempted to make a persuasive case (see extract 46 discussed earlier) for a need to retain 'expert' status.

Extract 56 further clarifies and confirms the contemporary dilemmas facing conservation practice in England. It suggests a competing government agenda, focussing on growth, which appears to have overtaken all notions of social inclusion and comprehensive heritage designation. Real inclusive approaches (which include wider interpretations of heritage) would most likely result in an increased number of designations, which, according to the officer would be deemed *unduly prescriptive*. The word unduly implies excessive, disproportionate and unjustified. Such perspectives on designating 'social heritage' values seem to exclude and in fact uphold the normative heritage discourse. Moreover, the entire sentence, *we can't be seen to be unduly prescriptive*, indicates an implicit fear that if conservation officers are to raise their heads above the parapet through being progressive, innovative or even simply thorough in their work, they run the risk of attracting negative attention and being labelled as obstacles to growth. When resources are scarce and cuts are required, conservation officers clearly feel vulnerable. This is further evidenced by the reference to the threat of appeal (extract 56).

Whilst the social inclusion-localism message travelling from national government therefore appeared to be diluted or even currently absent, the officers were keen to stress that their working practices are, nonetheless, supposed to be underpinned by such inclusive principles. To unravel what this actually means in practice, officers were probed more critically about what this inclusive undercurrent meant for the Local Heritage Designation Process:

57. I think it's allowing the people who want to be involved in the process to be involved and reaching out to people who aren't already aware of the process and giving them the information to get involved if they want to, if that makes sense. That's an ideal, I don't think it's necessarily achievable, I think we've got to go as far down that line as we can, but we're probably not going to get anywhere near the real social inclusion that would be everybody who wants to be involved can have a say. We've got to try hard, but realise that we've got feet of clay and it's not going to get there. It probably would be mindbogglingly expensive to try and get any further than we're going at the moment (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

In addition to a somewhat engrained aspiration in local authorities to be socially inclusive, the actual description of what it means to be socially inclusive appears to have also become naturalised within planning environments. Crucially, the interviewee concedes however that social inclusion is unachievable and that the practical reality is far from this *ideal*. It therefore is conveyed as adequate to *try* to be as inclusive as possible. In other words, this aspiration appears to largely belong to the realms of rhetoric, rather than reality. The expression, “*we've got feet of clay*” highlights the general slow-paced, static nature of local authorities and the deep-set organisational culture which appears to be difficult to change. This organisational culture and its established ideologies and working practices appear more powerful than such vague communication from the national government. The question which arises from this, however, is: is this process still effective and appropriate to reflect the reality of twenty-first century society?

When probed deeper, the officers conceded that in reality, generally little is done to actively reach out to and engage non-British and other minority groups. They justify this predominantly homogeneous approach to consultation by arguing that such groups are often not interested and are difficult to contact:

58. There are groups who are very difficult to communicate with, the Asian communities are very difficult to meet up with, our student communities are quite difficult to get hold of ... Business owners, again, very difficult to get hold of at the moment, particularly because they're having to work very hard because of the recession or the depression or whatever you want to call it. Those are barriers and people's time and availability, not everyone has the time to get involved in this sort of stuff that we would like to. So those are significant barriers (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
59. Not everyone is interested. We have experienced a lot of low interest. When you think about multi-ethnic and multi-faith groups, yes their views are most definitely wanted but no, as yet we haven't done any targeted consultation. I will try to speak with people individually but for example the Muslim Imam has made clear that he does not want the Central mosque to be identified. He doesn't want to get involved with this at all and you can't force them to (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

Despite enhanced resources, three stages of public consultation and some innovative approaches, OCC in fact did very little targeted consultation to attempt to

reach those beyond the usual communities engaging in planning and conservation work (extract 59). There were minimal attempts to build new relationships and to draw in wider involvement. Whilst the barriers highlighted in both extracts 58 and 59 must be acknowledged, some further important issues come to light. Extract 59 for instance highlights that the local Iman from the Central Mosque in East Oxford does not want to be involved or have the Central Mosque recognised within the Local Heritage Designation Process. This highlights that to simplify such issues is clearly unhelpful. It became known that since 2007 there has in fact been a rift between the Central Mosque and OCC. According to a newspaper article, the Muslim leaders caused a certain degree of outrage when they enquired to the local authority about their plans to broadcast the Islamic call to prayer for two minutes, three times per day or only on a Friday (Kay et al., 2007). The article goes on to describe the intense negative reactions this proposal caused, particularly in East Oxford. The mosque, which attracts congregations of up to 700, claimed that the call to prayer was not about increasing the number of worshippers but was simply a matter of tradition. The article includes comments from a spokesman for the mosque, Sadar Rana:

60. In Islamic countries Christian people are allowed to ring bells in churches as a call to prayer and we never have arguments with that. We are part of the United Kingdom and because of that we feel that we should be allowed to keep with tradition.

Following such public negativity, the Central Mosque did not formally apply to the Local Authority for permission to broadcast the Islamic call to prayer. This incident however has not assisted relationships with OCC or the wider community. As part of data collection, a secretary on duty at the mosque was interviewed (Interviewee Twenty-five⁵⁴). Whilst actually based at the East London Mosque, the secretary was nevertheless able to provide some information about how the Iman views relationships with the Local Authority. He expressed the importance of the Mosque itself to all Muslims and that its aesthetic quality is secondary to its function and sense of tradition. He claimed that the Mosque is a symbolic representation of Muslim heritage and provides not only a place for worship, but much more than that. The secretary had not heard of the Local Heritage Designation Process and assumed it was irrelevant or that there would be a catch. This catch, Interviewee Twenty-five assumed would be a need to rescind some degree of power over the Mosque to the local authority. What this interview revealed was a lack of communication and understanding between the Muslim community in Oxford and

⁵⁴ Interviewee Twenty-five requested not to be audio-recorded.

the local authority. Such misunderstandings may provide some indications as to why social inclusion is perceived as difficult in local authorities and why minority groups apparently do not appear to wish to engage. It also points to why more social, intangible heritage values are not forthcoming in the Local Heritage Designation Process.

Despite the above, the officer did recognise, discursively, the complexity and heterogeneity of the community. For example, he claimed to *want* to contact various non-British and other minority groups:

61. So we have at the moment an African Caribbean history group in East Oxford and I want to work with them to develop the Afro-Caribbean history of East Oxford so we have that documented. We have a Chinese community group and hopefully we can work with them and then there are various Asian cultural associations. It would be easy to go to one of those and say, "That's it, we've got the Asian history of East Oxford", but actually there's a Bangladeshi group, there's an Indian group, there's a Pakistani group who each have their version (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

This quotation clearly represents change in how heritage is conceptualised at OCC, and is indicative of a broader local heritage discourse. It illustrates progress as it highlights the recognition and acknowledgement of various versions of 'history' and the cross-cultural concepts of relevance that exist in today's society. Whilst the officer is clearly aware of such groups, he however considers it difficult to engage with them (i.e. extract 59 highlights that in practical reality OCC faced certain challenges and thus did little to uncover heritage of non-British and other minority communities). Whilst the will appears to be there, the reality appears to be somewhat different.

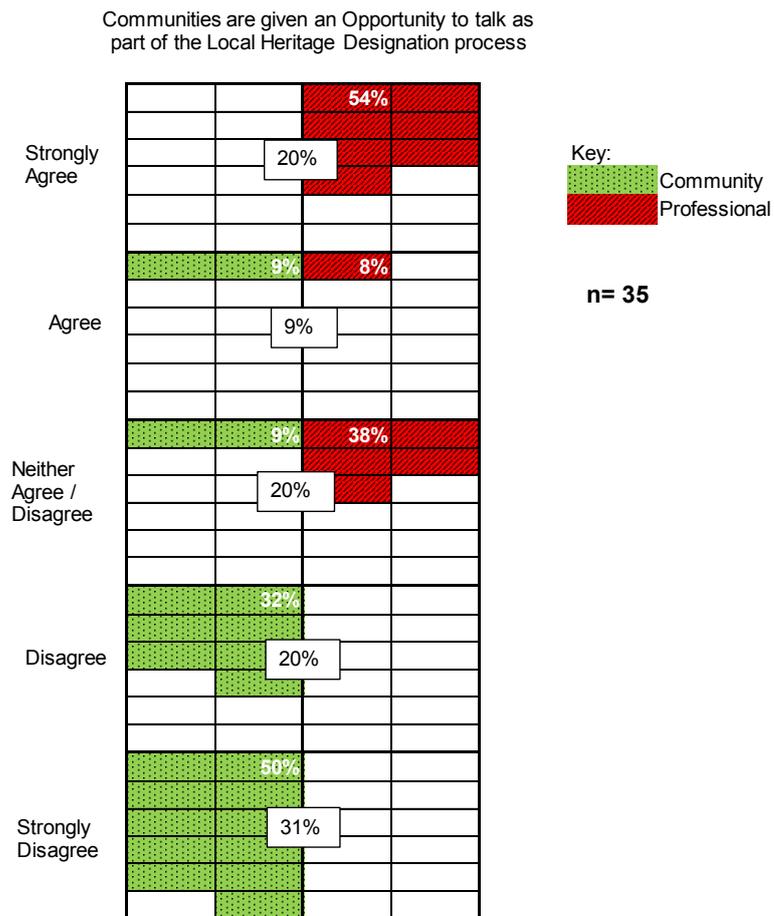
The extracts above clearly present a sense of willingness to engage and recognise diversity of interpretation, yet when such interpretations of heritage were uncovered, such as those of the Jewish community for example, the standard model of heritage designation (endorsed by English Heritage) and innovatively followed by OCC, nevertheless appeared unfit to manage and/or operationalise this dimension of heritage value. It would therefore appear that despite increased resources and increased levels of consultation, OCC were unable to promote and deliver a heritage process that was fundamentally different from any that has gone before.

Building on this, the following section investigates what unfolds as a continued and perhaps widening fracture between professionals and communities; which presents itself as somewhat ironic, given the supposed emphasis on localism.

A Growing Expert-Community Divide

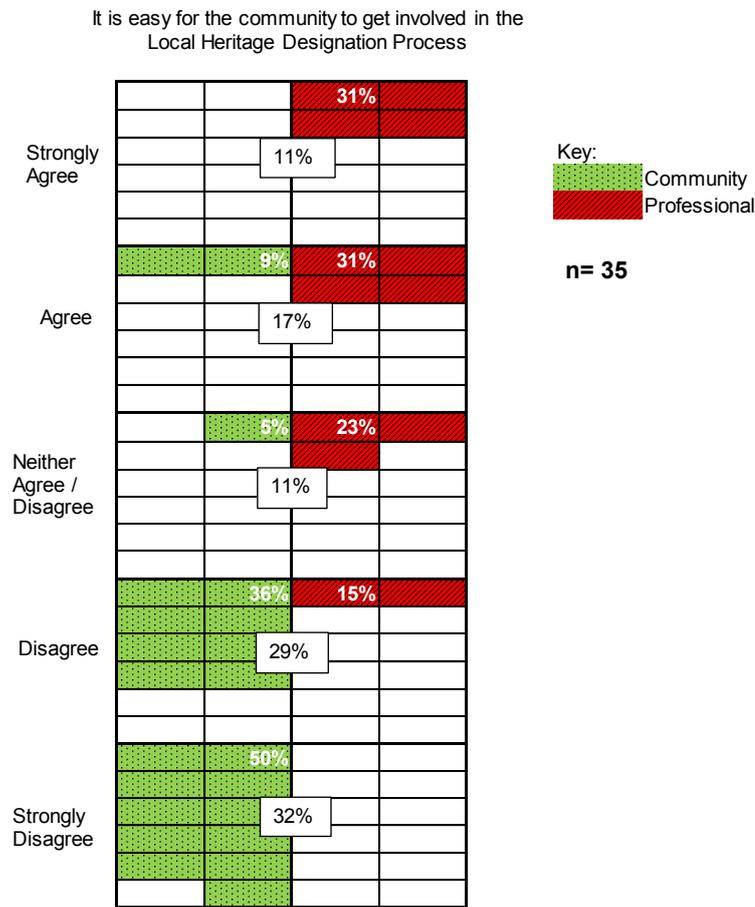
The survey results (Figures 59 and 60) provide contextual evidence to argue that the localism rhetoric has made little headway in terms of its influence at the level of practical implementation at OCC.

Figure 59: Survey Results: The Process Provides Discursive Space for Communities?



Source: Author

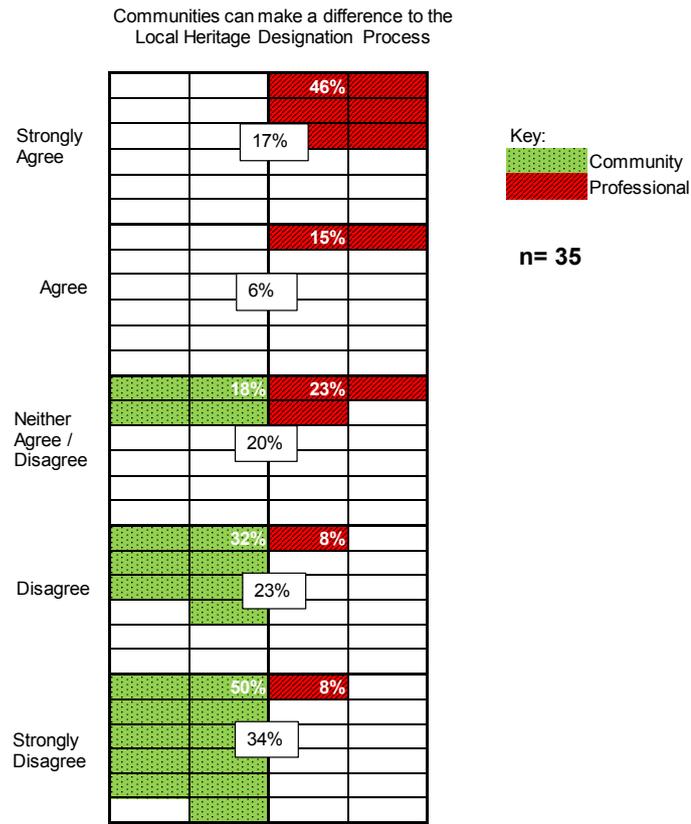
Figure 60: Survey Results: The Process Allows and Facilitates the Involvement of Communities?



Source: Author

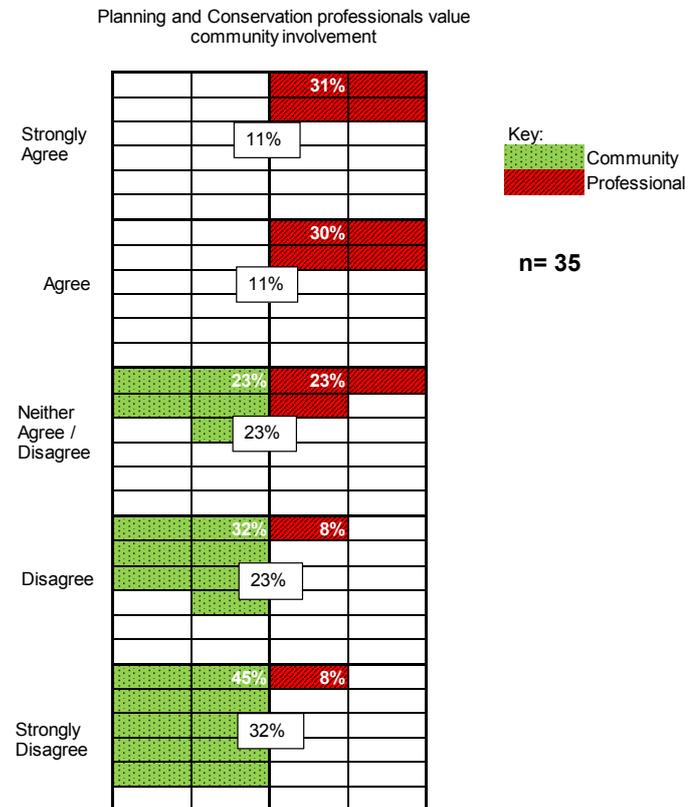
The visible pattern of difference evident in both Figure 59 and 60 suggest a conflict. Indeed, 62% of professionals consider that communities are given an opportunity to talk as part of the Local Heritage Designation Process; whereas 82% of community respondents felt that they were not. Similarly, 62% of professionals agreed that it is easy for the community to get involved in the Local Heritage Designation Process, whereas 86% of community respondents disagreed entirely. The opposing views appear to reveal not only a deep fracture between professionals and non-professionals, but also raise further concerns for the general implementation of national strategies such as the *localism* agenda. Moreover, survey results reveal that communities feel under-valued and peripheral to the Local Heritage Designation Process; thus unable to influence it (Figure 61 and 62):

Figure 61: Survey Results: Communities are Given Genuine Negotiating Space to Make a Difference?



Source: Author

Figure 62: Survey Results: Professionals Value Communities' Involvement in the Process?



Source: Author

Figure 61 and 62 suggest further fractures between community and professional views about the Local Heritage Designation Process. Again, the illustrative results show visible patterns of difference. Professionals generally agreed with both statements and the non-professionals generally disagreed. Not only are these patterns of difference further evidence of a potentially substantial divide between the views of professionals and communities, but the negativity underpinning the communities responses is indicative of immense challenges facing implementation of *localism* ideals. Moreover, the ambivalence displayed by professionals to both statements is worthy of note. In both cases, 23% of professionals were indifferent (neither agreed nor disagreed) to the statements, 'Communities can make a difference to the Local Heritage Designation Process' and 'Planning and conservation professionals value community involvement'. This ambivalence could be interpreted positively as an indication of the meeting of social and normative discourses, influencing views, but it could also be interpreted negatively as an on-going, persistent assumption that heritage can only be defined by an elite group of trained professionals and is reliant on expert judgements. The latter corresponds to earlier arguments developed around the necessity of the technical 'expert' and the need for defensibility using evidence and objective facts. Aside from this apparent point of tension between professionals and communities, a further, practical issue emerged as a further barrier to effective engagement with the public(s).

8.11 Lack of Resources

Despite a dedicated specialist services team and dedicated funding to proceed with the Local Heritage Designation Process, the interview data evidence below highlights that allocation of resources was still deemed an issue, limiting what could be achieved at OCC. The following extracts confirm such issues:

62. It's massively resource intensive (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
63. We have been lucky in being given the funding to do the work and that means I'm working the job four days a week, so basically a permanent officer working on it and nothing else. It's not something that every area could do, but what we have done is looked at small areas rather than trying to do the whole city in one go (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).
64. It probably would be mindbogglingly expensive to try and get any further than we're going at the moment (Interviewee Nineteen, male, senior professional, OCC, 10 March 2012).

The above extracts reveal that the process is resource intensive (extract 62) and that to do more (consultation/engagement) would be extremely expensive (extract

64). Clearly the Local Authority therefore considers the comprehensiveness of the process to be constrained by resources. Whilst some work has been done to capture alternative heritage values (and this must be recognised), the focus of consultation activity and the targeting of resource expenditure was nevertheless undoubtedly on training non-professionals to share an ideological representation of heritage, centred on physical character and appearance. No convincing evidence is thus presented that more resources would necessarily lead to the comprehensive uncovering of ascribed social meanings or a process which engaged with, and legitimised the diversity of interpretation which exists in plural societies. Indeed, the two appear to be quite discrete issues.

8.12 Building the Arguments

The interlacing of discourses has clearly impacted to some extent upon the Local Heritage Designation Process, both discursively and practically. Nevertheless, the mutability of the normative heritage discourse appears to be controlled and restricted by an environment with a rather static, slow-moving organisational culture, deeply engrained epistemologies and conservation philosophy. Such challenges appear to result in a heritage designation process which remains dominated by materiality. Despite a stated desire to widen conceptualisations of heritage, the increasingly perceived need to defend heritage designations at appeal and to avoid costs, together with a collection of other issues such as: job insecurity, dilution of the localism discourse, a competing growth agenda, resource constraints and practical difficulties in engaging diverse communities, present themselves as critical barriers.

Notwithstanding the above, the case study of OCC provides evidence that merely increasing resource provision is unlikely to have a major impact on genuine social inclusion, i.e. a process which, a) engages much more widely (reaching minority views), and, b) can manoeuvre itself into a position *capable* of accepting diversity of interpretation (such as social heritage claims which, by nature, are more subjective). Analysis reveals more deeply-set and conceptually complex barriers which combine to represent a major stumbling block to the rebalancing of local heritage designation and the *equality* of social and material hybridity.

The following chapter raises this level of thinking further to synthesise and conceptualise the research findings.

Part III

SYNTHESIS

CHAPTER 9: THEORY BUILDING

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to synthesise findings from the data analysis discussions presented in Chapter 6 to Chapter 8 with the thesis theoretical underpinnings, drawn out and critically evaluated in Chapter 2 to Chapter 4. In the interests of clarity and coherence, the chapter is structured around the thesis' three central research questions. Moreover, the key theoretical propositions⁵⁵ explicit in the theoretical framework in Chapter 4 are interwoven throughout to provide, "traceable connections between theoretical perspectives and conceptual significance of the data evidence" (Leshem and Trafford, 2007: 99). In order to clarify how the arguments emerge from the empirical evidence, data extracts are drawn upon and referenced using their unique code to avoid unnecessary repetition (see footnote for coding formula⁵⁶). It is important to emphasise that data collected from all sources and at both levels (national data, and both local case studies) produced similar findings which have led to and enabled coherent arguments to be constructed⁵⁷. This cross-verification has thus increased the credibility and validity of the arguments presented (Patton, 1987; Yin, 2003). The chapter closes by summarising the synthesis findings and presenting the original contributions of this thesis.

In answering the central research questions, the chapter constructs the core argument that the normative heritage discourse has evolved and is in a state of transition. All of the sources of data evidence collected, as well as the criteria used during the decision-making processes at both case study locations, confirm a broader heritage discourse in contemporary Local Designation Practice, albeit with restricted practical application. Consequently, the AHD (deemed immutable in its privileging of the physical fabric, aesthetics, time-depth and expert judgements) (Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006; Waterton, 2010) must be subtly redefined and adjusted to reflect practical reality.

⁵⁵ See Appendix V for a diagrammatic summary of the theoretical propositions, informed and developed by the research findings.

⁵⁶ Coding formula is as follows: first part describes source of data extract (N= National data, NAS= National data in Appendix S, CS1= Case Study 1, CS2= Case Study 2); second part is the extract's number.

⁵⁷ See Appendix W for a cross-case comparison summary.

9.2 Research Question One

To what extent are professional conceptualisations of “heritage” likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process?

AHD Nuances: A Broader Understanding of ‘Heritage’

Indeed, the evidence from this study suggests that the AHD, as defined by Smith (2006), must be broken down into several constituent parts to advance theoretical understanding. This is necessary because some aspects of her characterisation are closer to contemporary practical reality than others. The subsequent areas of alignment and divergence are drawn out and developed throughout this chapter. For instance, there are some marked contrasts between the observed heritage discourse and the rigid, elitist parameters of the AHD. In particular, certain adaptations such as the recognition of, “vernacular materials and construction techniques” (CS1.8), “local landmarks” (CS1.8), “industrial”, “twentieth century architecture” (NAS7), “landscapes” (CS2.12) and “what’s all around us”, in other words, “everyday heritage” (N.2)) appear to have indeed become embedded in practice and a naturalised component of contemporary heritage discourse.

Such findings compliment extant literature which highlights the rise of vernacular architecture during the post-war period (Brunskill, 1971; Robertson, 1993; Howe, 1998) and the increasing recognition of the, “anonymous familiar” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 137). Indeed, data show that vernacular, post-war and industrial heritage have all become an established conservationist cause (Pendlebury, 2009a)⁵⁸. These specific findings are thus in stark contrast to Smith’s ((2006: 11)) somewhat essentialised characterisation of the AHD, as an *immutable, self-referential*, discourse that is concerned almost exclusively with, “monumentality and grand scale...tied to time depth”.

This evidence therefore also challenges the notion that conservation always favours, “the spectacular over the mundane, the large over the small, the beautiful over the ugly and the unusual over the commonplace” (Ashworth, 1997), and that, “individual iconic buildings” are explicitly prioritised (While, 2007: 658). Clearly, the

⁵⁸ The degree of such adaptation, however, may vary between local authorities (perhaps based on the local profile/historical context of the area). STC, for example, included more industrial heritage nominations than OCC at the time of writing (2013). Nevertheless, both local authorities considered such heritage to be valid and legitimate for local designation.

original data evidence provides a contemporary conceptualisation of heritage, which offers a counter position to such arguments.

Linked to the above, such findings confirm that the conservation orthodoxy has (in certain cases) adapted to external pressures (Pendlebury, 2012). Data have shown that unlike the arguments of Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010), the heritage discourse has in fact demonstrated dynamic capabilities in its professional context. It has not only responded to demands to recognise post-war, industrial, subaltern, and more contemporary heritage (as alluded to above), but is also repositioning itself in relation to new political foci, such as the recent emphasis on growth. This confirms earlier claims about the ability of the heritage discourse to respond to wider political calls for regeneration (English Heritage, 1998; 2004; 2006a; 2007; 2008b), economic development (English Heritage, 1999; 2002), and climate change initiatives for instance (English Heritage, 2006b; 2008c,d,e; 2011b).

As such, this also supports (to some extent) the claims of other scholars (Ashworth, 1997; Harvey, 2001; Hobson, 2004; Pendlebury, 2009a) who assert that the heritage discourse has repositioned itself according to societal contexts. The study has thus provided the empirical evidence to confirm some degree of adaptation. More importantly, it also offers some useful information about the extent of such adaptation (critically discussed below and specifically in relation to research question two) and thus provides theoretical contributions to advance extant knowledge in this area.

AHD Nuances: Fusion of Social and Material Heritage Values

In addition to the above twentieth century nuances, data expose that the contemporary local heritage discourse is being pushed into new areas. This further repositioning is illustrated by evidence of a clear meeting, and interweaving of normative and social heritage discourses in local practice. For instance, all data sources point to an evolving *discursive* broadening of professional conceptualisations of heritage, with interviewees referring to heritage as having a “broad meaning” (N.1), representing “the connection between the tangible and the intangible” (N.4), being “to do with culture” (CS1.2), and as one interviewee expressed, “It’s everything, it’s now a much wider concept, intangibles, movable things, social, spiritual values, as well as the tangible things” (CS2.7). These discursive interpretations appear to align with suggestions of an, “attempt to fuse an explicitly *material* perspective with a distinctly *social* one” (Smith and Waterton, 2009b: 289). Clearly such evidence also reveals that discursively, professional

conceptualisations of heritage have been extended far beyond 'special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality'.

Indeed, these specific findings portray heritage as a complex, multi-sensual and multi-imaginative experience (Waterton, 2007; 2010) rather than something simplistically tied up in the physical fabric of buildings (Ruskin, 1989 [1890]; Hobson, 2004; Byrne, 2008). Consequently, data (see Figures 34 and 57 for example) align with extant claims that heritage has *emotional content* linked to identity and belonging, emerging in the form of memories, experiences and ascribed social and/or cultural meanings (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wetherell, 2001; Alleyne, 2002; Bagnall, 2003; Ashworth et al. 2007). As such, the data confirms scholarly claims that heritage is broader and more complex than traditional Western understandings (Crouch, 2000; 2001; 2002,; 2003a,b; Nash, 2000; Urry, 1990; Crouch and Parker, 2003; Crouch and Grassick, 2005; Thrift, 2006; Byrne, 2008; Smith and Waterton, 2009a,b; Harrison, 2010a,b,c). Moreover, it appears to confirm that significance can be ascribed to buildings or spaces and is not simply intrinsic to the object (Carman, 2002; Graham and Howard, 2008; Lipe, 1984; Smith, 2006). In doing so, it stands in some contrast to the literature which claims that conservation professionals have an, "obsession with physicality" (Smith, 2006: 54) and consistently and exclusively prioritises the, "monumental and scientific values" over the intangible aspects of heritage (McBryde, 1995: 8). Crucially, however, the data also reveal that such broad discursive interpretations of heritage have only a subtle impact in practice. Notwithstanding this, the observed adaptations challenge scholarly contributions which claim that the social heritage discourse operates *purely* within the realms of rhetoric (Waterton et al., 2006; Waterton, 2007; 2010), as illustrated below.

Such fusing of normative and social discourses, the data evidence demonstrates, has indeed gone some way beyond rhetoric/discursive statements and has resulted in *some*, albeit negligible, practical implications as observed during the Local Heritage Designation Processes. Examples specifically drawn upon in the data evidence included the Grotto and associated lift shaft at Marsden Bay, the White Horse on the cliff face by Marsden Craggs / Quarry Lane, and the Al-Azhar Mosque at Laygate, South Shields. These provide original evidence of the interweaving of social and material heritage values. Cumulatively, the above findings point to a re-conceptualisation of heritage, which not only reflects social heritage discourses (stemming from policy and practice) but may also, have been fuelled by the increasing academic critiques of the traditional western heritage discourse (Byrne,

1991; Graham, 2002; Waterton, 2005; Smith, 2006). Together, these findings reveal that the application and performance of the AHD in its contemporary professional context has experienced permutations. Such data evidence therefore offers a significant challenge to the so-called “self-referential” AHD (Smith, 2006: 11; Waterton et al., 2006: 341) in local heritage designation practice.

A Dominant (yet nuanced) Normative Heritage Discourse

Notwithstanding the above, a key finding is that the Local Heritage Designation Process appears to remain dominated by materiality. Despite a discursive emphasis on ascribed social/cultural meanings, data reveal a dominant, default conceptualisation of heritage which appears to revolve around and be guided by the traditional parameters of conservation value (broadly historical, aesthetic, evidential values). Indeed, a consensus emerged that built environment professionals are predominantly, “interested in bricks and mortar” (N.38) and, “they’re less comfortable with designating something that doesn’t have some kind of physical presence and physical value” (N.37). The fact that only a negligible proportion (4%) of local heritage designations at STC relate to intangible, social meanings confirm that the process remains dominated by materiality. Such findings clearly sit more comfortably with the arguments of Smith (2006) for instance, yet still reveal some degree of compatibility with and hybridisation of social and material values in practice. This hybridisation however has not gone far enough and has some important constraints.

Indeed, data show that where such social values are acknowledged, they are usually accompanied by, or made stronger/more robust by more traditional parameters of heritage: architectural merit and/or historical significance. Indeed, the formulated local criteria in both case studies were not far-removed from the underlying guidelines of the national statutory criteria (Jackson, 2010) and the sequential nature of them (case study two), or the perceived need that more than one criterion must be met (case study one), ensured that such traditional buildings-led criteria remained important factors in decision-making. Such findings confirm the frequent criticism of Western heritage that it is all too often envisaged as revolving around the built form itself (Graham, 2002) and that practice continues to focus on physical fabric and tangible values (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010).

While the scale of heritage has increased to include landscapes, battlefields, gardens and parks (as shown in the local criteria used, as well as formal definitions of heritage), this broadening scale nevertheless remained firmly in tune with an

already embedded assumption about the nature of significance and value. Indeed, images of Oxford's statutory listed buildings (case study 2) used within publicity material for the Local List align neatly with extant work conducted by Watson and Waterton (2010c) who argue that visuality can be a means of portraying a particular representation of heritage. Moreover, despite attempts to articulate broader conceptualisations of heritage, in practice, discursive statements, formal text, and designation justifications all subconsciously reverted back to a heritage discourse which reflected the long-established conservation orthodoxy (albeit with some adaptations as set out in section one of this chapter). This evidence exposes the tenacity of the normative heritage discourse and the associated deeply-embedded conservation philosophy.

Indeed, the current empirical study provides a cutting-edge portrait which illustrates that professionals (influenced by social discourses) appear to have delicately attempted to mould intangible notions of heritage into the existing conservation framework, philosophy and established practices. In other words, there are some real changes in contemporary practical reality, yet they are constrained. Indeed, the evidence shows that social heritage values, as a marker of heritage legitimacy have a limited degree of influence within the designation system and clearly represent the minority. In other words, the inclusion of 'social value' as an organising concept can only be described as cosmetic, as opposed to structural. Whilst cumulatively, the evidence points to a re-conceptualisation of heritage, it is important to make clear that rather than emerging as a complete redefinition of the term, it presents itself more as, "something that stands in opposition to an already established definition of heritage" (Waterton, 2007: 277).

This is perhaps unsurprising given that in conservation planning circles, heritage has always been closely associated with physical things such as buildings and structures (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Byrne, 2008). Moreover, this well-established buildings-led understanding of heritage is clearly associated with the origins of both the statutory and Local Listing systems (Boland, 1998; While, 2007). As such, a perspective of significance as inherent in the physical fabric is deeply engrained in English conservation philosophy. Such normative Westernised views have been challenged at various levels of heritage management (Smith, 2006; UNESCO, 2003) however during the Local Heritage Designation Process these accepted, naturalised parameters remain overtly unchallenged (some reasons for this are provided below in relation to research question three). As a result, evidence reveals that this largely unopposed, nuanced AHD does indeed exclude and/or

marginalise certain alternative versions of heritage (Smith and Campbell, 1998; Smith, 2006; Waterton and Smith, 2010).

Exclusionary Power of the Dominant Heritage Discourse

Such marginalisation links to the notion that heritage is riddled with “complexity” (Ashworth and Howard, 1999: 5), and is infused with dissonance (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996; Tunbridge, 1998; Graham et al., 2000; 2005; Dicks, 2000a, b, 2003; Harvey, 2001; Graham, 2002; Bagnall, 2003; Smith, 2006). Primary examples of dissonance in practice emerged with community interpretations of heritage value which refer to, *inter alia*, “community spirit” (CS1.24) “sense of belonging” (CS1.24) “cohesiveness” (CS2.14) “communal identity” (CS1.35; CS2.10; CS2.43) “tradition” (CS2.21) and places where people “congregate” (CS1.25) which had no architectural or historic merit. Such data extracts highlight complex, yet strong linkages between heritage and ‘identity’ in practical reality (Graham et al., 2000; Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Waterton, 2005). Whilst non-professional interviewees considered such values to be firmly linked with their community heritage, they nevertheless did not expect such social values to be of relevance to conservation officers (CS1.25; CS2.27). Indeed they felt that professional heritage revolves around traditional conservation such as, “architecture” and “historic buildings” (CS2.26). Drawing on the work of Fairclough (1995; 2003) this data implied that a particular authorised version of heritage is not only created, constituted and reflected by the professional discourse, but also appears to be promoted and sustained by it. As a result, such *alternative* versions of heritage (held by the non-professional interviewees) were rarely put forward for designation during the process. As such, the nuanced AHD remained largely unchallenged in practical reality.

Such dissonance was further contextualised by the survey results (see Figure 24 and 54) which revealed a contrast in views about whether community buildings (of no architectural or historic merit) can have a heritage value. The majority of community respondents agreed, whereas this type of heritage value was largely unrecognised and unaccepted by professionals. Again, such contemporary findings expose the ensuing exclusionary power of this discourse (Smith and Campbell, 1998; Smith, 2006; Waterton and Smith, 2010).

Further dissonance and conflict was exposed by the example of the Jewish Mikvah in East Oxford, which is deemed highly contentious and not in conformity with the *historic* parameters of heritage deemed appropriate by professionals (Figure 50).

Clearly this example reiterates the confusion and interdependency between notions of 'history' and heritage, as explored by Lowenthal (1998a,b). In particular, it confirms the exclusionary power of 'age' and 'history' as organising concepts. It also highlights the need for a more flexible attitude towards recognising heritage as a process, valued and shaped by present generations (Carver, 1996; Graham et al., 2000; Augoustinos et al., 2002), as well as recognising more abstract notions of historical association, as alluded to by Paulsen (2007). Indeed, whilst the Jewish Mikvah was a newly constructed building of no architectural merit, in this case the building, and its present day function, is associated with Jewish tradition, and is of major importance to present-day Jewish communities.

Data revealed other examples however where 'age' was not so fundamental in decision-making. For instance the Ferry Landing at South Shields (Figure 20) or the Quadrus Centre on the outskirts of the town (Figure 21). These cases revealed that despite the enduring (albeit ambiguous) importance of 'age' and 'history' as organising concepts, such notions are more flexibly applied to heritage conceptualisations in contemporary Local Heritage Designation, providing that other more comfortable parameters of heritage are also adhered to. Such cases challenge existing scholarly contributions which claim the immutable privileging of "time-depth" (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010; Waterton and Smith, 2010), or as Lowenthal (1985: 164) points out, the notion that the aesthetic value continues to be measured purely by Ruskin's 'patina of age'. Data evidence suggests that contemporary local decision-making can in some cases be far-removed from this restrictive approach debated in the literature. Indeed, findings instead confirm the claims of Stamp (1996) and others who observe an ever-quickening realisation of value in the more recent past. Such understandings of heritage thus appear to be slowly moving towards what Paulsen (2007) describes as the validity of more intangible notions of historical association. This transition however falls short of radically transforming the AHD, as evidenced by the tensions to emerge over the Jewish Mikvah.

Whilst 'history' as an organising concept is therefore treated more flexibly (as shown by the designation of the Ferry Landing in South Shields or the phrasing of promotional material for the Local List, for example), it nonetheless remains in one way or another, a subconscious guiding principle, or yardstick by which to measure legitimacy. Indeed, despite the rhetorical promotion of the opposite, notions of the 'past' appeared to remain *more important* than considerations for the 'present' (Grainge, 1999; Graham et al. 2000; Augoustinos, et al. 2002). As such,

justifications for designation drew heavily from historical and/or architectural understandings of the *past*, rather than more socially relevant understandings of how it is experienced in the *present* (Waterton, 2007; 2010). Such observations clearly contrast with both Howard's (2003) definition of heritage that puts the emphasis firmly on people, as well as Graham *et al.*'s (2000) definition of heritage as, "the contemporary uses of the past for contemporary purposes". As such, when professionals were challenged by nominations which were not 'historic' (or over thirty years old), these were deemed controversial and required *added* justification (CS1.31). As such, the inclusion of such alternative heritage values (newly constructed buildings, social historic narratives and non-British/minority places of worship with no architectural merit for instance) were deemed by the professionals themselves to be innovative and progressive (CS1.30). Such statements reveal that conceptualisations of heritage are changing, but that such 'alternative' heritage values are perceived as unusual, uncommon and by virtue, at present, remain outside of the boundaries of the mainstream. Thus, this evolution is limited and indeed, whilst emerging as a trajectory of change, it could undoubtedly go further.

Moreover, data evidence exposed an evolving perception of authenticity as a parameter of heritage legitimacy. Such changing views in some ways reflect a parallel international movement towards redefining authenticity as *integrity* (Tomaszewski, 2013: 214). Indeed, the desire for authenticity and historical evidence (Schouten, 1995: 21; Assi, 2000) which became irrevocably linked with notions of "honesty" and "trustworthiness" in the nineteenth century (Thompson, 1981: 20) has been *subtly* challenged within local practice. Indeed, the designation of a "fake", replica nineteenth century drinking fountain (case study 1) challenges the very essence of the authenticity concept. Moreover, survey results from both case studies (Figure 32 and 55) verified that the majority of respondents (both professional and communities) disagreed that heritage is only valid if it is authentic (intact and/or unaltered). Such findings are somewhat removed from traditional notions of authenticity coined by Ruskin (1989 [1890]) and Morris (1877).

The concept, however, was nevertheless generally deemed highly important in the practical implementation of the Local Heritage Designation Process. Indeed authenticity was the main justification for exclusion from the Local List: "because they've been knocked about since" (CS1.33) or have, "been altered beyond what was felt to be original" (CS1.34). As one interviewee pointed out, "it's about the original fabric, not copies, not fake restoration" (CS2.28). Such sentiments echo the opinions of Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) as well as long-standing views of

SPAB (cited in Larkham, 1996). Whilst such interpretations of authenticity may well be appropriate for considering cases where the significance is in the physical fabric or appearance of the building (buildings-led heritage), it is more problematic for considering the social significance of heritage.

Indeed, data revealed that in practice, local designation criteria also required oral narratives to be authentic (taken here to mean true and credible) and to prove this, required evidence in the form of documentation (see local criterion C, Figure 17, p157 for instance). In reality, however, oral narratives often rest exclusively within the communal memories of certain groups and the scientific exactness of such claims may be questionable and/or unproven. In such cases, the concept of 'authenticity' clearly cannot be understood as, "objectively definable and recognisable, given appropriate professional training" (Hobson, 2004: 53). Literature shows that despite the frequent impreciseness of intangible heritage, it is nevertheless often genuinely valued and indeed represents an important spiritual/cultural point of worship/sense of belonging (for example the Lindisfarne 'Celtic' Pilgrimage Revival- Petts, 2012). Such notions of authenticity/integrity clearly challenge Ruskin and Morris' philosophies as well as questioning the importance and meaning of Habermas' (1984: 1987; 1993) aim for 'truth'. These issues are unpicked further in relation to parameters of legitimisation explored in research question two below. In *extremis*, data have highlighted the complexity and multifaceted nature of the 'authenticity' construct (Lowenthal, 1992; Ashworth, 1997) and suggested that traditional notions of authenticity also have the potential to exclude and diminish the intangible aspects of heritage (Waterton and Smith, 2010).

The Nebulous Social Heritage: ambivalence towards the 'Poor Relation'

Whilst data have revealed a nuanced AHD with a changing basis of legitimacy, crucially they have also revealed that the uncovering of alternative, social heritage values is not deemed *essential* to the Local Heritage Designation Process. Indeed, the uncovering of social heritage values was not a priority at either case study location. Any attempts to uncover such social heritage values through oral history events (Case Study 2) and consultation with local history groups (case study 1), for instance, therefore appeared merely as small gestures of good will. In other words, such heritage values were conveyed as, "about additionality" (N.14), and were positioned firmly outside of the existing order and dominant ideology (Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Smith, 2006). Moreover, where social heritage values were captured, they were generally exposed accidentally, and in most cases with no

degree of certainty where they had come from (the source of the nomination- see CS1.75). One major finding therefore is that conservation professionals do not yet appear to see the fundamentality of uncovering the social significance of heritage to the comprehensive, socially inclusive identification and designation of valued local heritage. This viewpoint could be partly interpreted as an ideological representation that harks back to earlier understandings of heritage as having a static value which is a given, rather than appreciating that it is in fact something that is socially constructed and is therefore fluid (Smith, 2006; Waterton et al., 2006; Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). It could also reflect the misunderstandings and ambiguity that is associated with the term, 'social heritage value'.

Indeed 'social' values carried with them an air of confusion, which thread through from national interpretations of 'Conservation Principles' (N.23), through to application at the local level of implementation. Crucially, data exposed that 'Conservation Principles' and specifically the four heritage values (historical, aesthetic, evidential and social/communal- see Appendix F) are in fact solely intended to guide the consent process, rather than the designation process (N.24; N.25; N.26); thus exposing limited and indirect challenges to the guiding definitions of heritage. Furthermore, data evidence also exposed a difficulty in grasping how heritage could be valued 'socially' without being supported by one of the other more traditional parameters of heritage (historical, aesthetic and/or evidential) (CS2.13).

Such findings not only confirm Waterton's (2010) claims about a careful marrying of the social and historic values, but also reveal that 'social value' as an independent, equitable parameter of heritage integrity is far from embedded in the ideologies and working practices of local conservation professionals. Whilst there has been clear progress discursively, practical decision-making shows that it is rare for designation to be made based purely on a social heritage value. To an extent, this is not helped by the predominantly built-environment-led, silo-working processes adopted by the local authorities studied. As such, data clearly point to a need to acknowledge that heritage designation requires multi-disciplinary processes to uncover alternative heritages (particularly involvement of cultural services and museums for instance).

Whilst the rather ambiguous notion of "cohesiveness" (CS.14) was suggested as a potential, theoretical example of 'social heritage value' (which would not be dependent on a particular 'historic value'), there was no evidence of application of such thought processes in formulating local criteria, promotion of the local heritage process or in decision-making. Such an abstract notion swiftly evaporated. Instead,

where social values were referred to, they were at all times closely associated with some form of historical association; an organising concept which remained equally ambiguous and undefined. Thus, whilst having *some* impact, the fusion of material and social heritage discourses has done nothing of significance to transform the dominant, normative heritage discourse. This is problematic because evidence of heritage dissonance (presented above), together with the reality of increasingly diverse, multi-cultural societies (Foresight, 2013; Harrison, 2010a), demands that practice needs to begin putting ‘people’ at the centre of heritage work and in doing so, professionals need to do more to understand and uncover social heritage values.

Such an argument indeed sits comfortably with changes at both the global and national stage of heritage work. For instance, the literature and national data highlighted a recent move by heritage specialists to revisit designations in order to retrospectively add the social significance to existing entries. UNESCO is, “trying to play catch-up” (N.9) and English Heritage have a programme of research projects designed to bring the social history, “more closely to the fore” (N.11). The fact that both the international and national platforms have recognised the need to bring both the material and social elements of heritage into one place is a positive step in the right direction. As aforesaid, this on-going work points to a growing recognition of the importance of intangible, social heritage values and suggests that they need to be captured in parallel with normative heritage values. Nevertheless, the work being done, particularly at the national scale, is fundamentally constrained by the fact that it involves merely *revisiting* existing entries on the List, rather than nominating new entries based on social heritage values. Notwithstanding the above, the desire for some degree of rebalancing towards recognising the social significance of heritage is evident, and the challenges which have been exposed and understood in this study can inform such processes.

On the whole, evidence shows that contemporary Local Heritage Designation is indeed more intricate and malleable than the critics have stated, and has undoubtedly moved some way beyond the level of two disengaged camps⁵⁹ (Smith, 2006; Watson and Waterton, 2011). In other words, the practical reality, as exposed by this study, is far more complex than simplistic categorisations would

⁵⁹ Such “camps” are described by Watson and Waterton (2011:15) as being interested in either, “the materiality of what conventionally constitutes heritage” or by contrast, interested in the employment of, “critical social science approaches to deconstruct and understand heritage as a cultural process”.

allow. Instead, this study provides evidence of a degree of compatibility. It exposes discursive and practical examples of social and material hybridity in conceptualisations of heritage during the Local Heritage Designation Process, however not in equitable proportions. This inequity has become a core conceptual finding within this research and, crucially, is of increasing importance in contemporary societies. Before this argument is further expanded upon, it is crucial to unpack what evidence suggests are the key reasons why such social and material equity is constrained. The following section, supported by original empirical findings, brings together some of these reasons to explain in more depth why certain heritage values struggle to receive legitimisation in practice.

9.3 Research Question Two

Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?

Strong Ideology and Organisational Culture

As aforesaid, one major finding from the current study is that the AHD has experienced subtle nuances, yet this on-going evolution “is quite slow” (N.15). Moreover, the extent of this transition has key limitations. These particularly present themselves in the face of social-related heritage discourses, which demand appropriate cultural change and a shift in epistemological position. Data show that the environment in which the Local Heritage Designation Process sits is held back by strong ideology and organisational culture, as well as a constraining political and economic context. Local authorities are described as having, “feet of clay” (CS2.57), established “mind-sets” which are difficult to “break through” (N.64) and as such an environment where it is, “really hard to step back and think about things in that more philosophical sense” (N. 65) (Parker and Bradley, 2000; Garnett et al., 2008; Andrews et al., 2008).

Crucially, data points to some particularly constraining characteristics of this: a need for technical evidence and a privileging of positivity characterised by the search for objective truth, rationality and scientific/technical reasoning. Indeed, the data reveals evidence of a contemporary struggle with subjective reasoning (Waterton, 2010), which professionals consider is intensified by the ephemeral political agenda that has recently shifted away from being people-centred towards an emphasis on growth and delivery. Such findings support suggestions by Haughton and Allmendinger (2013) that localism has lost its momentum. A major finding of the current study is that at the expense of localism, there is a, “more pressing growth

strategy” (CS2.56) and a consequent perceived need to be, “conscious of potentially more appeals” (CS1.82). Such a changing external (national) environment has created a volatile working context, characterised by instability, uncertainty and fear of challenge.

Consequently, data pointed to a direct implication of this capricious working environment: the need for heritage claims to be, “clearly justifiable” (N.41), “properly evidenced” (N.41), “rigorous” (N.45), “careful” (CS1.39) “robust” (CS2.42), “defensible in planning” (CS2.41), underpinned by a “robust evidence base” (CS2.42), and “clear-cut and valued by many” (CS1.82). Indeed, both the interview and survey data exposed a practical unequal distribution of weight in favour of heritage claims that are supported by objective fact-based reasoning, as opposed to emotive, subjective, intangible forms of reasoning (Bond, 2011). Such professional parameters of heritage legitimisation, data revealed, were borne out of an increasing fear of appeal and/or challenge and the need to defend decisions in the wider planning arena (CS1.40; N.45; CS2.40; CS2.41). Constrained by this setting, it was deemed, “always difficult to justify the intangible” (CS1. 42).

As a consequence of the above, there was a natural assumption that any defence at appeal could only be made using technical, objective reasoning, belonging to the realms of specialist expertise. Such an assumption served to confine notions of ‘social value’ to the realms of, “subjective emotional attachment” (Smith and Waterton, 2009a) and thus, “not relevant” (N.43). Indeed, the task of identifying ‘heritage assets’ worthy of consideration in planning, centred exclusively on objectivity, thus justifying, naturalising and sustaining the established, yet nuanced, normative heritage discourse. In *extremis*, this masks, as Walsh (1992: 79) argues, heritage as a “democratic act”, further removing the designation process, “... beyond the realm of human agency” (Potter, 1996: 150). Indeed, data exposed a strong perceived need for a scientific, analytical process underpinned by rational, objective evidence in order to be successful at appeal. This exposes not necessarily a *desire*, but a practical *need* to retain a technical, ‘expert’ status.

The Localism Paradox

In fact the above findings identify an interesting paradox. The spirit of localism appears to have been replaced by a current national political emphasis on growth/delivery which seems to have ironically led to a perceived power shift from local authorities to the private sector (developers), rather than the intended devolution of power to local authorities and communities. This finding advances

work by Baker and Wong (2013) who question the actual direction of power shifting under the auspices of the coalition agreement. The observed power shift appears to have increased not only the threat of planning appeal and legal challenge (which local authority professionals seem to consider will most likely be determined in favour of development), but consequently, the perceived need to tighten up decision-making.

Data show that the latter equates in local practice to the adoption of a more rigid framework which is justified by rationality, objective fact and robust evidence. In other words, this appears to represent a backward movement towards the pole of positivism. This has a number of ironic interlinked consequences. First, it stands in direct contrast to policy and academic calls for community empowerment (HM Government, 2010b; Cabinet Office, 2010; Localism Act, 2011), democratisation of heritage (English Heritage, 2000; DCMS, 2007) and recognising social significance (English Heritage, 2008a; 2012a). Secondly, it widens the ideological gap between the 'experts' and the 'non-experts' (the former being in a position to defend 'heritage assets' based on technical training or as Fairclough (2003) states, being part of the 'fellowship'). Thirdly, it widens the conceptual gap between material and social heritage claims. In other words, it prevents the hybridisation of tangible and intangible heritage as valid determinants of legitimacy in Local Heritage Designation. Finally, it renders the Government's localism agenda largely meaningless, as shall be unpicked further in relation to research question three.

Moreover, and linked to the above, is another key finding revealing the intricacies of why certain 'heritages' are legitimised whilst others are not. This finding relates once more to the contemporary political context of cost-cutting, re-organisation and other austerity measures⁶⁰. In the current climate, professionals are undergoing periods of uncertainty, job insecurity and organisational change (CS1.79; N.56; N.58; N.59). Indeed, several interviewees explicitly divulged that their position was unsafe (CS1.81) and that conservation officers are, "getting thin on the ground" (N.57). As such, professionals appear to lack the motivation and/or confidence to break from more comfortable, established conservation norms and instead, retreat back to their 'core services' and a 'business as usual' ideology (N.64; N.52). As one interviewee explained, "conservation officers don't want to raise their heads above the parapet

⁶⁰ Please note that there was no evidence of the use of any *political* power to include/exclude nominations (through Elected Members overturning officer's decisions prior to upcoming elections for example). This was not specifically investigated as part of the study but did not emerge in data evidence.

right now” (CS1. 82). As such, data evidence revealed that professionals are not in a position to challenge the conservation orthodoxy and its ideological underpinning.

References to a *changing world of planning* (CS2.55) and an ensuing *threat* to the *survival of planners* (CS2.55) unfolds as a perceived need for the professionals as ‘experts’ to justify to national government, communities and other built environment ‘stakeholders’ the existence and value of the entire conservation planning profession (CS2.46). A somewhat unsurprising implication of this situation is the ensuing *need* to retain an emphasis on ‘expert’ status, as evidenced by the strong persuasive attempt made by Interviewee Nineteen to justify the role of the professional (CS2.46). The consequent privileging of expertise, positivity and rationalism therefore does not necessarily appear to be a strong desire, but instead appears to be *unwilling*, even *regretful*, but *necessary*, and predominantly beyond the control of the professional (“I don’t think we’d want to but I think we would” (CS2.38)). This is an important point overlooked by much of the critical heritage literature.

The Objective-Subjective Battle

Indeed, Waterton (2010) sees the reliance on objectivity as a persuasive device used to uphold the AHD. Data evidence shows however that instead, it would appear as an underlying ideological barrier which is not only driven by the organisational culture and conservation philosophy of conservation professionals but crucially permeates the wider sector. Indeed the planning process is well-known as a process which traditionally was seen to legitimise the existing order (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003) and be guided by rational planning theories (Weston and Weston, 2012). Likewise, English national legislation and policy set in place to manage, protect and conserve heritage has been criticised by several scholars (Preucel, 1990; Smith, 1994; 2001; 2004; Smith and Campbell, 1998; Pels, 2003) as being underpinned by a general positivist epistemological position. Clearly such understandings of reality have their roots in nineteenth century philosophy, and whilst presently appearing on the surface to be more open to human conjectures, in reality Local Heritage Designation decisions fail to be shaped and guided by an appropriate degree of relativism (Robson, 2002).

Instead such notions are tied up and guided by traditional perspectives on authenticity, objective truth and rationality (Nisbet, 1980). The consequence of this finding understandably drives ensuing ideas about knowledge, expertise, elitism,

reasoning and the tangibility or scientific nature of heritage (Preucel, 1990; Smith, 1993; 2006; Waterton, 2010). Unlike such scholarly contributions, however, this research points out that professionals are in fact highly constrained by their established working environments. As such the reliance on rationality and objective facts becomes a necessity to perform the job and sustain professional integrity (in the face of other built environment 'stakeholders'/colleagues), rather than a conscious desire for exclusivity and elitism.

These primary findings reveal and explain a key reason why the physical remains of the past, notions of intrinsic merit, and aesthetic or documentary values are prioritised, whilst other subjective considerations are often closed down. Moreover, such original findings provide a current picture of heritage conceptualisations, which offer a better understanding of the contemporary parameters of heritage legitimacy and/or integrity. Clearly, to give equitable weight within the planning system to such intangible, social and/or cultural heritage values requires a workable solution and such conceptualisations of heritage to be defensible, warranting mutual respect within the profession. Such findings thus advance several theoretical contributions found within planning theory, for example by Allmendinger (2002a,b), Hartmann (2012), De Roo and Silvia (2010), Gunder and Hillier (2009), Benhabib (1992), Young (1996), Norval (2007) and Bond (2011), as explained below.

Indeed, data show that planning practice does appear to have moved into a period of post-positivism (Allmendinger, 2002b) but that crucially, this has not moved beyond rational reasoning, as suggested by Gunder and Hillier (2009). Indeed, practice appears to be experiencing a renewed interest in rationality and positivism, intensified by external factors, such as the political climate of 'growth'. Whilst there has undoubtedly been a tendency towards post-positivism over the last decade or so, it is important to emphasise that this phenomenon has represented merely a mild form of positivism. It has not necessarily resulted in a full departure from the principles of positivism and rationality. In the current climate however, it appears that the pendulum is in fact swinging back towards the poles of positivism, leaving a critical gap between "reality" in society, and practice, norms, and culture in local authorities. Building on the above, the data evidence advances the work of Benhabib (1992), Young (1996), Norval (2007) and Bond (2011), who have explored the privileging of dominant forms of argumentation and deliberation. Whilst Young (1996) for instance suggests that different types of communication should be accepted as legitimate forms of deliberation, concern is raised by Norval (2007) that

emotional forms of deliberation may be deemed irrational and illegitimate, whereas only reasoned deliberation is deemed legitimate. Data findings validate this concern, as revealed below.

It is raised within the literature that such divergent modes of reasoning should not be pitted against each other (Benhabib, 1992; Bond, 2011) and instead other forms such as greeting, rhetoric and storytelling should be legitimised. These concerns are warranted as they have clearly materialised in practical reality of Local Heritage Designation, as the evidence shows. As Sandercock (2000: 26) argues, it is crucial that decision-makers acknowledge the role of emotions in decision-making to allow, “the whole person to be present in negotiations and deliberations”. In order to carry out comprehensive conservation processes, the emotional content of heritage must first be acknowledged as *relevant* and *legitimate*. Whilst clearly appropriate in theory, Sandercock’s (2000) utopian vision fails to sufficiently recognise the requirement for a philosophical repositioning that infiltrates, permeates and ultimately alters practice. As data show, there is a requirement for in-reach (within the wider planning/built environment arena) as well as outreach (N.64). The planning inspectorate for example, will have an influential role in such ideological change in terms of establishing case law which favours and gives weight to conserving intangible aspects of heritage within the built environment setting. Such legitimisation and/or validation of heritage value is a crucial factor in examining the role afforded to the public(s) within the Local Designation Process.

9.4 Research Question Three

What role does the public play in the local heritage designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

Strategic Drift

Data evidence explicitly points to what this thesis terms “strategic drift”. Strategic drift can be described as a situation where conservation planning professionals (constrained *inter alia* by deep-set ideologies, strong organisational culture and other contextual factors) are slow to adapt to wider *societal* transformations and needs. Such issues have been intensified in the twenty-first century by increased levels of immigration and as a consequence, rapidly changing, and ever more plural societies (Foresight, 2013; Harrison, 2010a). Integral to issues pertaining to globalisation, the composition of contemporary societies is indeed culturally complex (Colley, 1999; Arizpe, 2000; Mason, 2004a: 61 - see also Ashworth, 1998; Modood, 1998; UNESCO, 1998; Murphy, 1999; Parekh, 2000a, b; Graham, 2002;

Newman and McLean, 2004; Naidoo, 2005). As such, it is a fundamental issue of the present time that cultural meanings and non-British/minority interpretations of heritage are articulated, uncovered and (I would argue, *equally*) included (Young, 2008). Interview evidence implies that rather than competing for space and respect (NAS.31), reality demands a more flexible, re-imagining of “the nation”, “Britishness” or “Englishness” in what Hall ([1999] 2008: 225) suggests is, “a more profoundly inclusive manner”. Data evidence reveals that this, however, has yet to infiltrate local conservation working practices to the extent that is required for inclusive, comprehensive Local Heritage Designation. It is not considered a priority, or a necessity.

One-dimensional *Treatment* of Communities

Moreover, and related to the points made above, data show that for practical reasons (simplicity, resource-base, etc.) professionals continue to predominantly *treat* communities as homogenous entities sharing a largely one-dimensional interpretation of heritage. They are clearly aware of the diversity of society (CS2.43), yet data show that their actual working practices tend to align with extant research findings that highlight the limitations of social inclusion initiatives (Mason, 2004a). Indeed, professionals admit that they did very little “targeted consultation” (CS2.59) and did not in any way “positively discriminate” (CS1.71). Neither did they conduct any particular exploration of the, “historical evolution of the area” or “immigration patterns” (CS1.50), and did not use any existing information about the demographical make-up of the area to inform the community involvement processes adopted. In this respect, such findings in fact challenge the claims of various scholars (Ashworth, 1997; Harvey, 2001; Hobson, 2004; Pendlebury, 2009a) who assert (without clear caveat or conditions) that the heritage discourse has repositioned itself according to societal contexts. In practical reality, the response to difference in demographic composition is inadequate or even non-existent, and certainly not deemed a priority within the local authorities studied.

As such professionals appear to fail to acknowledge the highly contested notion of ‘community’ (Burkett, 2001, Howarth, 2001, Neal and Walters, 2008, Waterton and Smith, 2010) and consequently fail to actively recognise and address the reality that, “communities change; values and aspirations change, and individuals change” (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 74). Indeed, in the spirit of ‘history from below’ (Samuel, 1994) professionals did not do enough, “to draw out the perceptions and ‘voices’ of people marginalised in the official texts of history” (Harrison, 2010a: 168; Samuel,

1994). Such simplistic and uncritical handling of ‘the community’ promotes a one-dimensional assumption about heritage, which does not challenge the ‘existing order’ (which I have argued is a *nuanced* AHD). Indeed, ‘the community’ becomes aptly represented by, “an equally oversimplified and homogenous heritage, along with an idealised historical experience” (Graham et al., 2000: 57). This not only confirms that professionals prioritise uncovering the authentic, the artistic and the aesthetic, but it also endorses the notion that the majority (an educated, artistic and cultural middle-class) speak on behalf of the collective (Redfield, 2003; Lowenthal, 1994; Johnson, 1996). This clearly excludes those who sit outside of the ‘majority’ and consequently, their symbols of heritage.

Political Rhetoric: Social Inclusion and Localism

Parallel to this, however, social inclusion (described in the preliminary national data collection as a form of localism “with a lower case L” (NAS.41)) was indeed considered to be an embedded, naturalised “aspiration” (NAS.37); something good and politically correct (Newman and McLean, 2004), yet it was no longer a national (and by virtue, local) priority. In fact, the message to be socially inclusive, filtering from the national level down to the local level has become diluted, competing with other contradictory national strategies and initiatives, such as the growth agenda (N.47; N.51). Indeed, there appears to be much “tension between...these objectives” (N.47). Such findings coincide with recent observations by Haughton and Allmendinger (2013). Moreover, localism (“localism with an upper case L” (NAS.41; NAS.43)) had no clear implementation plan or package of resource support (N.54; N.52, CS1.65), and thus also remained little more than aspirational (NAS.37; CS2.57) or political rhetoric. These findings consequently exposed a further gap between the level of national strategy conception and local government implementation. Whilst discursively, the data provided a resounding message that, “the local community and the council [should] jointly decide” on local heritage designation (CS1.46), the frequent use of the definite article “the” reasserted the rather simplistic, homogenous view adopted of a community that is singular and already defined. Moreover, such democratic sentiments, together with references to the community being the “key players” in the process (CS1.49) and essential actors (CS2.44) had little effect on practical processes. Instead, such sentiments stood in stark contrast not only to nineteenth century conservation philosophy, but also to consultation techniques applied. Consequently, both interview data and, particularly survey data revealed a clear ideological rift between professional and community understandings of heritage.

The Expert-Community Divide

Despite a parliamentary term symbolically (and legislatively) underlined by the spirit of localism, evidence suggests that the majority of the public(s) do not feel that they are able to get involved in the Local Heritage Designation Process or that their views are valued by professionals (see survey results⁶¹). Whilst most professionals stated the opposite, a small minority, however, revealed uncertainty about the value of community involvement in the process. Such doubts correspond with academic reports that some professionals are uncertain as to whether the benefits outweigh the costs (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2003). These minority views were contextualised by interview data, which suggested an underlying, yet covert reluctance to rescind power to communities. Certain extracts highlighted that, “conservation officers do see it as a bit of a threat, to be completely honest” (NAS.19) and the sense of threat was also portrayed in reference to, “I think for planners to survive, they are going to have to show to the community that they are useful facilitators and they have to demonstrate their value in that process” (CS2.55). Given the volatile, insecurity of their working environment, this sense of threat, however, appeared to translate into a, “desire to protect professional autonomy” (Allmendinger and Haughten, 2013: 23) rather than necessarily a, “desire to resist neoliberalism”. Nevertheless, the side-effect of this is a process that continues to be governed by expert-led judgements (Smith, 2006).

Professional Expertise

Indeed, the empirical study highlighted what appeared to be a subconscious, habitual reference to ‘experts’ as those capable of both identifying and determining what is and is not heritage. Whilst discursively, there was a clear attempt to articulate a more equal balance of power between the professionals and the public(s) in the Local Heritage Designation Process (as discussed above), ‘slip-ups’ were ubiquitously made, particularly in formal text, which reinforced such traditional expert-led ideas of heritage and conservation processes. For instance, “Your nominations will be assessed by a panel of independent experts” (CS1.54) and, “we had to bring in the expertise” (CS2.48). The data evidence confirms the arguments of other scholars (Waterton, 2007; 2010; Smith, 2006) that in practical reality, “joint” processes are not quite so apparent. Instead, any space provided for dialogue are, “heavily mediated by an ‘expert’ and ‘established’ perspective” (Waterton, 2007: 296). Whilst others agree that, “there is generally an unwillingness to relinquish

⁶¹ See Figures 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 58, 59, 60, 61 and 62.

expert pre-eminence” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 141), earlier findings have indicated that rather than a straightforward ‘unwillingness’, such issues are more complex than this (as explained above).

It is important to emphasise that this thesis does not assert that professionals are *unnecessary* players in the Local Heritage Designation Process; quite the opposite. It argues however, that practical processes must be adapted to reflect the *essential* role of communities in the process. As data reveal, professionals have stated that the communities, “know much better than I do about what’s important” (CS1.45) and can, “no doubt highlight assets the council may not be aware of” (CS1.47 paraphrased). Whilst Hewison and Holden (2006: 17) have suggested that, “there will be occasions when the public interest...will be best served by professionals using the authority of their expertise to contradict the short-term public will”, this appears to be a separate issue. This links, for instance, to other debates regarding post-war concrete structures, where the ‘experts’ acted, “in advance of societal acceptance” (While, 2007: 650). The data evidence provided does not oppose such arguments but instead asserts that in order to avoid orthodox conservation processes which exclude or diminish the social significance of heritage, there is a need to accept the public(s) as peers or ‘experts’ in the domain of *social* heritage value.

One-Dimensional Approaches to Social Inclusion

Delving deeper into professional attitudes towards social inclusion and ensuing practical processes, other key findings emerged. Such findings aligned with the work of scholars who argue that social inclusion in practice is primarily concerned with assimilation (Smith, 2006; Mason, 2004a) and visitor numbers (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998; Aitchison, 1999; Bagnall, 2003; Sandell, 2003; Cowell, 2004). Whilst national data from English Heritage highlighted a very real concern about, “three year targets” (NAS.32) for engaging more diversity of visitors at heritage sites, the Local Heritage Designation Process, by nature, clearly is not concerned with visitor numbers. Nevertheless, professionals, in *treating* the community as largely devoid of complexity (evidenced through the standard approaches to consultation, no targeted involvement and lack of preliminary work to understand the content of the communities), regarded heritage as a one-dimensional phenomenon during this practice; thus having a bearing on the consultation techniques adopted and attitudes towards the public(s) perceived role in the process. This unfolded, for example, in data extracts which highlighted an

obfuscated role of the “public” as passive recipients of the process (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999).

Indeed, evidence exposed an enduring sentiment that community involvement is deemed unidirectional in the sense that there is and should be a one-way flow of knowledge and instruction (Waterton, 2010). Indeed, references to giving them (the public(s)), “knowledge and ability” (CS2.52), “education”, “awareness” (CS1.61), teaching and training them, and that together these are of “significant public benefit” (CS1.59) obscured the earlier rhetoric that, “no one knows the value of local heritage better than the community” (CS1.44). Just as ‘tourists’ are seen as ‘passive’ or ‘mindless’ (Strangleman, 1999: 727; Dicks, 2000b: 63; Mason, 2004a; Macdonald, 2005; Smith, 2006), communities are generally treated as latent stakeholders. Such approaches align with the discredited and critiqued information-deficit model, discussed in Chapter 4, which indeed fails to recognise the contested nature of information (the content of which in practice appears to be generally held up as ‘facts’) and the importance of the, “social, cultural and institutional contexts” in which conceptualisations of heritage are constructed (Owens and Driffill, 2008: 4413).

The Character Assessment Toolkit Training for instance, (paid for by the funding received from English Heritage at Case Study 2) was heralded as a socially-inclusive innovation. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the stated aim of the training to provide communities with the tools to produce heritage nominations with a similar degree of robustness, it nevertheless did not provide any negotiation space for defining the very essence of heritage. Instead, it ironically promoted and sustained the dominant idea that heritage is concerned with physical appearance, fabric and character. The consultation exercise focussed on educating the lay public (note this is primarily those people who usually engage in such planning/conservation issues) how to define heritage more like the ‘experts’. As such, the empirical study saw neither real differences in the purpose of community involvement processes nor a need to actively engage with the complexity in, “how heritage is constructed, gazed upon, performed, practiced or actively engaged with” (Urry, 1990: 111).

Moreover, it was made explicit that such completed character assessments would enable communities to evidence their heritage claims and to provide “a structured” response which could more readily inform decision making (CS2.30). In other words, the use of objective reasoning somehow implies a form of ‘expertise’, and

thus, eligibility to participate and influence the process (Zimmerman, 1998). Whilst somewhat naïvely good-intentioned, the findings confirm theoretical propositions that social inclusion initiatives tend to seek to assimilate lay views into the dominant ideology (Smith, 2006), rather than encourage alternative heritage values to be uncovered and legitimised. Whilst at first appearing to be an indication of inclusivity, the type of heritage privileged in such exchanges belong almost exclusively to the ‘experts’ or more generally, to the white middle and upper classes conceptualisations of heritage (Littler, 2005; Barthel, 1996). Likewise, rather than addressing and advocating the articulation of ‘difference’ and diversity of interpretation, such measures sought consensus and similarity, based on expert-led values and traditional, seemingly non-contentious parameters of heritage. The notion that legitimisation was achieved only if the nomination was valued by “the wider community”, rather than “significant to a very small group of people” (CS2.41) also revealed a form of exclusion and ostracism of alternative, minority conceptualisations of heritage such as the example of the Oxford Jewish Mikvah for instance. As such, dominant aspects of heritage (not deemed controversial) were indeed privileged, “to serve the interests of particular, powerful groups” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 88), and alternative, minority interpretations were marginalised or discredited (Waterton and Smith, 2010).

A Need to Shift towards Epistemological Relativism

Unpacking this further, the evidence reveals the exclusionary power of consensus-seeking, and consequently, provides the empirical data to oppose and challenge the extant contributions within planning theory literature which promote the goal of consensus (Habermas, 1984; Healey, [1997] 2006; Bond, 2011). Whilst Bond (2011) argues that deliberation requires that stakeholders focus on the common good in the search for consensus, data evidence suggests that in fact in Local Heritage Designation, the, common good, is inclusively uncovering, accepting and legitimising *difference*. This position aligns somewhat with the theoretical contributions of Mouffe (2000), who argues for an ‘agonistic pluralism’ that recognises that, “mutually incompatible positions are a legitimate and necessary part of democratic debate” (Pendlebury, 2009a: 221).

Indeed, building on this argument, it seems logical that Local Heritage Designation and conservation work is about more than just neo-liberalism (Allmendinger and Haughten, 2013) and good, democratic governance (Healey, 2006). Instead, it is also about undisputed recognition that two-way knowledge exchanges are *essential*.

In layperson's terms, for conservation specialists/planners to fulfil the contemporary requirements of their job in today's societies, they need to acknowledge that communities are a key source of social heritage knowledge and that uncovering such knowledge is a fundamental part of the process. Moreover, it is also about not only consulting more 'widely' within the normative parameters of heritage (i.e. character workshops at OCC), but it is also about consulting more 'deeply' (i.e. enabling more people to influence the process on a philosophical level to enable real transformation).

As immigration is, "projected to continue to rise over the next decade" (Foresight, 2013: 5) evidence exposes an urgent need for change which accepts and respects diversity of interpretation. It is fully acknowledged that engaging with communities and building trust and rapport is not easy (Ling Wong, 1999; 2000), however, no longer can national and/or local professionals hide behind notions that non-British and other minority communities are, "very difficult to communicate with" (CS2.58). No longer can such communities be nonchalantly by-passed or simplistically framed in terms of the "deviant other" who exclude themselves from the "normal majority" (Evans and Harris, 2004: 70). Whilst data show that progress has undoubtedly been made in theory and practice, with professionals appearing to discursively be more open to alternative interpretations of heritage value, there remains widespread confusion about, "what this openness actually means" (NAS.11) and, indeed, most communities still, "don't know what's on offer" (NAS.13). These issues, together with the lack of national government support to deviate from established norms make progress slow. In addition to these constraints, an even more challenging, powerful, underlying positivist epistemological stance, means even when such communities are engaged their ability to influence the process is negligible, thus exposing a critical contemporary challenge. Drawing on the debates pertaining to communicative planning theory, it seems crucial that a new epistemological foundation is adopted which harnesses the "heterogeneity of knowledge" (Healey, 1993; 1999; 2006). Indeed, the need for a shift towards the poles of epistemological relativism⁶² is urgent, particularly in this rapidly changing world where increasing diversity of interpretation is the reality. Coupled with this, however, the

⁶² Whilst there are different ways of categorising 'relativism' (Bryman and Bell, 2007) and, "the endless relativism of subjectivity" is considered unhelpful (Watson and Waterton, 2010c: 95), this thesis refers to 'epistemological' relativism, which it argues as a position which accepts that many interpretations of heritage are possible depending on, for instance, context, experience, origin, and culture.

philosophical repositioning this demands, crucially, requires professional validity and legitimisation.

The 'Smokescreen': Resources

With the above empirical findings in mind, it can also be concluded that diminishing resources (whilst undoubtedly restrictive) are not the solution to the problems identified within this study. Whilst the researcher is well aware of the day to day realities of widespread cost cutting and the need for local authorities to do more with less, the study has revealed a deeper problem. Case Study 2 received £60,000 funding to prepare their Local List (among other conservation-related packages) yet the ensuing increased levels of consultation and community involvement did not challenge the philosophical underpinnings of the process. Indeed, the professionals continued to emphasise and prioritise the one-dimensional *materiality* of heritage, fortified by positivism.

Indeed, professionals at OCC were not in a position to genuinely seek diversity of interpretation or question the very essence of heritage. Claims about not, "having the staff time to do it" (CS1.78), it being "massively resource intensive" (CS2.62) and not being in, "a position to do more" (N.63- see also CS2.64), are fundamental practical constraints, however they all gloss over the underlying ideological issues, organisational culture and the established mind-sets of the wider built-environment profession(s). These issues prevent those participating negotiating and genuinely influencing the underlying philosophical foundations within which the process is confined. Professionals are clearly constrained by wider systemic weaknesses and as such they are *unable* to fully accept diversity of interpretation, and thus do not actively seek to uncover difference. Consequently, they fail to adequately adapt established practices to societal changes, such as increased cultural pluralism. These fundamental issues, together with the practical problems associated with restricted resources do challenge the very intentions of national government in their apparent quest for localism (Deas, 2013; Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013). Moreover, the lack of a substantial resource package (Deas, 2013) clearly renders the basic premise of working closer with communities largely unachievable.

Building on the paradoxes identified above, data evidence reveals the core findings and key original contribution of this thesis that despite an evolving, nuanced AHD (somewhat removed from the AHD characterised predominantly by Smith (2006)) several previously overlooked and unheeded factors prevent further, equitable social and material hybridity in Local Heritage Designation (and wider conservation

practices). Parallel to this, data have exposed that community empowerment and real social inclusion cannot currently be achieved during Local Heritage Designation work. The study provides original empirical data to show that this is primarily because of the underpinning conservation ideology. More specifically, it is a result of an epistemological position which is currently being intensified by the political emphasis on growth/delivery, resulting in local institutional retreat to a powerful rationalist paradigm, controlled by technical expertise. This situation is not only sustaining, but strengthening the fractures and divides between conservation specialists and their 'non-expert' communities.

9.5 Synthesis Summary and Original Contributions

The following section summarises the above synthesis by setting out the thesis' original contributions to knowledge:

Original Contribution 1: Development of a theoretical framework explaining contemporary professional conceptualisations and parameters of 'heritage' at the local level of heritage designation (including evidence that the application and performance of the AHD in this professional context has experienced palpable nuances and is evolving)

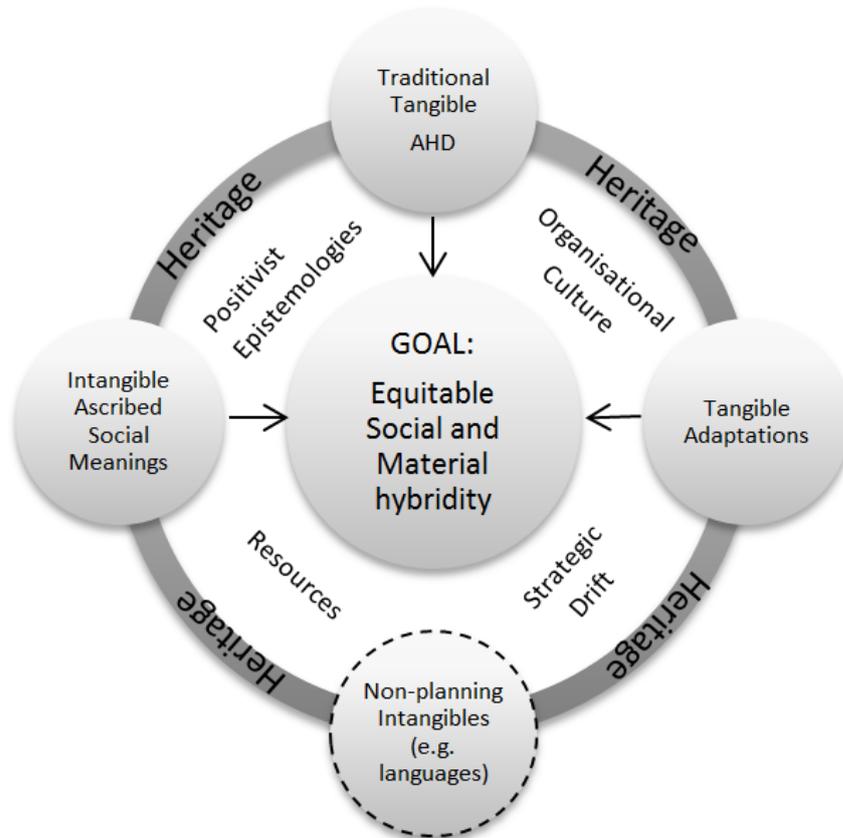
The first contribution contributes to theoretical debates in the study of heritage. In answering the central research questions, this chapter has constructed the core argument that the normative heritage discourse is in a state of transition. Data have shown that contemporary conceptualisations of heritage have been extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality during the Local Heritage Designation Process. Unlike the arguments of Smith (2006), the heritage discourse has experienced clear adaptations and nuances (for instance, it now recognises post-war, industrial, subaltern and more contemporary heritage). Moreover, there have been palpable examples of not only discursive social and material hybridity, but also local heritage designations based on intangible heritage values (i.e. designated because of ascribed social meanings). The social heritage discourse is therefore not only permeating local heritage designation practice, but it is also subtly *influencing* it. Consequently, the AHD as characterised by Smith (2006) has been critiqued, challenged and appropriately redefined.

The original empirical findings of this study provide a comprehensive picture of heritage conceptualisations, which offer a better understanding of the contemporary parameters of heritage legitimacy and/or integrity. The following conceptual diagram

(Figure 63- overleaf) draws together and simplifies the various ways in which heritage has been conceptualised (both rhetorically and in practical processes) throughout this research process. As this research is concerned with the practice of conservation applied through the English planning system, the diagram highlights three observed categories of heritage which are applicable and essential to Local Heritage Designation. These include the traditional symbols of heritage which relate to the AHD; the tangible adaptations observed in this study⁶³; and the intangible, social meanings which can be ascribed to physical buildings and spaces. Based on the synthesis findings discussed, I argue however that it is unhelpful to imagine these as distinct, silo classifications of heritage and instead I argue that they must come together. There needs to be a *blurring* of these in order to enable the goal of equitable social and material hybridity. The next step thus needs to be the *equitable* and *compatible* uncovering, acknowledgment and sector-wide legitimisation of *social* and material aspects of heritage. The diagram however also presents an inner circle of some of the key obstacles that need to be by-passed in order to achieve this central goal.

⁶³ For instance, the legitimisation of vernacular, post-war and more contemporary structures. These values, however, are all predominantly tangible in nature, relating to architectural style, construction and physical fabric.

Figure 63: Conceptual Diagram: a Theoretical Framework explaining the general ways heritage is conceptualised in Local Heritage Designation, the ultimate goal for practice, and the obstacles which need to be overcome to achieve this.



Source: Author

Original Contribution 2: Identification of a backward trend towards Positivism

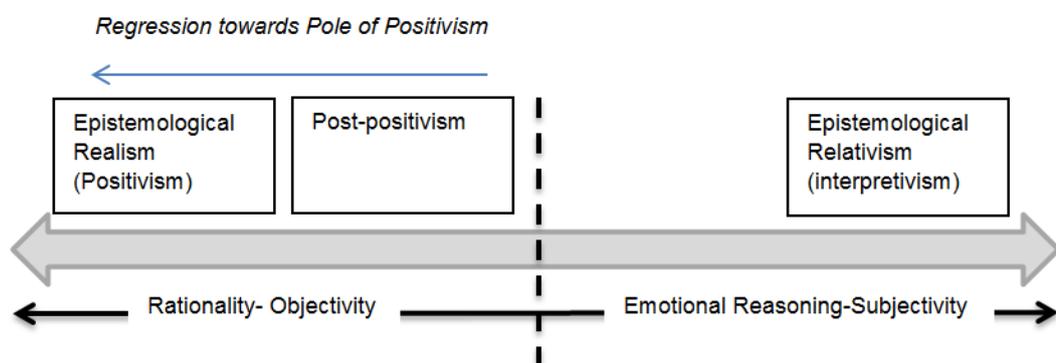
A second contribution contributes to theoretical debates in the study of planning theory. This core contribution creates the theory that due to contextual factors identified by the study, planning practice is currently in retreat, moving towards a more positivist philosophical position, as opposed to moving away from it. Data evidence has revealed a mental depreciation of post-positivism and an intensification or backward trend towards the pole of positivism. This can be summarised and explained in terms of a three-dimensional pressure currently facing local authorities:

1. Pressure to devolve power to communities (Localism/Social Inclusion)
2. Perceived loss of power to developers (threat of appeal/challenge)
3. Diminishing funding and resources

Consequently, data have shown that professionals in local authorities are feeling attacked from all three sides. In the light of feeling a loss of power (to

developers/development), loss of motivation and confidence (to deviate from norms), as well as fear of challenge (professionally and practically), local authorities feel more accountable for everything they do. Such power shifting, particularly in a period of cost-cutting and insecurity, has resulted in working practices which are more cautious, guarded, and underpinned by positivist decision-making. This drives not necessarily a desire, but a *need* to justify designations using tangible, objective facts, and scientific reasoning and thus a *need* to retain 'expert' status. Triggering a reflex of defence and reversion to more comfortable, standard practices, professionals are not in a position to further challenge and/or test the conservation orthodoxy. The result has been a retreat to a more positivist mind-set. Such barriers hinder the legitimisation of intangible heritage values based on emotion and subjectivity. This backward trend towards positivism impedes equitable social and material hybridity and thus comprehensive, socially-inclusive local heritage designation. This central argument is displayed graphically in Figure 64 below.

Figure 64: Conceptual Diagram showing Local Authority Regression Towards the Pole of Positivism



Source: Author

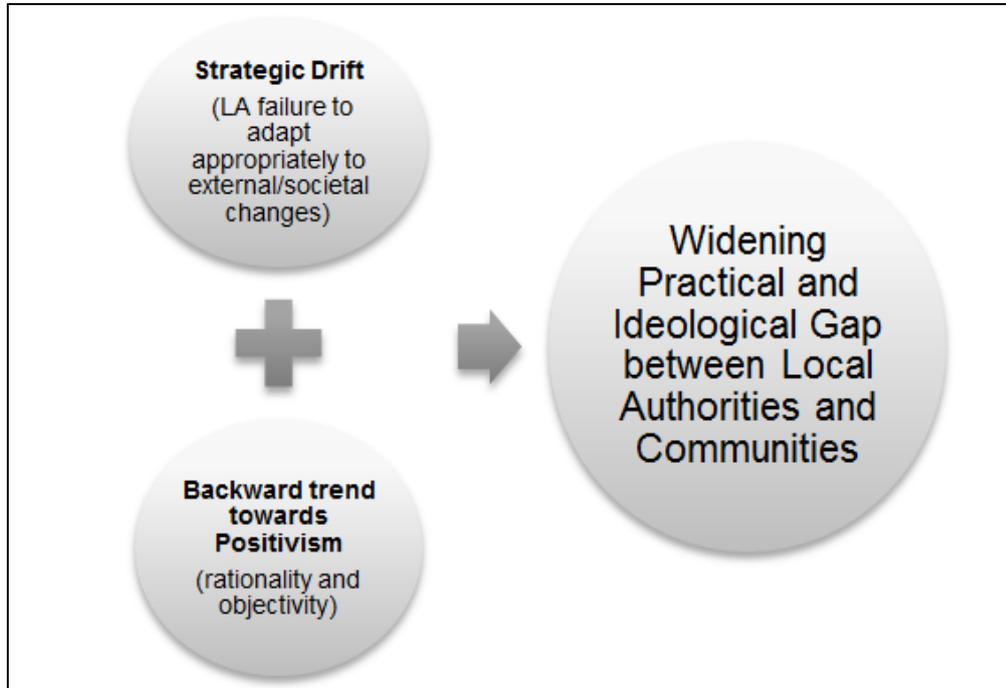
Original Contribution 3: Identification of strategic drift whereby local authorities fail to appropriately adapt to the changing nature of societies. This has resulted in the identification of a widening ideological and practical gap between professionals and communities.

Linked closely with the backward trend toward positivism highlight above, the third contribution highlights strategic drift within local authorities and a consequent, and somewhat ironic (given the recent emphasis on localism) widening ideological gap

between professionals and communities. Strategic drift increases because local authorities do not currently see a need to react, and/or are currently unable to adapt to the increasing diversity of English society. On a more superficial level, this is constrained by diminishing resources. On a deeper, more fundamental level, this is a consequence of both strong organisational culture (and established norms and working practices), as well as deep-seated ideologies.

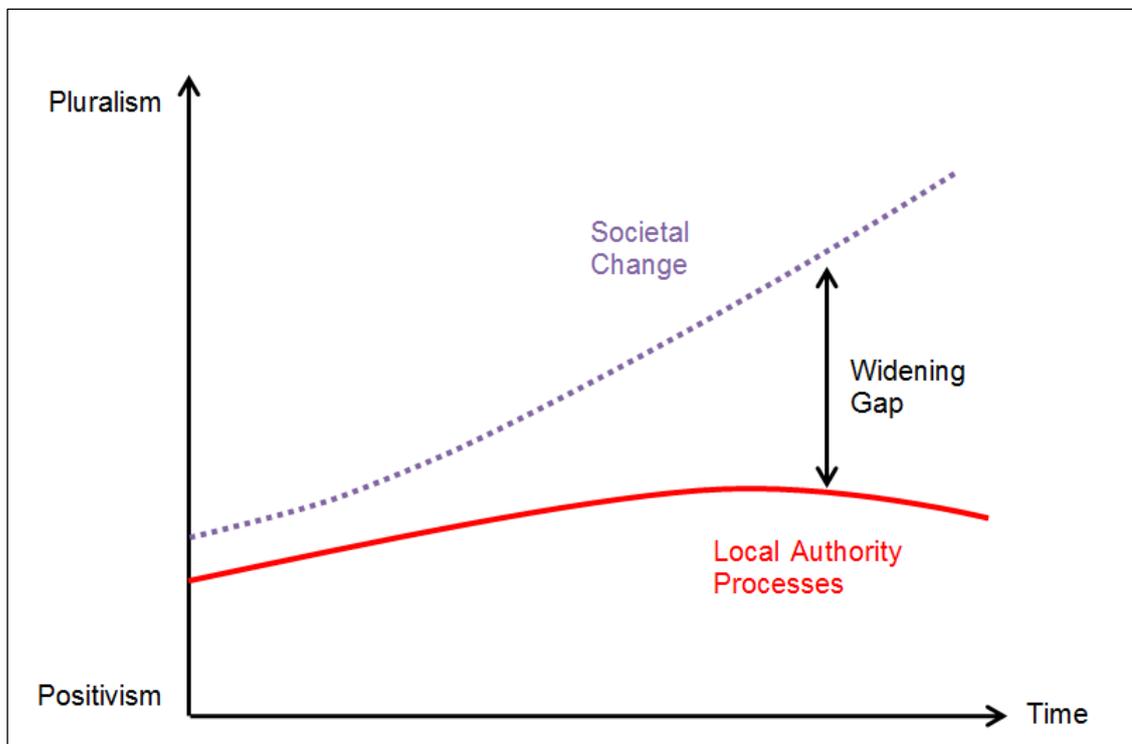
Indeed, professionals appear to have one foot in the past, *treating* society as one-dimensional, homogenous and devoid of complexity and difference. Failing to recognise and uncover difference in practice is therefore becoming an ever more urgent issue. Uncovering social meanings is clearly not the most practically feasible option for local authorities because of, *inter alia*, the practical complexity that comes with addressing socially complex and diverse needs of various sub-cultures within societies. It is however, the only solution that avoids strategic drift, which would indeed be even more detrimental to society as a whole. For local authorities, this means they need to follow a difficult route and adjust to contemporary 'reality'. This is particularly important given that in the future, local authorities will be made even more accountable to the value they bring to society (and various 'stakeholders'), as suggested by both the data and literature. If local authorities do not deliver to those 'stakeholders' because of strategic drift, their position may weaken further. Side-stepping the ever increasing multiplicity of society impedes the discovery and acceptance of diversity of interpretation (in this case diversity of symbols of heritage). Such outdated working practices increase strategic drift, serving to widen the ideological and practical gap between professionals and their multi-layered communities. Figure 65 illustrates diagrammatically the outcome of the identified strategic drift and epistemological realist (positivist) position and Figure 66 shows the extent of 'drift' over time.

Figure 65: Conceptual Diagram showing the Unintentional Outcome of the Identified Strategic Drift and Epistemological Realist (Positivist) Position



Source: Author

Figure 66: Conceptual Diagram showing Extent of Drift over Time



Source: Author

9.6 Summary

Based on original data evidence, this thesis has argued that some alternative conceptualisations of heritage are acknowledged in practice but crucially, these are merely re-woven into a mutated, subtle manifestation of the AHD (deemed acceptable to professionals working within a constrained context). Where not supported by positivist, objective evidence such 'heritages' are frequently deemed too far apart from traditional notions of heritage and thus appear to be unwillingly muted and excluded. Crucially, the constraining need for rationality and objective facts appears to be an inherent and fundamental aspect of conservation planning. It is essential to perform the job, ensure defensibility at appeal, and sustain professional integrity when dealing with other built environment 'stakeholders'.

Whilst more relaxed than Smith (2006) argues, this nuanced AHD nevertheless continues to privilege positivist notions of heritage. Meanwhile, local authorities are 'drifting'; failing to adapt appropriately to the rapidly changing, diversity of society. Such strategic drift, coupled with a retreat in the direction of positivism results in a one-dimensional perspective of both 'community' and, by virtue, heritage. Such consensus-inspired, one-dimensional views reflect the dominant, existing order and consequently sustain and uphold a largely *traditional* interpretation of heritage. As such, the ideological gap between professionals and communities in heritage work is widening. Thus, despite the observed evolution of heritage discourse, to minimise this gap demands a sector-wide epistemological shift in order to recognise the plurality of society and the validity of multiple and diverse interpretations of 'heritage'. Only with this epistemological adjustment, can equitable social and material hybridity in Local Heritage Designation be realised in practice.

The following chapter presents the thesis' conclusions.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 10: COMING FULL CIRCLE

We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring, will be to arrive at where we started, and know the place for the first time (Eliot, 1974: 209)

10.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to draw the thesis to a close and to bring its theoretically complex contributions (explicitly presented and detailed within Chapter 9) full circle. To do this it revisits the initial motivating factors guiding the chosen research focus, and summarises the research journey undertaken. It reminds readers of the scope of the research, including an account of how the central aim, objectives and research questions were addressed. The chapter then turns to concisely reinforce the thesis' primary and secondary research findings, whilst taking care to avoid undue repetition. In doing so, the contributions this thesis makes to advancing the existing body of knowledge in the fields of both heritage studies and planning theory is reiterated and summarised⁶⁴. The chapter closes with the consideration of implications and contributions for practitioners, some self-reflections and some viable directions for future research.

10.2 Looking Back and Ahead

Research Focus and Motivation

The starting point for this thesis was the notion that heritage is a complex, often contested, multidimensional construct; a view that is largely undisputed within the academic literature. Indeed, it is increasingly acknowledged within heritage theory that heritage means different things to different people in different places, at different times, and across different governmental scales. Moreover, it has been recognised within the extant literature that the way in which professionals identify and define heritage is important, particularly given the complex and underexplored links between heritage and 'identity', 'belonging' and 'sense of place'. Indeed, such associations reinforce that heritage is fundamentally about people, rather than physical objects and such interpretations present heritage as a defining aspect of what it means to be human. Consequently, the identification, acknowledgement

⁶⁴ See Appendix V for a summary of how the research findings have advanced and expanded the original guiding theoretical propositions.

and protection of heritage through the Local Heritage Designation System are for some, an important human need.

Accordingly, scholars have called for re-theorisation not only of heritage as a concept, but also of what is meant by 'community' and the intricate juxtaposition of these two equally nebulous concepts. This increasing academic interest in heritage conceptualisations, however, has not been equally supported by critical empirical studies. Indeed, few studies seek to expose how heritage is conceptualised in the field of contemporary conservation practice. Furthermore, the local level of heritage identification, designation and management is underexplored. Whilst this thesis has placed particular emphasis on the phenomenon that Smith (2006; 2007a) has labelled the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), work undertaken to explore or redefine the AHD has tended to focus predominantly on non-Westernised case studies or has only been conducted at a national level, for example in English national policy. Whilst valuable, such research has been rather critical and one-sided, failing to sufficiently recognise and critically engage with the significance of the contextual setting and the ensuing implications for the heritage construct. Indeed, there is a clear dearth of literature exploring the realities of the AHD (as characterised by Smith) and the practical application of the heritage construct in local conservation planning processes. The issues discussed above, together with further justification below, highlight why this particular point of focus is of prime importance.

Parallel to a growing academic interest in the field of critical heritage studies, English national policy and guidance have also experienced an apparent discursive shift in direction. Such official publications to emerge since the year 2000 seem to view heritage in a more holistic way than before, recognising non-designated heritage assets and considering a heritage continuum which includes not only buildings but the spaces between them, including heritage landscapes. Moreover, several publications during this time encourage the opening up of heritage and conservation processes to wider public participation. They appear to appreciate that there is a range of heritage values, and they seem to encourage the widening of professional understandings of heritage to recognise *social* significance. Crucially, these changes appear to be in broad conformity with the Cameron-Clegg administration's 'Big Society' and the ensuing emphasis on Localism. Indeed, plans to work closer with, and empower communities, seem to align neatly with the recently published heritage policy and guidance documents, as well as the long-awaited Local List Best Practice Guide, published in 2012. The latter not only

places great emphasis on widening definitions of heritage (to embrace its intangible content) but also encourages devolving power away from professional specialists to local communities, in an apparent effort to work in joint partnership.

Moreover, the publication of the Local List Best Practice Guide suggests a renewed interest in the local level of heritage designation and management. The document, which was integral to a period of Heritage Protection Review in England, is the first of its kind, resourced entirely by English Heritage. The case studies covered within the document expose an increased level of interest in the Local List in practical reality. Yet, despite such academic and political/policy factors, it is important to reiterate that very little research has been conducted at the local level of heritage designation. This represents not only a clear gap within the heritage literature, but also highlights a current area of important research. Indeed, the local level of heritage designation is where nationally imposed policy (and local policy) is implemented and where, in the spirit of localism, power and responsibility is supposedly being focussed. As such this research is deemed important, cutting edge and of contemporary relevance.

The importance of the topic, however, is not only explained by its academic interest and its underpinning policy and political changes, summarised above. Indeed, it is of growing significance because of shifting external societal factors. Increasingly more plural societies, together with published projections for a continued rise in immigration levels in England suggest a need to redefine what is meant by 'English' heritage, 'Englishness' and 'Britishness'. For Local Authorities to adapt to the reality of increasingly multi-cultural societies, they need to be open to diversity of interpretation of symbols of heritage. Moreover, they need to be able to communicate and work with diverse communities in a genuinely inclusive manner. If this is not achieved, local authorities will drastically lose touch with the communities they serve. Such a challenge is crucial because of *inter alia*, the potential for widespread detrimental implications for society as a whole. This identified urgency to acknowledge and adapt to such contextual changes, further highlights and justifies the importance of exploring the local level of heritage designation as a research focus.

Scope of the Research

With the above motivating issues in mind, this research sought, for the first time, to investigate and analyse professional conceptualisations of heritage guiding the Local Heritage Designation Process. It set out to, for the first time, use the Local

Heritage Designation Process as a lens through which to critically examine why certain versions of heritage receive legitimisation in present-day practice, whereas others do not; and it sought to unveil original insights into what extent the reality of the process empowers local communities and is socially inclusive. The current study did not claim to offer an understanding of how heritage is identified, defined or disputed in heritage institutions outside of the specific realms of conservation planning as applied through the English planning system. These parameters, together with the theoretical propositions set out in Chapter 4 (Figure 5), formed the boundaries of this research and thus explicitly set the scope of the study. Building on these parameters, the aim of this thesis was to evaluate the practical reality of widening definitions of heritage and public participation within the local designation process in England. The central research questions which followed logically from this aim were:

1. To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation Process?
2. Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?
3. What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation Process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

A detailed answer to each research question has been set out previously in Chapter 9, however factual, succinct answers are reiterated below in the interest of completeness. First however, it is important to briefly reinforce how the aim, objectives and research questions were approached and how the research was undertaken.

Research Design and Evaluation

The starting point in the phase of research design was the emphasis on finding the appropriate research approach, strategy and methodological tools that would enable the research aim to be met and the central research questions to be suitably and comprehensively answered. Positioned towards the pole of ontological realism on the one hand, and epistemological relativism on the other, an appropriate locus somewhere in between was adopted; that of the critical realist (CR). This philosophical stance was predominantly underpinned by the view that every person authors an understanding of reality. As such, the search for 'objective truth' is problematic and the diversity of interpretation is essential.

An inductive form of reasoning guided the research approach and was considered vital in order to build theory and produce a conceptual framework from the data findings. The research strategy chosen and implemented followed Yin's (2003) framework for case study research and was evaluated using Cresswell's (2005) criteria for high quality research.

Given that it was crucial to understand experiences, behaviours, meanings and contexts, a qualitative methodology was followed. Notwithstanding the above, multiple methodological tools were used in order to satisfy the case study design tests (enable data triangulation, establish increased construct validity and reliability) (Yin, 2003). In total 30 semi-structured interviews were conducted, transcribed and analysed, 23 documents were collected and scrutinised, and 66 surveys were completed and analysed. Cumulatively, this set of data enabled conclusions to be drawn from the analytical and synthesising process. These have been discussed in detail in Chapter 9, and are reinforced in summary below in relation to the study's primary and secondary findings.

10.3 Primary findings

The primary findings of the thesis are summarised below, organised around the three central research questions for clarity:

To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process?

This thesis has identified a more nuanced understanding of heritage than the traditional canons of special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, operating at the level of Local Heritage Designation in England. It has uncovered a modified version of the AHD, intricately reweven with discourses pertaining to twentieth century understandings of heritage, economic development and growth. Moreover, it has also uncovered a further discursive and practical broadening in the heritage discourse, which responds to recent calls to recognise the social significance of heritage. Such a nuanced AHD is somewhat removed from the characterisation of it, offered by Smith (2006), particularly in terms of its mutability, flexibility and social aspect. Based on these primary findings, the argument developed throughout this thesis is that a *nuanced* AHD is applied in the practical reality of the Local Heritage Designation Process and furthermore, this mutated AHD is in a state of transition. From focussing predominantly on bricks and

mortar, the AHD is starting to recognise the relevance and importance of ascribed social meanings. Consequently, the AHD (privileging physical fabric, aesthetics, time-depth and expert judgements) has experienced permutations, yet the extent of this evolution has important limitations, as summarised below in relation to research question two.

Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of local designation, whilst others do not?

The simple, principal answer to this question is the identification of an on-going and intensifying objective-subjective battle and a deep-rooted philosophical position, held up by notions of positivism, rationality and objective fact. A seemingly simplistic conflict however is far more complex when studied in practical reality. Interwoven with other contextual factors, this objective-subjective battle forms a key barrier which helps to explain why certain understandings of heritage receive legitimisation, whilst others do not. This struggle presents itself in practice particularly at the interface with social-related heritage discourses, which demand appropriate cultural and ideological change. Indeed, there is a strong collection of cultural norms and established practices (mentalities, rationalities, and epistemologies) which continue to largely determine the *nature* of heritage. Most crucially, and central to this thesis' original contributions, a primary finding is a current tendency to philosophically retreat backwards towards the pole of positivism, as explained below.

Indeed, in contemporary planning arenas there is currently a nationally-imposed emphasis on growth and delivery. Ironically, instead of shifting power to the local authorities and to communities, this research discovered that professionals are experiencing a sense of diminishing power, which they feel has shifted from the local authority towards the private sector (developers). Indeed a primary finding of this thesis is that the nebulous subjectivity often associated with non-expert, community heritage values is fuelling a growing fear of appeal/challenge, in an environment which appears to strongly favour economic growth and development, seeing anything else as restrictive, bureaucratic and oppressive. Such power and priority shifting, particularly in a period of cost-cutting and insecurity, has resulted in working practices which are more cautious, guarded, and underpinned by positivist decision-making. This drives not necessarily a desire, but a *need* to justify designations using tangible, objective facts, and scientific reasoning and thus a *need* to retain 'expert' status. Triggering a reflex of defence and reversion to more

comfortable, standard practices, professionals are not in a position to further challenge and/or test the conservation orthodox. Such practical barriers, I assert, appear to prevent the legitimisation of intangible heritage values based on emotion and subjectivity. This contextual setting impedes equitable social and material hybridity and thus comprehensive, socially-inclusive Local Heritage Designation. Indeed linked to this discovery, a further primary finding of this thesis is that alternative heritage values are not necessarily deliberately excluded because of the tenacity of the AHD, but instead are *unwillingly* muted and excluded because of this philosophical underpinning which governs the sector as a whole.

What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?

Whilst good practice in Local Heritage Designation encourages joint working between the professionals and the public(s) through partnership and collaboration, in reality the balance of power rests firmly with the professionals. This, on the one hand, clearly links with the constraints of limited resources, exacerbated during a period of government cost-cutting, yet on a deeper level; it is crucially constrained by the subjective-objective struggle set out above. As such, the thesis uncovered a paradox. Despite a government symbolised by the rhetoric of localism and the 'Big Society', a shifting emphasis on, and thus *priority* for growth and delivery has ironically resulted in the opposite; a widening gap at the local level of governance between the professionals and the communities. The need to justify and defend decisions robustly and scientifically is ever greater in a working environment that is currently so development-focussed.

Related to the above, it was discovered that the only way in which the public(s) could have an influential role in the Local Heritage Designation Process was if they learned how to define heritage technically, like the 'experts'. As such, the nature of heritage as applied within Local Designation remains firmly held up by a set of traditional assumptions. Social aspects of heritage are not sufficiently sought or deemed necessary. Moreover, the thesis identified that the public(s) are currently *treated* largely as one homogenous group and are given a generally latent, passive role in the process. The latter is indeed deemed of public benefit. As such, a unidirectional flow of instruction and knowledge from the experts to the public(s) was observed. Moreover, communication with diverse (multi-ethnic and multi-religious) communities is seen as particularly challenging, and is thus largely by-passed. In sum, the result is a pervasive, yet nuanced AHD which continues to be

dominated by materiality and the conservation orthodoxy, and thus fails to adequately capture and include alternative conceptualisations of heritage, such as those which begin with, and centre on ascribed social/cultural meanings. Rather than equitably recognising diversity of interpretation, the process remains largely one-dimensional. A final primary finding thus relates to what I have termed strategic drift. This can be characterised as the identified contemporary situation whereby local authorities are very slow to adapt (or do not adapt) their established practices to external changes in society, such as increased cultural diversity. As such, the ideological gap between 'experts' and their 'non-expert' communities widens.

10.4 Conceptual Findings and Contribution to Knowledge

Chapter 9 drew connections between analytical interpretations and relevant concepts in the extant literature to synthesise the thesis' findings. In particular, Chapter 9 interpreted the arguments (reiterated above) into clear theoretical findings, supported by conceptual diagrams. This enabled a higher level of conceptualisation and provided the foundation from which to draw conceptual conclusions. Consequently, this thesis has justified, and is able to claim modest, yet clear contributions to knowledge, as explicitly set out and detailed in Chapter 9. These contributions are based upon original evidence, analysis and synthesis, and are summarised succinctly below in the interests of completeness:

Original Contributions to Knowledge and Theory-Building:

1. Development of a theoretical framework explaining contemporary professional conceptualisations of heritage at the local level of Heritage Designation, including evidence that the application and performance of the AHD in this professional context has experienced palpable nuances and is evolving.
2. Identification of a backward trend towards Positivism. This positivist retreat is problematic given the identified need for pluralism of heritage (a multi-dimensional understanding which accepts that many interpretations are possible (and valid) depending on context, experience, origin and culture).
3. Identification of strategic drift whereby local authorities fail to appropriately adapt to the changing nature of societies. This has resulted in the identification of a widening ideological gap between professionals and communities.

These contributions to knowledge assimilate the data evidence and synthesise them with aspects of both heritage and planning theory in order to arrive at these new understandings. Such high-levels of abstraction however benefit from simplification in order to be applicable to practice. The following section therefore summarises implications and contributions for practitioners.

10.5 Implications and Contributions for Practitioners

Several complex contextual factors have been identified which oppress equitable social and material hybridity in the Local Heritage Designation Process, and wider conservation processes. Many of these relate to broader professional orthodoxies, epistemologies, ideologies and rationalities, which permeate the built environment sector. These clearly are not easy to change. Such deep-rooted principles and tenets cannot be transformed by a selection of individuals, but require a critical mass of activity, particularly at the level of the Planning Inspectorate, influencing case law. Linked firmly to this is the identification of a retreat towards more positivist decision-making, which is a wider issue for national government. To move away from this requires firm support and reinforcement, clearer direction and potentially legislative and policy change.

Nevertheless, there are some key implications of these research outputs for local practitioners. First, the evidence has highlighted the importance of critically re-thinking about those established processes that tend to be subconsciously and habitually undertaken. In particular, from the outset of the Local List process, practitioners need to be open to the diversity of interpretation of heritage, as well as the essential need to do more to uncover alternative heritage values. In the minutiae of the practical process, this implies a need to include as a standard, integral first step, work to understand the area (demographic composition, historical evolution, immigration patterns, and social history) and to use this information to inform processes undertaken. Furthermore, more emphasis needs to be placed on the earlier stages of the process such as the development of local heritage selection criteria. As part of this stage, local authorities should, with open-minds, seek to uncover how their wide-ranging communities define the very essence of heritage and use this to inform the criteria used.

In terms of social inclusion, the study has highlighted the need to approach and design consultation processes in a way which does not seek to assimilate, or leave genuine inclusion to chance, but instead actively engages in a way which strives to

embrace and uncover *difference*. An identified 'quick-win' would be to recognise that local heritage crosses local authority departments. Just as other aspects of planning, such as water and flood risk, housing or green infrastructure projects demand the bringing together of various 'stakeholders', comprehensive Local Heritage Designation necessitates knowledge from the built environment, natural environment, and social and cultural services, for example. As such, local practitioners need to establish new multi-disciplinary working groups for local heritage and conservation work. In addition to external actors, these working groups should include *inter alia*, cultural services, local engagement officers, and history/museum services from within the local authority. Such working groups should be a starting point to provide and facilitate the appropriate avenues or entry points into communities.

Finally, as Local Heritage Designation plays, "an essential role in building and reinforcing a sense of local identity and distinctiveness" (English Heritage, 2012: 5) and is closely linked with notions of self and belonging (Wetherell, 2001), comprehensive Local Listing in fact demands the privileging of social communal values, over the search for 'absolute truth'. In practice, this means if there is a communal (shared) valuing of social heritage then it should be acknowledged locally and subsequently 'rationalised', despite lack of objective, scientific or technical evidence. The caveat to this approach, however, is the importance of a sensible application of common sense to establish that the communal heritage value is likely to be genuine and has not suddenly emerged in an underhand attempt to stifle development.

Such practical steps will go some way towards addressing the urgent need to recognise and adapt to a more multi-cultural society; something which data show is not always taking place in current planning and conservation processes. Whilst fully aware that practice seeks order and prescription to enable precise assessments to be made, clearly these guiding norms require further debate.

The following section sets out the secondary findings which have emerged from the research.

10.6 Secondary findings

This thesis has identified several secondary findings, which have emerged throughout the analysis and synthesis chapters and have indirectly informed the conclusions drawn. These are summarised in bullet point below.

- There is a substantive gap between national government strategy/legislation conception/formulation and local authority implementation. Such nationally-imposed strategies appear to lack a clear implementation plan, and are not sufficiently supported by resources and practical guidance. Consequently their journey to the coalface can be prohibited, and/or national messages can get lost or be diluted.
- The realisation and implementation of localism is prevented by strong organisational culture in local authorities. This can be characterised by established working practices, ideologies and the perceived lack of time to take a step back and think about things philosophically. As such, local authorities can be metaphorically described as ‘whales amongst minnows’: slow paced, inflexible, and slow to adapt to change.
- A lack of government-supplied resources is causing a retreat to core services in local authorities. This currently inhibits implementation of the Localism Act 2011 and appears to inhibit innovation and change.
- Lack of government-supplied resources is substantively effecting local authority professionals’ morale and working environment.

Together the thesis’ primary and secondary findings point to some directions for a future research agenda.

10.7 Future Research Agenda

The original empirical findings presented, analysed and interpreted within this thesis have opened up further questions that require addressing for this research area to progress further. Firstly, the research conducted has followed an *inductive* form of reasoning. Consequently, the theory developed by this thesis may be informed further by future research which uses *deductive* forms of reasoning to ‘test’ and evaluate this theory. Moreover, further inductive studies may advance the findings of this study by applying similar methodologies to other geographical locations or to other local processes, such as exploration of the planning application decision-making process (where buildings/places of local heritage interest are involved).

Another issue for future research is the need to delve deeper into the fractures between professionals and non-British and other minority communities. This research exposed an apparent blockage in communication between these groups. Such communities were considered difficult to get hold of and according to interviewees at the Black Environment Network (BEN), non-British and other minority communities are unsure or sceptical about what projects like the Local List

are about. They appear to not know what is available to them, perceive it as a threat, or assume that conservation professionals are not interested in their heritage values. Building on this, future research should seek to work closely with non-British/minority communities to understand in more detail how they define heritage, what is important to them, how they feel about Local Heritage Designation, and whether reconciliation and improved communication can be achieved. This is a particularly important aspect for increasing understanding of heritage values.

As a by-product of this research, the secondary findings also unveiled a broader agenda for future research. Such research relates more closely to understanding how a strategy/concept travels down from national government on its journey to realisation. In other words, how, and what is required for a national message to be successfully conveyed down to, and realised at the local level of implementation. Finally, more research would be beneficial to uncover the power of organisational culture in the success of strategy implementation and organisational change.

The following section sets out some final parameters and self-reflections on the PhD journey undertaken.

10.8 Parameters and Self-reflections

As a Chartered Town Planner, this research has been guided by an interest in conservation planning, passion for democracy and clear ontological and epistemological positions. As such the research approach and methodological tools chosen reflect this paradigmatic stance, and, most importantly, successfully enabled the comprehensive answering of the central research questions. In relation to the research strategy, the multiple-case study design chosen is still deemed the most appropriate design because of its ability to drill down in detail to understand issues in-depth. Without the constraints of time and space, more case studies may have been included, to further support the argument presented. For the purpose of this thesis, however, two local case studies (supported by a national-level study) were considered appropriate to enable the depth of analysis required.

Moreover, the research focus was on professional conceptualisations of heritage. This focus was considered appropriate because it is the professionals in conservation planning practice who identify, consider and interpret heritage validity and legitimacy for local designation. Whilst a selection of non-professional understandings (including non-British/minority) were sought and uncovered, an *equal* focus on both lay (including non-British/minority) and professional

understandings of heritage would have revealed some useful findings to further advance this area of research. To conduct this work however would have required substantially more time and write-up space.

10.9 Coming Full Circle

To close, I want to return to the rather powerful statement made by Smith (2006:11) that, “there is no such thing as heritage”. Her intention was to highlight that heritage is only heritage when it is valued and ascribed meaning by people; and thus all heritage is, in fact, intangible. Whilst thought-provoking and a useful way of presenting her argument, the statement has a number of consequences. In particular, in writing this, she (perhaps unconsciously) invoked a consideration of heritage on an ontological level. In terms of ontology, if you reject the *reality* of heritage, then you simultaneously believe that it cannot be studied because it does not exist as a phenomenon. This clearly was not Smith’s intention. Based on the original data evidence provided by this thesis, it seems far more appropriate and useful to explicitly consider heritage from an epistemological viewpoint. The question therefore is: should there be an adjustment made towards the epistemological relativism of heritage? Interpretation of the data evidence and the ensuing arguments constructed throughout this thesis clearly suggest that an adjusted epistemological position is essential for comprehensive heritage conservation in contemporary plural societies so that local authorities avoid drifting further away from the dynamic communities they serve. In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated scholarly engagement with appropriate ideas and has filled a defined gap in knowledge. As such, its arguments support an advance in knowledge. I wish to conclude with the final thought that, whilst the normative heritage discourse is clearly evolving, until such ideological and epistemological transformations take place, the long journey *from bricks and mortar to social meanings* will belong firmly to the realms of rhetoric, rather than reality.

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APPENDIX A: COMPARATIVE SELECTION CRITERIA FOR STATUTORY LISTED BUILDINGS

Principles of Selection, 1970

Section 2.3.a Criteria for selecting buildings for listing

The Listing Committee of the Historic Buildings Council in March 1970 advised that buildings of 'special architectural or historic interest' fall into the following categories and should be listed:

- (i) Buildings built before 1700 which survive in anything like their original condition.
- (ii) Most buildings of 1700 to 1840 though selection is necessary.
- (iii) Buildings built between 1840 and 1914 and having definite quality and character apart from those that form part of a group. The selection to include the principal works of the principal architects.
- (iv) A selection of buildings of 1914 to 1939.

In selecting buildings for listing particular attention should be paid to:

- (v) Buildings of special value within certain types, either for architectural or planning reasons or as illustrating social and economic history (for instance industrial buildings, railway stations, schools, hospitals, theatres, town halls, markets, exchanges, almshouses, prisons, lockups, mills).
- (vi) Buildings showing technological innovation or virtuosity (for instance cast-iron prefabrication, or the early use of concrete).
- (vii) Buildings having an association with significant historical events or persons.
- (viii) Buildings with group value; especially as examples of town planning (for instance squares, terraces or model villages (DoE, 1970).

Principles of Selection, 1995 (PPG15)

6.10 The following are the main criteria which the Secretary of State applies as appropriate in deciding which buildings to include in the statutory lists:-

- **architectural interest:** the lists are meant to include all buildings which are of importance to the nation for the interest of their architectural design, decoration and craftsmanship; also important examples of particular building types and techniques (e.g. buildings displaying technological innovation or virtuosity) and significant plan forms;
 - **historic interest:** this includes buildings which illustrate important aspects of the nation's social, economic, cultural or military history;
 - **close historical association:** with nationally important people or events;
 - **group value,** especially where buildings comprise an important architectural or historic unity or a fine example of planning (e.g. squares, terraces or model villages).
- Not all these criteria will be relevant to every case, but a particular building may qualify for listing under more than one of them.

6.11 Age and rarity are relevant considerations, particularly where buildings are proposed for listing on the strength of their historic interest. The older a building is, and the fewer the surviving examples of its kind, the more likely it is to have historic importance. Thus, all buildings built before 1700 which survive in anything like their original condition are listed, and most buildings of about 1700 to 1840 are listed, though some selection is necessary. After about 1840, because of the greatly increased number of buildings erected and the much larger numbers that have survived, greater selection is necessary to identify the best examples of particular building types, and only buildings of definite quality and character are listed. For the same reasons, only selected buildings from the period after 1914 are normally listed. Buildings which are less than 30 years old are normally listed only if they are of outstanding quality and under threat. Buildings which are less than ten years old are not listed (DoE/DNH, 1994).

Principles of Selection, 2010

Section 9: Statutory Criteria

9. The Secretary of State uses the following criteria when assessing whether a building is of special interest and therefore should be added to the statutory list:

- Architectural Interest. To be of special architectural interest a building must be of importance in its architectural design, decoration or craftsmanship; special interest may also apply to nationally important examples of particular building types and techniques (e.g. buildings displaying technological innovation or virtuosity) and significant plan forms;
- Historic Interest. To be of special historic interest a building must illustrate important aspects of the nation's social, economic, cultural, or military history and/or have close historical associations with nationally important people. There should normally be some quality of interest in the physical fabric of the building itself to justify the statutory protection afforded by listing.

Section 12-16: General Principles

12. Age and rarity. The older a building is, and the fewer the surviving examples of its kind, the more likely it is to have special interest. The following chronology is meant as a guide to assessment; the dates are indications of likely periods of interest and are not absolute. The relevance of age and rarity will vary according to the particular type of building because for some types, dates other than those outlined below are of significance. However, the general principles used are that:

- before 1700, all buildings that contain a significant proportion of their original fabric are listed;
- from 1700 to 1840, most buildings are listed;
- after 1840, because of the greatly increased number of buildings erected and the much larger numbers that have survived, progressively greater selection is necessary;
- particularly careful selection is required for buildings from the period after 1945;
- buildings of less than 30 years old are normally listed only if they are of outstanding quality and under threat.

13. Aesthetic merits. The appearance of a building – both its intrinsic architectural merit and any group value – is a key consideration in judging listing proposals, but the special interest of a building will not always be reflected in obvious external visual quality. Buildings that are important for reasons of technological innovation, or as illustrating particular aspects of social or economic history, may have little external visual quality.

14. Selectivity. Where a building qualifies for listing primarily on the strength of its special architectural interest, the fact that there are other buildings of similar quality elsewhere is not likely to be a major consideration. However, a building may be listed primarily because it represents a particular historical type in order to ensure that examples of such a type are preserved. Listing in these circumstances is largely a comparative exercise and needs to be selective where a substantial number of buildings of a similar type and quality survive. In such cases, the Secretary of State's policy is to list only the most representative or most significant examples of the type.

15. National interest. The emphasis in these criteria is to establish consistency of selection to ensure that not only are all buildings of strong intrinsic architectural interest included on the list, but also the most significant or distinctive regional buildings that together make a major contribution to the national historic stock. For instance, the best examples of local vernacular buildings will normally be listed

because together they illustrate the importance of distinctive local and regional traditions. Similarly, for example, some buildings will be listed because they represent a nationally important but localised industry, such as shoemaking in Northamptonshire or cotton production in Lancashire.

16. State of repair. The state of repair of a building is not a relevant consideration when deciding whether a building meets the test of special interest. The Secretary of State will list a building which has been assessed as meeting the statutory criteria, irrespective of its state of repair (DCMS, 2010).

APPENDIX B: HEALEY'S FIVE ATTRIBUTES OF COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

The demands of collaborative planning have been summarised into five clear attributes, which Healey considers governance systems should meet, *viz*:

- i) "It should recognise the range and variety of stakeholders...the diversity of their cultural points of reference and their systems of meaning, and the complex power relations which may exist within and between them".
- ii) It should acknowledge the role of informal, non-governmental agencies in governance and should seek to spread power to them without "creating new bastions of unequal power".
- iii) "It should open up opportunities for informal invention for local initiatives. It should enable and facilitate, encouraging diversity in routines and styles of organising, rather than imposing single ordering principles on the dynamics of social and economic life. It should cultivate a "framing" relation rather than a linear connection between policy principles and the flow of action".
- iv) "It should foster the inclusion of all members of political communities while acknowledging their diversity, and should recognise that this involves complex issues of power relations, ways of thinking and ways of organising."
- v) "It should be continually and openly accountable, making available...the arguments, the information, the consideration of stakeholders' concerns, the images and metaphors which lie behind decisions, and should include requirements for critical review and challenge".

(Healey 2006: 288)

APPENDIX C: BROAD TRENDS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

The Table below show some broad trends in cultural heritage management over time. It is important to stress however that these represent *intentional* trends and changes, reflected in academic research and/or practice. The table thus shows broad directions of travel, rather than absolute transformations.

	FROM	TO
Definition of Heritage	Monuments	Landscapes
	Buildings	Urban Areas
	Sites	Historic Environment/Cultural heritage
Role of Heritage in Society	National Unity	Respect for cultural diversity
	Generate revenue from visitors	Wider Economic benefits Social Benefits
Decisions	State	Region/locality
	Authoritarian	Democratisation Participation
Professionals	Experts	Facilitators
	Single discipline (e.g. buildings, archaeology)	Multi-skilled professionals
	Historical knowledge	Management Skills
Significance	Old	Industrial heritage Post-war buildings
	Aesthetic	Commemorative value
	National importance	Local Distinctiveness
	Mono-cultural	Values of different cultures
	Narrow range of values	Wide range of values
Interpretation	Expert led	Community led
Responsibilities	State led	Communities The Market/Private sector
	Heritage sector	Environmental sector
	Designation	Characterisation
Management Practices	Separate conservation	Integrated conservation
	Site based	More strategic
	Technical research	Philosophical research

(Source: Clark, cited in Loulanski 2006)

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF THE KEY HERITAGE CONSERVATION LEGISLATION AND POLICY (AND THOSE BODIES WITH A PARTICULAR INTEREST⁶⁵)

SOME KEY INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION
Athens Charter (1931) UN Working Charter (1945) Venice Charter (1964) Florence Charter (1981) Washington Charter (1987) The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) Burra Charter (1999) Faro Convention (2005) Quebec Charter (2008)
SOME KEY NATIONAL LEGISLATION/POLICY/GUIDANCE
Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 Town and Country Planning Acts of 1945 and 1947 Civic Amenities Act 1967 Town and County Planning Act 1990 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 Planning and Compensation Act 1991 Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 Planning Act 2008 Localism Act 2011 Statutory Instruments and National Government Circulars National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) Rafts of English Heritage National Guidance (see reference list for information)
SOME KEY LOCAL POLICY/GUIDANCE
Local Development Plan Supplementary Planning Documents (SPDs) Master Plans/Area Action Plans Regeneration Strategies Conservation Area Appraisals/Management Plans Village Design Statements
SOME INTERESTED BODIES
Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) English Heritage Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) UNESCO, IUCN, ICCROM, ICOMOS, CAC, HLF Civic Trust Amenity Societies and Local Groups Local Authority Conservation and/or Design Panels NGOs Media Owners Communities

⁶⁵ Please note that this table is indicative and does not represent an exhaustive list.

APPENDIX E: BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE DEBATE: MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY AND BELONGING

Multiculturalism, Identity and Belonging

Whilst greater social plurality cannot be denied, there are various conflicting views about the implications of such plural societies on identity, heritage and communities' sense of belonging. One theory is that the "rapid acceleration of change", "mass migration", and "continual electronic mediation" (Harrison, 2010a: 167), together with the consequent gradual reduction in importance of some traditional aspects of identity, suggest that communities in the UK are likely to become, "less cohesive over the next 10 years" (Foresight, 2013: 8). Others, however, argue that increased multiculturalism will in fact encourage a renewed sense of nationalism, 'Englishness', and nostalgia for the past (Appadurai, 1996; Harrison, 2010a).

Scholars exploring the links between multiculturalism and identity have broadly concluded that regardless of the reaction such plurality generates, policy-makers have a responsibility to uncover multicultural 'heritage' in order to achieve comprehensive heritage conservation processes (Harrison, 2010a,b). If such *difference* goes unnoticed, the 'heritage' of certain groups will continue to be forgotten, lost, or only recognised by chance (Gard'ner 2004; Hall 1997). As Gard'ner's (2004: 75) work in East London demonstrates, practitioners and policy-makers have previously failed to appreciate many non-British heritage values (such as buildings valued socially by the resident Bengalee community). Gard'ner proposes through his research that the use of Local Lists may be a more effective and flexible method of uncovering multicultural heritage and thus providing some protection to buildings valued locally by diverse communities. Gard'ner however overlooks the underlying ideological barriers to drawing alternative conceptualisations of heritage into the dominant ideology. He also fails to consider any contextual factors which may impact upon designation decision-making. Drawing on the conservation orthodoxy exposed in Chapter 2, and the apparent dominance of buildings-led values, aesthetics and age, exposed in Chapter 3, such an ideological shift would seemingly require institutional learning and cultural change, whereby "heritage bodies begin to learn how to question their own values" (Pendlebury, 2009a: 220). It is unclear whether professionals are in such a position to reconsider the very definition of 'heritage'. Such questions clearly require empirical investigation.

APPENDIX F: POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Key Policy Calls of the 21st Century

The beginning of the 21st century has marked a seminal period in the recent development of public policy for the historic environment and an apparent drive towards the democratisation of heritage. This idea, exemplified perhaps by *Power of Place*⁶⁶ (English Heritage, 2000), and underpinned by the policies and resources of the Heritage Lottery Fund, has gained support as part of a wider political narrative of inclusivity. 'Power of Place' was in fact the first publication to actively promote democratic participation in the field of conservation, on the basis that, "the historic environment has the power to strengthen the sense of community and foster neighbourhood renewal" (English Heritage, 2000: 23).

'Power of Place' made a passionate case for the historic environment not to be, "confined to some rarefied antiquarian realm but to be recognised as being in fact all around us" (Cowell, 2004: 28). At the heart of this publication was the acknowledgement of two basic notions. The first was that the past, present and future cannot be separated, but form an inextricably linked continuum. The business of conservation is thus not about preserving historically significant places on their own, frozen at some particular time, but allowing them to coexist in sustainable harmony with an ever-changing present. The second notion was that historic places do not have just one immutable value, but many overlapping values that reflect differing viewpoints. These are liable to evolve along with changes in people's own perceptions and interests (English Heritage, 2000).

Meanwhile 'A Force for Our Future' (DCMS, 2001a), informed by 'Power of Place' emphasised the importance of taking account of this wider understanding of heritage, stating that 'heritage':

...is about more than bricks and mortar. It embraces the landscape as a whole, both urban and rural, and the marine archaeology sites around our shores. It shows us how our own forebears lived. It embodies the history of all the communities who have made their home in this country. It is part of the wider public realm in which we can all participate (DCMS, 2001a: 4).

The document explicitly makes reference to the, "gradual widening of the definition of what people regard as their heritage" (DCMS, 2001a: 8: 7) and draws on examples of this wider definition in practice, such as the National Trust's purchase of Paul McCartney's childhood home in Liverpool, the investment in urban parks and gardens and the preservation of back-to-back housing in Birmingham and Manchester (DCMS, 2001a). Furthermore, the publication recognises the use of 'heritage' as a tool to engage communities and foster collaborative and inclusive planning processes that can, "bring communities together in a shared sense of belonging" (DCMS, 2001a: 4).

Heritage White Paper (2007)

A crucial further development in this new conservation philosophy came in the form of the Heritage White Paper: 'Heritage Protection for the 21st Century' in 2007. In its wider sense, the White Paper is based around three key principles: (1) "developing a unified approach to the historic environment"; (2) "maximising opportunities for inclusion and involvement"; and (3) "supporting sustainable communities by putting

⁶⁶ The Black Environment Network (BEN) was heavily involved in formulating this document, acting on behalf of black and ethnic minority groups.

the historic environment at the heart of an effective planning system” (DCMS, 2007: 6). These principles suggest the apparent desire to democratise ‘heritage’ processes, as outlined above. Waterton and Smith (2008) however, point out that achieving these principles will be a challenge in practice. Furthermore, they argue that, “the language used in the White Paper, and the evidence drawn upon to illustrate the new system, appears to be suggestive of procedural change only” (Waterton and Smith, 2008: 201). They lament that essentially, no real change is proposed. They draw on the principles of selection, for example, and argue that the principles have been altered, “only in terms of transparency and clarification, rendering the assumptions of the old system simply easier to understand rather than conceptually altered” (Waterton and Smith, 2008: 201). They see such principles as a continued tool for social and cultural assimilation, rather than for genuine social inclusion. Hewison and Holden (2004) support this view, claiming that the Review does aim to reinvigorate the meaning of “heritage”, but only on a conceptual level.

Furthermore, Waterton and Smith (2008) argue that the White Paper continues to accept, “a naturalized understanding of “heritage”, which they argue revolves around, “materiality and the fabric of the past”. In doing so, it continues to focus, “upon processes of designating, listing and registering various “parts” of the historic environment selected by experts as worthy of protection” (Waterton and Smith, 2008: 199; DCMS, 2003: 10: 11). Thus the White Paper, whilst on the face of it, seemingly clear in its aims and objectives, may operate on the level of rhetoric only.

Heritage Bill (2008)

The ‘Heritage White Paper’ (DCMS, 2007) nevertheless was the stimulus for a further raft of documentation including, ‘World Class Places’ and the ‘Statement on the Historic Environment in England for 2010’ (HM Government, 2009; 2010). These publications continue to adopt the principles of a repositioned philosophy and set out a fresh vision for the heritage sector. They pledge a greater focus upon opening up heritage protection to greater public scrutiny and involvement, “encouraging local authorities and communities to identify and protect the local heritage that matters to them” (DCMS, 2007: 6). A further significant implication of the White Paper (2007) was the legislative reforms which it promised would be realised through the Heritage Protection Bill for England. The draft Heritage Protection Bill was published in April 2008 and, reflecting proposals in the White Paper, set out the legislative framework for a unified and simpler heritage protection system that would be more open, accountable and transparent. The Draft Bill however failed to be included in the Government’s Draft Legislative Programme for 2009/10 and has yet to be included in the legislative business of Parliament⁶⁷. Despite this, some of the principles of the White Paper appear to have been morphed into English Heritage’s 2012 National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP), which (whilst still representing progress), nevertheless lacks the conviction of earlier statements set out in the documents aforementioned.

While the original Bill proposals, together with the aforementioned publications appeared to present a strong new vision for conservation philosophy, it was the publication of Conservation Principles in 2008 which was perhaps the most

⁶⁷ At the time of writing (2013), ‘The Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Bill’ has just passed through its Report Stage and Second Reading in the House of Commons. The heritage-related reforms in the Bill currently are, *inter alia*, to merge conservation area consent back into the planning system; to make it easier to apply for a Certificate of Immunity from the listing of a building, and to enable the creation of Heritage Partnership Agreements (English Heritage, 2013a). Thus the Bill does not propose any changes to definitions of ‘heritage’.

important response to the need for a clear, over-arching philosophical framework of what conservation means at the beginning of the 21st Century.

Conservation Principles (2008)

Conservation Principles (2008) sets out six high-level principles for conservation planning, and the idea of 'significance' lies at their core. In this publication, 'significance' is described as a collective term for the sum of all the heritage values attached to a place, be it a building an archaeological site or a larger historic area such as a whole village or landscape (English Heritage, 2008a). More usefully, however, 'Conservation Principles' (2008) take these overarching principles a step further and turns their focus to the concept of 'values'. In an attempt to facilitate the articulation of values, or in other words, to describe why a place is 'significant', 'Conservation Principles' sets out a method for thinking systematically and consistently about the heritage values that can be ascribed to a place. Recognising that people value 'heritage' in many different ways, the document groups these into four overarching heritage values: evidential, historic, aesthetic and communal. These are described below:

- **Evidential value:** the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity.
- **Historical value:** the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present - it tends to be illustrative or associative.
- **Aesthetic value:** the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.
- **Communal value:** the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.

(English Heritage, 2008a)

Whilst the traditional core conservation principles are clearly still relevant, the addition of the 'communal value' is most interesting in the context of a repositioning of conservation philosophy. Whilst rather general in nature, and, if viewed sceptically, located at the bottom of the list (which could suggest of less priority or importance), the 'communal value' undoubtedly reflects the more intangible aspects of 'heritage' which relate to meanings, experiences and memories. In this category, the 'public' *are* the 'experts'. This not only appears to represent an adjustment in the balance of power from the 'expert' to the 'public' but serves to place a clear *necessity* on the inclusion of the public in heritage identification and designation. Waterton (2010), however sceptically notes that the 'social/communal value' appears to be closely linked to the 'historic value', and therefore rather subsidiary in nature. She nevertheless acknowledges that the practical application of the 'Conservation Principles' four heritage values is under-researched and thus not much is known about their use or inference. Notwithstanding this, 'Conservation Principles' clearly deploy a more flexible interpretation of what constitutes acceptable conservation practice, which appears to be somewhat, "removed from the traditional emphasis on the authenticity of material fabric" (Pendlebury, 2012: 14).

While 'Conservation Principles' (2008) appears to take a more pluralist direction, it is however notable that, "understanding the fabric" (English Heritage, 2008a: 27) of the place still appears to be a prominent determinant of heritage value. This indicates that the established traditional notions of conservation value still hold considerable weight. As such, this may suggest a point of tension between the four heritage values.

Planning Policy Statement 5 (2010)

Of parallel importance to the existing insights above, was the publication in 2010 of planning policy statement 5 (PPS5), which set out planning approaches to heritage conservation. Superseding PPG15, PPS5⁶⁸ represented a turning point in conservation planning. It gave considerably more weight to non-designated heritage assets than ever before and took a more holistic view of the built environment. PPS5 (paragraph HE7.2: 7) stated that, "in considering the impact of a proposal on any heritage asset, local planning authorities should take into account the particular nature of the significance of the heritage asset and the value it holds for this and future generations". This statement alone demonstrates that unlike the claims by several scholars (Carver, 1996; Ashworth and Howard, 1999; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005; 2007) present generations are not explicitly overlooked (at least in the text of the policy) in favour of unborn, faceless, future generations. Furthermore, the statement reveals that the concept of 'significance' continues to underpin conservation policy.

Crucially, annex 2 of PPS5 shed some light on the terminology used in the PPS. It defined 'significance' as, "the value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest. That interest may be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic." It then went on to refer directly to a footnote which stated that,

The accompanying Practice Guide expands on how one can analyse the public's interest in heritage assets by sub-dividing it into aesthetic, evidential, historic and communal values. This is not policy, but a tool to aid analysis (CLG, 2010, annex 2: 14).

The specific reference to certain heritage values in the main body of the text, whilst omitting others, suggests that PPS5 remained dominated by traditional conservation values; archaeological, architectural, artistic and historic significance. Whilst the heritage values from 'Conservation Principles' (2008) are referred to in the footnote, and they are discussed within the PPS5 accompanying Practice Guide to expand and facilitate interpretation of PPS5, the policy itself appeared to stop short of full-commitment to them. This is emphasised by the note that, "this is not policy, but a tool to aid analysis" (CLG, 2010, annex 2: 14). Thus it appears that there are still some contradictions and apparent priorities in the criteria used to determine heritage value (Pendlebury, 2009b).

Despite the above, PPS5 took an explicitly holistic approach to 'heritage' assets, and, for the first time in conservation planning history, drew attention to, and raised the profile of the Local List. In fact the Local List was promoted as a practical tool to meet the requirements of several of the policies in PPS5 (for example HE2.1 in relation to collecting sound evidence of local heritage assets in the area, and HE3.1 in relation to producing a positive, proactive strategy for the conservation and enjoyment of the historic environment). Annex 2 of PPS5 went on to define what it

⁶⁸ PPS5 was in fact superseded by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) two years later.

means by 'heritage assets'. Unlike the implicit statutory focus of the definition of a 'historic building' in PPG15, referred to in Chapter 3, PPS5 defined 'heritage assets' as:

...assets identified by the local planning authority during the process of decision-making or through the plan-making process (including Local Listing) (CLG, 2010, annex 2:13).

This specific reference to Local Listing confirmed an important shift in emphasis from previous statutory-focussed conservation policy documents; raising the profile and implicitly encouraging local heritage designation. The accompanying PPS5 Practice Guide (2010) indeed explicitly encouraged planning authorities to, "consider compiling a 'Local List' of heritage assets in partnership with the local community (CLG, 2010: 12: 8). This placed yet further emphasis on the Local List, as well as the importance of involving the lay public(s) in the process.

Whilst the policy and guidance discussed above is relevant in unpacking and constructing the argument that the local level of heritage designation has become more important within the planning system, it is important to highlight that the national policy context has undergone yet further modifications since the change in political leadership in England in 2010. The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), published in 2012, replaced PPS5. Whilst the emphasis on Local Listing has not shifted dramatically, there are some changes that require brief attention.

English Heritage confirm that many definitions in the NPPF, for example 'heritage asset', have not changed in substance and thus, "this enables the same unified approach that PPS5 took to conservation...regardless of the type of asset being considered" (English Heritage, 2012c: 2). Whilst largely similar in vein to the intent and content of PPS5 (although much shorter), it is important however to draw attention to one key change, which appears to have been missed by both academics and professionals alike. Indeed, PPS 5 contained paragraph HE7.3 which stated:

If the evidence suggests that the heritage asset may have a special significance to a particular community that may not be fully understood from the usual process of consultation and assessment, then the local planning authority should take reasonable steps to seek the views of that community.

This policy guidance however is omitted from the NPPF. The significance of this oversight/omission is that there is now no formal policy which directs professionals to go to such communities and uncover their values. Indeed, the diverse nature of communities has been played down and buried. This may have serious implications for the local heritage designation process and establishing alternative social heritage values.

The support for local heritage designation however is not particularly diminished by the NPPF and it is in fact further supported within English Heritage's National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) (2012). The NHPP (2012b: 8: 2.5) for instance sets out that, "the continuing shift to more local heritage management will not be completed overnight, but the plan will speed progress", and it emphasises the need to balance, "the continuing need for expert assessment with local perceptions of values" (English Heritage, 2012b: 15: 5.7). It also explicitly sets a target which encourages the production of Local Lists: Target 5A4- "Supporting local communities in protecting significant heritage assets".

The above has shown that first PPS5 clearly identified a direction of travel for local authorities in respect of Local Lists and, the NPPF, together with English Heritage's

NHPP (2012), continues to promote the desirability of producing one. This growing attention to Local Lists has also gathered increasing pace since the media has drawn attention to successful appeal cases (for example, the locally listed Sandford Lido, Cheltenham, which was threatened by demolition under a proposal to construct a 407 space multi-storey car park (IHBC, 2010)). A culmination of the above, together with the call in the Heritage White Paper (2007) for new tools to protect locally designated assets from demolition, led to publication of 'The Local List Best Practice Guidance in 2012'. This Guide marks a step-change in heritage conservation processes at the local level, with a seemingly sharp focus on the democratisation of 'heritage'.

APPENDIX G: THE ADOPTED RESEARCH PARADIGM

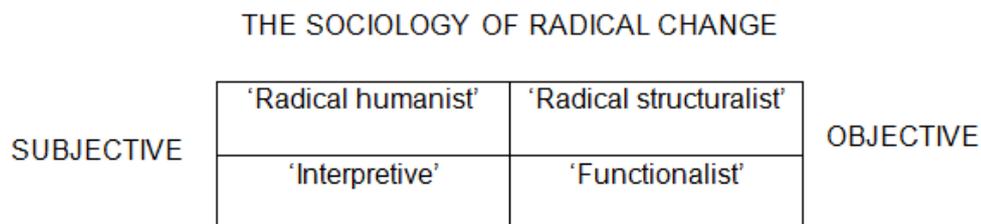
Research Paradigms

Some scholars (for instance Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Bryman, 1988) argue that it is useful for a researcher to explicitly adopt a clear paradigmatic stance in order to underpin their research. Others (Seth and Zinkhan, 1991; Powell, 2003) emphasise that a certain degree of openness towards a variety of research paradigms forms the basis of academic scholarship. Mir and Watson (2001: 1172) refer to such attitudes as, “acts of intellectual humility”. Whilst it is accepted that over-simplification of research paradigms may be counter-productive, it is considered useful to make explicit the broad paradigmatic stance adopted for this thesis. This can be described as the subjective, radical humanist paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 32), which is defined as an approach to social science which has much in common with the ‘interpretive’ paradigm. The following section briefly introduces the four sociological paradigms outlined by Burrell and Morgan (1979) in order to summarise, and make clear the *paradigmatic* stance of the researcher in this context.

Research Philosophy

Burrell and Morgan (1979) define four distinct sociological paradigms, ‘radical humanist’, ‘radical structuralist’, ‘interpretive’ and ‘functionalist’ (Figure G1 below).

Figure G1: Four Paradigms for the Analysis of Social Theory



Source: Burrell and Morgan (1979: 22)

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979: 32) the critical realist is positioned within the ‘radical humanist’ paradigm which is defined as an approach to social science which has much in common with the ‘interpretative’ paradigm. A prime difference is that, “the premises of the interpretative paradigm question whether organisations exist in anything but a conceptual sense”. The radical humanist paradigm on the other hand seeks, “to develop a sociology of radical change from a subjectivist standpoint” and, “to articulate ways in which human beings can transcend the spiritual bonds and fetters which tie them into existing social patterns”. The emphasis of the radical humanist paradigm on, “modes of domination, emancipation, deprivation and potentiality” makes this standpoint particularly relevant for exploring the dominant framing of ‘heritage’ by professionals and how social value and social inclusion is considered. In keeping with its subjectivist approach, the radical humanist perspective places particular emphasis upon human consciousness; arguably a key issue for interpreting ‘heritage’ and central to debates relating to heritage significance and what conservation as a practice should seek to conserve (Tait and While, 2009). Its intellectual foundations, like the ‘interpretative paradigm’ derive

from the German Idealist tradition, particularly expressed in the work of Kant and Hegel (reinterpreted in the writings of the young Marx) (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). The paradigm has also been much influenced by an infusion of the phenomenological perspective⁶⁹ deriving from Husserl. Whilst the broad paradigmatic position of the researcher has thus been outlined, it is however important to make clear that, as aforementioned, there is much contestation and debate surrounding the usefulness of adopting research paradigms and the link between such 'paradigms' and research methods.

Methodological Pathways

Whilst the above has introduced and critically discussed the contentious views regarding pre-defined theoretical research pathways, a further misconception to be clarified is that a particular epistemological stance results in a particular *methodical* pathway(s) (Fligstein, 1991; Eisenhardt and Bourgeois III, 1988). Such claims should be considered with great caution as good research is problem-driven and not methodology-driven (Seale et al. 2004; Bryman and Bell, 2007). The chosen research pathway for this thesis is thus highly dependent on the nature of the overall research questions, rather than on research paradigms. This statement however is indeed contrary to conventional views. Bryman (1988: 4) for instance, describes a paradigm as a, "cluster of beliefs...which for scientists in a particular discipline influences what should be studied, how research should be done, and how results should be interpreted". This definition however, must be considered with a degree of caution as although it is accepted that a researcher's understanding of reality may influence the way research is conducted, it is nevertheless questionable whether this process is always completed prior to the actual act of conducting the research. Moreover, it is possible for the researcher's beliefs and epistemological views to vary throughout the duration of the study, for instance due to preliminary findings or other such triggers. Thus, to accept a mutually exclusive paradigmatic stance is not helpful for guiding methodological pathways, yet it is an important part of research (Fleetwood, 2005; Bryman, 1988; Bryman and Bell, 2007).

⁶⁹ The philosophy of phenomenology, associated with the work of Alfred Schutz (1967), is, "concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them and how, in particular, the philosopher should bracket out preconceptions in his or her grasp of that world" (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 18).

APPENDIX H: TYPICAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Saturday 10 March 4pm Oxford City Council

Interviewee Nineteen

Transcribed on 06/05/2013

Duration: 0:73:10

Researcher: So some of these questions are just general, about your general opinions about things and others are more specific about the Local List process. So to start off with, what do you mean by heritage? What do you think is included in the term heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: I'm an archaeologist so heritage tends to come down to things that are a material reflection of the past, the material remains of the past. That could be an awful lot of stuff, so there has to be a filtering process that means it has to be the material remains of the past that matter to people and give their lives meaning, so there has to be a relationship between the people and the stuff. That means heritage isn't the same to everybody, we all have our own subjective idea. As I've said, we can share subjective experiences, so a lot of that heritage can be the same for quite a lot of people and that is something that gives them identity as well, so that shared subjectivity is actually an important part of what it is.

Researcher: Is national heritage different to local heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah.

Researcher: In what way? What would you say is the main difference?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think it comes down to the group of people basically. National heritage you might say should be the heritage that everybody in the country could relate to and what it tends to actually mean is that the heritage that specialists from across the country relate to. So you might be a specialist or have a specialist interest in architecture and you would be interested in architecture all across the country.

Local heritage is...we've tried to define it as heritage that is significant to local people, to local character, to local history and gives local places identity and local communities their sense of identity and so it's very different.

I wouldn't say...something I think is very important is it's not less significant than national, it's just different and it's significant to a different group of people.

Researcher: But in terms of planning decisions, would you say that you have to give more weight to buildings that are nationally listed?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think we have a different set of rules that we are able to apply. So those national buildings, we have the legislation that we can use to manage them. The local buildings or local places, local areas, we have to use the legislation that we've got in a different way, so I think that's how it works differently. I wouldn't say that we give less weight to them.

Researcher: I suppose this leads on from that - I'm wondering what exactly is meant by the term local if we're talking about heritage? What constitutes local, and who determines what is local and what's not if you know what I mean?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, that is a doozy. It can be a shifting term, I think, and it depends on who you are working with and what your resources are. The city's boundaries are essentially an arbitrary limit of a city and you might say Oxford is simply a part of Oxfordshire and its local context isn't defined by the city's limits. So we are working with some false ideas of what is local. But there are communities who are self-defining and they've defined their local area. So working in East Oxford, my residents associations define themselves, they've gone out and said we are going to cover this area, this is our neighbourhood, and at that point, that is a local community I would say. The congregations of our churches and mosques are drawn from a wider area, but largely within Oxford or within its immediate setting and therefore I would say those were local communities too. Now they might cover a bigger area than a residents' association but they are the local community to that heritage asset essentially.

Researcher: I think you made a point earlier about how you said students, they might not be, you know, they might move away, they might only be there for the present time but you think their views count?

Interviewee Nineteen: They do, they do. I mean, they are drawn to a place by its environment as much as the opportunities that studying somewhere gives them. Students come and live in a part of Oxford that has something to offer them. That might be the affordable housing, maybe the affordability of the housing, but it might also be the environment that is available and to the culture that is on offer. So yeah, I think they are valuing the heritage of a particular local area.

Researcher: So moving on to the Local List, what would you say are the main aims and objectives of the local heritage register or the Local List?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think first and foremost it is to build understanding of what we've got; it's a way of understanding our resource. We have a lot of known heritage in parts of Oxford and a lot of that is nationally designated or conservation areas, but outside of that we have the area where a lot of people actually live. Not many people live in the city centre which is all conservation area, a lot of people live in East Oxford or eastern Oxford and they relate to their historic environment in a particular way and they expect us to manage that.

So we're building understanding and we're also providing a tool for management and understanding particularly what the community see as significant and allowing us to then manage that significance and to conserve it.

There's another side of it which is to involve the community in that process and give them skills and knowledge and understanding to take part in the management process. So that's another strand of it.

We also want to celebrate and help people enjoy the historic environment, so we're revealing things about it for them that they don't necessarily know. There are local community historians who are experts but not everyone is an expert and it's a way to give them...get that information out there so that people can enjoy the environment around them a bit more even.

Researcher: When you decided to do your local register, did it have political support in your Council?

Interviewee Nineteen: It has at the outlying level. We have a programme to produce the Oxford Heritage Plan which is in the core strategy, and that's an adopted core strategy and that received political support. One of the things that we said we would do as part of that was to create the Local List. So that has been adopted by the Council and therefore there is political support for it. We had at a local level support from the community; I knew that within East Oxford certainly there was a request for us to do something like this, not necessarily exactly what we're doing. We had to bring in the expertise and say this is what we can do; this is what might work or should work. Then from the other areas, we had one council who was very keen, so they came directly to us and said would you do something like this? And the other areas, we don't have the support for it yet and we want to build that, but we think those areas are interesting and deserve to have this process gone through. But also there's a potential there to build an understanding of heritage management as something that can bring positive things to the area and we want to make the councillors aware of that.

In setting up the project, we created a project board and that includes my manager, the senior conservation officer at the City Council, the English Heritage local team leader who is basically providing the funding, and our heritage champion who is also the lead member of the Council for planning. So we built in a political representative in the process who has got a big responsibility for the project, so that there is a connection between the officers and the people doing the work and the Council's political decision making process.

Researcher: When you decided to do the local heritage register did you follow any particular guidance? Or did you create your own?

Interviewee Nineteen: We had the draft English Heritage guidance and that gave us some useful points. Things like...one of the things it had in there that was particularly I think interesting was the necessity to undertake public consultation on our criteria and possibly even to develop those criteria with the public and we followed that up and set up our steering group with that particular function in mind.

So that we did take straight from them. I'm trying to think what else we took from the English Heritage draft guidance. I think one of the things it does mention is character studies. I have done a lot of that sort of work elsewhere and found that a particularly useful way and seen that in practice that is becoming part of the national

best practice for doing local listing, so we've taken that on board. We also already had the Character Assessment Toolkit as a piece of national best practice, so we could take that out to the community and use that with them to prepare character statements. So we had that as guidance, you could say our own self-created guidance. I'm trying to think where else, where else we got useful stuff from, but I think that's probably it.

Researcher: So generally the Local List best practice guidance, do you see it as helpful, practical and feasible or not?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yes I do. I've seen the most recent version of it about two days ago, which is the prepublication draft of the final version and now it's based on practical case studies, it's sort of set out as a series that each step that it initially...the initial draft had suggested ideas of what you should do. Now it's based on here is what people have done and what has worked and that's very helpful, I think now, it's based on real experience and demonstrates English Heritage getting involved with councils who are really doing the work rather than perhaps saying "Here's what we think would work," I think that's a very sensible way of having created it and I think it will be very useful to people.

Researcher: Just going onto the criteria that you used, what criteria, if you can tell me, if you know off the top of your head anyway, what criteria are you using to define what is local heritage and what is not?

Interviewee Nineteen: Our criteria are based on a process of trying to understand what is significant about the asset in question and whether that significance is significance at a local level or for local things. So is it significant to local communities, is it significant to local character? Is it significant in terms of understanding the local history? They are broken down into four parts, the first criteria is what is it? Is it something that can be a heritage asset? The second is what is interesting about it?

Is it something that is heritage interest? So that's not locally specific, that could be valued at any level. The third criteria then says is this valued for one of these reasons? There are five different types of heritage value at that point that it could be valued for and each of those is expressed in a local context. So does it provide an association with an individual or a group of people or an event or a process in the past that has been influential in the identity and character of the area? So that's one of them and then the others do similar things for evidential value, does it help us understand the development of the local area or a particular feature of its historic interest? Does it provide in terms of aesthetic value? Does it make an important contribution to the aesthetics of the local area, rather than just generally is it aesthetically beautiful, does it actually make a contribution to the local area? In terms of community, is it a local community that it provides commemoration or a memorial to or provides the identity of or allows their spiritual life. Backing that up then we have the character statements that we are asking communities to prepare which provide us with the evidence of whether that is actually the case. So it doesn't stand alone, the criteria aren't alone, they have to be supported by that character statement.

Researcher: How did you market this process? Did you put out any leaflets or newspaper articles or anything?

Interviewee Nineteen: We did, we did. The first thing we did was get a website together for it, which is still actually in the process of production because this is a pilot study at the moment. So there is something that people can get to, there is the website and we created an introduction document as part of that that gives people the basic facts about the project, based on the 'who, why, what, when, where, how' process. Who are we? What are we doing? Why are we doing it? When will it happen? What will it mean for you as a property owner or as a member of the community concerned about your local heritage? We provided alongside that a series of links to other bits of information, so other examples of heritage assets, whether it be the national lists or our conservation areas, things like that, and then a second series of links to historical sources and information for people doing research wanting to know a bit more. So there are resources there that people can start to use, as well as our Character Assessment Toolkit as another link. As we build that up, as people are getting involved, we're going to add to that information on assessing significance, so using those criteria, a link to that nomination form based on the criteria and several other bits. So that was the basis. We also wrote a press release which we went through with our communications department who are very good, marketing and communications, and that gave us an article on the BBC Oxford website on BBC Oxford News and that has given some awareness of the project.

We also got a story in the Oxford Mail out of it as well, a decent length story with a photograph and a bit of awareness, and that's got us a little bit of information too.

Outside of that through our project working group we had a group of community representatives who we're already aware of and working with who we could set up this working group with and they gave us connections to other people. So you start at the hub of your web and those people give you connections and you follow those up and they give you more connections and you follow those up, so you gradually build outwards until you've got wider and wider engagement.

We've been running the stall at the farmers' market every two weeks now for a month and we'll probably go on for another couple of weeks doing that, as a way of meeting people who wouldn't necessarily get involved in heritage planning, but are part of the community and have views. Those views might not be the traditional views that we would expect to get through the normal consulting the old regulars process, so I think that's been a bit of a success. It's meant that we've had sort of accidental useful meetings with people who can be sources of extra avenues of consultation.

Researcher: You say that perhaps you were to reach people that wouldn't have those normal views, what do you think are the normal views that you get, what sort of things?

Interviewee Nineteen: Well what I mean is the views of the people who we are most likely to meet in a normal consultation, the people who are already participating in the process and are engaged in planning and have strong views potentially about conservation of the environment in particular ways. That's why they're there, they're self-selecting, so we're trying to get to a non-self-selected group. They're alright, they're already selected in a sense that they are people that would go to a farmers' market, but in East Oxford that is actually quite a representative sample of the community. There are some communities, particularly black and ethnic minority communities, who might still be under represented there, but I think they are represented to a degree.

Researcher: In terms of the criteria, I know you talked about the character assessment and things, in terms of the general criteria you were talking about, are any of those criteria given more weight or prioritised in terms of deciding whether that proposed asset will go on the register?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah. Obviously the first criteria is essential, it has to be something that can be a heritage asset, so things like events and things can't be. It has to be something that's physical and manageable, so that is an essential criteria. The second and third criterias, does it have heritage interest and is that heritage interest valued, are connected and dependent on each other and so they are given, that's the second part of the process.

The other criterias that I didn't say about are what we think of as a third layer and they are whether the building is of a particular age, has integrity, if it's rare, if it's got great value and they're very traditional criteria that we found in a lot of other sets used nationally. But we actually felt that they weren't necessarily the source of significance, they were more subsidiary, they were adding to significance that might otherwise be...

Researcher: So in terms of what constitutes heritage obviously you've talked about wide ranging criteria and it seems a lot wider than traditional national statutory criteria, for example. Would you say personally that you think the definition of heritage (or what constitutes heritage) has been extended over time or is it changing would you say?

Interviewee Nineteen: I definitely think it's getting wider, I think it's really broadened out. I think PPS5 really broadened it out for people because the process that archaeologists had been following with PPG16 which was already quite broad but was focused on archaeology, and of course anything in the environment can be archaeology, but there were traditional limits that were being placed on it, that is starting to go and that has now been applied to buildings and buildings and spaces and people are seeing landscapes much more than just individual sites. That's another progression in archaeology in general, that people are thinking more about the wider landscape than individual sites with limits, they want to see how things connect to each other, how whole areas work and provide character. Characterisation as a process being used in planning is the outcome of that I think, that that's feeding from the academic world into planning, people are wanting to see the whole and be a bit more holistic. Naturally at that point you find things that are

giving people meaning and are historic and therefore heritage that fall outside the traditional boundaries of scheduled monuments, listed buildings and registered parks and gardens. So we have the option of having undesigned landscapes or farming landscapes as heritage assets, or views as heritage assets which is outside of that traditional remit.

So yeah, it's definitely getting wider and I think that's good, I think people are able to be more imaginative and it's reflecting what people really find is meaningful. There comes a point where it could be unmanageable and if you include everything then it starts to lose meaning as a management tool, so we do have to have some limit. At the moment that limit is going to be based partly on what is defensible in planning, if we're making decisions and saying things are significant and it is shown to be that they might be significant to a very small group of people but not more widely, and therefore not really to the wider community, then we've gone beyond the bounds of usefulness.

Researcher: In terms of decisions, what key issues need to be considered or taken into account when identifying or assessing local heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: I suppose the process of identifying these things is quite useful in thinking about what are the decisions. The first one obviously is who is saying what your heritage is and are they the noisy people or are they the community? Noisy people are part of the community but they may not reflect the whole community's point of view. So we need to know who actually is this heritage significant to? Why is it significant? What is significant about it? Which are two different things, which is why the criteria is broke down into what is its interest? What are the intellectual and emotional properties that it has that make it heritage and how does that relate to the physical – what are the physical things that give these properties...? Then what is its value, so what is it giving to the community or the place that is valued. That means that actually it might not always be the physical that we're trying to conserve when we're conserving its significance. It may be its associations and its historic connections as properties and that will influence our decision making.

I think breaking down the heritage values is really one of the most useful things that we can do in that process. We're looking at is it an aesthetic property that we're trying to contain or is it something to do with its connections and associations.

Researcher: Do you think that it's important then to explore things like memory and identity as part of this process?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, yeah I do, I do. One of the other bits of work I've been doing is working with our Museum Service who are running a series of oral history evenings or events and they get people in and give them a theme and they show them some pictures of the local area which push the memory a bit, push the memory buttons, and we start getting stories about the area and how people relate to it.

So all this stuff about how does it give you meaning, well you need to find out what is giving people meaning and the best way to do that is through oral history or other

forms of research like that. The Character Assessment Toolkit is useful to a point in that process, but it gives you a lot of what is in the environment now rather than what people are seeing that isn't there anymore, if you see what I mean?

One of things we did, I interviewed a lady who is 93 and has lived in her house in East Oxford for her entire life and she was a brilliant source because she could document how the place had changed over time. The school she'd been to as a child, the place she'd worked during the Second World War as a young adult until she got married and then the house she'd lived in as a married woman and where her children had grown up and what they'd done. It was a great way of seeing how the landmarks of the town or of the landscape are the signposts in her life and that's, I think, what is significant about heritage to people in a local way. Nationally those buildings are very different; tell a very different story, people don't necessarily relate to them in quite that way.

Researcher: So looking at the historical evolution of an area is important. Do you think it's also important to look at any patterns of migration in an area and whether that's had an impact on heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: Coming up in the project is our Blackbird Leys study and that's an area that was created through migration of people, a forced migration really, from the city centre out to a suburb on the edge of the city and so I think that will be interesting because we'll be seeing how people's communal identity is based on their past. It may be now actually after 60 years that we're almost beyond that significance, that that living memory of living in one place and then moving to another has gone. I've got some promising leads of people who would like to be interviewed and tell that story so that may come out.

East Oxford obviously has had a lot of immigration from around the world. You can find shops on East Oxford that suit markets from five continents. There's a Brazilian in East Oxford, there's a Polish food shop, there's Chinese supermarket, all these things.

Researcher: Jamaican pubs.

Interviewee Nineteen: There are Jamaican pubs, amazing. So yes, I think in terms of that area, that mixed community is a very important part of its character, so as an outsider looking in, understanding that migration is important.

But in terms of understanding what the community value about the area, we need to see it through their eyes, we need to get their point of view and yes, what signposts in that community's life. You can think of each of those communities having a history of East Oxford, so there might be a Pakistani history of East Oxford, there might be a Jamaican history of East Oxford and those communities will have different buildings and places and areas that are their signposts of their communal identity. So yeah, essential, and it's such a layered community landscape, very odd.

Researcher: From a conservation perspective is it possible to reach the people who know about that and manage to capture all of those important narratives?

Interviewee Nineteen: No one knows the whole story, that is the answer, you've got to keep going to different people. For East Oxford I'm seeing the East Oxford study, Our East Oxford, as a document that is going to be a living document that we will add to over time and as we reach other communities we'll add in their bit. Obviously some people don't consider themselves to belong to a community or don't want to be put in a box, so you've got to respect that as well. So we have at the moment an African Caribbean history group in East Oxford and I want to work with them to develop the Afro-Caribbean history of East Oxford so we have that documented. We have a Chinese community group and hopefully we can work with them and then there are various Asian cultural associations. It would be easy to go to one of those and say, "That's it, we've got the Asian history of East Oxford", but actually there's a Bangladeshi group, there's an Indian group, there's a Pakistani group who each have their version and we don't want to try and put everyone in the same box.

Researcher: As part of the process, it sounds very resource intensive if you were going to try and target all of these different people?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, it's massively resource intensive, yeah.

Researcher: Is this something that you can do at Oxford?

Interviewee Nineteen: It's something we can do, I think. We're lucky that everyone in Oxford is a historian at some level and there's a lot of capacity in the community to do that sort of work. Particularly if you don't try and do it in great depth, what we're looking for is an outline; we're not trying to write the complete and unabridged history of these things, we want enough information to make decisions with.

If we've highlighted what is sensitive and significant, then that's the job that we need to do, we don't need to go too far down that way. But, like I say, it's going to be a living document that we will add to over time and if you're not trying to do it all in one big hurry, it's actually less resource intensive.

We have been lucky in being given the funding to do the work and that means I'm working the job four days a week, so basically a permanent officer working on it and nothing else. It's not something that every area could do, but what we have done is looked at small areas rather than trying to do the whole city in one go. So we've focused our attention on areas that we think there's particular opportunity in and that are interesting areas that we could compare, but also areas that have particular sensitivities to change, that are sensitive to change. That's something that has happened elsewhere in local listing, that people are focusing on say, their regeneration corridors or their area action plan areas and I think hopefully in the future will be our neighbourhood plan areas as well.

We think there's a driver for change, there's a sensitivity to change and there's a need to have the understanding to manage that.

Researcher: Just in terms of the decision making again, under what circumstances would a nominated site or building that's been put forward by someone in the public not be permitted on the list and who would make that decision?

Interviewee Nineteen: We've decided that the decisions of what goes on the list have to be made by our review committee and the review committee will be made up of members of the Council and officers of the Council and a small number of local experts.

So where it's a designed landscape we would get an expert in from the Oxfordshire Gardens Trust, someone who has got a serious amount of knowledge but that the voting members of that review committee or review panel will be the Council members, the councillors, as elected representatives of the community. So the officers will advise and the community experts will advise, but they won't make the decision and then the actual adoption point will either be delegated to an officer, to do the official adoption or the Council's lead member for planning who is also our heritage champion.

The criteria basically determine what can be on the list and it has to be something that can be a heritage asset, it has to have interest that is embodied in its physical presence basically, so there has to be something there to manage as a heritage asset and it has to have local value. That doesn't mean things that have national value can't be on there on as well, but they have to be valued locally. If it's something that would be better managed as a Listed building then that's what we would prefer happened to it, but it might be that we record it in another way.

Where things don't necessarily have all of that, we would recommend that they go on the Historic Environment Record or Sites and Monuments Record or an archaeological database as a recorded part of the historic environment. Or if they're important to the community particularly because of their use but aren't necessarily heritage, then we might recommend that they become community assets under the Localism Act, but we don't have a list of community assets yet within the Council, but I think that's a possible one for the future.

Researcher: Is there the intention to produce a supplementary planning document from the local heritage register or not?

Interviewee Nineteen: No, no.

Researcher: Will there be an associated policy?

Interviewee Nineteen: There will. At the moment we have policies in the Local Plan that cover buildings of local interest, parks and gardens that are important, we have the view cones policy and we have an undesignated archaeology policy. It may be that the Heritage Plan, this is the intention I think, the Heritage Plan that we're preparing as part of the LDF will become an SPD and that will have...of course SPDs can't make policy but they enlarge upon the policy that is in the Core Strategy that refers to heritage and design. So it will enlarge upon that and it will include locally listed things or heritage assets in that.

Researcher: Are there any well known cases or examples? I know obviously you're just in the beginning of the process now, but do you think there will be any that you can already anticipate where there's going to be perhaps some conflict?

Interviewee Nineteen: Friction. Friction with whom? With the public or with the owner?

Researcher: With anyone or anything I suppose. You were talking earlier about that development where there's a new...what do you call it...something is being developed and some people really love it and some people hate it.

Interviewee Nineteen: Yes, yes. Yes, I think there is, I think we're already finding some friction and I think people have an idea of what heritage assets will achieve which is beyond what they are going to achieve.

So some people think that it will mean that buildings or sites will be treated as Listed buildings and there will be a presumption against change and that's not what it does, it's about managing that change to conserve significance. We're trying hard to get that message across but it's not always heard.

So yes, there will be some change.

There's also some people are going to think that what they are putting forward as a heritage asset deserves it and it won't get through and it may be simply because it doesn't fit the criteria, so I think there's going to be some disappointment there. We are very conscious of trying to manage those expectations of what will get through and what won't and think what else can happen to those things that don't get through.

I think we've been more conscious of concern for the owners of potential heritage assets, that they don't feel that there's going to be a great weight of cost and difficulty created by it.

We're not necessarily about making things harder for people. One of the things that conservation officers do quite well I think now is actually give people good advice on how to use their resource, but we need to get that across that we're considering these things as resources that can be used in a multitude of ways and we're helping people use them in a way that conserves their value to them and to the public.

Researcher: So in terms of the process, who do you think are the key players that are involved in the process or that will get involved in the process?

Interviewee Nineteen: Our residents' associations are the real key players there. They're the people who are going out and doing the work and nominating things and defining what the character of the area is.

Researcher: How many people are in that residents' association roughly?

Interviewee Nineteen: I'm not sure actually. They represent streets and groups of streets and their membership can be anything from five to 300, so they're a big group. Of course the people actually doing the work may be six or seven people for

each couple of streets, so not huge numbers at that point, but certainly more than would normally be involved in planning for an area. When you add them up over the area we're getting into the 50s and 60s already for East Oxford and I think it will go up considerably from that as we go on.

Researcher: So would you say they're representative of the wider community or not?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, I refer to them as community representatives and I think that's what they are. The people able to do the work are a certain part of the community, they tend to be older, retired and generally white Anglo Saxons and I don't make any assumption about their religious affiliation. But they are that part of the community. It's one of the reasons I decided to do the farmers' market was to reach out to other people that we weren't getting in that process.

But we've also been trying to get hold of students as well because they're an important part of the community and we've just this morning managed to make a link with one of the schools so we're going to get schoolchildren involved at some point. It's one of these things that is very fashionable, I think at the moment, is that we should be involving children in the process. Whether that should be in the surveying and nomination process or whether actually it's something that should come afterwards I'm not sure about. I'm not really convinced about the potential of schoolchildren as a resource for understanding the history of the area; I think they are not the correctest local historians. They're very interested eventually when you get them going, but what we really want to do is get them involved in using the information that comes out of it at the end, beginning to understand their area and their history and valuing that. Not necessarily because they're going to stay in East Oxford or Blackbird Leys, but because wherever they go to it's going to be a useful thing to them in the future and building that capacity to understand planning and how we manage our environment is a worthy thing in itself that I think helps make better decisions in the future possible.

Researcher: The residents' associations, do they have any support, any funding support or not?

Interviewee Nineteen: No, no, they're entirely voluntary. It may be that some of them have funding from within, that their members pay a subscription and that goes into a pot. Our area forums do have funding in the same way that parish councils get funding, they get a small amount of funding from the City Council to spend on local projects. So we are working with them as well and there are various local charities who we may work with to promote spin out projects based on the heritage asset register. So things that are educational or based on getting people out there and enjoying their heritage, then we might use that funding, but they don't have any cash unfortunately.

Researcher: To get people involved quite often they want to know that they can get something out of it, do you find that it might be difficult the fact that Local Lists aren't statutory and really some people might think that they can do more by locally listing a building, it might, you know...?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, these people are trying to buy their seat at the table and that's what they deserve, they deserve to have a say in how their area is managed. The power that we have with local listing is limited, it's not vast. It can be carefully and constructively used if we have the right planning framework. At the moment it's not as good as it could be in Oxford, other areas have got tougher planning policies and perversely they have less involved communities. So I think that's what people are getting out of it, they're getting their say, their seat at the table and so I think that's what they want. Over time hopefully we'll build up what that achieves for them.

Researcher: We might have touched on it before, but in terms of community, how do you define community?

Interviewee Nineteen: Again, it's a many headed beast. The public are a community that we serve, but they are made up of lots of little communities who define themselves, I would say. Students are one part of the community but they might belong to several different colleges and therefore become different communities within themselves. You might belong to more than one community at a time I suppose is what I mean. So you might be part of East Oxford, but you might also be part of East Oxford Muslim Cultural Association and you might be, I don't know, something else.

People belong to lots of different communities that are out there. That comes out in the planning policy guidance at the moment, that where we think something affects a heritage asset that is particularly important to a particular community, that we go and talk to them. So that's 'a' community, not 'the' community.

Our residents' associations have identified themselves as representing the community, a community and that's their job essentially. So when we have planning applications that affect that area or their association they are made aware of that application. So hopefully by this process we're adding into that process that they have already told us what they consider to be significant in their area that we should be caring for and managing. It becomes more of a partnership between the Council as a community or representative of the community and the residents' associations representing a more local neighbourhood.

Researcher: In terms of different faiths, do you think it's important to try and get to the different faiths...you know, you talked about the Muslim communities, I don't know if you've got any Jewish communities here?

Interviewee Nineteen: We do, yeah.

Researcher: So is it important to try and reach them as well? Can they have different ideas of heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: They can, they can.

I've been trying to get in touch with the community associated with the Central East Oxford Mosque which is one of the potential heritage assets. We have a Jewish Mikvah that is run by a local Jewish community and that potentially is another

heritage asset, a very new one but a controversial one. We also have various Buddhist groups, numerous Catholic and Anglican religious communities in East Oxford and they are communities in the old sense of the word in that they are closed communities so we have various nunneries and things. They own their heritage assets, they live in their heritage assets and we need to reach out to them because they're going to be the owners of these things when they go on the register.

At the moment we're working with one of the local vicars, I'm going to go to another one. But then again, this is the Anglican Church, the Church of England is very easy to get hold of, whereas the other communities don't necessarily have full-time representatives and aren't that easy to get to. Their people are volunteers doing a bit of work at the weekend so they don't have the time, it doesn't necessarily match up with the time that we have available to talk to them either.

But where we can do, we will do, I think that is the message.

Researcher: So far looking at the community involvement work you've done so far, in your opinion, would you say that it's been successful?

Interviewee Nineteen: Some, some. We've got some good evidence, some good data out of it. We've got a number of characters studies now covering a large part of East Oxford. I think the process of managing expectations we need to really work on because I think people are putting forward things thinking this can be a heritage asset, or if it is a heritage asset it won't change, it will be kept and they're not quite getting the message of what potential we have to manage that change. So I'm not that keen on that. I want to reach out to a wider community yet, particularly, as you say, the religious communities, I think we need to get in touch with more of those. We've got some options with that, basically through our Church of England vicars, they're actually very well connected with the other faiths and denominations in the area and it may be that they can give us those links out. I think that's why these things work like hubs and webs, you find your person at the centre of the hub and they connect you with all these other people.

We haven't got that many nominated heritage assets at the moment and I think that's going to be the next stage, once we've got the character assessments, character statements out of the way that we actually get people identifying the things that stand out at the top of the pile that East Oxford in this example wouldn't be East Oxford without and are essential to the character of the area. At the moment people go blank when you ask them, they haven't got something to look at. There are some tools out there that we could give them to start that ball rolling and once you start giving people examples of what it could be they come out with more and more, they add and add to that list, they go "Oh, have you considered this? Have you considered that?" I'm finding I'm getting a lot more outside of our study area than I am inside. People see the boundary and they say, "Well you haven't considered this down the road, can't that be a heritage asset?" and yes of course it can but it's not where we're looking at the moment. I kind of wish I'd started off with a much smaller boundary and then people would have looked in the area around that we're looking at now.

Researcher: So what do you think are the main barriers to getting the public involved in the process?

Interviewee Nineteen: Understanding is the first bit, people aren't that aware of planning process, how it works, how they can be influential. That's the point of the project really is to give them more of that knowledge and ability. Communication, the conduits to communicate that we have. We have our area forums we have our residents' associations but they're only representing a minority still, not that many people go to their meetings. They are still members of the community representing their community but they're not the whole community, so that's an issue. There are groups who are very difficult to communicate with, the Asian communities are very difficult to meet up with, our student communities are quite difficult to get hold of and they represent a large part of our population.

Business owners, again, very difficult to get hold of at the moment, particularly because they're having to work very hard because of the recession or the depression or whatever you want to call it. Those are barriers and people's time and availability, not everyone has the time to get involved in this sort of stuff that we would like to. So those are significant barriers.

Researcher: Do you think there is a pressure on officers to change their approach as well or maybe gain more skills in terms of facilitating and communication skills with the public that maybe they wouldn't have?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah. It is a changing world of planning out there that we are being asked to work more with the community. I think good officers always have done. Where I've worked and found that people are successful, they generally have built up a network of contacts. That doesn't mean you're necessarily talking to everybody, you're not going to every community event, but you are being fed information by the public and you are able to get information out to them and again, that is working with those hubs and webs and things of people that you can communicate.

So I think it's a learning process that officers have to go through over time and good ones succeed and some choose not to and I don't think they are as successful, but they probably still make good decisions, it's just that people don't understand necessarily why they make the decisions that they make and they feel alienated from the process.

Researcher: I think you mentioned in an e-mail to me that you found it useful to talk to people one-on-one, can you elaborate on that?

Interviewee Nineteen: I want to make up a decent mnemonic to remember it by, but small groups work well together is the message, small groups work well together. If you have the big meeting with 300 people in a hall you're heading for disaster, because you have a grumpy group of people, or you might just have one or two grumpy people who will dominate your consultation and you'll miss talking to the other 288 people there. Whilst if you have 30 people or fewer and fewer and fewer.

I quite like having eight people round a table, kind of like the American Tea Party Movement, you can actually get a lot done in a short space of time with a small group like that and you don't have to have long meetings that last all day, and hour is perfectly sufficient to get people informed and up and running and get out and let them get on with it. That's what I would encourage people to do I think.

Researcher: Just moving on to talking about social inclusion, then, do you feel that as a local authority that there is a strong message coming from the government or English Heritage to be socially inclusive or to consider the wider interpretations of heritage in relation to social values?

Interviewee Nineteen: I don't think there is, no, actually. I don't think English Heritage are particularly pushing for us to look at a wider realm of heritage, I think that's something that is coming out of people like the IHBC and ALGAO, the professionals dealing with it in the local context already. In terms of the politicians I think they're pushing the community to take hold of planning, not pushing planners to get in touch with the community. I think it's more that way round, I think they're saying this has got to come from the bottom up. I think for planners to survive, they are going to have to show to the community that they are useful facilitators and they have to demonstrate their value in that process otherwise there's going to be an argument that an external consultant could do the job as well if they're not part of the community and involved with them. I think that's the way it kind of works.

Researcher: As part of the process are you measuring at all how social inclusive it is or who is actually getting involved?

Interviewee Nineteen: I'm keeping a record very roughly of who has been involved in the process. I'm not compiling statistics; I'm not sure how valuable they would be without an awful lot of interpretation and other evidence. I can see there is some value in it, if we could say we have consulted this many people of these sorts of backgrounds but I think it would become a false statistic eventually anyway, I'm not convinced how useful that would be.

The numbers of people that we're dealing with are going to be quite small on the one-to-one basis and they tend to be quite self-selecting anyway, which is why we're trying to do things that get us out of that. So no, I'm not treating that part of it as part of the study.

Researcher: So from a practical point of view, to be socially inclusive, what do you think that really means in practice?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think it's allowing the people who want to be involved in the process to be involved and reaching out to people who aren't already aware of the process and giving them the information to get involved if they want to, if that makes sense. That's an ideal, I don't think it's necessarily achievable, I think we've got to go as far down that line as we can, but we're probably not going to get anywhere near the real social inclusion that would be everybody who wants to be involved can have a say. We've got to try hard, but realise that we've got feet of clay and it's not going to get there. It probably would be mindbogglingly expensive to try and get any further than we're going at the moment.

It's a difficult time right now for conservation officers. It's hard to do more when we're thin on the ground. It's also tough to expect us to expand conservation values when there is a more pressing growth strategy that needs to be thought about. We can't be seen to be being unduly prescriptive or else we'll probably face an appeal situation. Anyway, you had questions about conservation principles, didn't you?

Researcher: Conservation Principles, the document, you said it puts it into four categories of heritage value, do you think that it's a useful document and also do you think that the values there capture all values, heritage values in England?

Interviewee Nineteen: I don't know at the moment. It is useful. I began the process thinking it wasn't necessarily that useful and then I looked at assessing the value of heritage and actually found it does give you quite a good system, it breaks it up quite helpfully. If there are other ways of valuing heritage I'm hoping that's going to come out of the process. We are interested in hearing if our criteria don't fit everything that people think is heritage, then we may add criteria and we've established that with the steering group as a part of the process, that we will review those and see how successful they've been. I think that's quite possible that we might add things, but they may be valuable as heritage in ways that are outside of it. So we considered whether other forms of sustainability had value, was a heritage value, so whether as resources, as embodied resources, embodied carbon or whatever, that the heritage assets might have value in that way that was important. Whether they had economic value that we might think was worthy of preservation. But for now we've decided that that's really outside the remit, those things are consequential from them being heritage and being valued as heritage, rather than being heritage values in themselves.

Researcher: I am interested in this social communal value. Can there be a social communal value without the other three values?

Interviewee Nineteen: It seems difficult. Most of them are based on historical value, association. The one that isn't is the cohesiveness, that's it, the value to cohesiveness which is very much based on use, so it's where the community comes together to do things based on that heritage asset. If it's like a community centre where they get together to do events, then that is a heritage value at the moment. Based on Conservation Principles that might not be aesthetic or evidential or historical.

Researcher: Generally speaking would you say that you give more weight to objective fact based reasoning as with like clear evidence, as opposed to say, emotive reasoning based on memories and more intangible meanings I suppose?

Interviewee Nineteen: I don't think we'd want to but I think we would, yes, yes I think we would. The process that we set up with the criteria and with the Character Assessment Toolkit are based on observations and recorded observations given, value judgements based on recorded observations. One of the first potential heritage assets we had was described as "A gem of Edwardian architecture and town planning", with very little reasoning behind that and had a claim that it had very good examples of Arts and Crafts architecture and there wasn't any Arts and Crafts

architecture, it was I think a misattribution to a more generic late Edwardian early 20th Century vernacular style. So we couldn't really use it because it wasn't accurate, but if they'd been less specific we might have been able to be more open to suggestion, I think, it depends. This is where the character assessment provides that detail that backs up the proposal for designation, if we've seen that the area has a high proportion of particular architectural style and this is a particularly good example of that style in the area or if it's the area that is being proposed as an asset then to have documented across that area what the variety of architecture is or its integrity by date or planning or whatever then we need that evidence.

Researcher: Just the last few questions are just about, do you think there's a better way of identifying and protecting local heritage or not?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think we're working towards a better way, I think that's the idea that we are...in terms of protecting it or managing change to it we are really under pressure because of the present permitted development right for demolition. Now that demolition of houses and industrial buildings has become development, recent case law has made that the case where previously only family dwelling houses were considered to be development, for demolition. If that permitted development right can be taken away then we can manage more, but to do that we have to serve an Article 4 Direction and if we do that at a point where someone is just about to develop their site involving demolition of that building, we open ourselves up to a lot of compensation and that is not attractive to councils. We don't want to run the risk of having to pay for the value of a site that someone has now decided they can't develop because we haven't allowed them to demolish their building. There is a lot of argument about whether actually they have lost any value there or not, but simply getting involved in that fight is not an attractive prospect. So I think that change would be a big change.

I think making people aware of the process, making people aware of the assets is a very important job of the heritage assets register and should help to inform their management and improve their management, and actually making people aware of what it is that's significant about them. Is it simply that they have an aesthetic value to the street scene, which is I think a lot of what we see people being interested in is, or is it their historical associations that we can bring out more, or is it their evidential value that we can bring out more, or is it their communal value? We've got to understand what it is that people are valuing and it may not always be the tangible asset that we're conserving.

Researcher: Do you think it's feasible to prepare Article 4 Directions for many buildings that are on the Local List?

Interviewee Nineteen: Not for many, no, not for lots. I think they are a measure of last resort and that's how they've been used elsewhere. We have used them in Oxford before on individual buildings as a means of preventing the demolition of a locally valued building that couldn't be Listed and couldn't be in a Conservation Area but is still making an important contribution and justifies the Article 4 Direction.

Having the Local List is an important part of that robust justification and I think that's a very important message that putting it on the heritage asset doesn't prevent any particular form of change, but it does give you that robust justification for managing that change if necessary and if absolutely necessary as a last resort through the Article 4 Direction. But as I say, not all heritage assets will have to be managed by preventing demolition, that's not always going to be the case. It may be that the new development proposed provides significant tangible benefit that outweighs the harm of the loss and at which point preservation by record may be the answer. That may apply.

Researcher: That's a judgement that a conservation officer or planner would have to make?

Interviewee Nineteen: That's right. But also by having them on the heritage asset register there's been a political process it's gone through, the councillors are aware of it and have highlighted it as a heritage asset and they can be involved in that process too. So it doesn't have to come down to an officer's decision. So where these things could be controversial the councillors also have more potential to bring these things into that political arena where it can come down to a political decision rather than an officer's decision. That could be a big change.

Researcher: Obviously, Oxford have gone a step further than a lot of other authorities in terms of the Local List process, but do you think that the Localism Act provides any further opportunities in terms of how to manage the local heritage designation process?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah, I think the neighbourhood planning process could do that and it means that we can give...individual neighbourhoods could create policy that gives their local heritage assets greater priority, or the conservation of their heritage assets greater priority. They can determine how that is going to be integrated into new development for example, which is similar to what has happened in Area Action Plans in some places and that's part of the place shaping process. So we might look at development sites that can include a heritage asset but have other land that might be redeveloped and the local community can decide how they feel that heritage asset could inform the quality of the landscape of new development, so there is that as an option, as an opportunity.

There is the potential for that to go wrong and there to be a knee-jerk reaction and communities to feel that this is a way of stopping development in their area and then being disappointed when that doesn't happen and I think that's something we'll have to address.

Researcher: So do you think for local authorities which don't have a number of conservation officers or don't have the resource, do you think that by trying to get the people to work preparing the neighbourhood plans to do characterisation work, if they could do that as well do you think that's a way forward in terms of trying to protect local heritage?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think there's always going to be a need to have some...I would say some conservation officer, I would say! There's always going to be a

need to have some professional representation, some professional input and we've that in various places...but there are good examples of things like the old Village Design Statements that aren't necessarily prepared by conservation...with that much input from Conservation Areas and council professionals. I think some of the best probably were produced as partnerships though. Yes, I think there's an opportunity, using something like the Character Assessment Toolkit that communities can start developing a robust evidence base that starts to give them the information that they can do local listing on. They need to have their criteria and they need to apply them rigorously I think, because otherwise they're going to end up with indefensible heritage assets. It depends on how much knowledge there is in the community of the process and at the moment I think that knowledge base is very poor and I think people will see this and think this is a lot of work for not much reward.

Researcher: Just finally, for local planning authorities, the ones that haven't got a Local List in place and perhaps don't see the value of it, what would you say to them?

Interviewee Nineteen: I think it's a big missed opportunity for managing your landscape. It suggests a very narrow view of heritage and what matters locally in terms of the landscape and that they are essentially going to lose the faith of their community over time. The community, the public are the people who employ us, they are our customers and we've got to give the customer a product that complies with the law, it's got to be fit for purpose, we can't give them everything they want because not everything they want is actually practical or implementable. But if we're not managing change in a way that protects what they value then we're not really doing the job for them that they deserve, that they're paying us for.

Researcher: Do you think it should be a statutory duty to produce a Local List?

Interviewee Nineteen: Yeah. Yeah, I think in the same way it should be a statutory duty to prepare an HER and it very nearly was. I think then over the top of that you've got to add that layer of assessment of what actually on that is valued and important. So yeah, I think it's certainly getting towards something that should be a statutory duty.

END OF AUDIO

APPENDIX I CASE STUDY PROTOCOL

Overview	Case Study Protocol - Standard Procedures
A1. Research Aim	<i>To critically evaluate the practical reality of widening definitions of 'heritage' and public participation within the Local Heritage Designation Process in England.</i>
A2. Central Research Questions:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To what extent are professional conceptualisations of 'heritage' likely to be extended beyond special architectural and historic significance, rarity, age and monumentality, during the Local Heritage Designation process? 2. Why do particular understandings of heritage receive legitimisation in the process of Local Designation, whilst others do not? 3. What role does the public(s) play in the Local Heritage Designation process and how is this balanced against the role of professionals?
A3. Research Objectives:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *To critically examine how heritage value in the built environment is perceived and acknowledged during the Local Heritage Designation process *To establish whether a dominant framing of 'heritage' is operating during the Local Designation Process and assess whether or not this aligns with the AHD and the statutory criteria used to assess 'national heritage'. *To critically analyse to what extent and in what ways social inclusion is considered during the Local Heritage Designation process *To describe and evaluate to what extent the Local Heritage Designation process informs theoretical debates about heritage values, widening public participation in planning, and the overarching objective of social inclusion
A4. Summary of Theoretical Framework	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Traditional 'Heritage' Values (namely special architectural or historic character) are given precedence/hold more influence over other alternative 'heritage' values in 'heritage' designation processes, thus excluding alternative conceptualisations of heritage. 2. 'Heritage' still belongs to an elite, educated, middle-class, and can only be understood by 'experts' belonging to a fellowship (professionals) who have a 'duty of care'. This is to the exclusion of the public who are given the role purely of visitors, tourists or the receivers of education and information. This passivated role increases social exclusion and sustains the AHD. 3. There is a normalised, <i>common sense</i>, dominant framing of 'heritage' operating in practice, characterised by an understanding of 'heritage' that is physical and tangible, based around notions of rarity, aesthetics, age and monumentality, power and privilege, to the exclusion of intangible, people-centred values. 4. The AHD diminishes and excludes alternative heritage perspectives. 5. Social inclusion processes are <i>assumed</i> and focus on <i>assimilation</i>, in order to <i>comply</i> with wider objectives. Such assimilatory measures ironically serve only to exclude, because they do not provide the discursive or ideological space to consider <i>alternative</i> understandings of heritage, which sit outside of the

	<p>predefined, buildings-led criteria.</p> <p>6. Those operating from an alternative perspective are seen to be 'political' whereas the dominant AHD ideology is normalised. This makes it easy to dismiss something as political or advocacy based.</p> <p>7. In a professional planning setting, 'reasoned' deliberation and objectivity, are deemed legitimate whereas those appealing to 'emotional' deliberation (based on subjectivity) are considered irrational and illegitimate, thus carrying less weight in rational decision-making planning processes and thus prohibit real inclusion.</p> <p>8. 'Heritage' is not a fixed, unchanging thing, but is something that is constructed, created, constituted and reflected by discourses.</p>
A5. Role of protocol in guiding the case study investigator	The protocol is a standardised agenda for the investigator's line of inquiry.
A6. Data required to address research questions	<p>Audio recorded interviews (speech/text)</p> <p>Any related documentary evidence (see below for details) (text/visual)</p> <p>Completed Surveys (text)</p>
B1. Data collection plan	<p>Calendar period Feb-Oct 2012:</p> <p>National Data Collection: 16/02/2012- 26/10/2012</p> <p>Local Case Study 1: 26/03/2012- 11/05/2012</p> <p>Local Case Study 2: 10/03/2012- 24/07/2012</p> <p>Due to STC's Local List process commencing at the very start of the PhD research period, and due to the timing of the decision-making panel meeting and the consultation event, three interviews were undertaken even earlier in the process (11/11/2010 and 11/05/2011).</p>
B2. Preparation prior to site visits	<p>Thorough exploration of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Authority's Demographics using Neighbourhood Statistics/Census information 2. Newspaper articles regarding 'heritage' issues in area 3. Review current progress of local policy documentation, i.e. Local Plan/Core Strategy- source- Local Authority website 4. Review current status with regard to Local List- source- Local Authority website. 5. Collect and review any marketing/ awareness-raising documentation/material related to the Local List found on Local Authority's website or in the press.
C1. Items to take to Case Study location	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview Protocol (professionals) 2. Interview Protocol (community) 3. Interview Protocol (tailored, if required) 4. Structured Survey (professionals) 5. Structured Survey (community) 6. Note book and pen 7. Informed Consent Forms 8. Dictaphone and spare batteries 9. Camera 10. 'Introduction to my research' hand-outs 11. File to carry documentation safely

<p>C2. Data Collection Procedures</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collect all documentary evidence associated with Local List process (awareness-raising, request for involvement, request for nominations, notices regarding consultation periods, reports to committee, information on website, leaflets, posters, exhibition boards (take photographs), Local List, associated policy, i.e. SPD or Core Strategy/Development Management policy). Request a copy of document/minutes that shows reasoning for why certain nominations were considered unsuitable and did not make it on to the Local List. Ask if there are any well-known cases- any nominations that caused conflict. 2. Interview professionals (pre-selected) for national study or for local studies, those involved in the Local List process (lead officer, support officers, conservation manager where relevant, professional members of panel, professional stakeholders such as local amenity group members, English Heritage local officers, elected members where relevant and practicable). Each interview will be conducted following the 'national' or 'local' 'professional' interview protocol (except one national interview which has been tailored to the author of the Local List Best Practice Guide). Each will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Each interviewee will sign an informed consent form. 3. At local case study locations, wider planning and conservation teams will be asked to participate in the 'professionals' structured survey. 4. Note-taking of any conversations/informal interviews. Where this takes place, the participant must read the notes made by the researcher and initial the page of notes to validate them and give permission for them to be used in the study. 5. During community events, members of the public will be asked to complete the 'community' structured survey. To give informed consent, they must initial their completed survey. Where practicable, members of the public will be interviewed using the 'community' interview protocol. Participants must sign an informed consent form.
<p>D1. Purpose of Analysis</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Documentation- fact-based analysis (will reveal criteria used by professionals to determine what is/what is not heritage; Will reveal the extent of community engagement and how this was undertaken) 2. Documentation/Interview transcript- critical discourse analysis (will reveal underlying professional conceptualisations of heritage and subconscious views of the public's role in the process) 3. Interview transcript thematic analysis- will enable detailed, in-depth responses to all research questions 4. Structured Survey will contextualise and enrich findings. It will expose any degree of <i>difference</i> and illuminate alternative conceptualisations of heritage (outside of the normative). It will also reveal the gap between professional and non-professional understandings of heritage and the opinions about the Local Heritage Designation Process, as well as respective roles in the process (the process of engagement).
<p>D2. Evaluation</p>	<p>Interview transcripts will be sent to all interviewees for verification. Cresswell's (2005) self-evaluative criteria for achieving high quality research and Yin's (2003) excellence framework of tests and practices for robust case study research will be followed.</p>

APPENDIX J: INTERVIEWEE SCHEDULE

PHASE 1: NATIONAL STUDY	INTERVIEWEE POSITION	DATE	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION⁷⁰
1	Head of Department, Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF-NE)	16/02/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
2	Head of Department (Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS))	22/02/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
3	Director (English Heritage)	22/02/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
4	Head of Department (English Heritage)	22/02/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
5	Team Leader (English Heritage)	22/02/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
6	Senior Officer (English Heritage)	22/02/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
7	Senior Officer (English Heritage)	23/02/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
8	Chief Executive Officer (Black Environment Network-BEN)	16/03/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
9	Senior Manager North of England Civic Trust (NECT) ⁷¹	26/03/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
10	Director (Artistry Events and Black Oxford)	29/03/2012	Female, senior professional, Black, African.
11	UK President (Black Environment Network- BEN)	04/04/2012	Female, senior professional, Asian, Chinese.
12	Head of Department (English Heritage)	26/10/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
PHASE 1:	INTERVIEWEE	DATE	ADDITIONAL

⁷⁰ Please note that the additional information provided reflects the way the interviewee described themselves to the researcher.

⁷¹ Interviewee Nine and Ten were interviewed from both a 'national' and 'local' perspective due to role in Local List Process.

LOCAL STUDIES	POSITION		INFORMATION
13	Senior Officer	28/03/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
14	Senior Officer	28/03/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
15	Senior Manager North of England Civic Trust (NECT)	26/03/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
16	Member of the public	11/05/2011	Female, White Canadian.
17	Member of the public	11/05/2011	Male, White British.
18	Elected Member	11/11/2010	Male, White British
19	Senior Officer	10/03/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
20	Senior Officer	10/03/2012	Male, senior professional, White British
21	Elected Member	10/03/2012	Male, White British
22	Member of the public	10/03/2012	Male, White British.
23	Member of the public	10/03/2012	Female, White Polish.
24	Member of the public	10/03/2012	Female, White British.
25	Member of the public and secretary (East London Mosque)	23/03/2012	Male, Asian British, Pakistani.
26	Senior Officer	24/07/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
27	Senior Advisor	24/07/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
28	Senior Officer	25/05/2012	Female, senior professional, White British.
29	Retired Conservation Officer and member of the Public	25/05/2012	Female, White British.
30	Member of the public	25/05/2012	Male, White British.

APPENDIX K: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



SCHOOL OF THE BUILT AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT
RESEARCH ETHICS PROCEDURES



School of the Built and Natural Environment
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name of participant	
Organisation	
Researcher's name	
Title of research project/dissertation	
Researcher's name	
Programme of study <i>[Only if researcher is a student]</i>	
Supervisor's name <i>[Only if researcher is a student]</i>	

Standard statement of participant* consent (please tick as appropriate)

I confirm that:

I have been briefed about this research project and its purpose and agree to participate*

I have discussed any requirement for anonymity or confidentiality with the researcher**

I agree to being audio taped / videotaped during the interview

** Participants under the age of 18 normally require parental consent to be involved in research.*

****Specific requirements for anonymity or confidentiality**

Signed **Date**

Standard statement by researcher

I have provided information about the research to the research participant and believe that he/she understands what is involved.

Researcher's signature

Date

APPENDIX L: BRIEFING NOTE FOR PARTICIPANTS

PhD Research: The Concept of Local Heritage Value and its application

I am a PhD student at Northumbria University in Newcastle upon Tyne and I am investigating the designation of local heritage, also known as the Local List process.

Specifically I am interested in how local heritage is identified and by whom, what criteria are used to determine heritage value, and what public engagement takes place as part of the process.

I am interested in finding out what barriers there are to a more socially-inclusive local heritage management and how these can be overcome.

I will evaluate my findings in the context of changing approaches to 'heritage' (for example Heritage Protection Review and 2011 Localism Act).

CAROL LUDWIG BSc MSc PGCert MRTPI
Postgraduate Researcher
School of Built and Natural Environment
Northumbria University
16 February 2012
carol.ludwig@northumbria.ac.uk



APPENDIX M: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

KEY QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS (NP⁷²)

Heritage

1. What do you mean by the term 'heritage'? (What is included in the term)?

- Do these interpretations of heritage meet with any conflict in policy or practice?
- Is national heritage different to local heritage? What is the difference?

Purpose

2. What are the aims and objectives of heritage policies and legislation?

- What are the main guidelines used to manage 'heritage'?
- Do these guidelines meet with conflict?
- The concept of 'significance' appears to play a vital role - who determines significance? How, and with what objectives in mind?

Heritage Direction

3. How has the 'heritage' debate evolved since the 1970's? Has the emphasis changed?

- What directions is England travelling in with regard to heritage policy?
- What are the priorities of heritage policy in England?
- What does the Localism Act mean for heritage and local designation in particular?

Engagement

7. Who are the key 'players' involved with identifying and designating local heritage?

- What institutional capacities are drawn upon - for example, which/whose knowledge? What mobilising capacities?
- Who do you think are the most important people in the process? How do you determine who has important/ useful things to say or contribute and who does not?

⁷² Interview protocol used for interviews with professionals (research phase 1)

Social Inclusion

4. What does it mean to be socially-inclusive in heritage and conservation practice and why is this important and to whom?

- A key concern identified by New Labour government has been that of social inclusion. Is social inclusion a serious concern for the current coalition government?
- Was the social inclusion agenda officially linked to Heritage Protection Reform? How/ Why not? How should it have been?
- How sympathetic is current heritage legislation and policy to this changing emphasis for heritage, in view of social inclusion?
- How feasible is it for planning and conservation officers to be socially-inclusive when identifying and designating local heritage? What is expected of them?
- (Example?)

Under-represented heritages

5. Are any areas of 'heritage' neglected by the current policy and legislation?

- With regard to work on hidden and under-represented heritages (i.e. Slave Trade heritage, Women's heritage, Multicultural heritage), are associated heritage buildings/structures/places likely to be identified and included using the current heritage designation criteria?
- (Example?)

Conservation Values

6. Conservation Principles introduces the concept of heritage 'values' and divides these into historic, evidential, aesthetic and communal. Do you think these capture all heritage values in England?

- How are the different 'heritage' values integrated in practice?
- What are the main barriers and how can these be overcome?
- Can you give a concrete example of what is meant by a social/communal value?
- How possible is it to incorporate social significances and a social dimension into the local designation process? Is it feasible? What are the barriers to this?

7. Is there somebody else you could recommend that I speak to?

KEY QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW- LOCAL LIST GUIDE⁷³

1. What do you mean by the term 'heritage'? (What is included in the term)?

- Do these interpretations of heritage meet with any conflict in policy or practice?
- Is national heritage different to local heritage? What is the difference?
- What exactly is meant by the term 'local' heritage? What constitutes 'local' and who determines what is 'local' and what is not?

2. What are the aims and objectives of local heritage designation?

- What is the purpose of a Local List?
- Why was there a need for the Local List Best Practice Guide and who drove this project? Where did the pressure come from to produce one? Does it have government support?
- How does the Local List Best Practice Guide fit in the bigger picture of Conservation planning guidance? Is it part of a bigger package?

3. What do you see as the role of the 'community' in the designation of local heritage?

- Who are the key 'players' involved with identifying and designating local heritage?
- Who is responsible for *managing* the Local List process, in terms of assessing what constitutes local heritage, defining its significance and designating?
- Who do you think are the most important people in the process? How do you determine who has important/ useful things to say or contribute and who does not?
- What does it mean to *include* people? What level and type of engagement is expected?
- (Example?)

⁷³ Interview protocol used for interview with author of Local List Best Practice Guide (English Heritage) (part of research phase 1)

4. Conservation Principles introduces the concept of heritage 'values' and divides these into historic, evidential, aesthetic and communal. Do you think the suggested local criteria set out in the Guide capture all heritage values in England?

- How are the different 'heritage' values integrated in practice?
- What are the main barriers and how can these be overcome?

5. The suggested local criteria set out in the Local List Best Practice Guide include 'Social/communal value' relating to intangible aspects of heritage- what does this mean in practice? Can you give an example of the type of thing that would be identified in such a way?

- How possible is it to incorporate social significances and a social dimension into the designation process? Is it feasible? Practical? Suitable?

6. Which of the local criteria are the most important when designating local heritage? Which should be prioritised? (weighted scoring systems etc.)

- Is there a time-depth to 'heritage' that should be satisfied?
- What things need to be considered/taken into account when identifying and assessing local heritage 'significance'?

(e.g. how important is authenticity? Is it important to explore memory and identity? Is it important to explore the historical evolution of an area to understand patterns of immigration and potential hidden heritages?)

7. Under what circumstances would a nominated building not be permitted on the List and who would make that decision?

- (Example?)

8. What has the response been to the Draft Local List Guide? (*Can I have access to a summary of responses?*)

- Has the Draft Local List Guide been piloted? What was the response?
- What are the main barriers to full implementation of the Guide? How can these be overcome?

8. Is there somebody else you could recommend that I speak to?

KEY QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW- CASE STUDIES (P⁷⁴)

1. What do you mean by the term 'heritage'? (What is included in the term)?

- Do you think most people would agree with you or do these interpretations of heritage meet with any conflict in policy or practice?
- Is national heritage different to local heritage? What is the difference?
- What exactly is meant by the term 'local' heritage? What constitutes 'local' and who determines what is 'local' and what is not?

2. What are the aims and objectives of the local list?

- What is the purpose of a Local List and why did you decide to produce one? Does it have political and community support? Is local heritage a priority in your Local Authority? What support have you received to produce the preparation of the Local List? (funding, staff assigned to job, time constraints, external support, skills?)
- Have you followed any particular guidance?
- Do you think the Local List Best Practice Guide is helpful and is it practical/feasible to fully implement it? Why/why not?

Local List Process

3. Can you briefly describe the process you are going through/ have gone through in preparing your Local List?

Criteria

- What criteria are you using to define what is local heritage and what is not?
- How did you produce this list of criteria? What process did you go through or what guidance did you follow? What influenced the selection of criteria used? i.e. the Local List Guide/ Conservation Principles?
- Which criteria are most important? Which are prioritised? Why? Are you using a weighting/scoring system?
- Do you think most people would agree with these criteria or do you think they may meet with any conflict? (example) Would immigrants from non-western communities agree with them?
- Would you say that the definition of 'heritage' or what constitutes 'heritage' has been extended overtime? How/in what way?

Decision-making

⁷⁴ Interview protocol used for local interviews with professionals (research phase 2)

4. What key issues need to be considered/taken into account when identifying and assessing local heritage 'significance'?

- (eg. Is there a time-depth to 'heritage' that should be satisfied (age)? How important is authenticity? Is it important to explore memory and identity? Is it important to explore the historical evolution of an area to understand patterns of immigration and potential hidden heritages? To what extent does this happen? (Examples))

5. Under what circumstances would a nominated building not be permitted on the List and who would make that decision? (Example?)

- Is there a document or minutes of a meeting which I could have a copy of, which shows reasoning for why certain nominations were considered unsuitable and did not make it on to the Local List?
- Are there any well-known cases- any nominations that caused conflict? Why?
- Who is responsible for *managing* the Local List process, in terms of decision-making (assessing what constitutes local heritage, defining its significance and designating)?
- Who sits on the Panel and in what capacity?

Community Involvement

6. Who are the key 'players' involved with identifying and designating local heritage in the Local List process?

- What do you see as the role of the 'community' in the designation of local heritage?
- Have you undertaken any community involvement? How? What was the purpose?
- How do you define community? How do you capture multi-ethnic/multi-faith heritages?
- In your opinion was the community involvement a success? How could it have been improved?
- How much does the consultation cost and is it resource intensive (money, skills, time)?
- What prevents you from doing more? (resources- time, money, skills)
- What do you think are the barriers to the public(s) getting involved in the local heritage designation process? Are there any practical measures which can be taken to help overcome such barriers?

Social Inclusion

7. Is there a strong message coming from Government/EH to be socially inclusive or to consider wider interpretations of heritage such as social values?

- Is it important to be socially-inclusive (if so, why?) and what does this really mean in practice?
- Do you know who in the community is actually getting involved in the process?
- Who do you think are the most important people in the process? How do you determine who has important/ useful things to say or contribute and who does not?
- How do you measure how successful engagement has been?
- What are the barriers to a socially-inclusive process? How can they be overcome?

8. Conservation Principles introduces the concept of heritage 'values' and divides these into historic, evidential, aesthetic and communal. Have you used this Guide at all? Do you think the suggested local criteria set out in the Conservation Principles Guide capture all heritage values in England and are they appropriate for implementation at the local level?

- Are social and communal values important? How would you define a social/communal value? Can you give a concrete example?
- Can something be heritage purely because of a social value, without the other three values (historic, aesthetic and evidential)?
- Do you give more weight to objective, fact-based reasoning such as clear evidence when assessing the significance of a proposed building/site, as opposed to emotive reasoning based on memories and more intangible meanings, for example?
- How are the different 'heritage' values integrated in practice?
- What are the main barriers and how can these be overcome?

Expected Challenges

9. What are the key challenges you have faced/you expect to face with the Local List process? How can these be overcome?

10. Do you think there is a better way of identifying and protecting local heritage?

- Would it be practicable or feasible for the planning/conservation department to work with the cultural department and museums on Local Listing?
- Would it have made any difference to the *process* if you had done the Local List area by area instead of all in one go for the whole borough?
- Do you think the Localism Act provides any opportunities for local heritage designation?
- Could the new Neighbourhood Planning process or Community Local List play a role in local designation? How?
- Could the Local List be linked to something else, i.e. design work, conservation character appraisals, neighbourhood plans?
- What affect will the new National Planning Policy Framework have on local heritage designation?

11. Is there somebody else you could recommend that I speak to?

KEY QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW- CASE STUDIES (C⁷⁵)

1. What does heritage mean to you? (ask for an example).
2. Do you think that the Council's view and understanding of local heritage is the same as yours? Expand.
3. Do you agree with the criteria used for designating heritage? Do you think these criteria capture all heritage values? Anything missing?
4. Are there buildings/structures/places which are important to you which you think should be protected as local heritage but are not considered local heritage by the Council? (ask for example)
 - Ask about any disputes with the council.
5. What are the aims and objectives of the local list?
6. What is the purpose and role of a Local List?
7. How did you hear about the Local List? Is it well marketed in your opinion? (expand)
8. Why did you decide to get involved? (*if applicable*)
9. Can you describe how the relationship with the council has been? Have you been able to communicate your ideas and have they been listened to?
10. Who makes the decisions in the process?
11. Do you feel that all heritage values in your area are captured by this process?
12. What stops certain people getting involved in the process and how can these barriers be broken down?
13. What would make it easier for you to get involved and have your ideas heard?
14. Do you have any other comments?

⁷⁵ Interview protocol used for interviews with members of the public (non-professionals)

APPENDIX N: EXTRACTS FROM NVivo9

CODING LIST: NODES

Nodes							
Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By	
[-] A dominant framing of heritage (AHD)	31	116	07/05/2012 15:02	CL	28/09/2012 15:11	CL	
Age	32	78	08/05/2012 14:51	CL	28/09/2012 15:47	CL	
Authenticity	14	23	08/05/2012 12:18	CL	27/09/2012 12:28	CL	
Physical fabric	31	48	08/05/2012 14:56	CL	28/09/2012 15:59	CL	
[-] Aims and Objectives of Local List	22	54	08/05/2012 11:26	CL	04/10/2012 10:09	CL	
Community Involvement and key players	38	140	08/05/2012 11:57	CL	28/09/2012 16:01	CL	
Criteria used for Local Listing	32	97	08/05/2012 11:38	CL	28/09/2012 15:47	CL	
Decision making	25	54	08/05/2012 11:42	CL	28/09/2012 15:47	CL	
Effects of NPPF and Localism	18	80	08/05/2012 13:46	CL	04/10/2012 10:19	CL	
Guidance used for Listing	8	12	08/05/2012 11:35	CL	19/09/2012 15:47	CL	
Key challenges	18	89	08/05/2012 13:45	CL	19/09/2012 16:29	CL	
Measuring success	5	10	08/05/2012 15:32	CL	19/09/2012 16:30	CL	
Reaction and support to Local List	19	59	08/05/2012 11:30	CL	28/09/2012 15:32	CL	
Recommendations for improving process	19	63	08/05/2012 12:10	CL	28/09/2012 15:58	CL	
Strategic importance of Local List	12	24	08/05/2012 11:31	CL	28/09/2012 15:19	CL	
Alternative heritages are excluded and diminished	29	75	07/05/2012 15:02	CL	28/09/2012 16:01	CL	
EH Funding	3	3	18/09/2012 16:10	CL	28/09/2012 15:27	CL	
EVIDENCE-Reasoned deliberation and objectivity le	28	73	07/05/2012 15:04	CL	28/09/2012 16:01	CL	
Experts know best-valuing expert advise	36	109	08/05/2012 11:47	CL	28/09/2012 15:47	CL	
Heritage is constructed	3	5	07/05/2012 14:56	CL	11/05/2012 11:34	CL	
Heritage is created and reflected by discourses	6	8	07/05/2012 15:05	CL	18/09/2012 13:27	CL	
Heritage is fluid and changing	10	19	08/05/2012 16:01	CL	27/09/2012 11:42	CL	
Heritage means different things to different people	24	69	08/05/2012 11:25	CL	28/09/2012 15:53	CL	
Study of criteria	1	7	27/09/2012 11:49	CL	27/09/2012 12:11	CL	
The Widening of the AHD	14	48	13/09/2012 14:43	CL	28/09/2012 15:30	CL	
[-] What is Heritage	31	113	07/05/2012 15:00	CL	28/09/2012 15:42	CL	
CONFLICT-Differences between professional a	17	56	07/05/2012 15:11	CL	26/09/2012 12:53	CL	
Difference between national and local heritage	17	49	09/05/2012 10:59	CL	28/09/2012 13:50	CL	
Heritage definitions have widened	26	96	07/05/2012 15:06	CL	28/09/2012 15:58	CL	
Heritage values reflect AHD	24	73	07/05/2012 15:06	CL	28/09/2012 14:57	CL	
Nervousness or reluctance to widen definitions	15	31	08/05/2012 12:05	CL	28/09/2012 15:21	CL	
The meaning of local heritage	25	90	08/05/2012 11:18	CL	28/09/2012 15:30	CL	
Who heritage belongs to and is for	29	81	07/05/2012 15:01	CL	28/09/2012 15:21	CL	
Local List Best Practice Guide	5	27	17/09/2012 13:36	CL	19/09/2012 15:01	CL	
Local List process	1	2	13/09/2012 14:40	CL	14/09/2012 14:47	CL	
Local List under heritage umbrella	2	6	14/09/2012 14:38	CL	17/09/2012 14:49	CL	
Lost heritage	10	24	07/05/2012 16:08	CL	27/09/2012 12:04	CL	
National criteria	7	18	09/05/2012 11:16	CL	27/09/2012 12:12	CL	
Over-complicated	4	5	27/09/2012 12:11	CL	28/09/2012 15:57	CL	
Oxford intro	1	2	28/09/2012 15:41	CL	28/09/2012 15:43	CL	
Oxford process	9	53	18/09/2012 12:54	CL	28/09/2012 16:01	CL	
PPS5	4	8	26/09/2012 14:49	CL	04/10/2012 10:19	CL	
Resource issues	21	87	08/05/2012 11:19	CL	04/10/2012 10:53	CL	
Rhetoric	9	35	09/05/2012 11:23	CL	18/09/2012 15:56	CL	
[-] Social inclusion	29	105	07/05/2012 15:03	CL	28/09/2012 16:01	CL	
Access	2	2	09/05/2012 10:39	CL	18/09/2012 15:27	CL	
Audience Development	5	13	07/05/2012 15:56	CL	19/09/2012 16:03	CL	
Barriers to BME community involvement	25	98	07/05/2012 15:17	CL	28/09/2012 13:44	CL	
Current work	8	46	07/05/2012 15:36	CL	19/09/2012 14:11	CL	
Defining the community	11	23	08/05/2012 11:22	CL	19/09/2012 16:10	CL	
Educating the public	7	22	08/05/2012 15:08	CL	28/09/2012 13:17	CL	
Ignorance to multiculturalism	14	24	09/05/2012 10:45	CL	28/09/2012 13:21	CL	
Strong message from government and english h	15	37	08/05/2012 13:39	CL	26/09/2012 15:17	CL	
Suggestions for improving community involvem	10	53	07/05/2012 15:20	CL	28/09/2012 14:04	CL	
Threat to conservation officers	1	1	18/09/2012 15:48	CL	18/09/2012 15:48	CL	
[-] Social relevance of heritage	35	151	07/05/2012 15:09	CL	28/09/2012 15:59	CL	
Accidental	5	8	08/05/2012 12:23	CL	19/09/2012 15:34	CL	
Additional	1	2	19/09/2012 14:07	CL	19/09/2012 14:11	CL	
Cohesiveness- use- heritage now	4	8	18/09/2012 14:17	CL	28/09/2012 12:49	CL	
Conservation Principles	12	31	08/05/2012 13:49	CL	19/09/2012 16:23	CL	
Historical evolution and immigration patterns	15	26	08/05/2012 12:57	CL	28/09/2012 15:58	CL	
Memory and Identity	10	24	08/05/2012 12:16	CL	27/09/2012 12:28	CL	

IMPORTED DOCUMENTS

Oxford							
Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By	
Assessing Significance(2)	33	85	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	
CharacterAssessmentToolkitIntroduction	13	35	28/09/2012 15:37	CL	28/09/2012 15:37	CL	
Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document	15	32	28/09/2012 15:37	CL	28/09/2012 15:37	CL	
OHAR Criteria Sheet 17.01.12	13	17	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	
OHAR Criteria Sheet Consultation Draft	11	18	19/09/2012 11:42	CL	19/09/2012 11:42	CL	
Oxford Heritage Assets Register Criteria	12	17	19/09/2012 11:43	CL	19/09/2012 11:43	CL	
Oxford history project awarded	6	6	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	
Project to list city heritage sites	18	35	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	18/05/2012 13:37	CL	

South Tyneside							
Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By	
6086 local list poster.indd @ 81%[1]	11	13	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
Article for South Shields Local History Group newsletter	28	58	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
Hebburn CAF (final)	18	28	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
LDF Poster	7	7	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
Letter	2	2	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
LMB Report-Local List (final)	25	49	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
Local List A4 Leaflet[1]	16	26	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	
Local List Online Nomination Form	0	0	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	
SMT Briefing Note 10 June 2010	15	21	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
SPD 21 Consultation press release Facebook	18	34	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	18/05/2012 13:36	CL	
SPD 21 Statement of Consultation	5	6	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	
SPD_21_Locally_Significant_Heritage_Assets_(FINAL_Version)	33	85	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	
SPD_21_Technical_Appendix_(FINAL_version)	0	0	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	
ST1AA3V00023_MFD-EZU14078-37788_0280_001	0	0	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	28/09/2012 14:00	CL	

Sources

- Internals
 - Documentary evidence
 - Oxford
 - South Tyneside
 - Interview Transcripts
- Externals
- Memos
- Framework Matrices

Sources

Nodes

Classifications

Collections

Queries

Reports

APPENDIX O: LIST OF DOCUMENTS WITH REFERENCE (SECONDARY DATA EVIDENCE)

DOCUMENT
1. SMT Briefing Note 10 June 2010 South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>SMT Briefing Note 10 June 2010</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
2. SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>SPD21 Locally Significant Heritage Assets</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
3. Article for South Shields Local History Group Newsletter South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Article for South Shields Local History Group Newsletter</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
4. Article for Local History Group South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Article for Local History Group</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
5. Hebburn CAF South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Hebburn CAF</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
6. LMB Report-Local List South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>LMB Report-Local List</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
7. Local List South Tyneside Council (2011a), <i>SPD21 Local List</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
8. Local List Technical Appendix South Tyneside Council (2011b), <i>Local List Technical Appendix</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
9. Consultation Press Release South Tyneside Council, (2010), <i>Consultation Press Release</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
10. Local List Poster South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Local List Poster</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
11. SPD 21 Statement of Consultation South Tyneside Council (2011c), <i>SPD 21 Statement of Consultation</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
12. Local List A4 Leaflet South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Local List A4 Leaflet</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
13. SPD 21 Consultation Press Release Facebook South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>SPD 21 Consultation Press Release Facebook</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
14. Letter to Libraries South Tyneside Council (2010), <i>Letter to Libraries</i> , South Tyneside Council, South Shields.
15. BBC News Oxford Newspaper Article BBC News (2012), "Oxford history project awarded £60,000", 11 January, available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-oxfordshire-16510821

(accessed 20 January 2012).

16. Newspaper Article

Sloan, L. (2012), "Project to list city heritage sites", Oxford Mail, 20 January, available at:

http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/archive/2012/01/20/Oxford+news/9482921.Project_to_list_city_heritage_sites/ (accessed 12 February 2012).

17. Assessing Significance Document

Oxford City Council (2012), *Assessing Significance*, Oxford City Council, Oxford.

18. Heritage Asset Register Introduction Document

Oxford City Council (2012), *Heritage Asset Register Introduction*, Oxford City Council, Oxford.

19. Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction Document

Oxford City Council (2012), *Character Assessment Toolkit Introduction*, Oxford City Council, Oxford.

20. Introduction- Project website

Oxford City Council (2012), "Heritage Asset Register", available at: <http://www.oxford.gov.uk/PageRender/decP/HeritageAssetRegister.htm> (accessed 01 June 2012)

21. Oxford Heritage Plan Document

Oxford City Council (2010), *Oxford Heritage Plan*, Oxford City Council, Oxford.

22. Oxford Heritage Assets Register Criteria Sheet Consultation Document

Oxford City Council (2012), *Oxford Heritage Assets Register Criteria Sheet Consultation Document*, Oxford City Council, Oxford.

23. Email from Secretary of the Donnington Tenants and Residents

Association, received 3 April 2012.

APPENDIX P: FAIRCLOUGH'S (1992) FRAMEWORK FOR CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS- TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED

Difference

Reflecting on arguments developed in Chapter 2, it is suggested by several scholars (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2005; 2007) that English national conservation legislation and policy documents promote a particular version of 'heritage', and competing conceptualisations which are different, in other words, do not align with this existing order are excluded from decision-making and other planning processes. Given the numerous theoretical calls for extending the meaning of 'heritage' and policy calls for a broader definition of 'value', how alternative constructions and competing points of view are handled in such text is crucial to shedding light on the research problems. It therefore seems relevant to explore how the document's text considers difference. Fairclough (1992) states that in CDA, the acknowledgement of difference in the text relates to the degree of *dialogicality* in the text. He goes on to explain that a dialogical text is de-privileged and acknowledges competing points of view. By contrast, an undialogical text is authoritative or absolute. CDA offers a number of techniques to explore such difference, which were employed by this thesis, as set out below.

Assumptions/Implications

The first technique is in relation to the identification of *assumptions* in text. Such assumptions include those statements and ideological representations which are *naturalised* or which have become 'common sense' statements. Such statements can influence the reader on a sub-conscious level, thus sustaining a dominant discourse. They are written as if the statement is an uncontested one (as if it is common ground) using a way which assumes the reader has a certain degree of background knowledge, which would support and justify such a discourse. Such assumptions make things, "appear 'natural', 'legitimate' or 'common sense'" (Fairclough, 2003: 58). They can thus have a universalising effect, for instance on what constitutes 'heritage'; this being a particular accusation made of conservation legislation and policy (Waterton, 2005, 2007; Smith, 2006). If particular meanings are universalised in this way (as has been argued of 'world heritage' prior to the pressure for the UNESCO Conference for Intangible World Heritage), it could be argued that such discourse has performed ideological work. Whilst some degree of common ground or consensus may be necessary and appropriate for communication and dialogue (Habermas, 1984; Healey, 2003), and thus positioning a text, this use of assumptions clearly exercises social control through discourse and abuses the power to *shape* and *postulate* common ground. This therefore suggests that discourse can be very powerful and thus further justifies its exploration. There are a number of ways to identify and analyse assumptions in text.

Assumptions, according to Fairclough (2003: 40) tend to be, "vague allusions to information gathered 'elsewhere'", rather than referring to any specific sources. As part of his work on CDA techniques, Fairclough (2003: 55) identifies three key categories of assumption: existential (what exists), propositional (what is, can, or will be), and value (what is good). Examples of each type of assumption (taken from national heritage documentation, cited in Waterton (2007)) shall be set out for clarification purposes.

Existential Assumptions

An example of an existential assumption is:

The historic environment brings in tourism to towns, it promotes education and learning, it brings social inclusion and it engages local communities, giving them pride of place (DCMS, 2004: 4)

In this example, an assumption is made about the *historic environment*. It is uncritically presupposed and taken as a given. Moreover, the various causal relationships highlighted in this example refer to an apparent inevitability of the impact of the heritage process. The process itself however is obscured, and, “the relationship between the historic environment, social inclusion and pride of place simply *is*” (Waterton, 2007: 76).

Propositional Assumptions

Propositional assumptions on the other hand, include statements such as:

It is a system which commands wide public support and buy-in for the way it has prevented the destruction of our communal history (DCMS, 2004: 4)

In this example, words such as ‘commands’ and ‘prevented’ are used to promote the existing conservation system, in its current form. Vague assumptions are made about the work it does and the effects of this work in an uncritical, ‘common sense’ manner.

Evaluative Assumptions

The third type of assumption, evaluative assumptions may be either explicit or implicit and highlights a further slippage between facts and values, for example:

This review began with a commitment that the current level of protection for the historic environment would not be lessened by its outcomes. Rather the government intends to build on and enhance what is good and effective (DCMS, 2004: 4)

In this example, the last sentence is an explicit evaluation that (at least aspects of) the current protection for the historic environment is ‘good’ and ‘effective’. Similarly, the first sentence carries its own evaluation containing a somewhat defensive, implicit reference to an elusive threat of change that may ‘lessen’ the existing system of conservation, which it portrays as already operating effectively, and thus wholly desirable.

Whilst assumptions connect one text to the “world of texts”, *intertextuality*, on the other hand, relates to the framing of a text in relation to other *specific* texts. According to Fairclough (2003: 41), “intertextuality broadly opens up difference by bringing other voices into a text, whereas assumption broadly reduces difference by assuming common ground”.

Intertextuality

The importance of intertextuality (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 118-119; Fairclough, 1999: 184; Fairclough, 2001: 233) to this thesis is its ability to purposefully exclude or include certain discourses. More specifically, intertextuality is the framing of text in relation to other texts. In other words, it brings in voices from various sources and attempts to, “assert a new hegemony” (Waterton, 2007: 75) through this, “hybridisation of discourses” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271). This form of language is particularly useful for examining the thesis’ central research questions. For instance, it may illustrate the meeting of several discourses: the

traditional 'heritage' discourse, the more recent democratic 'heritage' discourses which focus more on social and communal values, as well as social inclusion and localism discourses. It will therefore be critical to examine intertextuality within the collected documents to ascertain whether such discourses are represented and how the meeting of such discourses is managed and viewed by professionals. Crucially, it will be important to ascertain whether certain discourses are excluded from consideration. A further aspect of CDA is *modality*, discussed below.

Modality

According to Fairclough (2003) modality expresses the author's/speaker's commitment and/or obligation to a particular understanding of truth. Simply put, it represents what the *author* of the text considers to be true and necessary. As Verschueren (1999, cited in Fairclough, 2003: 165) points out, modality:

...involves the many ways in which attitudes can be expressed towards the 'pure' reference-and-prediction content of an utterance, signalling factuality, degrees of certainty or doubt, vagueness, possibility, necessity, and even permission and obligation

Modality can be communicated by a modal verb (should or must), a modal adverb (possibly, certainly), modal adjectives (probably), participle adjectives (required), verbs of appearance (appears, seems), verbs of cognition or mental process clauses (I think, I believe), copular verbs (is) and markers (obviously, in fact) and hedges (kind of) (Fairclough, 2003: 171; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 112; Waterton, 2007: 77).

Moreover, such language is useful to distinguish between roles and deemed levels of hierarchical importance. For instance, it can reveal who the author/speaker considers the relevant stakeholders to be and what 'identities' they are given (in this case through the perspective of the professionals). It can convey their level of importance to the process, and their role, by signalling who is excluded and /or included, who is active and who is passivated, who is a participant or a beneficiary (Fairclough, 2003). Consequently, the critical examination of such modalised language can provide useful research findings to contribute to solving the research problem.

APPENDIX Q: SURVEYS⁷⁶

Heritage Survey (P)

I am seeking your opinion on the following statements. Do you agree/disagree?

Statement	Agree					Disagree				
Heritage means different things to different people	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Heritage is linked to identity	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Heritage is:										
A building/place that is valued because of memories or meanings associated with it	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Symbols of faith	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Symbols of identity	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Great architecture	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Historic buildings	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Community/group meeting places	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Archaeological sites	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Monuments	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Modern Buildings	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Industrial Buildings	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Only buildings which have not been altered since construction (authentic buildings)	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Other (please specify below)										
To conservation planning professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values.	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Heritage is always a good thing, to be celebrated.	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Collective memories and emotions are just as important to heritage designation as decisions based on objective, evidence and scientific fact	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
It is easy for the community to get involved in the Local List / Local Heritage Designation process	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The public(s) can get involved and make a difference in identifying local heritage in partnership with the Council	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The public(s) are given the opportunity to talk about their perceptions of heritage as part of the local designation process	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The public(s) thoughts and perceptions of heritage sometimes conflict with those of the Council	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
I think community input is an essential part of heritage identification and protection	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1

⁷⁶ Following the piloting of the surveys, break lines were added between questions to make the survey easier to complete. The original *open-ended* ethnic origin question was amended to a closed format with tick-box options which aligned with those options used for the National Census. Participants felt more comfortable giving the information this way because it felt less intrusive.

Statement	Agree					Disagree				
Planning conservation professionals value community input	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
There are a lot of people that are not recognised and do not get involved	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
It is important to understand how communities define their perceptions of heritage	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The local criteria for designating heritage are appropriate and capture all heritage values	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The role of the conservation/planning professional is to educate the public to understand official heritage values and what makes something 'significant'	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
The role of the conservation/planning professional is to make the decisions about what constitutes heritage and what should be designated	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Social inclusion is about educating the public about heritage values and increasing engagement of people from all social and cultural backgrounds	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Please provide any further comments:										

Are you:

Male Female

Please provide your Postcode _____

Are you:

Employed Unemployed Retired
 Student Other _____

What age are you:

18-25 years old 26-30 years old 31-40 years old
 41-50 years old 51-60 years old 61+ years old

Are you religious?

Yes No

If yes, please specify your faith _____

What is your Ethnic Origin: This refers to people who share the same cultural background/identity, not country of birth or nationality. Please note these categories are those used in the National Census.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> White British | <input type="checkbox"/> White Irish | <input type="checkbox"/> Other White background |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British – Caribbean | <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British – African | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Black background |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British– Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British– Pakistani | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian background | <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed - White and Black African | <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed - White and Black Caribbean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Mixed background | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Ethnic background | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |

Version adapted for non-professional respondents:

Heritage Survey (C)

I am seeking your *opinion* on the following statements. Do you agree/disagree?

Statement	Agree			Disagree	
Heritage means different things to different people	5	4	3	2	1
Heritage is linked to identity	5	4	3	2	1
To me, heritage is:					
A building/place that I value because of memories or meanings associated with it	5	4	3	2	1
Symbols of my faith	5	4	3	2	1
Symbols of my identity	5	4	3	2	1
Great architecture	5	4	3	2	1
Historic buildings	5	4	3	2	1
Community/group meeting places	5	4	3	2	1
Archaeological sites	5	4	3	2	1
Monuments	5	4	3	2	1
Modern Buildings	5	4	3	2	1
Industrial Buildings	5	4	3	2	1
Only buildings which have <u>not</u> been altered since construction (authentic buildings)	5	4	3	2	1
Other (please specify below)					
To conservation planning professionals, heritage is about buildings and physical structures rather than the associated intangible meanings and values.	5	4	3	2	1
Heritage is always a good thing, to be celebrated.	5	4	3	2	1
Collective memories and emotions are just as important to heritage designation as decisions based on objective, evidence and scientific fact	5	4	3	2	1
I have heard of the Local List/ Local Heritage Register	5	4	3	2	1
I understand the role and purpose of the Local List / Local Heritage Register	5	4	3	2	1
It is easy to get involved in the Local List / Local Heritage Register process	5	4	3	2	1
I feel I can get involved and make a difference in identifying local heritage in partnership with the Council	5	4	3	2	1
I feel that I am given the opportunity to talk about my perceptions of heritage as part of the local heritage designation process	5	4	3	2	1
I feel that my thoughts and perceptions of heritage sometimes conflict with those of the Council	5	4	3	2	1

Statement	Agree					Disagree				
I think it is important that community input plays an essential part of heritage identification and protection	5	4	3	2	1					
Planning conservation professionals value community input	5	4	3	2	1					
There are a lot of people that are not recognised and do not get involved	5	4	3	2	1					
It is important to understand how communities define their perceptions of heritage	5	4	3	2	1					
The local criteria for designating heritage are appropriate and capture all heritage values	5	4	3	2	1					
The role of the conservation/planning professional is to educate the public to understand official heritage values and what makes something 'significant'	5	4	3	2	1					
The role of the conservation/planning professional is to make the decisions about what constitutes heritage and what should be designated	5	4	3	2	1					
Social inclusion is about educating the public about heritage values and increasing engagement of people from all social and cultural backgrounds	5	4	3	2	1					
Please provide any further comments:										

Are you:

Male Female

Please provide your Postcode _____

Are you:

Employed Unemployed Retired
 Student Other _____

What age are you:

18-25 years old 26-30 years old 31-40 years old
 41-50 years old 51-60 years old 61+ years old

Are you religious?

Yes No

If yes, please specify your faith _____

What is your Ethnic Origin _____

What is your Ethnic Origin: This refers to people who share the same cultural background/identity, not country of birth or nationality. Please note these categories are those used in the National Census.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> White British | <input type="checkbox"/> White Irish | <input type="checkbox"/> Other White background |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British – Caribbean | <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British – African | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Black background |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British– Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British– Pakistani | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian background | <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed - White and Black African | <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed - White and Black Caribbean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Mixed background | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Ethnic background | <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese |

APPENDIX R: EXTRACTS FROM THE SURVEY DATA (SPSS)

Survey Results Ph.D.sav [DataSet1] - IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor

	Name	Type	Width	Decimals	Label	Values	Missing	Columns	Align	Measure	Role
13	identity	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
14	greatarchite...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
15	historicblgs	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
16	community...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
17	archaeologica...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
18	monuments	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
19	modembigs	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
20	industrialblgs	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
21	authenticblgs	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
22	physicalstru...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
23	hergoodthing	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
24	memories...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
25	heardoflocal...	Numeric	8	0		{0, not appli... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
26	understand...	Numeric	8	0		{0, not appli... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
27	easymoved	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
28	makediffere...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
29	opportunit...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
30	conflict	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
31	communit...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
32	valuecomm...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
33	manynotiv...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
34	commdefine...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
35	localcriteria	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
36	roletoeducate	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input
37	...	Numeric	8	0		{1, Strongly ... None		8	Right	Ordinal	Input

Data View Variable View

Split file status area

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

10:30 08/05/2013

Survey Results Ph.D.sav [DataSet1] - IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor

1: Surveytype	C	faith	identity	greatarchitect...	historicblgs	community...eeting	archaeologica...	monuments	modembigs	industrialblgs	authenticblgs	physicalstruc...	hergoodthing	memoriesem...	heardoflocal...	understandio...	easy
16	5	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	4	4	2	5	4	5	1	1	
17	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	
18	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	
19	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	2	2	1	5	5	5	5	4	3	
20	2	2	4	4	2	3	4	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	2	2	
21	3	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	2	5	5	5	4	1	1	
22	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	5	2	4	4	
23	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	2	
24	4	4	5	5	2	4	4	4	4	1	5	5	5	5	2	2	
25	5	5	3	3	4	3	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	1	1	
26	4	3	5	5	4	3	5	3	4	3	4	5	5	5	1	1	
27	3	2	5	5	3	5	5	4	3	3	5	5	4	4	4	4	
28	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	
29	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	3	3	
30	4	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	2	5	5	5	5	2	2	
31	5	5	5	5	3	4	5	2	3	2	4	4	4	4	3	3	
32	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	
33	5	5	5	5	2	5	5	2	5	2	5	5	5	5	4	1	
34	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	
35	1	1	5	5	1	2	4	3	3	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	
36	4	4	5	5	3	4	5	3	3	2	5	5	5	5	0	0	
37	4	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	0	0	

Data View Variable View

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

10:32 08/05/2013

APPENDIX S: STAGE ONE: THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Further to Chapter 6, this Appendix sets out further analysis of the national data collected. The data analysis below contextualises the local case study work and has also explicitly informed the conclusions drawn within this thesis.

A Dominant Framing of Heritage

National Perspectives

Despite evidence to suggest an interspersing of normative and social discourses, a convincing case can be made about the stronghold of the traditional conservation orthodoxy and associated normative heritage values. Indeed, notwithstanding this clear assemblage of competing discourses (expanded upon below), the dominant notion of 'heritage' (revolving around the uncritical collection of assumptions about the nature of heritage) appears to withstand. The extracts below support this case:

1. Well... what is heritage...well the only thing the Act talks about is special architectural and historic interest, so the Principles of Selection are in effect the designation criteria and they set out what we mean by that and what we would take into account in deciding if something is of special interest (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

2. Well what English Heritage means by the term heritage and for us it's... defined in statute... is the built historic environment but there are obviously other organisations who have a wider view of heritage than we do and think of it, you know, object and movable things and also kind of intangible heritage as well and in terms of some of the kind of international conventions around heritage, they kind of deal in the intangible heritage and all of that as well and the heritage lottery fund has a wider conception of heritage than we do. So we probably have the narrowest definition of heritage but that's kind of what's set out for us so that's what we have to do (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

3. ...my general perception of heritage is that it's the built or the surviving historic environment (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Not only do the selected quotations suggest that the traditional, fabric-based heritage values continue to dominate heritage work at the national level, but they also reveal that there is no explicit desire that these should change. Indeed, the undiologal text used (see extract 1) is absolute and acknowledges no competing points of view. It is open to no discursive terrain. By contrast, extract 2 makes it clear that she is aware of alternative conceptualisations of heritage, yet her use of intertextuality purposefully excludes such alternative discourses. For instance, she frames what she is saying in relation to other texts, such as the statutory principles for listing and planning legislation (presumably the Conservation and Listed Buildings Act), yet she chooses not to bring in such texts pertaining to social heritage, social inclusion or localism. Her repeated reference to the legislation, *statute* and *what we have to do* serves to support and sustain the dominant heritage discourse making it appear as uncontested, natural, legitimate and common sense. The repeated hedges (*kind of*) she uses when referring to alternative heritage values, serves to tone-down the commitment to these statements, making them appear as elusive and nebulous, and true only in certain respects. Furthermore the expression, *and all of that*, belittles the importance of such alternative heritage values, and gives the impression such values are not taken seriously.

Notwithstanding the above, it is the sheer exclusion in the above extracts of any reference to a widening of English Heritage's definition of heritage which is perhaps

most striking.

The Rhetorical Heritage Protection Review (HPR)

The above interpretation is further elaborated by data pertaining to changes to the heritage protection system. The illusory Heritage Protection Review (HPR); supposedly a review to create a more transparent, inclusive, simplified heritage system with wider public participation at its heart, is explicitly quashed, exposing the real purpose of the review. When asked if HPR was about widening the definition of heritage and making heritage more socially inclusive, Interviewee Two replied '*No not really*'. The following extracts expose what appears to be the real purpose of HPR:

4. ... there was a Bill, the Heritage Protection Bill which had a number of things in it basically to improve the operation of the Heritage Protection system... it was about having a single integrated system. So it was about the designation system really (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

5. There was a big review of them [statutory criteria] in about 2005 I think and they were republished then, although they were substantively the same it's just some sort of tweaking round the edges. We republished them again in 2010 and there was just again some really minor changes (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

6. There was a lot of kind of local agenda stuff within HPR so the idea of Local Listing was one of the kind of main thrusts of HPR... A lot of the principles and sort of aspirations of Heritage Protection Reform have come into play, for example, we as English Heritage started consulting on designations. We published all the selection guides, we changed the way that we write our advice to make it much more open and explanatory (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Clearly the fundamental principles underpinning HPR were improving the operations of the existing system. Since the Bill was never to become an Act, the work which has continued *behind the scenes* has focussed entirely on improving the speed and efficiency of the system by integrating consent regimes, for example. The principles for selection, also referred to as the statutory criteria were never really substantially reviewed; instead they were *tweaked round the edges* in an attempt to make them *clearer* to the layperson (extract 5). This is clearly not suggestive of a more critical engagement with discussions of alternative heritage values, nor does it prompt questions about the ideological uniformity of such time-honoured value norms. Whilst extract 6 refers to *consulting*, and being *much more open* and *explanatory* this must be critically interpreted as a form of consultation, which in fact promotes and sustains the dominant discourse. Such consultation and transparency merely impose the heritage specialist's established heritage values upon everyone else, providing no discursive space to negotiate what those heritage values are in the first place. As such, the criteria for decision-making are conveyed as common sense and consensual, eliminating any dissonance or scope for alternative interpretations. Whilst the national principles of selection are uncritically accepted, the data additionally expose an assumption that these rigid, buildings-led, national criteria should be applied at the local level of heritage designation. Clearly, this view contradicts the initial rhetoric that it is at the local level of heritage designation where there is most scope for a much wider understanding of heritage.

National Criteria applied locally

Building on this, national perspectives regarding the applicability of national criteria to the Local Designation Process were varied, but critically, not one professional considered this uncommon, or particularly problematic:

7. From my experience or what I've seen, the ones [criteria] that are most commonly I guess modified are the statutory criteria adapted to local needs.... I think I've seen some areas that have things like industrial, or 20th Century architecture is quite strong in this local area and so that's one of their criteria (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

8. ...some of the local lists that I've had knowledge [of] haven't clearly defined at all their criteria and that it's been something vaguely around age, vaguely around architectural importance...I'm sure the national criteria are usually the starting point (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

These two extracts demonstrate that the buildings-led, statutory criteria (centred on special architectural and historic interest) are considered the starting points for most Local Designation activity. The specific reference to age and architectural importance suggest that these two normative heritage values remain central pins in determining significance and heritage value, even at the local level of designation. Whilst there is a vague reference to adapting these to meet local needs, this idea is somewhat confusing. Firstly, it appears to relate purely to physical local distinctiveness, such as industrial heritage and twentieth century architecture, and secondly, whilst it recognises that the meaning of local heritage may be different in different localities, it completely fails to acknowledge the general principle that heritage is more than the physical, tangible fabric of buildings and structures. It falls silent on the previously discussed need to incorporate intangible aspects of heritage such as social and cultural heritage values. Furthermore, both extracts provide an uncritical assessment of using the normative heritage values as the starting point in local heritage designation processes. The emotional content of heritage discussed at the beginning of Chapter 6 is swiftly forgotten as the professionals revert back to the 'talk' they are used to and comfortable with. This suggests either a rejection of alternative heritage values in their entirety, or a vague proposition that it may be unproblematic to covertly shoe-horn subjective, intangible heritage values, into the well-established objective, normative framework. This is clearly an issue that needs unpicking at the local level of analysis.

Despite the above, the following extracts nevertheless highlight the importance of the connection between heritage and people, and by implication, notions of identity, belonging and 'community':

9. It's the heritage of ideas, it's customs, customs and practice, cultural practice, the things that people bring with them that identify them as a community which is not necessarily physical objects, which is their history and heritage which is the storytelling within the community, the things that are told within the community...it's stuff that for most communities is actually what keeps them together, ... but you can't necessarily pin it down (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

10. Those two words, like community value, actually is a very powerful thing that people can use at community level to protect all sorts of things that they think are important defined in their arena instead of a completely expert arena and they can bring their own understanding to it (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

Here, the intangible aspects of heritage appear to be deemed an essential part of the 'heritage' construct. Links to community cohesion and identity (extract 9) illustrate the importance of such aspects of heritage as integral to telling the whole heritage story. Resonating with earlier ideas about an evolving conservation philosophy, extract 10 more positively implies that the philosophical platform upon which conservation and heritage definitions rest, is transforming, and that the shift of power from the expert arena to communities is a central aspect of this. Notwithstanding this, it is acknowledged (extract 9) that these values are tenuous and difficult to *pin down*.

Social value as a tool for heritage identification is therefore important but a nebulous concept which requires clarity. The ambiguity surrounding it is further expressed in the statements below:

11. What I'm saying is that there are now vehicles and there are also open minds but those open minds, even at professional level, do not necessarily have reached a point of understanding as to what this openness actually means (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

12. We talk a lot also about intangible culture which is actually recognised at UNESCO level and so on now, although again these are doors that are opening and again people are not yet taking advantage of these open doors. A lot can be done around intangible heritage and a lot of ordinary people have never heard of the words, have they? (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

13. ...for many communities things are never going to change because they don't know what's on offer so how can they say what they want from it. That needs to change if there's going to be a real critical mass of activity so it becomes part of the mainstream (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

14. So I think that there needs to be a highlighting of community value and someone needs to actually write something like a leaflet about what this is about and capturing some of the things we've been discussing actually, and about how the community actually can play a greater role (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

The above statements are useful in revealing not only that professionals have problems understanding the social value concept, but also that the consequences of this misunderstanding are important for communities. If professionals do not see what the idea of social heritage values means for heritage designation, they will not convey this message to communities. As communities are likely to be the principal source of information pertaining to social aspects of heritage, any real change in conservation philosophies and practice is likely to be hindered.

This ensuing ambiguity and by virtue, superficiality of the *social value* unfolds clearly when examining the role of the public(s) and how this balances with that of the 'experts':

The Role of the Public/Expert

The interview data below illustrates what at first appears to be a notable shift in power and control from the professional, to the public(s):

15. It is important to be more open at the local level of designation... like us...we let people tell us what they feel is important heritage to them (Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012).

16. I think in an ideal world I think the community would have the ultimate responsibility (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Whilst the above clearly challenges the expert-led assumptions integral to the normative heritage discourse, the word *let* is an important textual indicator of self-identity, which expresses how the interviewer defines himself and his and the public's role. Indeed, in this context, the use of the word *let* appears to be an offer, a consolation. It implies that professionals are 'allowing' local communities to 'reclaim' discursive space to express what 'heritage' is. This understanding is particularly useful in ascertaining the realms of the 'experts' (*we*), as opposed to an undefined other, referred to vaguely as 'people'. This language constitutes particular ways of acting and identifying, and makes suggestions about social hierarchies

(Fairclough, 2003: 75). The uncritical description of 'people' is also telling of the apparent simplification of community involvement in the local heritage designation process. The definitive article *the* (extract 16) used when referring to *the* community also suggests that there is only one community' a 'community' devoid of complexity, inequality and differentiation. This failure to recognise the heterogeneity of the community presents itself as a potential preventative of change, rather than a stimulus for action. This idea will require probing at the local case study level.

Moreover, extract 16 is also revealing due to the use of the expression *in an ideal world*. The expression stresses that this perfect state exists only in the imagination, and is thus far from a reality. It however is evidence of a desire, at least on the part of the interviewee, that Local Heritage Designation will be a community-led process, which reflects other stated policy emphases. This goal however is clearly deemed somewhat problematic and is not shared by all professionals, as illustrated by the extracts below:

17. I think it's pretty tough and I think the question is, is how much effort do you put into doing that for what sort of return? I mean...[it] is going to require an awful lot of effort and a lot of resource and a lot of ... you know (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

18. ...definitely I think local communities should be involved but in a sort of loosely organised fashion I think is more appropriate (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

19. I think it's evolving and I think the idea of community is evolving and in an ideal world a community is not just about 'this is the community, this is the local authority', the lines would be a bit more blurred than that. I think some conservation officers do see it as a bit of a threat, to be completely honest (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

20. I think there are some people who are quite reticent about this idea of handing over things to the community and, they think that they should have the ultimate say in terms of judging whether something is a suitable thing or not, whereas I think it should be their judgement alongside the community's, it shouldn't be one or the other (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

21. I think we have to be prepared to allow the decision to be made for us in some respects, even if we don't like it (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

The idea of challenging roles and power balances in heritage designation is clearly a subject deemed uncomfortable, and there are no signs of strong national advocates for community-led heritage work or greater community involvement. In the first statement (extract 17), community involvement is considered of little use and clearly, not worth the effort. It appears to make the assumption that the experts possess the ultimate knowledge, through their professional conservation training, and that the 'community' cannot bring anything new, or relevant to the table. In other words, the dialogue appears to be one-way.

The other extracts rather implicitly accept that the role of the 'community' is evolving (although the nature of this is unspecified) and the shift in the balance of power seems inevitable. They nevertheless are explicit about the fact that they do not like this direction of travel and that it is considered somewhat of a *threat* (extract 19 and 21). This sentiment is further conveyed through the work of modality, marked out by the archetypal modal verb *have to*, (*must*) in extract 21, which clearly divulges the interviewee's position. The textual clues leave no doubt that the interviewee is uncomfortable with what he is saying, yet considers himself helpless to an externally imposed change. The sentiments expressed in these extracts thus indicate a perception that the role of actors within the Local Heritage Designation Process is

changing and that the community may be becoming more active in the process. The exact nature of this change or of the roles is obfuscated and requires probing within the local case study work. Extract 22 below initially appears to provide a contrasting view, but upon closer inspection, is similar in tone:

22. You know, targeted asking people outside of those areas of expertise I think is, you know, could be really interesting, you know, working with certain kind of community groups that aren't anything to do with heritage but it needs to be quite carefully targeted and managed I would have thought to get something meaningful from that (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Whilst the statement suggests that indeed consultation could be *interesting* it is clearly not deemed as a *vital* process in heritage designation; instead more of a consolation. It thus validates the sentiments in extract 17 above regarding the undefined value gained from consulting non-experts. It might be interesting, but it is not necessary. It also confirms that community involvement is not an obligation, and national heritage specialists do not appear to really see a clear need for it in the mainstream Local Heritage Designation Process; it appears entirely undervalued. It can be deduced that a primary reason for this is the misunderstandings surrounding social values, together with the immutable rejection of subjectivity. Clearly both social values and subjectivity are likely to be central aspects of heritage values that emerge from the communities.

Nevertheless, the collection of extracts above demonstrates that notions of 'community involvement' are undoubtedly part of the heritage discourse. Together, the data reveal that issues of 'community' are relevant in today's society and perhaps have taken up a political edge, yet how this translates into practice is thus far unknown. As such, the realities of community involvement in Local Heritage Designation, and the role of the communities, require exploration within local level analysis.

Communities Devoid of Complexity

Returning to the issue of 'community', and how such communities are imagined, is necessary to expose some further potential prohibitive norms hindering inclusive Local Heritage Designation, and subsequently, the inclusion of social/cultural values. The national data clearly imply that professionals are aware of, and appreciate the importance of *understanding* (the place and the mix of communities) prior to heritage identification; however the majority uncritically assume that this is a core part of the Local Heritage Designation Process:

23. ... if you're trying to protect what makes a borough distinctive at a local level, you need to define what it is that is distinctive about the borough before you can protect it. It's the basic conservation theory of understand first (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

24. ...you'd have to get to know a place to be able to work on any aspect of it so ... and that might be through doing traditional research or it might be doing a more kind of, you know, creative approach to kind of, you know, oral history or surveying people in the area or ... but I think you'd have to get stuck in and find out from people that lived locally as well as the kind of historic record of that place what was significant about it. That would be the way of finding out. It's not an area I work in but I'm sure there are quite tested and proven methods of consulting people locally and finding out those sorts of questions so there is some quite creative work going on on those fronts I'm quite certain (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

25. Well yes, if you understand your place you're certainly going to understand how it has developed in the past and what the demographics are now and I know local authorities have been encouraged for some years to have a very clear understanding of place mapping and who their population are and so on (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English

Heritage, 22 February 2012).

26. I think that's something that's not really happening to the extent that it probably should at the moment. One of the ideas we've been thinking about with the Local List is before you start selection criterias is really try and think about what makes an area different, what are the characteristics of a local area in terms of its heritage (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The collection of extracts above is explicit about the need at the local level of Heritage Designation to understand where and for whom heritage is defined and designated. A seemingly critical dependency is established between *designating heritage* and a range of tasks including *defining* what is *distinctive* or *different* in an area (extract 23); undertaking *traditional research*, including *oral history* and *surveying people* in the area (extract 24); understanding the *historic evolution* and the *characteristics* of the place, as well as understanding the *demographics* now (extract 25). These ostensibly vital and intrinsic methodological approaches clearly go beyond the requirements of the more traditional approaches to heritage designation. They thus reveal a real coalition of discourses, which unfold as a sign of cultural hybridity, constructing core, natural processes which if implemented in reality, would represent real changes in traditional heritage identification methods. Such change could undoubtedly illuminate some social and cultural values (whether these would be legitimised of course is dependent on a whole range of other issues as alluded to above). Furthermore, when referring to understanding the demographics of a place, the use of the adverb *now* (extract 25) is revealing in the work it does to give some relevance to present generations. Unlike other statements which seemed to prioritise either the past, the future, or both, this idea brings in the first real indicator of a present 'community' of difference. When prompted about how such data would be utilised in practice to inform Local Heritage Designation, however, the interviewee fell silent. The final statement (extract 26) also candidly admitted that this does not appear to happen adequately in practice. These issues will be explored in depth during the second phase of data collection.

Despite the aforesaid initial signs of change in perspectives about *processes* and *approaches* to heritage identification, as well as an apparent move towards recognising the demographics of the present generation, a series of statements point to the fact that the Local Heritage Designation Process continues to be highly elitist and exclusionary:

27. I think that the issues...around the recognition of black and ethnic minority heritage in the local setting is really a very important and very contemporary issue (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

28. It's very much looked at in terms of the white UK community where planning decisions are made...the heritage that others bring to those buildings isn't always part of that story (Interviewee Eight, male, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 16 March 2012).

29. ...the assumption was there was no black history...one of the officers ... said that black people only came to work in the factories and drive the buses and they had no history or heritage within the city (Interviewee Ten, female, senior professional, Artistry Events and Black Oxford, 29 March 2012).

30. ...Now we are living in a multicultural society which really does not have the kind of both overt and underlying racism that I experienced 20 years ago. We have made progress but of course this progress has to be made in other things that are more subtle than overt racism. So ... the recognition of black and ethnic minority heritage lies in this area really, of the expansion of the idea that everyone is equal and equally important in heritage and culture as well as in social and general relational issues...there are [some] open minds but those open minds, even at professional level, do not necessarily have reached a point of understanding as to what this openness actually means (Interviewee Eleven, female, senior professional, Black Environment Network, 04 April 2012).

The collection of statements above brings to the fore some real, current and contemporary issues in Local Heritage Designation. Whilst it was shown earlier that there is an appreciation that understanding place (including the existing people living there) is a vital prerequisite of heritage identification, the above extracts imply that the heritage identified at the local level continues to centre exclusively upon those people who belong to a particular demographic (white, British). It is suggested that progress has been made in terms of professionals being more tolerant and more aware of the multicultural society in which they operate, but that minority interests still appear to be excluded. The marrying of this concern with that of racism (extract 30) exposes the strong sentiment that lies behind this issue. Indeed, the reference to race in all of the extracts above point to an issue concerning the dominance of the typical British, white homogenous group in local heritage practice. Moreover, it is this group who appear to have a unified understanding of heritage, which aligns with expert judgements. This is in contrast to heritage relating to non-British and other minority communities, who are assumed to be irrelevant and unrelated to Heritage Designation in England, *there was no black history, no history or heritage* (extracts 28 and 29). Extract 30 suggests that the principal issue lies again with (mis)understandings and a lack of awareness to see beyond the norms. For instance, rather than proactively excluding such communities from Local Heritage Designation, there appears to be a basic lack of understanding as to how such ideas fit together, and what this could mean for practice. An alternative view is offered by Interviewee Four exposing a conflict which resonates with ideas of the nation state, status and patriotism:

31. I think as with any cultural situation people have values riding on particular aspects of it and for many people the great monuments of English civilisation are a touchstone and source of security and value that they are very comfortable with and which mean things to them about their status in the world and that's absolutely fine. But I think it will also be fine to talk about Islamic influences on British mediaeval architecture if there is good research to show that such things existed. ... I think if it gets set up into some kind of false competition and we see this in the media too often, "You can't have this, but they can have that," this is poisonous and does great damage. It isn't an either or, it's a both (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

This sense of competition, patriotism and status relate to finding a *sense of place* in the world and searching for, or striving to safeguard that notion of *belonging*. Moreover, this emerges as a debate about *identity*. What this statement suggests, then, is that the wider analysis undertaken by this thesis cannot be limited to a clear-cut, examination of perspectives on inclusion and localism, but must also attempt to navigate rather complex and delicate undercurrents that surround notions of heritage, and how this impacts on processes and conceptualisations. The examples referred to in the statement above are therefore useful ways to understand the subtleties between communities and their ideas of heritage.

Despite the apparent openness expressed in extract 31 above regarding the need to identify and include non-British and other minority heritage, this however clearly harks back to traditional notions of heritage, centred on architecture and buildings-led values (*influences on British mediaeval architecture*). It is the absence of any examples relating to social heritage and heritage values which start with the communities themselves which is most important here. When probed further about the ways in which both British and non-British/minority communities are relevant to Local Heritage Designation, several interviewees emphasised the need to encourage diverse communities to engage with and value traditional ideas of English heritage, such as the stately home. The following extracts provide evidence of these apparent core objectives:

32. English Heritage was given three year targets by the last government to try and engage more people in visiting our sites. One of the major dynamics around visiting heritage buildings that are open to the public is actually social class, which is not something that any government so far has legislated to try to change. But we were successful in improving the percentage of people from minority ethnic groups that visited our sites during that period to some extent (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

33. ...where we tend to come in with those museum trusts is we are brought in to do a capital or other project with them ...to bring in more visitors, to bring in more revenue (Interviewee One, male, senior professional, Heritage Lottery Fund, 16 February 2012).

34. I had an interview with a black DJ on a radio station recently in which he challenged me and said "Why was I talking to him about Stonehenge, it was nothing to do with him," and my answer was that I don't have any kids, but he does and somebody has got to look after the thing, it's a world heritage site. The heritage of England and Britain belongs to the people who live in the country and if we don't decide as a nation to look after it, it won't be looked after. So from the point of view of heritage being inclusive, and speaking to people about why it should matter to them is still a concern (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The data point quite markedly to a focus on targets (extract 32), which relate to bringing more people of diverse backgrounds through the door, and ultimately, developing the existing audience (extract 33). These approaches appear to miss the point. For instance, extract 34 is a prime example of this misunderstanding in practice. Interviewee Four seems to fail to appreciate that being socially inclusive is not about audience development and persuading people from black and minority ethnic backgrounds to care for traditional English heritage (monuments, stately homes, country houses, etc.). Indeed, what appears to be happening here is a process of assimilation whereby the professionals are trying to impose their normative values and tenets on to everybody else. The knowledge exchange envisaged is clearly one way; the white, British, middle class, professional should educate the non-British communities about what heritage is, instilling their own values in accordance with the dominant ideological undercurrent of heritage. This could be viewed as a covert form of social engineering whereby those who sit outside of the dominant heritage discourse will be coerced inside. Discursively, the social inclusion discourse, not dissimilar to the normative heritage discourse, appears to have become naturalised through discourse. Indeed, any sentence which includes a form of the term 'social inclusion' becomes a common sense statement, which is banded about so much that it appears to have become somewhat meaningless. This idea moves the level of thinking beyond ideas of social inclusion, community involvement and community leadership, back to the very nature of 'heritage' itself. As such, the role of the communities appears passive. They will be the beneficiaries of such teaching and information/knowledge exchanges. The passive role of the 'community' is emphasised further in the following extracts:

35. Yeah we pride ourselves on being as explicit and informative really in all our advice reports that we do to really set out and really explain and try and win over, always being rational and informed but by trying to just kind of explain why something's special. I think that helps to, you know, draw people in to wanting to look after it and to celebrate it themselves. You know ... that's the kind of bottom line I guess really (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

36. The issue for heritage has been about ... public benefit (Interviewee Three, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The extracts again paint a picture of a dialogically closed relationship in which knowledge exchanges appear to be one-way. The first statement also draws on notions of rationality and clarity, further emphasising the importance this holds in

heritage decision making. Moreover, the second statement includes an existential assumption about *heritage* itself; it is assumed, presupposed and taken as a given, devoid of dissonance. A causal relationship is also assumed that *heritage*, or in other words, seeing relevance in *English* traditional ideas of *heritage*, will, in itself produce public benefits. The interviewee fails to provide any clarity as to how it does this. This established relationship is an example of a propositional assumption, used to promote and embellish heritage, and by virtue, the conservation system, making vague assumptions about consequences and relationships. Such ideas pertaining to being of *public benefit* also signal the use of instrumental rationalisation in which this public benefit becomes the generalised, moral logic behind the entire Heritage Designation System. This is a means of justifying the existing process, defending and further rationalising what is identified, how and for whom. Clearly, the sense of dynamic existing between people and heritage is under-developed, and the professionals appear to be very much in the driving seat.

The Mixing of Discourses and Competing Strategic Priorities

Travelling Concepts: Social Inclusion and Localism

The notion of 'community' and the obfuscated role such communities appear to be given within the Local Heritage Designation Process leads to discussions about the importance and prominence of social inclusion as a contemporary central government strategy. When asked for views on whether there was a strong, strategic message to be socially inclusive, filtering down from Central Government to the local level of implementation, a striking consensus emerges:

37. There's certainly talk about ... getting local communities involved in caring for their heritage and so on but there's not really any policy to actively make that happen, it's more an aspiration really (Interviewee Two, female, senior professional, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 22 February 2012).

38. I think on a general level, yes, there is very much a strong message to be socially inclusive... You could argue whether that has weakened slightly with the current Government, I don't know. So I would say that public policy from Government does include a strong requirement to be socially inclusive. English Heritage does the same I'm sure, I mean I couldn't put a name to a document, but I think because it's PPS5, whether it will appear in the NPPF tomorrow or not is another question, but because it's in PPS5 I think that that message is there. Whether it's shouted loud enough I don't know, but it is there (Interviewee Nine, male, senior professional, North of England Civic Trust, 26 March 2012).

As argued above, the notion of social inclusion, (in a similar way to the canons of conservation practice) has become naturalised through discourse and as such has incredible staying power. The above extracts make clear that it is still very much on the radar of heritage specialists, and indeed the social inclusion message (however vague that may be) continues to exist in various documents and policies and is understood as a *requirement*. Interviewee Two, however, concedes that there is no policy to actively implement this strategy at the local level (extract 37). She evades this by insisting that social inclusion is *more an aspiration really*. In other words, it belongs to the realms of rhetoric. This apparent lack of commitment to social inclusion is further validated by the second statement, which similarly implies that the message from Central Government is far from robust (extract 38). Indeed, it goes on to suggest that the change in Government may have diluted the social inclusion message. Whilst there may be some leverage in this assumption, Interviewee Four shows that the social inclusion message was in fact never really linked to Heritage Protection Review, since its conception back in the year 2000, under the previous Government (extract 39 below). When probed about this relationship and whether social inclusion was a part of HPR, she responded:

39. Not causally as far as I know.we have borne it in mind as we've gone along, but it's been a rapidly changing agenda. ... I think our approach has been very much saying, "What is the core work? What is it that English Heritage will be doing? What are the social inclusion implications of that?" rather than it being driven the other way round (Interviewee Four, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

Whilst it would appear that social inclusion, as a strategy, at least since 2000, has not been central to conservation planning or heritage work, the social inclusion discourse appears to be meeting comfortably with the contemporary concept of *localism*, which has been the flagship policy idea of the Coalition Government, and the first Act to be ratified under the Cameron administration. The following extracts demonstrate this synergy as they introduce, and combine the localism and social inclusion discourses.

40. I suppose there are a lot of links obviously with localism and the idea of social inclusion (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

41. ...there was a lot of kind of local agenda stuff within HPR so the idea of Local Listing was one of the kind of main thrusts of HPR... So yeah there was a strong kind of localism with a lower case L agenda through HPR as we called it and by virtue of that then social inclusion I think (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

42. ...[social inclusion] is really kind of that local engagement, that localism idea of letting people decide what they think is important in their area...and this is a great platform for them to be able to do that (Interviewee Six, male, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

43. ...the idea of localism I think obviously it's very high on the political agenda at the moment but that has shaped ... even before localism with a capital L evolved, I think the idea of involving communities and asking questions about what values to people has been on the horizon for a while and that's informed current approaches to definitions of heritage I think (Interviewee Five, female, senior professional, English Heritage, 22 February 2012).

The combined effort of the social inclusion and localism discourses strengthens the political power of the collaborative message to the point where it almost appears to have amalgamated into a new, combined *social inclusion-localism* discourse. What is also important to note is that this coupling together of two separate and distinct Central Government strategies (one Labour inspired, the other Conservative-Liberal Coalition inspired) portrays them as, in broad terms, a continuation or evolution of the same message. The reference to localism with a lower case L as opposed to localism with a capital L reveals this fusion. Moreover, due to this outlook, professionals believe that this has always *been on the horizon* and has already informed *approaches to definitions of heritage* (extract 43). If localism with a capital L is considered more or less an extension of what has gone before, it implies little hope for radical change in the imminent future. What is more, if heritage definitions have already supposedly reacted and shifted in a response to localism with a lower case L (or social inclusion), this draws us back to issues concerning firstly, the dominant ideologies underpinning understandings and approaches to social inclusion, and from that, back full circle to the philosophies underpinning the nature of 'heritage' itself.

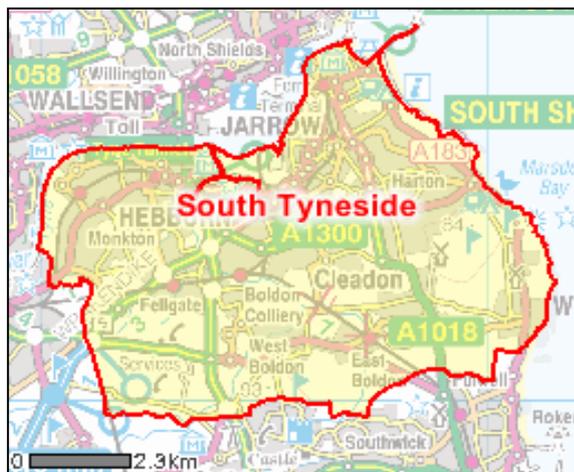
A further important point to make here is that the Local List or Local Heritage Designation process is yet again flagged as *a great platform* for implementation of the social inclusion-localism strategy (extract 42). Likewise it is reiterated that Local Listing and the idea of localism (*local agenda stuff*) was a core objective of Heritage Protection Review in England (extract 41). These statements further validate the importance of exploring the local level of Heritage Designation to advance theory in this research area.

APPENDIX T: LOCAL CASE STUDY 1: PROFILE

Location and Key Statistics

Positioned within the Tyne and Wear City Region in North East England (Figure T1), STC has a population of just over 150,000 and is largely urbanised, particularly in the north where the main settlements of South Shields, Jarrow and Hebburn have developed along the riverside. In contrast, the southern part of the Borough still retains open countryside with smaller settlements such as the urban fringe villages of Whitburn, Cleadon and the Boldons. (South Tyneside Council, 2007: 5: 1.10). Bordered by four other boroughs, Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead to the west, Sunderland in the south, and North Tyneside to the north, STC forms part of the Tyneside conurbation. It is the sixth largest in the United Kingdom, with a geographical area of 64.43 km² (24.88 sq mi). It is bordered to the east by the North Sea and to the north by the River Tyne. A Green Belt of 23.64 km² (9.13 sq mi) is at its southern boundary.

Figure T1: Map Showing South Tyneside



Source: ONS (2011a)

Size of Workforce and Political Leadership

STC has a workforce of 12900 employees (The Department for Business, Innovation & Skills (BIS), 2012) and has a history dating back to 1974, when it was formed by the merging of the County Borough of South Shields with the municipal borough of Jarrow and the urban districts of Boldon and Hebburn from County Durham. Politically, STC is split into 18 wards and has a total of 54 councillors (with 3 representing each of the 18 wards). Labour has overall control of the Local Authority with 48 of the 54 seats. Political control has in fact been held by labour since 1973. STC's elected members are strong supporters of the *Heritage Champion* concept, and this role is held by one member. According to English Heritage, the role of a Heritage Champion is:

...to act as the elected representative championing the historic environment, working

alongside the local conservation staff. Champions should provide authority and clarity about heritage issues, connecting the work of elected representatives with local planning authority officers (English Heritage, 2013b).

The Heritage Champion for STC was therefore a key player in the Local Heritage Designation Process, sitting on the decision-making panel.

Historic Profile

STC's main administrative centre and largest town is South Shields, which has a long and varied history. The town has the largest Roman reconstruction along Hadrian's Wall, and it is part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site. (South Tyneside Council, 2011a).

Excluding the period of the ancient Roman civilisation, the Local Authority's fascinating history begins as far back as the Ninth Century BC, when the Vikings and Danes raided South Tyneside, creating settlements and bringing with them new customs and laws. In 1245, when the Catholic church became more influential, the town of South Shields was founded (South Tyneside Council, 2011a). Whilst the town was largely a fishing port at this time, by 1499 a long tradition of salt panning had begun, followed by glass-works in the 17th century and chemical manufacture in the 18th century. It was however, the Industrial Revolution that fuelled rapid growth in the town as coal mining and shipbuilding became major exports. At one time, Tyneside built 25% of the world's ships (*ibid*). It was these industries that were responsible for creating wealth both regionally and nationally.

This wealth was reflected in the construction of what the Local Authority considers to be many notable public buildings, such as the Customs House and the Town Hall. With this development, also came large-scale social change, not just in terms of housing but infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and sanitation improvements (South Tyneside Council, 2011a).

Shipbuilding and repairing, coal mining and exports, and the chemical industries declined from the latter half of the twentieth century, resulting in mass unemployment and associated deprivation. The area was also badly affected by bomb damage in the First and Second World Wars (South Tyneside Council, 2007: 5: 1.12). Despite these setbacks, the town's diverse history can still be seen reflected in many of its buildings today. The Local Authority has formally recognised many of these buildings as being of special interest.

A Snapshot Portrait of the Historic Environment in STC

At the time of writing (2013), STC has 195 entries on the register of Statutory Listed Buildings, and 11 conservation areas. A summary of these recognised areas, sites and monuments include:

<p>Conservation Areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cleadon conservation area • Cleadon Hills conservation area • East Boldon conservation area • Hebburn Hall conservation area • Mariners' Cottages conservation area • Mill Dam conservation area • Monkton conservation area • St Paul's conservation area • West Boldon conservation area • Westoe conservation area • Whitburn conservation area <p>Registered Park and Garden:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • North Marine Park, South Marine Park and Bents Park in South Shields 	<p>Scheduled Ancient Monuments (SAMs):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St. Paul's Church, Jarrow • Bede Monastery, Jarrow • Arbeia Roman Fort and Vicus • Marsden Lime Kilns, Marsden <p>Other Important Archaeological Sites and Monuments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Pier, Lighthouse and Volunteer Life Brigade House • Bowes Railway • Wrekendyke Roman Road • Railway remains: Boldon Colliery - Downhill and Enclosure; Moor Lane, Whitburn
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In addition to these formally recognised buildings, sites and monuments of historic, architectural or archaeological significance, STC also has some eminent social history, as discussed below.

Social Heritage- Key Events, Traditions and People of Interest

The social heritage of STC is linked *inter alia* to key events, traditions and well-known people, associated with the area. Historical immigration patterns also point to a unique multicultural composition, which has also impacted upon social development and the present-day social significance and identity of the area. One such event is the Jarrow Crusade of 1936.

The Jarrow Crusade

The Jarrow Crusade of 1936 was a key event in the town's social history. At the time, Northeast England was suffering mass unemployment and extreme poverty, which led to 200 men marching in protest from Jarrow to London, with a petition to present to parliament (Collette, 2011). Primarily, they sought to convey to parliament that they were living in a region with 70% unemployment, and consequently many associated difficulties. The men were demanding that a steel works be built to bring back jobs to the town, as the Palmer's shipyard in Jarrow had been closed down in the previous year. The yard had been Jarrow's major source of employment, and the closure compounded the existing problems of poverty, overcrowding, poor housing and high mortality rates (Collette, 2011). The Jarrow marchers successfully reached London, but despite considerable public sympathy the crusade made little real impact. The significance of the Jarrow Crusade, however, is such that the original banner carried by the marchers to London can be viewed at Jarrow Town Hall (South Tyneside Council, 2011).

Traditional Events

Another key annual event in South Tyneside is The Great North Run, which is the world's biggest and, arguably, most iconic half marathon (Bupa, 2013). It takes place every September/October, starting in Newcastle upon Tyne and finishing on The Leas in South Shields. Other traditional events include an annual summer festival, with street parade and entertainment (South Tyneside Council, 2012). In addition to such traditional, cultural events, STC has some notable local connections to people of interest.

Local People of Interest

There are several people with local connections to South Tyneside. For instance, author Dame Catherine Cookson, former Prime Minister of New Zealand Sir William Fox, actress Dame Flora Robson, Monty Python actor Eric Idle, Hollywood director Ridley Scott, waxed jacket inventor J Barbour and athlete Steve Cram are all famous local people (South Tyneside Council, 2013). Moreover, the author, Lewis Carroll was inspired whilst on holiday in Whitburn to write 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' and 'Through the Looking-Glass'. In more recent years, other social connections have been made. For example, singer Joe McElderry (2009 X Factor winner) comes from the area as well as 2011 X Factor Winners Little Mix. Whilst these are very contemporary local connections, there are also some notable periods of social movements which have shaped the social composition of STC. For instance, there are some long-standing, influential social connections that can be traced back to the 1890s and beyond, as discussed below.

Demographic Profile

Most notably, South Shields has become the home to a well-established Yemeni British community. The Yemeni community is one of the oldest Arab and Muslim communities in the UK, and this immigration has produced a distinctive Arab/British identity in South Tyneside (Ngoo, 2008). The main reason for the Yemeni arrival was the supply of seamen, such as engine room firemen, to British merchant vessels in the 1890s. Similar communities were founded in Hull, Liverpool and Cardiff (Lawless, 1993). It was however the visit of Muhammad Ali in 1977, the year of the Queen's Silver Jubilee, which had a major influence on the successful social integration of the Arab community into the region. Indeed, the fact that Muhammad Ali (a very high profile Muslim) and his new wife Veronica, attended the South Shields Mosque to have their wedding blessed by the Imam, was great acknowledgement of the UK's oldest Muslim community. This visit was important due to the impact it had on the Yemeni community's lives, faith and sense of identity (Ngoo, 2008).

Looking back further than the nineteenth century, the present-day culture of South Tyneside has in fact been shaped by the settling of the Celts, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Vikings and Arabs. In more recent times, it has also seen the settling of people from the Commonwealth, particularly the Indian sub-continent, and the European Union. Despite such diversity, STC however is today dominated by a White British Population. The official demographic statistics taken from the Office of National Statistics point to a number of other unique demographic attributes (see Figure T2 below):

Figure T2: Key Demographic Attributes (STC)

South Tyneside Case Study: Unique Demographic Attributes at a glance (ONS 2011a)
More than average White British population 96.52%
More than average Christian faith 81.85%
More than average people aged 16-74 with no qualifications 36.43%
Less than average people aged 16-74 with highest qualification attained level 4 / 5 (Persons) 12.40%
More than average people aged 16-74 long-term unemployed 2.37%
Most deprived case study location 52 (1 most deprived)

Source: ONS (2011a)

As aforesaid, despite a large Yemeni community, Figure T2 illustrates that South Tyneside is predominantly home to a White British population. Other distinctive characteristics include a higher than average unemployment rate and a higher than average percentage of residents with no qualifications. Such statistics make STC of particular interest as a case study to explore Local Heritage Designation Processes.

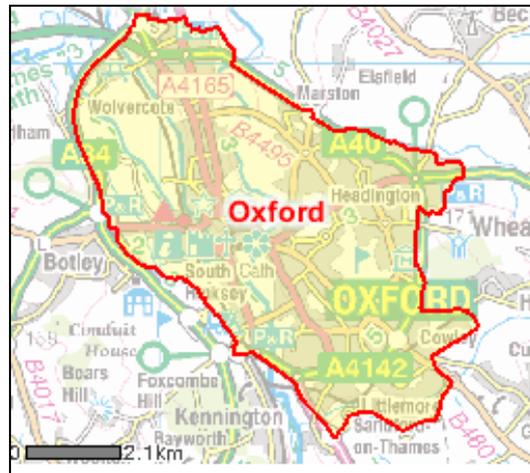
In addition to the background information above, Appendix U, Figure U3 sets out the demographic data for Case Study 1, 2 and the England average (for comparative purposes).

APPENDIX U: LOCAL CASE STUDY 2: PROFILE

Location and Key Statistics

OCC lies within the County of Oxfordshire in the South East of England (Figure U1). It has a geographical area of 46 sq km (17.7 sq miles) and has a population of just over 151,000. Parts of the urban area are very densely developed, whilst 52% of the city's area is made up of open space. The built-up area extends to the administrative boundary around much of the eastern side of the city, but the river corridors of the Thames and Cherwell penetrate as extensive green wedges into the heart of the city. This gives Oxford a distinctive physical form, with much of the residential population concentrated to the east of the city centre. Some 27% of Oxford is in the Green Belt, with much of this land being flood plain. The historic city parks and nature conservation areas (including a Special Area of Conservation (SAC) and several Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs)) create pockets and corridors of green within the city boundary.

Figure U1: Map Showing Location of Oxford City Council



Source: ONS (2011b)

Size of Workforce and Political Leadership

OCC has a workforce of 29300 employees (The Department for Business, Innovation & Skills (BIS), 2012) and is politically controlled by the Labour Party. OCC is split into 24 wards and has a total of 48 councillors (with 2 representing each of the 24 wards). At present, Labour has overall control of the Local Authority with 29 of the 48 seats. The Liberal Democrats have 13 seats and are the party's main political opposition. There are no elected Conservatives on the City Council. OCC's elected members are strong supporters of the *Heritage Champion* concept, and this role is held by one member, appointed annually. The decision was taken at OCC that the actual adoption of the Local List would be delegated to the Council's lead member for planning who is also the heritage champion. As the Conservation Officer leading on the Local List explains:

we built in a political representative in the process who has got a big responsibility for the project, so that there is a connection between the officers and the people doing the work and the Council's political decision making process (LIRLS)

Historic Profile

Oxford is a “world-renowned historic city with a rich and diverse built heritage” (Oxford City Council, 2011: 10). Its “urban origins lie in the late Saxon period; its original street pattern and some of these earliest buildings and monuments still survive” (2011: 11). The “foundation and growth of the University transformed Oxford from a significant medieval town, based on monastic foundations, into an international seat of learning” (2011: 11). Consequently, Oxford’s history “is reflected in outstanding buildings of all ages from the 13th century to the present day. It is one of the best-preserved medieval universities in the world” (2011: 11).

Regarding Oxford’s growth, the Core Strategy states the following:

The main growth of Oxford beyond its historic core took place from the mid- 19th century onwards, spurred by railway and improved river transport, the growth of the University and other educational establishments, and the printing and publishing industry. In the 20th century this growth continued and was further accelerated through car manufacturing and Oxford’s role as a regional hub of health services. The city retains distinctive physical characteristics reflecting the different strands of economic and social growth that have shaped its history. An important part of Oxford’s historic character is its unique skyline and landscape setting. Apart from the built heritage, much of Oxford’s history remains buried beneath later urban development. (Oxford City Council, 2011: 11).

Contemporary Oxford is “an economic hub with a world-class knowledge economy that underpins continued prosperity, not just in the Central Oxfordshire sub-region but also in the south east of England and beyond” (Oxford City Council, 2011: 11). As well as a major tourist destination, Oxford is also an important retail centre and the cultural centre of the region. Notwithstanding this development and economic growth, Oxford has retained its historic core and green spaces (Oxford City Council, 2011). The following section provides an overview of the formalised historic environment in Oxford.

A Snapshot Portrait of the Historic Environment in OCC

At the time of writing (2013), OCC has 1,600 entries on the register of Statutory Listed Buildings (more than twice the national average of grade I and II* buildings), and 17 conservation areas. A summary of these recognised historic and archaeological areas, sites and monuments include:

<p>17 Conservation Areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bartlemas Conservation Area • Beauchamp Lane Conservation Area • Binsey Conservation Area • Central (University and City) Conservation Area • Headington Hill Conservation Area • Headington Quarry Conservation Area • Iffley Conservation Area • Jericho Conservation Area • Littlemore Conservation Area • Marston Conservation Area • North Oxford Victorian Suburb Conservation Area • Old Headington Conservation Area • Osney Town Conservation Area • St Clement's and Iffley Road Conservation Area • Temple Cowley Conservation Area • Walton Manor Conservation Area • Wolvercote and Godstow Conservation Area 	<p>11 Scheduled Ancient Monuments (SAMs) (date from prehistoric times to 1906)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Wall – 7 sections • Osney Abbey – remains • Rewley Abbey • Godstow Abbey • Ring Ditches and Enclosures at Port Meadow • Bridge West of Godstow Abbey • Swing Bridge • Seacourt Deserted Village • Extended Scheduling of Port Meadow • Oxford Castle and Earlier Settlement Remains • Section of the Grandpont Causeway <p>15 Registered Historic Park and Gardens:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christ Church • Corpus Christi • High Wall, Headington • Magdalen College • Merton College • New College • Oxford Botanic Garden • Park Town • St Catherine's College • St John's College • St Sepulchre's Cemetery • Trinity College • University Parks • Wadham College • Worcester College
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In addition to these formally recognised buildings, sites and monuments of historic, architectural or archaeological significance, OCC also has some celebrated social history, as discussed below.

Social Heritage- Key Events, Traditions and People of Interest

The social heritage of OCC is linked, *inter alia* to key events, traditions and well-known people, associated with the area. One such event is the traditional St Giles Fair.

St Giles Fair

Since the nineteenth century, the St Giles' Fair has been held on the Monday and Tuesday following the first Sunday after St Giles' Day (1 September). The Fair evolved from the St Giles' parish wake of the early seventeenth century, which later became known as St Giles' Feast. In the 1780s it was a toy fair (selling

miscellaneous cheap and useful wares), and by 1800 it had become a general fair to entertain children. From the 1830s there were amusements for adults as well. By the end of the nineteenth century there were several proposals to close the Fair, as it had become too 'rowdy' and licentious. In 1930 the city corporation (now the City Council) took over the control of the fair and it continues as an Oxford tradition (Jenkins, 2013).

Other Traditional Events

Another key annual event in Oxford is the annual Lord and Lady Mayor's parade. The traditional parade attracts thousands of people and involves an array of colourful floats which are decorated based on various themes. In 1998 for instance the theme was nursery rhymes (Oxford Mail, 1998). The City Council announces this event as a day for residents and tourists to celebrate the history of Oxford.

Local People of Interest

Throughout its history, Oxford has produced many local people of interest, including many gifted men and women who have studied or taught at the University. Among these are 26 British Prime Ministers, including the current one, the Rt Hon David Cameron MP; at least 30 international leaders; 50 Nobel Prize winners; 7 current holders of the Order of Merit; at least 12 saints and 20 Archbishops of Canterbury; and some 120 Olympic medal winners (University of Oxford, 2013).

Other well-known local associations include Olympic winning rower, Matthew Pinsent, athlete, Sir Roger Bannister, lead singer of Oxfordshire band Radiohead, Thom Yorke, tennis player, Tim Henman and comedian and actor, Rowan Atkinson (BBC, 2005). Past connections include the author, C.S. Lewis who was educated at University College, Oxford, and author, Dame Agatha Christie. It is believed that the house where Agatha Christie actually lived, Winterbrook Lodge in the town of Wallingford, is the model for Danemead, which is Miss Marple's house in the village of St Mary Mead. Wallingford is believed to be the model for the fictional town of Market Basing, the site of a number of Agatha Christie's mysteries. Other past connections include pop star and guitarist in the Beatles, George Harrison, authors, J R R Tolkien and Lewis Carroll, politician, Sir Winston Churchill and comedian, writer and actor, Ronnie Barker (BBC, 2005).

Demographic Profile

Oxford is a University City and consequently its demographic profile includes a large, and increasing number of students (over 30,000 full-time at both universities)⁷⁷. This means that Oxford has a high proportion of 16-29 year olds (32% – twice the national average), with proportionately fewer middle-aged people (30-64) than in the South East as a whole. In contrast to other parts of the county, Oxford is ethnically and culturally diverse, with the third-highest minority ethnic population in the South East region. The official demographic statistics taken from the Office of National Statistics point to a number of other unique demographic attributes (see Figure U2):

Figure U2: Key Demographic Attributes (OCC)

⁷⁷ Oxford Annual Monitoring Report (2007/08)

Oxford Case Study: Unique Demographic Attributes at a glance (ONS 2011b)

Less than average White British population 76.75%

Indicator		South Tyneside	Oxford	Average for England
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More than average White: Irish, White (other) 2.16%

Slightly more than average mixed: White and Black Caribbean 0.77%, White and Black African 0.28%, White and Asian 0.73% and Other Mixed 0.64%.

Slightly more than average Asian or Asian British: Pakistani 1.96%, Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi 0.65%, Black or Black British: Caribbean 1.24%, Black or Black British: African 1.05%, Black or Black British: Other Black 0.22%, Chinese or other ethnic group: Chinese 1.83% and Chinese or other ethnic group: Other ethnic group 1.31%.

Less than average Christian faith 60.41%

More than average People stating religion as: Buddhist 0.80%, People stating religion as: Jewish 0.81%, and people stating religion as: Muslim 3.85%

Less than average people aged 16-74 with no qualifications 18.59%

Much more than average people aged 16-74 with highest qualification attained level 4 / 5 (Persons) 36.85%

Less than average people aged 16-74 long-term unemployed 0.63%

Less deprived case study location (122 out of 354 local authorities in England: 1 most deprived)

Source: ONS (2011b)

For comparative purposes, Figure U3 sets out the demographic data for Case Study 1, 2 and the average for England (overleaf):

Population: All people	Count	152,785	134,248	
White: British (P Figure U3: Comparative Key Demographic Attributes				
White: Irish (Persons)		0.24% 365	2.16% 2,898	1.27%
White: Other White		0.53% 807	8.20% 11,009	2.66%
Mixed: White and Black Caribbean (Persons)		0.11% 172	0.77% 1,030	0.47%
Mixed: White and Black African (Persons)		0.11% 165	0.28% 380	0.16%
Mixed: White and Asian (Persons)		0.23% 356	0.73% 974	0.37%
Mixed: Other Mixed (Persons)		0.23% 354	0.64% 855	0.31%
Asian or Asian British: Indian (Persons)		0.63% 970	1.73% 2,323	2.09%
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani (Persons)		0.20% 306	1.96% 2,625	1.44%
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi (Persons)		0.53% 812	0.65% 878	0.56%
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian (Persons)		0.22% 331	0.48% 645	0.48%
Black or Black British: Caribbean (Persons)		0.02% 25	1.24% 1,664	1.14%
Black or Black British: African (Persons)		0.12% 178	1.05% 1,408	0.97%
Black or Black British: Other Black (Persons)		0.04% 58	0.22% 296	0.19%
Chinese or other ethnic group: Chinese (Persons)		0.12% 185	1.83% 2,460	0.45%
Chinese or other ethnic group: Other ethnic group (Persons)		0.15% 235	1.31% 1,762	0.44%
Religion				
People stating religion as: Christian (Persons)		81.85% 125,057	60.41% 81,100	71.74%
People stating religion as: Buddhist (Persons)		0.07% 108	0.80% 1,080	0.28%
People stating religion as: Hindu (Persons)		0.25% 384	0.78% 1,041	1.11%
People stating religion as: Jewish (Persons)		0.02% 34	0.81% 1,091	0.52%
People stating religion as: Muslim (Persons)		1.14% 1,742	3.85% 5,165	3.10%
People stating religion as: Sikh (Persons)		0.28% 426	0.23% 315	0.67%
Qualifications				
People aged 16-74 with: No qualifications (Persons)		36.43%	18.59%	28.85%
People aged 16-74 with: Highest qualification attained level 4 / 5 (Persons)		12.40%	36.85%	19.90%
People aged 16-74: Long-term unemployed (Persons)		2.37%	0.63%	1.01%
Index of Multiple Deprivation (Rank of Average Score)		52 (1 most deprived)	122 (1 most deprived)	

As aforesaid, despite having the third highest minority ethnic population in the South East, Figure U2 and U3 illustrate that Oxford is predominantly home to a White British population. Other distinctive characteristics include a higher than average percentage of Buddhists, Jews and Muslims, a lower than average percentage of people with no qualifications and a higher than average percentage of residents with higher level qualifications. Oxford also has a lower than average percentage of unemployed residents and stands at position 122 in the index of multiple deprivation (hence generally not a deprived area). As well as a city historically famous for its architecture and universities, there is however another, less well-known Oxford, which has areas of deprivation and a huge need for affordable housing. Some areas of the city experience relatively high crime rates, health deprivation and poor educational achievement. For instance, 10 Super Output Areas in Oxford are amongst the 20% most deprived areas in England (Oxford City Council, 2008a). Life expectancy amongst men and women is five years less in the most deprived areas of the city than in the least deprived areas (Oxford City Council, 2008b).

APPENDIX V: THESIS THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

1. "Traditional 'Heritage' Values (namely special architectural or historic character) are given precedence/hold more influence over other alternative 'heritage' values in 'heritage' designation processes, thus excluding alternative conceptualisations of heritage".

Data confirm this proposition, yet crucially shows that normative heritage values at the local level of Heritage Designation now in fact go beyond special architectural and historic significance, giving seemingly equal weight to other heritage values such as vernacular, post-war, industrial, and twentieth century structures. It also gives some consideration to ascribed social meanings but these are only included if certain other parameters are also met. They are often excluded due to a number of complex contextual factors.

2. "'Heritage' still belongs to an elite, educated, middle-class, and can only be understood by 'experts' belonging to a fellowship (professionals) who have a 'duty of care'. This is to the exclusion of the public who are given the role purely of visitors, tourists or the receivers of education and information. This passivated role increases social exclusion and sustains the AHD".

There are clear discursive and practical attempts to move away from an elitist, expert-led Local Heritage Designation Process. These attempts however are constrained, and thus limited. The result is a process which remains guided by professional, technical 'experts' who make decisions about heritage legitimacy/integrity for the public. Involvement by class/ethnicity is not generally recorded and very little targeted consultation appears to take place. Thus, this proposition is likely to be largely confirmed.

8. "'Heritage' is not a fixed, unchanging thing, but is something that is constructed, created, constituted and reflected by discourses".

Data confirm this. The introduction of various discourses (relating to post-war heritage, vernacular heritage, regeneration and economic growth, and social/intangible heritage) continue to make subtle transformations to the normative heritage discourse. Heritage values, therefore, appear to subtly change with time, as well as changing depending on geographical location, level of governance and from person to person.

3. "There is a normalised, *common sense*, dominant framing of 'heritage' operating in practice, characterised by an understanding of 'heritage' that is physical and tangible, based around notions of rarity, aesthetics, age and monumentality, power and privilege, to the exclusion of intangible, people-centred values".

Data evidence modifies this proposition. The *dominant framing* does not entirely reflect the AHD, as characterised by Smith (2006). Now the dominant framing includes nuances such as vernacular, post-war, industrial, and twentieth century heritage as standard (i.e. not only aesthetics, rarity and monumentality).

7. "In a professional planning setting, 'reasoned' deliberation and objectivity, are deemed legitimate whereas those appealing to 'emotional' deliberation (based on subjectivity) are considered irrational and illegitimate, thus carrying less weight in rational decision-making planning processes and thus prohibit real inclusion".

Data confirm and expand this. It exposes a current paradox whereby professionals have to rely more on rationality and objective fact to defend decisions. It therefore identifies a backward trend towards the pole of positivism.

4. "The AHD diminishes and excludes alternative heritage perspectives".

Data confirm that the nuanced AHD still tends to exclude alternative conceptualisations of heritage which are informed exclusively by subjective values.

6. "Those operating from an alternative perspective are seen to be 'political' whereas the dominant AHD ideology is normalised. This makes it easy to dismiss something as political or advocacy based".

No data evidence of this, therefore unable to confirm or reject. The potential for political power to overturn decisions (based on upcoming elections for example) must be acknowledged, despite no evidence of this here.

5. "Social inclusion processes are *assumed* and focus on *assimilation*, in order to *comply* with wider objectives. Such assimilatory measures ironically serve only to exclude, because they do not provide the discursive or ideological space to consider *alternative* understandings of heritage, which sit outside of the predefined, buildings-led criteria".

Data confirm this. The character assessment workshop at Oxford City Council is a prime example.

APPENDIX W: TABULAR SUMMARY:

CROSS-CASE COMPARISON

The following table summarises the profile and procedural differences between the two local case studies and briefly compares and contrasts some key findings of the study. It shows that KEY MESSAGES ARE CONSISTENT ACROSS CASES. The rows highlighted (grey) display some subtle differences, which are interesting, but do not change the main findings of this research.

STRATEGIC AREAS OF COMPARISON	LOCAL CASE STUDY 1: SOUTH TYNESIDE	LOCAL CASE STUDY 2: OXFORD
HISTORIC PROFILE	Former Roman occupation and <u>strong industrial heritage</u> (shipbuilding, mining, heavy engineering and port related industries).	Historic City, with world-renowned traditional built heritage.
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE	Less well-educated, more unemployed, and more deprived. Predominantly white, British, but multi-cultural pockets.	More well-educated, less unemployed and less deprived. Predominantly white, British, but higher than average multi-ethnic composition. Higher than average proportion of people stating their religion as Buddhist, Jewish and Muslim. Also large and diverse student population.
SIZE OF LOCAL AUTHORITY	12900 employees, 18 wards and has a total of 54 councillors.	29300 employees, 24 wards and has a total of 48 councillors.
POLITICAL SUPPORT-HERITAGE CHAMPION	Heritage Champion on board (Labour controlled)	Heritage Champion on board (Labour controlled)
OFFICERS WORKING ON LOCAL LIST	2	1
AREA COVERED BY LOCAL LIST	Whole Borough	One of four areas (approx. quarter of Administrative area)
FORMAL HERITAGE DESIGNATIONS	195 entries on the register of Listed Buildings, and 11 conservation areas.	1,600 entries on the register of Listed Buildings (more than twice the national average of grade I and II* buildings), and 17 conservation areas.
MOTIVATION/PURPOSE	Traditional conservation concerns about the appearance of its historic and architectural buildings.	Strategic priority to produce a wider 'Oxford Heritage Plan'. One commitment in this wider plan was to produce a Local List.
PRELIMINARY RESEARCH (DEMOGRAPHICS/ MIGRATION PATTERNS ETC)	No specific work undertaken- read existing English Heritage guidance	No specific work undertaken- reviewed Local Listing/heritage asset criteria used

	prior to commencement.	elsewhere and reviewed the Local Authority's existing historic environment-related evidence base.
PROMOTION/MARKETING	No targeted consultation. Press Release. Statutory Notice (advertising preparation and adoption of SPD) Poster letters or e-mails sent to statutory consultees, owners and occupiers of shortlisted locally significant heritage assets, residents groups, local history groups, councillors, relevant council officers and others who requested to be kept informed about general progress on the LDF.	No targeted consultation. Press Releases Letters or e-mails sent to statutory consultees, residents groups, local history groups, councillors, relevant council officers and others who requested to be kept informed about general progress on the LDF.
PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO SOCIAL INCLUSION	2 stages of public consultation (both over 4 weeks) using standard approaches (information published on website, council offices, libraries and one day exhibition in library with officer's on-hand to answer questions)	3 stages of public consultation (each over 6 weeks) using some innovative approaches- stall at the Oxford East farmers' market every two weeks; Twitter Page; Character Assessment toolkit training; Organised members of the residents association to carry out street character assessments based on the character assessment toolkit; One-to-one meeting with one of the local vicars from the Anglican Church, the Church of England (hoping to meet with other religious groups); and working with the Museum Service who are running a series of oral history evenings/events.
FORMULATION OF LOCAL SELECTION CRITERIA	Officer-led, in-house preparation. Consulted Local	Officer-led, in-house preparation. Public consultation on criteria

	History Group on local criteria produced. No public consultation on criteria.	but these criteria were already prepared by officers- i.e. not formulated with communities.
DECISION-MAKING	Selection panel made up on five members	Selection Panel yet to be finalised at time of writing- expected not to be too different from the Panel convened at South Tyneside.
RESOURCE BASE	No additional resource allocation- used existing budget.	£60,000 English Heritage funding.
VIEWS OF 'HERITAGE' (CONSERVATION ORTHODOX)	Similar discursive findings. Survey findings- most <i>strongly agreed</i> or <i>agreed</i> that the traditional conservation values: great architecture (94%), monuments (93%) and historical buildings (94%) constitute 'heritage'.	Similar discursive findings. Survey findings- most <i>strongly agreed</i> or <i>agreed</i> that the traditional conservation values: great architecture (97%), monuments (97%) and historical buildings (100%) constitute 'heritage'.
NUANCED POSTMODERN-INSPIRED UNDERSTANDINGS OF 'HERITAGE'	Similar discursive findings. Survey findings- more than half of respondents agreed that modern buildings (71%) and industrial buildings (78%) could also be of 'heritage' value and thus worthy of designation.	Similar discursive findings. Survey findings- spread of results more even. In both cases, however, more agree/strongly agree (40% industrial; 37% modern) than disagree/strongly disagree (26% industrial; 17% modern). The largest collection of results can be found in the neither agree nor disagree category (34% industrial; 46% modern). This could potentially relate to the traditional historic setting of this case study.
DOMINATED BY MATERIALITY	Survey findings- Majority agreement that physical structures are more important to professionals than the emotion content of	Survey findings- Majority agreement that physical structures are more important to professionals than the emotion content of 'heritage'.

	'heritage'.	
IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL HERITAGE	Survey findings- Majority agreement that memories and emotions are important aspects to consider.	Survey findings- Majority agreement that memories and emotions are important aspects to consider.
ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDINGS OF 'HERITAGE'	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- 62% of the lay public agree that community buildings are 'heritage'. By contrast, 61% of professionals disagree or strongly disagree. 33% of professionals are uncertain (neither agree nor disagree) on this issue. This could be a sign of the degree of infiltration of social-communal (and academic) discourses. However, no professionals agreed with the statement.</p>	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- 64% of the lay public agree that community buildings are 'heritage'. By contrast, 62% of professionals disagree or strongly disagree. 23% of professionals are uncertain (neither agree nor disagree). 15% of professionals agreed with the statement. Whilst this represents only a very small number of people, this nevertheless is suggestive of some degree of transition in professional perceptions of heritage.</p>
VIEWS ON AUTHENTICITY	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Majority disagreed with importance of authenticity, 36% of respondents held indifferent views. 28% of the professional respondents agreed that 'heritage' was only valid if authentic.</p>	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Majority disagreed with importance of authenticity, 23% of professionals held indifferent views. 16% of the professional respondents agreed that 'heritage' was only valid if authentic.</p>
VIEWS ON COMMUNITIES DEFINING THEIR OWN HERITAGE	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- slightly less major gap between professional and non-professional views than at Oxford, but nonetheless, the majority of non-professionals considered this essential (77%) but</p>	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Major gap between professional and non-professional views. , 92% of communities responding to the survey agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. No professional respondents agreed- 54% of them</p>

	less than half (44%) of professional respondents agreed.	disagreed/strongly disagreed and 46% were ambivalent to the statement.
VIEWS ON ENABLING AND FACILITATING COMMUNITIES TO GET INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Major gap between professional and non-professional views.</p>	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Major gap between professional and non-professional views.</p>
VIEWS ON COMMUNITIES BEING ABLE TO INFLUENCE PROCESS AND BEING VALUED BY PROFESSIONALS	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Major gap between professional and non-professional views.</p>	<p>Similar discursive findings.</p> <p>Survey findings- Major gap between professional and non-professional views.</p>