Heritage and Politics in the Public Value Era

An analysis of the historic environment sector, the public, and the state in England since 1997

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of legislation, policy, and practice for the historic environment sector in England since 1997 in the context of the formative political and societal influences that act to shape it. Over this period, the emergence of a 'public value paradigm' for heritage is identified and the thesis considers the historical and ethical foundations for heritage within this 'Public Value era'. The thesis then undertakes an explicitly political analysis of the historic environment sector and the effectiveness of the processes and practices which guide its political and public reputations and relationships.

Set against this analysis, the thesis explores the question of how the historic environment sector should seek to construct a set of contemporary practices, in a changeable political world, which are compatible with the principles of public value that underpin the rhetoric of modern heritage. Of particular note is the influence of changing governance practices and economic conditions evident under recent Governments. The thesis examines the impacts of these various influences and attempts to disentangle the principles and utility of public value from the contextual political opportunities which have influenced its development in practice.

The thesis offers a solution in the form of a public value framework, designed to guide the strategic engagement of the historic environment sector with its political, professional and public stakeholders. This framework is used to show how public value provides a viable model for conceptualising and shaping the political engagement of the professional historic environment sector and effectively navigating political systems. It therefore aims to contribute to the development of an innovative and flexible public value-rooted sector which is capable of delivering broad and socially relevant heritage benefits through historic environment sector activities.

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A CD is included with this volume which contains the following:

- ❖ Full interview questions and transcripts
- ❖ Full spreadsheet data from survey

Acknowledgements

Early bird quarters,
Still snow is in the hollow,
Grow swift, new buds.

The process of producing a single piece of work over four years is one which requires an extraordinary level of focus and endurance: I owe a great deal to the many people who have supported me intellectually and sustained be emotionally over this time.

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The PhD process can also be lonely and draining, so huge thanks are due to the friends in G65 who share in the frustrations, and with whom the reply to the question 'pub?' is wordless. I will not name you all, save for those who have been emotional supports in times of particular strain; Dav, Sarah, Rachael, Richard, and, of course, Hannah.

These people have my thanks.

Author's declaration

This thesis is based upon original thought, work and research. I accept full responsibility for the correct attribution of content and for the presence of errors. Some aspects of the work have been published elsewhere in other forms but the majority of the analysis, discussions, and conclusions are presented here for the first time. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Examiners should note the following published works:

- ❖ Lennox, R. (2012) 'The NPPF and archaeology: a discussion' in *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*: Vol. 22, pp. 30-32.

- ❖ Lennox, R. (2013) 'Political advocacy for the historic environment: a Public Policy Review of England's National Planning Policy Framework' in *The historic environment: policy and practice*: Vol.4 (1), pp.35-49.

- ❖ Lennox, R. and Jackson, S. (2013) 'What is the impact of the Big Society?' *The Archaeologist*: Vol. 89, pp. 24-29.

- ❖ Jackson, S., Lennox, R., Neal, C., Roskams, S, Hearle, J., and Brown, L. (2014) 'Engaging communities in the 'Big Society': what impact is the Localism agenda having on community archaeology?' in *Historic environment: policy and practice*: Vol. 5 (1), pp.74-88.

- ❖ Heyworth, M. and Lennox, R. (2015) 'Power to the people' in *The Archaeologist*: Vol.96, pp.3-8.

Part 1:

Background, theory, and principles

Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The management of the historic environment has a history of mixed meaning. From early narratives of preservation and the national importance of polite architectural and rare historic sites, to concepts centred on national patrimony, to the idea of 'heritage', often used by critics as a pejorative label for activity which bastardised history, presented it to the public for commercial gain, promoted sentimentality, or even enabled political manipulation and cultural oppression (e.g. Hewison 1987; Holden and Hewison 2014; Smith 2006; Merriman 1991; Harrison 2013: 1; Waterton 2008: 1).

In roughly the past two decades, however, this has changed. A new discourse of cultural heritage has grown and developed around broad and inclusive ideas frequently associated with memory, identity, well-being, and happiness. These are things which individuals experience as part of their everyday lives, immersed in the world which has been inherited from the past and which they want to hand on to the future (e.g. Ashworth et. al. 2007: 35; Araoz 2011; Holtorf 2011: 12). This heritage is *dynamic* and *lived* and is managed in order to create benefits for communities, economies, and for wider society (Pendlebury 2013). It stands for the connections between people and their environments (e.g. Ashworth 1997: 92) and the things which reflect their 'values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions' (Council of Europe 2005). It is an essentially *affecting* concept, encapsulated by the things people care about which 'touch our lives in many ways' (Culture Media and Sport Committee 2006: 3). In short, it is a heritage which is based upon a concern with *public value.*

The public nature of heritage is, of course, not new. It has a much longer association – in principle, if not in name – with the origins of the regulatory systems for the protection of ancient monuments, conservation, the planning system, and civic amenity, as well as with the study of archaeology. All of these things exhibit values which resonate with people and either underpin their societal importance or provide reason for the passions of those responsible for their

development as processes of government. It was the affecting nature of the beauty of ancient monuments which drove the likes of William Morris and John Ruskin to preserve them for the benefit of all people; it was the psychologically enriching effects of open spaces and nature which drove the founders of the National Trust to establish an institution to provide access to special places for all; and it was the knowledge of the affecting qualities of the urban environment which inspired the progressive conservationists and town planners of the 1930s-50s (e.g. Samuel 2010: 274). However, these senses of public value have developed new ethical and rhetorical loci in the period between 1997 and the present (e.g. Holden and Hewison 2004, 2006, 2014; Clark 2006, 2014; Clark and Maeer 2008; Pendlebury 2009: 12).

This thesis suggests that we now live in an era of public value heritage where values are primarily characterised by a recognition of and responsiveness to these personally affecting aspects of heritage. This public value ideology, however, is not the result of some abstract ethical discourse among heritage academics, but rather is the result of the complex development of historic environment sector practice in the context of formative political and societal influences over the period. These political relationships between the historic environment sector, the state and the public are central to the study's inquiry and dictate the central challenge: how should a historic environment sector seek to construct a set of contemporary practices, in a changeable political world, which are compatible with the principles of public value which underpin the rhetoric of modern heritage?

Throughout the twentieth century heritage management has become increasingly integrated into tools of governance. Initially through such mechanisms as state protections for important monuments, buildings, sites and objects, but latterly through wider planning policy, strategies for spatial renewal, civic amenity and development, social policy (for well-being, social inclusion, etc.), and economic policy (tourism, regeneration, job-creation). This integration reflects the expansion of the role of the state in modern nations and the expectations of citizens living in them of particular living standards (Cronin 1991: 2). However, the paradigm shift to understanding heritage first and foremost in terms of public value creates questions about the way this governance framework and processes of heritage management work, including whether current strategic principles of the sector and state adequately reflect the broad nature of a public, affecting heritage which is described widely in rhetoric.

The heritage (or historic environment) sector(s) has reflected on these wider meanings over decades and utilised them in different ways to express the value of the sector's work as a whole, with various effects. This was particularly obvious in the period following the election of the New Labour government in 1997. The sector embarked on a distinct process of reassessment of its values and benefits and strong advocacy to underline the relevance of the discipline to government

agendas. This was in response to a government ideology which was not readily ideologically disposed to heritage as a concept, seeing it as a 'backward looking' enterprise, at odds with the vision of the future which Prime Minister Tony Blair brought to the office (Wright 2009b: xiii).

In fact, successive governments since 1997 have tended to be seen to fail to treat heritage issues with a suitable recognition by those in the sector (Council for British Archaeology 1998; Handley and Schadla-Hall 2004: 139; Thurley 2009; Holden and Hewison 2014). This is indicated, for instance, by the renaming of the Department of National Heritage as the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport in 1997, to the axing of the Heritage Minister post in 2012, and proportionately poor funding allocations throughout, isolation within responsible political departments, and frequent omission of heritage considerations from government agendas, publications (Jowell 2004; Smith 1998: 69, 2003), and legislative timetables (Office of the Leader of the House of Commons 2009: 40).

Fig. 1.1 - Alternate rhetoric of heritage has arguably clouded public value narratives and highlighted a need for clearer strategic goals for communicating value in the historic environment (VisitBritain 2015; Tallis 2015)

In part this reflects on ongoing confusion about what the historic environment sector represents in terms of its practice and its ethics, with various understandings of heritage proliferating in different contexts; for example, the narrow view of heritage as a monumental

protection regime for isolated objects – the 'biggest', 'oldest' and most 'nationally important' and often associated with tourism – or slightly less commonly, as a stock phrase to support an in-group identity, often requiring protection from the threat of an 'out-group'. Public value heritage appears to have a dominance in theory over much sector thinking and academic discourse, but in the practical and political realms has not exerted itself fully in the mainstream of political understandings, alongside complementary sectors such as the communities sector, and natural and built environment sectors.

The era of public value is one which has been catalysed and fundamentally shaped by political forces, but also one which has not yet achieved full coherence. This thesis aims to construct an *ethical framework* for the design and delivery of a political strategy for the historic environment which analyses and draws on the principles of public value and which attempts to account for the formative political dimension of sectoral development. This framework will be politically pragmatic and will represent both the present aspirations of a publicly-minded sector and the outlook for political realities of the English system.

1.2 PROPOSITIONS

This thesis proposes that by developing a framework for understanding public value, we are not only offered a useful way to describe the ethics and practice of the historic environment 'sector' and the meaning of heritage, but are also given a way to conceptualise, shape, and promote the political engagement of the professional historic environment sector in the context of political and societal influences which exist in the world. It is argued that a public value model for heritage management can, by defining the core ethical purpose of sectoral action, be used to construct strategic engagements with stakeholders in government, wider professions, the media and the public and be used to effect outcomes which are politically beneficial.

In building a picture of this sectoral public value model the study also undertakes a critique of the existing historic environment sector in England; its organisation, policies, relationships and practices. Suggestions are then made which describe a potential direction for the historic environment sector and its public and professional engagement, as well as its political advocacy, which could benefit sector reputation, relevance, and political sustainability.

To this end, the thesis has three main aims: (1) To provide a critique of the political organisation and interactions of the historic environment sector in the era of public value and to assess its effectiveness, showing how influences act to affect the practical translation of various principles of heritage (a sectoral ideology) which centre upon a critical understanding of 'public

value'; (2) to construct a framework for understanding public value which develops a clearer picture of how heritage and politics are conceptually interlinked; and (3) to show how this framework can be utilised to create a more stable platform for engagement of the professional historic environment sector with both the state and with the public.

The individual contribution of this thesis is located in the overtly political analysis of the ethical direction of the sector. It links theories of public value and discourses of heritage ideology with discussions of the strategic and political positioning and direction of the sector. It draws on political research hitherto largely unexplored in the discipline of critical heritage studies and characterises the ethical developments in the sector's rhetoric, strategic intent, and political relationships as part of a linked process of development. The thesis is able to offer, through these methods, a refined view of the sector's political position, its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

1.3 RATIONALE

This study was conceived following the conclusion of the near-decade long Heritage Protection Reform programme in England which culminated in the publication of *Planning Policy Statement 5* (PPS5) in England in May 2010, and, equally significantly, the failure to publish the *Draft Heritage Protection Bill*. PPS5 was a document which significantly updated the position of the historic environment in the English planning system, unifying both existing buildings conservation policy and archaeology under a new vision for heritage 'significance'. The draft *Heritage Protection Bill* would have further updated the processes of heritage protection and enabled English Heritage to implement ways of working which were rooted in public value principles. However, the Bill failed to achieve parliamentary time in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crash and was subsequently shelved.

This thesis was envisioned to examine the transition which had taken place in the professional historic environment sector over this period, consider critically the ethical intent and practical effect of the policy frameworks, and measure how various organisational strategies and political interactions of the sector with the state had changed in parallel. The rationale for this was to take a step back from the professional endeavour of the previous decade of advocacy and policy development and judge the changes that had taken place and the real impacts on the sector and its political position, from which future aspirations could be assessed.

However, since the project's inception, the continued development of heritage within the political landscape of governance and society has influenced the development of the rationale considerably. Between May 2010 and May 2015 the Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition

governed in Westminster. During this period significant changes in the way the historic environment is managed and perceived politically have occurred. One change was that PPS5 was replaced, after only two years, with the *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF), a single document designed to simplify over 1000 pages of policy in over 25 planning policy statements into one single 50 page document. The NPPF significantly changed the landscape of the planning system and presented an important challenge to the principles of PPS5 and public value heritage. In addition the new Coalition government interacted with sector bodies and the national heritage agency, English Heritage, in a fundamentally different way – with a more limited engagement, compounded by rapidly decreasing funding – and also employed a different perspective on the importance of heritage to various political agendas.

The research began to focus upon the ethically unifying features of the sectoral engagement with heritage principles over these distinct political periods and the contemporary practices and strategies of heritage sector bodies in conducting political relationships. Essentially, the research began to recognise the characteristics of a public value 'era' which continued across these distinct periods of political influence. The analysis that results is an explication of this context, both the development of the sector in the decade preceding the publication of PPS5 and in subsequent years, and the implications of the political influences which are observed.

The political context of the public value era is therefore largely split into two periods; firstly, the New Labour period from 1997 to 2010, in which public value heritage rose up the agenda as a contributor to wider governmental social policies and attitudes towards public spending, and secondly the period of Coalition government, and subsequent Conservative majority government from 2010 onwards. However, this split also takes into account an understanding that these periods are deeply influenced by the 2008 economic crash, the effects of which have been important in the shaping of the austerity and economic growth agendas of the Coalition and Conservative governments during this latter period.

Public value was a concept of considerable professional and academic interest during the New Labour period. This thesis, however, seeks to disentangle the principles and utility of the concept from the political opportunities which allowed it to become established at that time. Furthermore it seeks to describe why failings of the uses of public value under New Labour should not reflect adversely upon the usefulness of the concept both under the Coalition and the new Conservative Government, which took office in May 2015, and in the future. This analysis seeks to create an understanding of public value principles for this extended era, describing both the political resonances, the opportunities for strengthening the heritage agenda, and the continued relevance of the ideology to the engagement of the public and decision-makers with the historic environment sector. As such the study not only fulfils the original rationale of the project, but also addresses a

more fundamental question relating to how the principles of the public value era have a continued role to play in terms of the sector's political engagement.

Foremost, the research is designed to be a useful tool for heritage sector professionals and organisations to better understand their own relationships with political institutions and systems. It therefore aims to offer insightful and relevant suggestions on how organisational practice could be adapted in order to increase political effectiveness in terms of sectoral advocacy and approaches to political matters. However it also attempts to offer critical reflection upon the nature of the heritage ideologies that proliferate in political rhetoric and academic discourse, and seeks to show how such ideals are limited by the mechanisms of the political sphere and existing historic environment practices.

1.4 CHAPTER STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into nine chapters:

Chapter two expands upon the academic context of the thesis, describes the concepts which underpin it, and grounds the analysis with short explication of the limitations in scope and definition. The chapter also sets out the methodology, describing the qualitative focus of the research, and the complexities of analysing some of the political and value issues involved. The chapter defines a theoretical approach to understanding how heritage is conceived of as being an inherently public phenomenon – drawing on Heideggerian philosophy – and how social processes act to determine the dialectical relationship between values and regulatory instruments – drawing on the work of Raymond Williams (1977). The chapter also sets out the primary research components of the thesis which take the form of participant observation in heritage sector activities, a set of interviews, and survey of professional attitudes.

Chapter three considers the development of the historic environment in regulatory and value terms, examining the political contexts and overall impacts upon the management of the historic environment since the late-nineteenth century. The analysis categorises these developments within a series of epochal periods of dominant thought and practice and describes how each era fundamentally altered the focus of the historic environment sector, its aims and its work. The chapter concludes by describing the current era as one which is dominated by the idea of 'public value' and which now largely underpins the legitimacy of the activity of heritage and historic environment management. Further, it maps out a direction for political responses to heritage and methods of political engagement by the sector.

Chapter four analyses in detail the fundamental meaning of public values and the way in which they operate in society. It then describes the development of theories of public value administration and their origins, uses and political significances. The chapter develops theories from the US political scientist Mark Moore and from the cultural heritage commentators John Holden and Robert Hewison (among others) to discuss how public value offers the historic environment sector a framework for understanding the values and benefits of heritage, how to manage heritage in a way which is responsive to them and use them to further political engagement with both political and public stakeholders. The chapter also considers how public value concepts have been (mis)used and how they have developed an association with a particular type of New Labour governance. The analysis suggests why, for heritage, the ideology still has credibility and considers whether and how the interpretation of the positive purpose of public heritage value can be re-defined more helpfully for the purposes of understanding extant heritage policy and practice and guiding its development.

Chapter five looks at the political process, examining how policy is formed, made, and implemented and how the sector interacts with it. It considers how power is constructed within government, by parties, departments, and individuals, and how political agendas are created and influenced. It considers in particular the processes of expert advice and advocacy within policy making. The chapter also looks at the diverse bodies within the heritage sector and considers how they are set up to engage with these political processes; including through sectoral communication, advocacy procedures and public engagement. The chapter considers how particular relationships and power dynamics affect heritage values, including how political agendas often require pragmatic responses from heritage professionals, and how the sector chooses its policy battles based on circumstance, leading often to a more piecemeal policy progression which potentially slows ideological overhauls of existing practices.

Chapters six, **seven** and **eight** contain the main discussions of specific policy issues, taking the examples of the organisation and reform of the English, Scottish and Welsh heritage agencies and other recent changes in heritage legislation and policy in 2013-15, Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS5) and the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) reforms, and finally the advent of 'Big Society' localism in England in 2010. Each of these examples develops the ideas which have been introduced in the previous chapters and places the analysis in the context of the 20 year transition to public value which underpins the thesis.

The heritage agency chapter (**six**) considers the role of the 'lead' heritage bodies in each of the current English, Scottish, and Welsh contexts, taking advantage of the unique opportunity to assess three concurrent reform processes and analysing the political context for the changes. The analysis considers the role of quasi-governmental models for management and regulation of the historic

environment in the public value era, the status of heritage and the weight of existing statutory responsibilities, and the wider cultural perceptions and reputation of heritage. The chapter looks at the way in which political influences over heritage have affected the pursuit of public value aims and examines the parallel political contexts in Scotland and Wales, identifying how different political attitudes and responses to public value heritage have helped to shape the reorganisation of each agency and how the public value framework is affected in each case.

The planning policy chapter (**seven**) looks specifically at the political development of PPS5 and the NPPF, and the influence of the sector on those reforms as well as the reflection of wider political agendas. It then analyses the sectoral responses to policy making processes over this period and highlights how advocacy strategies have been variably successful in these two contexts. The chapter considers why various techniques have found success and uses the examples to reflect on public value narratives, developing the proposition of a public value framework for sector advocacy strategy.

The final case study (**eight**) considers the advent of localism policies after 2010 in England. The chapter discusses how the sector can pragmatically position itself in relation to wider government agendas in order to enhance sector operations in line with its own ideology. It is judged that in doing this, key tenets of the public value framework can be met, such as the responsibility to maximise the relevance of heritage to people and work effectively with wide partners in delivery. Broadly relevant government agendas thus act as catalysts for heritage to be pushed up political agendas and achieve greater political profile, improving its relationship with the state.

The analysis considers the localism agenda to have presented such an opportunity. However, potential benefits were missed by many, possibly due to a lack of desire to innovate or due to negative political perceptions of the policy itself. It is judged that decisions not to engage with political opportunities afforded by localism is illustrative of a lingering narrow platform of activity and reputation of many heritage bodies, with such a reality standing in the way of progress on public value goals, having the effect of removing heritage from the wider networks of progressive contributors to the public realm (in this case community planning).

Finally chapter **nine** will draw together the main themes of the work and review the project outcomes. The summary focusses on how public value can provide a framework for the sector's ethical principles and direct future engagements in a way which does not neglect the importance of wider political factors which influence its use, meaning, and implementation in reality.

Methodology

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in the previous chapter, this study is a critical examination of the historic environment sector and an investigation of the potential of its transition towards an ethical and practical public value framework for understanding and managing heritage. It intends to provide propositions on how the sector can utilise its public value operations to enhance its reputation, relevance, and political sustainability. This chapter sets out the bounds of this investigation; its limitations, positioning, prior assumptions, theoretical grounding and its disciplinary approach to the research questions. It then describes the methodological processes undertaken in the process of conducting the research.

2.2 DEFINITIONS AND LIMITATIONS

There are five points regarding the specific focus and content of the thesis which necessitate explanation. Firstly, the thesis is primarily an investigation of high level *political systems and processes,* designed to shed light on the operation and ethical purpose of the historic environment sector in what is defined as the Public Value era. It is jointly concerned with theories explaining why heritage is important and how it can be practically managed by professionals and governments. As such it does not delve deeply into technical considerations of policies or practices of archaeology, conservation, planning, or heritage protection. Rather, the study investigates issues of strategy and political intent, organisation, communication, regulation, and influence of the professional discipline and political policy, and then assesses how many of these things have relevance to the ideology of public value heritage.

Secondly, the evidence considered in the study primarily *focusses on the 'historic environment'*, to the exclusion of detailed consideration of other parts of the heritage discourse, such as

museums, or material and intangible culture. The historic environment is defined in the National Planning Policy Framework as;

> '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.'
>
> (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012a)

This definition echoes those developed in the Council of Europe's *European Landscape Convention* and *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage to Society* (Faro Convention) and represents a broad spectrum of 'heritage' concerned with the built and natural landscape as well as the intangible attachments of people to places. The thesis therefore considers in particular the operations of the spatial planning process and wider processes of heritage protection for sites and places, including buildings, monuments, and landscapes. The historic environment is thus to be understood as analogous to the setting within which people live their lives and therefore provides a clear way to conceive the everyday importance of heritage and the interconnectedness with wider societal processes.

This focus on the historic environment is chosen because it reflects the main scope of government policy on heritage in England, where such things as intangible cultural heritage are not high profile regulatory concerns. The historic environment is also the main focus for most high profile English and UK heritage organisations and therefore makes up the majority of the professional and political discourse. Many of the analytical themes, however, are rooted in broader issues which apply to wider concepts of heritage and which will still have value to those parts of heritage discourse.

Thirdly, and similarly, discussion ***focusses on a defined 'sector'*** of historic environment work. This term is used to discuss the collective political agency of the bodies which make up the national network of groups and organisations (including some individuals) who have a specialism or a strategic interest in the application of heritage thinking in relation to the natural or built landscape. The sector can be thought of as a loose coalition of bodies and individuals with similar interests who may or may not share unified outlooks or be organised together on particular issues. This organisation is explored as part of the analysis.

The intended scope of the term 'sector' is broadly taken to be the major institutional members of the English/British historic environment umbrella bodies such as the Historic Environment Forum and the Heritage Alliance - a broad set of groups which exhibit overall similarity of ethical principles and purpose and who regularly interact in political processes such as advocacy. Although at times focussing on specific organisations or groups, the thesis often opts to

generalise about aggregated developments in the sector and its outlook, advocacy, or relationships. Where generalisations are made, assessments pay close attention to a selection of the largest or most influential bodies, as well as looking to umbrella groups and cross-sector forums, as barometers of sector change in value or political intent.

Other related sectors are alluded to for the impacts and influences they may have on the historic environment through opportunities for joined-up working, or mutual relevance; for example the wider built environment and natural environment sectors. Due to the wide relevance of heritage across multiple spheres of policy and societal interest, it is not judged to be possible to draw a distinct line around the edge of the sector in respect of these influences. Similarly, in places, analysis will refer to different scales of operation; either local groups interested in the historic environment or European and global organisations.

Fourthly, the scope of the analysis is *restricted to the English system of legislation, policy and cast of sector actors*. There is some reference to wider UK contexts and to Europe, which are alluded to, respectively, for their parallel developments which highlight differences of approach, and role in setting out broad ideological principles of heritage in the public value 'era'. This restriction is necessary for purposes of brevity, as each system is subject to distinct frameworks for operation, political control, and has different outlooks. The exception to this is chapter six which draws detailed comparisons with other UK nations in order to highlight the impacts of various political factors on heritage sector and national heritage agency activity.

It is accepted that the focus on UK governments, despite parallel contexts in Scotland and Wales representing certain political differences in recent approaches to public value heritage, limits the extent to which derived approaches can be considered to apply more widely than in the UK. Political systems in other national contexts are considerably different and an assessment of whether similar ethical issues were evident beyond the Westminster model would enable the principles of a public value framework to be tested for broader applicability and would add weight to conclusions which advocate adoption of a public value framework to guide relations within an authorising environment. This context may be explored in a future study.

Finally, the thesis adopts a stance which *supports and advocates for the sector* and explicitly favours progressive and inclusive definitions of public value heritage. This position is extrapolated from a reasoned assessment of heritage values (chapter four) which judges public value heritage to be a generally positively affecting phenomenon and a useful tool for guiding sector engagements. These aspirations are treated critically in terms of wider political needs but are generally supported as a matter of principle. Essentially this means that the analysis is not designed to comprehensively criticise the sector and judge its goals within a wider realm of political policy. Rather its goal is to

assess the best ways for the sector and the discipline to achieve optimum political relevance, reputation, and sustainability, drawing on the ethically justified public value aims.

There are, of course, many reasons why heritage does not and should not top the political agenda. These are of practical interest to the analysis as well as prefacing its stance towards the political progression of the sector. The analysis therefore respects the relative weighting of heritage issues within wider political affairs. This means that the necessary size of the sector, its resources, and influence, are all placed in the context of its relative importance. However, the analysis does consider why a public value approach is the best way to maximise this influence by showing how relevance is increased when heritage is considered as a broad affecting concept, rather than a narrow 'protectionist' one.

2.3 EXISTING RESEARCH

Several political analysts have considered the social uses of the wider 'cultural industries', as an academic exercise (e.g. Moore 1995; Smith 1998; Belfiore 2002; Belfiore and Bennett 2008; Böhm and Land 2009; Gray 2009, 2010; O'Brien 2014). Various professional and government commentators have discussed policies and strategies drawing on such background (e.g. Cowling 2004; Jowell 2004; Purnell 2007; McMaster 2008, Kearney 2007; Belfiore and Firth 2014). Others have conducted ethical policy research specifically in the area of the historic environment (e.g. Ashworth 1997; Avrami et. al. 2000; English Heritage 2000; Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2001, Holden 2004; Holden and Hewison 2004; Jowell 2005; Clark 2006). This body of research is primarily concerned with political systems of management within a national context, extrapolating how the 'value' of culture goes beyond intrinsic notions and has impacts upon society, environment, and economy. This is valuable context to the discussion within this thesis as it provides a background to the development of ideas of public value and its use within the heritage sector.

Several academics from the field of heritage have approached the subject of the interaction with politics. These works treat the relationship between heritage and politics in different ways, considering various aspects of policy (e.g. Cleere 1989; Doeser 2009; Pendlebury 2013), policy history and development (e.g. Delafons 1996; Pendlebury 2009; Samuel 2010), ethical principles (e.g. Hewison 1987; Smith 2006; Thornley 1995; Waterton 2008; Mason 2010), organisation of the sector (Baxter 2009, 2015), management processes and their effects (Aitchison 2012; Carman 1996, Cooper 2008, 2010), and political strategies of the sector (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2004).

These introspective accounts of how archaeology, conservation, or heritage interact with a wider political world are all relevant to this discussion and are drawn upon in various places. However, relatively little detailed attention has been given to the importance of the causal links between the political structures of state and sector and the ethical theory of cultural heritage, with discussions of advocacy and state perceptions of the professional sector, as well as the ethical principles of heritage substantially lacking in great detail in academic discourse.

Of closer relevance to the intent of this thesis is the discussion of public values of heritage by Holden and Hewison (2004, 2006), Clark (2006, 2014) and Clark and Maeer (2008) whose work for the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and think tank Demos drew upon the ethical arguments of political scientists such as Mark Moore (1995) in setting out practical positions for advocacy and practice for the sector in the 1990s, which were widely discussed within various heritage bodies (Clark 2006; Kearney 2007; Bunting 2006, 2007; National Trust and Accenture 2006). This thesis takes on the mantle left by these discussions which have largely disappeared after the New Labour administration's social agenda – to which much of the public rhetoric was purposefully aligned (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2004) – began to lose momentum following the economic crash in 2008 (Clark's 2014 work is substantially lacking in current political analysis). Instead this thesis seeks to argue that the ethical provisions of public value are of use to the sector in defining strategy even given the variable responses of successive governments.

2.4 APPROACHES TO THIS STUDY

This is a multi-disciplinary study. It is essentially a thesis about the way in which concepts, theories, and uses of heritage are managed and regulated in England and is concerned primarily with its place in the world, politics and society. The study therefore aims to apply methodological approaches from interpretive policy analysis alongside ontological stances common to critical heritage studies in order to effectively build a picture that is informative in relation to how the political practice of (and surrounding) heritage management affects the achievement of ideological principles of heritage and public value. In justifying this approach, this thesis follows Hay (2002: 3) who states that;

> '…the political should be defined in such a way as to encompass the entire sphere of
> the social… All events, processes and practices which occur within the social sphere
> have the potential to be political and, hence, to be amenable to political analysis'.

As stated, the joint main concerns of the study are the political and ethical processes of a public value heritage. The former encompasses the organisational structures, practices, influences

and agencies that operate in reality and which provide the infrastructure within which values and principles relating to heritage percolate, are formed, moulded, and fed back to audiences. The latter encompasses the ontological importance of heritage as it is conceived to be a component of people's lives, and the benefits that it can elicit. The processes of transition in social and political processes in particular, it is argued, is a formative mechanism for the creation, affirmation and solidification of value processes (Williams 1977: 121). It is thus that the analysis engages methodological understandings derived from policy analysis and critical heritage studies simultaneously. The following descriptions explain how this will be formulated to achieve an effective cross-disciplinary analysis.

2.4.1 A Critical Heritage Studies approach

This thesis has a theoretical grounding in the interdisciplinary academic field of 'critical heritage studies', which developed in the late-twentieth century and which has been deployed to analyse both the meanings and applications of heritage as a component in an interconnected social world. Others, such as Rodney Harrison and Tim Winter have given definitions for this sub-discipline, with Harrison highlighting such core issues as the nature of heritage as a product of the 'dialogue between people and things' (2013: xiii), and Winter the 'critical issues which bear upon and extend outwards from heritage' (Winter 2013: 532). As an academic endeavour critical heritage studies relies upon methodological tools drawn from critical thinking: 'conceptualising, applying, analysing, synthesising, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action' (Scriven and Paul 1987) – a core set of qualitative methods drawn upon in this thesis.

Critical heritage theorists have commonly engaged with debates on memory (e.g. Verdu 2011), identity (e.g. Light and Dumbraveanu-Andone 1997) place (e.g. Uzzell 1996), culturally and socially diverse heritage experiences (e.g. Meskell 2009; Baird 2013; Kiddey and Schofield 2011), globalisation (e.g. Galera 2016), power, and human rights (e.g. Baird 2014), among many others.

A Critical Heritage approach is one which places questions relating to the social and political 'uses' of heritage high on any methodological agenda (Harrison 2013: 98). This provides a theoretical grounding which describes heritage as a product of the interpretation of places and things by people. It can be conceived as a web of connections which define relationships between people and the world around them. Furthermore, active management of these relationships by the state or other actors can create benefits for people.

The study therefore examines whether established political systems are appropriate to take account of how heritage values are formed and whether the sector is able to navigate its political responsibilities whilst also maintaining practice appropriate to these principles. The thesis

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comments upon where the rhetoric of sector and state seem hollow and where there appears to be institutional and regulatory lag in the uptake of new value principles in practice. By characterising value over time, assessed through interpretation of the glacial progression of cultural processes (including political policy) (Williams 1977: 121), the analysis will juxtapose concepts such as heritage identity, sense of place, and amenity with various political processes of heritage management, and the ways in which they undergo transition and change.

2.4.2 A Policy Analysis approach

This study also follows an interpretive approach to the analysis of governance systems and structures, the wider classification of political influences on the sector, and the critical assessment of regulatory transition through policy-making, its implementation and its practical outcomes.

> 'An interpretive approach to policy analysis, then, is one that focusses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and "read" by various audiences.'
>
> (Yanow 2000: 14)

The aim of this approach is to articulate a detailed framework for how critical heritage understandings are transmuted through the political processes of the heritage sector and the state and how this influences the management of the historic environment. This approach questions who makes decisions, how political agents directly and indirectly influence the role and function of the heritage sector at various levels, how the sector is led, and the nature of relationships between the sector and political establishments. This allows for interpretation of political meaning through analysis of symbolic language and rhetoric, and of intent in actions such as agenda setting, policy networks, and distribution of resources (Yanow 2000: 15). Finally, analysis of the approaches of actors across different bodies and areas of the profession or related professions will also be considered, and whether consistency of ethical and political understandings or fragmentation are in evidence, and how this affects various actions.

This approach illustrates components of a broad and complex politics of heritage (Gray 2011: 51). This relates both to how decisions are made, within the sector and outwith, and how heritage affects and is affected by cultural processes through those decisions. Analysis of the ideological theorisation of heritage as both a social phenomenon (linked to Being) and as political process is undertaken alongside analysis of stakeholders and evidence from policy and political documentation such as rhetoric, political relationships, agendas, and public reaction.

2.5 CONCEPTUAL GROUNDING

This section develops two philosophical and theoretical positions which underpin the logical stances adopted in this thesis on the relationship between politics and values in historic environment management. The first is an ontological understanding of heritage developed with reference to Martin Heidegger's thinking on Being-in-the-world. This describes what is judged to be the core experience and meaning of heritage in the present era and the reason why that heritage is inescapably rooted in public value. Second is an understanding of how processes of social and cultural value form and are reflected within political systems of regulation and how they change over time within complex social and political systems, described with reference to Raymond Williams' ideas of the Marxist dialectical relationship between people and state. Both of these concepts are crucial to understanding why public value is important in heritage, and why it is of relevance to people.

2.5.1 Heritage as Being-in-the-World

A significant portion of the heritage literature is devoted to the discussion of the conceptual meaning of heritage; a wide variety of values-based systems and principles have been proposed in order to help understand and manage it (e.g. Avrami et. al. 2000; de la Torre 2002; Howard 2003). In recent years it has been increasingly common for definitions to aim to identify heritage as an experienced phenomenon as well as identifying objects or places which can be 'assigned' values (e.g. Smith 2006). Thus, cultural heritage is defined in the Faro Convention as;

> "a group of resources inherited from the past *which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions*. It includes *all aspects of the environment* resulting from the *interaction between people and places through time*"
>
> (Council of Europe 2005: Art. 2- emphases added)

This type of heritage describes a psychological connection between people and places, or objects, which is created (but may also dissipate) over the course of their lives. Thinking of heritage in this way situates it as something of everyday significance, since these 'connections' do not only occur with nationally important monuments or buildings, but permeate our existence in such a way that they can be conceived of as a core facet of our *being*. It suggests that we do not merely exist in our environments, but that we are shaped by them through a complex web of connections such as emotions, memories, and understandings. It is the location of heritage values in these everyday connections which, this thesis argues, reveals the ultimate nature of heritage as one which supports notions of 'public value'.

This conception recalls Heidegger's discussion of the idea of *Being-in-the-world* (Heidegger 2010: 53). Heidegger's theory describes the relationship between *Dasein* (the type of 'being' synonymous with a person – i.e. a *human being*) and 'the world' as being one of myriad connections with other *beings* – objects, places and other people. It is these connections between beings which allow us to understand them; for example, their function, ownership, and value. These connections permeate all aspects of life, from how we interact with things which are around us, to how we understand the wider world and all things which derive from it (e.g. culture), as well as how we conceive of temporal connections with the past and future (Heidegger 2010: 19). Being-in-the-World is therefore capable of describing both local 'everyday' heritage, of personal or community significance, and heritage of international significance through conceiving of the connections between *Dasein* and its world and the way it orients itself with respect to these connections to the past, present and future.

In Heidegger's view our existence is bounded in our Being-in-the-World – every connection is meaningful and Dasein and the world are interdependent (Walter 2013: 6, Inwood 1997: 37; Heidegger 2010: 85). Heidegger argues that in our 'dealings' within the world, we define our relationships with things by 'cares and concerns' (Heidegger 2010: 177). As such, an understanding of heritage which is based upon these everyday connections between people, places and things is one which closely describes how and why heritage values have a central importance in our lives, albeit that it makes no distinction between what is a heritage value and what is any other connection between a person and a place. Some similar views are developed by various thinkers in the fields of conservation and archaeology who follow in a broadly hermeneutic phenomenological mode (e.g. Hodder 1986; Tilley 2005: 205): Grenville (2007), for example, in her description of 'ontological security', considers the psychological closeness we have to our environments and their ability to shape our patterns of understanding of the world. Change, it is argued, can disrupt these patterns if not considered for its impact on ontological connections, and as such, can elicit 'insecurity' – a disruption of familiarity which Heidegger implies when considering Dasein's 'understanding' of its environment and its 'significance' (Heidegger 2010: 140; Inwood 1997: 45).

Not only does an ontological understanding of the experience and meaning of heritage imply a rejection of notions of 'intrinsic' value of a place/object associated with many orthodox notions of heritage, but it also transcends the notion of heritage objects as 'containers' for values by associating heritage with a much more basic human experience of its world (Walter 2013: 14). This type of heritage is naturally arising, complex, and visceral. In the context of Being-in-the-World, heritage values are thus reformed as a 'situational context' for the experiencing of heritage (Ibid.: 6).

Values, understood in this ontological sense, are employed as a *statement of meaning* for a person or a community as they relate to a place. Heidegger understood that Dasein's world was a shared one (Inwood 1997: 40) and as such there is a necessary discursive process required to establish the meaning of heritage in a social context – as Fiona Reynolds has suggested; a 'collective discovery' (cited in Blaug et. al. 2006: 24). When considering this relationship between the individual and society and, moreover, the political realm which arises out of the need to manage societal organisation and pursue its goals, the Faro convention offers the following further definition:

> "A heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural
> heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and
> transmit to future generations."

<div align="right">(Council of Europe 2005: Art. 2)</div>

Heritage meaning derived in this way and regulated at this scale requires mediation, implies discussion, and situates the processes of public management as the mechanism by which individual 'heritage' becomes part of the conversation surrounding 'public action'. However, it nonetheless requires a personal plural connection to the world, and thus, even as heritage is managed as a group or societal process, it is essentially a public phenomenon. This understanding of a plural, public, affecting, collectively discovered, and mediated heritage, underpins the analysis in this thesis.

2.5.2 Dialectic understanding of public values and political systems

One purpose of this thesis is to track and analyse the transition in the regulation of the historic environment over the period identified as the Public Value era. Part of the interest in doing this is to consider how effective modes of political engagement, based upon new ideas of heritage and historic environment management have been at influencing political systems built on different values. To ground this aim, the thesis articulates a dialectic model for the relationship between values and regulatory systems.

Hilary Soderland has commented that: 'As a mechanism that temporally traces shifting conceptions of heritage, law offers a vital axis of articulation within the field of Heritage Studies' (2009: 77). Marcus Price similarly states that: 'law is a phenomenon of culture and reflects norms of behavioural values... held by the host culture' (1991: 3, 116). However, on the contrary, John Carman (1996: 8) questions whether it can be proved that the presumption that law responds to changing conceptions of heritage is actually evident, or whether in fact, law precedes the public interest in heritage – at least in the way that it is defined through regulation.

Whilst these three individuals talk about law, given the questions outlined in the above sections, this study finds it necessary to define this debate to the effect that not only law in a narrow sense as primary legislation and judicial action, but rather all regulatory and political action is included in this discussion. Regardless of this difference in scope, the authors are contending opposed views on how heritage value and state regulation of heritage interact.

Essentially, Soderland and Price assume that law acts as a reflection of societal or cultural values. However Carman considers that the system (at least of heritage designations, which are his primary focus) is largely one which is not reflexive to public values, with value judgements occurring 'prior' to any public opportunity to influence the system. A similar account is given by Laurajane Smith (2006) in her consideration of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) whereby an 'authorised' heritage is privileged over other narratives for purposes of preserving certain political or social effects. Soderland and Price's assumption fails to address the systematic processes of heritage valorisation and management. There is clearly an observable tension between heritage which is perceived as being of essential public value and the traditional processes of regulation and management which creates norms and codifies typologies of values and systems which in turn reinforce the valorisation of a certain type of heritage. Carman recognises this tension, however, he fails to consider how this disjuncture is arrived at over time.

This thesis aims to transcend these two static views of the regulatory features of the historic environment by engaging a Marxist dialectic model for cultural and political transition, as developed by Raymond Williams (1977: 75; 2005: 43): According to Marx, 'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness' (Marx *cited in* Stehr and Grundman 2005: 16). Williams adopts Marx's language of 'superstructure' and 'base' to describe how the production of societal values and political systems integrates contradictory forces of change versus the status quo.

In essence, the superstructure, comprising legal and political systems and institutions, political and cultural practices, and received or embedded forms of consciousness (of the type Carman insinuates are derived from the system and prescribe values), prescribes practice and defines a visible and formal power structure. This superstructure influences and maintains the 'base', shaping opinion and social consciousness through 'manipulation'. The base is, essentially, the dynamic and contested arena of 'specific activities of men in real social and economic relationships' (Williams 1991: 426). Whilst Marxist definitions of what exactly constitutes the base vary, in this thesis it is taken to include all aspects of a 'public sphere' of democratic use and opinion of the historic environment, as measured by such things as heritage projects, surveys, and memberships of heritage organisations.

E.g.:

- Authorised Heritage Discourse
- Accepted heritage practices (e.g. listing)
- Political reputation of heritage

Maintains

Legal and political Superstructure
• Political cultures and practices
• Systems and institutions

Social and economic Base
• Dynamic social relationships
• Contested public sphere

Shapes

E.g.:

- Sector advocacy re: public value
- Public uses and perceptions of heritage
- Academic public value discourse
- Popular support for heritage

Fig.2.1 – A dialectic model for understanding public values and political systems

This concept of the public sphere, originally put forward by Jürgen Habermas (1989 [1962]), describes the process by which citizens engaging in 'rational-critical debate' in particular contexts are able to develop and communicate an influential public voice. In the public value era, the existence and operation of this public sphere is understood to be a major basis of the legitimacy of the professional historic environment sector, and therefore influential over sector advocacy and public engagement, which forms part of the forces of change resultant from the base. This is because, in Habermas' last theory of the public sphere (1996: 337), particular emphasis is placed on social movements and campaigning organisations as facilitators of this direct democratic communication (McGuigan 2005: 428).

The base is considered to be the foundation upon which the superstructure rests and acts as a balancing and challenging element to the status quo of the superstructure. Therefore, the existence of a particular superstructure does not, in itself, imply a societal validation of those regulatory practices. Rather, a process of cyclical influence applies, whereby public consciousness, democratic discourse, and other communicative mechanisms of modern society (e.g. media, direct democratic action, the internet, and – according to Habermas – broad interest group politics), act to modify and shape the superstructure. This system exists in a continuum wherein new notions can enter the public consciousness and influence the maintenance of equilibrium of a representative superstructure (although in the Marxist tradition this process ends in ideological conflict and the triumph of communism).

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Of course, the precise mechanics of these processes of cyclical influence are complex and variable depending upon the context. For instance, the context of this thesis requires consideration of social and cultural perceptions of heritage and their measurement, the received practices of conservation (e.g. the system of designation and its underpinning typology of value based on national 'importance') and embedded understandings of these things among the public, as well as wider things such as the genesis and operation of the planning system, and the make-up of political institutions and relationships.

In this sense, the dialectic relationship of superstructure and base is largely metaphorical, but illustrates the essential way in which we can conceive of a notion of public value of heritage as a representative structure and the consequent logic of the historic environment sector's advocacy of public value principles and policies. Moreover, as a metaphor it also helps us to develop an understanding of how particular notions crystallise in particular moments in time, without forcing us to describe the impossible complexity of such things. Dialectic transition in systems over time illustrates the wisdom of Williams' notion of 'structures of feeling', a term he uses to describes a pattern of impulses that is widely shared in society and which is a product of a social and historical progression but which is not explicitly learned from one another (Matthews 2001, Williams 1977: 131).

This mode of thinking marks a more realist approach to considering the practicalities of governance in a democratic society, enabling an assessment of the agency of political features of a system in the shaping of outcomes. This in turn allows for a more nuanced examination of the historic environment sector's engagement with the public value paradigm for heritage – which, it is argued, represents a broad pattern of impulses within the base in the current 'era' – affecting the system through its efforts to influence transition towards public values. This theoretical grounding influences the design and purpose of the practical methods outlined below by guiding a broad qualitative approach to the interpretation of social and political influences on the development and implementation of a public value heritage ethic.

2.6 METHODS

The practical methods used in this investigation aim to achieve a plausible account of real world social, cultural, and political interactions in the field of cultural heritage management. These are primarily qualitative methods which aim to select and abstract an image of the real world which fairly, and without oversimplification, reflects the reality of politics (Hammersley 2008: 50).

This section outlines two methodological constraints, two main resources, and five areas of qualitative analysis which are employed in the study. The constraints relate to (1) the nature of complex systems and their description and (2) the analysis of political systems in 'real-time'. The resources used are (1) The documentary record, and (2) the views, experiences, and observed actions of heritage professionals, civil servants and politicians. In addition, the secondary assessment of both pre-existing large scale surveys of public heritage values, and work and research of academics in the field of cultural heritage also provides ideas and interpretations with which to contextualise the processes in question.

The documentary record is the primary resource used to facilitate two of the five methodological processes: (1) Raymond William's method of explicating social and political transition – 'epochal analysis' and (2) textual and archival documentary analysis. The other three methods relate to the views, experiences, and observed actions of various political actors: (3) Semi-structured, non-directed interviews conducted with a number of heritage professionals in key positions; (4) a short survey designed to access a broad cross-section of professionals affected by heritage policies in a variety of positions, jobs and sectors, and (5) observations made of heritage policy processes at various professional forums and organisations.

2.6.1 *Capturing complexity: describing social interconnectivity*

The basic observation underlying the research ideologies and the methods is the same; namely that political action, of all kinds, is embedded within complex systems of interaction and influence with the wider social world. Both in the assessment of heritage discourse and rhetoric, and in the functioning of the regulatory system, the play of interconnected influences is a core concern.

With this complexity in mind, the methods chosen are largely qualitative. These methods are designed to take in as wide a consideration of structures and phenomena as possible, rejecting ideological models which select only what is deemed to be 'most important', or quantitative research models which are highly structured and therefore essentially reductionist (Hammersley 2008: 41). Given that this study is primarily about the conception and implementation of values through heritage management and politics, the choice of a qualitative methodology provides a greater freedom to contextualise (Yanow 2000: vii) and greater flexibility to consider a fuller range of complexities which arise from, for instance, the pluralised nature of identity and the multiple uses and values of heritage.

For example, the assessment of the success or failure of a particular policy may relate to a myriad of factors ranging from the structure of the political system, governance strategies employed by various actors, and the strength of the policy content, to the reputation of the minister involved, their personal interests and skills, or the wider parliamentary agenda and

consequent reactions of other political actors. Similarly, the implementation and use of ideologies in practice may also be variable. Using a diverse range of qualitative methods is the best way to consider this complexity.

However, at the same time, true representation of the real world is outside the bounds of possibility within the constraints of a study such as this. As such, in order to achieve some coherent and stable representation, the complexity of real world factors has not to be pursued unrelentingly. The aim of the methodology is, rather, balance creating a reasonable representation of a complex reality, with a level of depth which is reasonable within the bounds of time and resources available during the period of study. Thus, instead of providing an exhaustive picture of the sector and the political system in all its minute detail, the study aims to analyse a range of phenomena associated with the historic environment sector and its political interactions with the state and apply critical reasoning to evaluate them.

As Paul Rock suggests, it is possible that 'a phenomenological analysis of social structure can be built. For instance, [the researcher] will be able to explore the import of such phenomena as social class without committing himself to the belief that social class is an autonomous or "real" entity' (1973: 19). This is the sense in which the study proceeds, highlighting patterns or normative relationships between events or practices and providing critical theorisation about such things as value, political power, influence, and social relevance. This has the potential to reveal broad interpretations which provide evidence to inform the research questions, but never aiming to be ultimately descriptive of the whole, nor exhaustively quantify every possible variable of social and political interaction.

2.6.2 Contextualising the current: real-time research

In addition to the centrality of social interconnectivity and complexity to the research methodology, the study has another critical constraint: The idea that the social world is fast moving and ever changing; not merely an outcome of any sequence of events, but a continuous process (Hammersley 2008: 39, 42). Public policy, as it is noted by Friedrich, is 'being formed as it is being executed and is likewise executed as it is being formed' (1940: 6). Whilst analysing past processes and structures of political engagement can be done with a static investigation of the documentary evidence viewed through the lenses of epochal and historical documentary analysis (see below, p.38), this becomes more difficult the closer to the present the study is occurring.

For the short-lived policy PPS5, relatively little in terms of documentary critique from the public or academic spheres exists, so evidence must be pieced together from less complete or authoritative sources such as meeting minutes, memos, email archives, and from personal memories of interviewees. For more recent policies such as the NPPF, impacts and outlooks have

changed regularly throughout the period of study, and opinion relating to them has been based much less upon static and well accepted accounts of relevance or significance and much more upon positional experiences that are not necessarily representative of other areas of effect of the same policy, and which are liable to fluctuate and change rapidly as the wider political situation moves around them.

For instance, as Neighbourhood Planning was implemented throughout 2012 and 2013, the understanding of the policy among neighbourhood groups and local authorities was continually shifting as the interpretation of various elements of the policy and legislative responsibilities of different parties were explored. Because of this the research often encountered conflicting evidence from different sources and a general feeling of confusion, which made neutral assessment of the regulatory process problematic. The same has been true of the implementation of other localism and NPPF policies. It is therefore difficult to base any solid, lasting opinions on the evidence of real-time reporting, either in the media, from professional publications, or from interviews and observations.

In this sense, there is a relative lack of perspective that must be confronted when examining events for their wider significance *as they are happening.* This limits the capability of the researcher to make judgements on broad scale aspects of policy meaning. However, the antithesis of this is that researching regulatory structures *as they are working* is advantageous because it is possible to observe and make judgements of small-scale but influential practices under close examination. This exposes many micro-scale factors which influence relationships and interactions, as well as policy intents. It allows for observation of fluctuations in positions, detailed knowledge of the speed with which individual decisions are made, and on exactly how consultations or discussions take place at various stages. This detail tends to be harder to access after the conclusion of a particular policy process, where often only the final outcome is readily accessible. Interviews that relay information are also likely to return better detail, with greater accuracy, due to fresher memories of recent events. Taken all together, these kinds of observations are valuable for the contextualisation of such issues as sectoral and political power, organisational strategies, and professional practices.

There are further questions over the uncertainty of reports (e.g. rumours and speculation) which cannot be backed up with hard evidence until months after the event, the constant recalculation of positions, and the occurrence of unexpected events are all further obstacles to achieving an accurate analysis of processes in real-time. Similarly, however, these observations can also provide interesting evidence of how relationships and processes of communication work, and so are still valuable to the qualitative researcher where they can be identified as opinion or hearsay.

Further to this, practicality dictates that particular formative processes will often not be accessible to the researcher at critical times, which can skew the value of observations of process by privileging those actors which are more easily observed. For instance, in this study there was comparatively little opportunity to observe civil service and governmental discussions on policy – an extremely important area to which the study therefore has little real-time observation, but one which takes place in a much more controlled and private context which was not accessible in this case. Careful consideration is used to predict this sample bias and rationalise its effects on the research questions.

These consequences of the temporal positioning of this study relate clearly to the policy process elements of the analysis, and specifically to the interview and observation methods of data gathering . The intimate view of the occurrences is important in considerations of policy making or implementation, but is less so to the critical reflections on heritage value, which are made best in the light of broad patterns and themes observed from a wider perspective. For this reason, the 'real-time analysis' elements of the study will be largely related to the political analyses of chapters five, six, seven, and eight.

2.6.3 *Epochal Analysis*

This study follows Raymond Williams' (1977) method for classifying political transition using the technique of 'epochal analysis'. Adopting this technique for this study necessitates conceiving of the system of heritage regulation as a 'cultural process' in which multiple influences act to determine transition in practices, meaning, and value. By considering the glacial historical progression in cultural processes Williams aims to capture the complexity of political systems (Williams 2005: 42). This complexity is defined in terms of the 'dynamic interrelations' that occur in a system in continuum, rather than relying on abstracted analysis of a system at a single point in time (Williams 1977: 121).

Epochal analysis identifies dominant features within the cultural process, comprising those processes, meanings and values that are - in practice, if not ideology - part of a social norm. In addition to the dominant model, certain features of the cultural process are classified as either 'residual' or 'emergent'. Residual features are rooted in past ideological understandings, but still play an active role in present cultural processes. Emergent features – which are often harder to identify – are those which can be assessed to be substantially different from the dominant model, and which either are incorporated into mainstream practice, or exist as 'alternate' or 'oppositional' to the dominant. All three states may operate within a cultural system at any point, and although the dominant features may be what are normatively valued within political or educational discourse, they are not necessarily valued universally, but are normalised practices which are

'continually renewed, recreated, and defended… and in certain respects modified' by alternative or oppositional, residual or emergent elements in society (Williams 2005: 45).

This model allows for a conceptual way to describe the 'phases' of development of the regulatory system for heritage in England, with different moments within phases, or aspects thereof, isolated with greater precision in the description of the overall historical development (Williams 2005: 43). Beyond understanding historic developments in the context of social and temporal interconnectivity, epochal analysis also allows for an understanding of how dominant models affect self-reinforcement through the use of continuing practice. For instance, by reference to how social processes of knowledge and value transmission derive from the dominant culture. Thus the manner in which emergent processes become incorporated into systems, and therefore the way in which transition occurs, can be better understood (Ibid.: 46). This, of course, relates to Williams' dialectic model for understanding how the development of new values in society affect change to the political superstructure over time and the notion of structures of feeling, which describe how changes are realised by societies (Williams 1977: 76, 130).

Describing the development of heritage values and regulation in this way enables consideration of how factors of public value and political systems can affect, over time, the progression of a system towards given ideological goals. It also clearly links existing practices to their ethical origins, the influence of which may still be pressing, even though contemporary ideologies may be considerably out of alignment with these past principles. In the same way, the concept of 'emergent' features allows a way to recognise the ways in which the dominant model is displaced by significantly alternate ideologies. Thus, this methodological approach is very useful in terms of unifying current analyses with historical ones.

Conducting epochal analysis requires extensive use of documentary records – for example evidence of process drawn from various political sources such as law and government policy as well as historic environment sector organisational practice. The way this data will be gathered and interpreted is set out below.

2.6.4 Documentary analysis

The types of document analysed in this study include; government legislation, policy and guidance documents, and the drafts, consultation texts and responses which went with them, committee reports, white and green papers, parliamentary records, political statements; government departmental guidance, civil service and political party reports, think tank reports, speeches, conference proceedings, and media reports. Documents originating in the heritage sector are also used. These include; professional organisations' strategies, memoranda or statements of purpose, meeting minutes, and research reports and statistics from longitudinal studies. Thirdly, secondary

academic sources are used, both to develop and support analyses, and also as evidence of responses to political discourse. Finally, additional to the political documentation, there are also sources which capture and critically analyse evidence of cultural processes.

These documents were selected by first considering relevant political 'communities' (Yanow 2000: 22) of actors in three categories: (1) the state, (2) the historic environment sector, and (3) the public. State actors are taken to be Government and its relevant departments (primarily the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) and Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), but to a lesser extent the Department of Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), Department of Education (DoE), Business Innovation and Skills (BIS), Department for Transport (DfT), and Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC)), Government Ministers, civil servants, and political parties. Sector actors constitute heritage organisations which engage in heritage management and political advocacy in any form, professionals working in historic environment or related disciplines, and academics. The majority of this evidence is taken from major national sector bodies, notably those which make up key groupings such as the Historic Environment Forum (HEF), the Joint Committee of the National Amenity Societies (JCNAS) and the Heritage Alliance. The sector is also deemed to include major historic environment non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs), or other quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (quangos), e.g. English Heritage/Historic England and the Heritage Lottery Fund. The public are comparatively difficult to adequately analyse as a political community, but are represented in various ways through surveys (e.g. the sector's Heritage Counts, DCMS' Taking Part programme), sector research (e.g. MORI 2000) and practice (e.g. HLF's citizen's juries).

Documents from these communities were selected based on whether they contained material which reflected upon broad political themes relating to the subject (for example annual statements or Minister's key notes speeches). These documents are usually the ones in which statements of strategic intent, advocacy, or ideology are espoused, and they tend to be the ones with the widest audiences and which receive the most attention. This choice meant that the majority of technical publications (for instance, guidance on the setting of ancient monuments) are not covered in great detail within the study, although they may too in some cases, reflect on themes in current theory in a lesser way. Given the large amount of material that conforms to these criteria, the selected documentation it is not necessarily a comprehensive archive, and whilst the selection was based upon the author's judgement of relevance to the above criteria, it contains a representative range of the available content of each community. All major national bodies were considered in this respect, even though some receive greater focus in the text.

These documents are analysed with two main purposes: Firstly, to gather evidence of *process* relating to current and historical practice, particular events, and also to the content of political

policy and its facticity, articulated through official documentation. This evidence is used to characterise transition within social and political processes and facilitate epochal analysis. This aims to address the dearth, highlighted by Hilary Soderland, in methodological processes which assess how 'the history of heritage is manifested and encapsulated in the archival resource' (2009: 77). In addition, this evidence is also important in the analysis of political processes in chapter five. The second method of extracting data from the documentary record involves an *interpretive* approach to analysing various rhetorical policy *meanings* (Yanow 2000), with the aim of illuminating how influence operates within various regulatory functions of the heritage system and how values are used, as well as the action and agency of those working within these systems.

Whilst the evidence used to elucidate process is not without potential for subjective distortion, it is fairly straightforward to justify methodologically. It provides an understanding of the historic events which have influenced heritage, and the content of the political mechanisms that have been built around it. Much of the information is already well known to those familiar with the sector, but some is synthesised in new ways to provide new material for the more theoretical analysis of the relationship between political structures and heritage philosophy and its development over time. Interpreting the meaning of evidence drawn from these processes, however, is a much more methodologically complex endeavour. Documents are considered in terms of context, intent, content, and effect. Context considers such things as author/speaker, occasion, and audience. Intent considers ideological rhetoric, communicated principles and various appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos. Content assesses purpose, subject, and tone. Effect considers readable impacts (where such can be seen) on subsequent decisions, strategies, processes, or policies. For instance, it may be noted where one document can be demonstrated to have influenced another, such as local policy following national policy, or a statement of ethical intent prompting further consideration of the same principle by another actor.

In gathering this data it is not assumed that there are uniform relationships that produce effect from intent in reality (Cicourel 1964: 149). As such, part of the analysis will be into how relationships manifest in particular contexts. Acting to distort the intent are; political rhetoric which lacks substance when implemented, competing or opposing influences, and other environmental factors (such as an unexpected political event, or a change in the economy or governing party ideology). A second assumption is that there is no 'common universe of discourse among the relevant parties' (Hammersley 1993: 43), meaning that different audiences may have different understandings which are likely to alter the discourse of heritage. For example, the professional value sets of developers and county archaeologists are likely to be very different, whilst operating within the same regulatory framework, leading to possibly different ways of valuing and interpreting policy.

2.6.5 Participation, observation, interview and survey data

As well as using existing documentary sources another important resource which enables critical reflection on the subject is the views, experiences, and observed actions of heritage professionals, civil servants and politicians. This can be partially determined through documentary evidence, such as historic environment audits, meeting minutes, end of year reports, or parliamentary records, as well as the written self-reflection of individuals (largely published in academic journals or raised in conference papers, but also in archived letters). However, primary research methods are also employed in this study in order to allow further investigation from a more critical perspective. This has been achieved by conducting interviews with people in key strategic positions in the historic environment sector, and through observing interactions at a number of sectoral fora and events. A small survey of a wider community of professionals beyond those in strategic positions was also undertaken for internal contextualisation of sector viewpoints.

Interview data

As part of the process a number of targeted individuals were subjected to in-depth interviews. These individuals were all judged to have special access to knowledge or a particularly relevant view-point deriving from their professional position (Marshall and Rossman 1999: 113). In some cases, this meant that the participant had strategic knowledge of a particular organisation and was well placed to describe political strategies and explain the position of the organisation. In others it meant that the participant had an important role in relation to a particular case study policy or period. In total, 23 interviews were carried out. As the study progressed, new individuals were identified and approached, both as a result of having arisen from the documentary research and from snowball sampling participants.

Each interview was structured uniquely so as to best access the specialist knowledge of the individual. In most cases the participant was given prior sight of a list of broad questions which roughly informed the pattern of the semi-structured, conversational interviews, with the pattern of questions being guided by the flow of the conversation and the further investigation of points of interest. This style allowed for immediate follow up questions and expansion of issues as they were raised, enabling particularly rich topics to be explored as and when they were identified. The typical length for each interview was approximately 90 minutes. This was usually limited by the schedules of the interviewees, who were volunteering their time. It was therefore not possible to gain comprehensive accounts of particular inquiries on the day. However, many participants agreed to follow-up questions by email, in some cases discussing events more informally at future accidental meetings.

Each interview focussed on different aspects of the study, depending on the role and perspective of the participant. Interviews variously focussed on particular roles and functions of organisations, events, processes or policies, or political and professional relationships. Additionally, the interviews helped indirectly to develop understandings and inform analysis of how networks are structured within the sector and with political contacts; how individual and organisational understandings of heritage concepts and ideologies vary; how significant these principles were to the processes of sectoral activity including political advocacy, and cooperation efforts; and various strengths, weaknesses and effectiveness of the system.

The majority of interviews were conducted with a similar pattern. As a rough guide these questions centred on (1) the participant's role and their organisation, (2) the specific examples of political action they have undertaken, and (3) their individual views on various issues of policy and sectoral organisation. This structure was applied wherever it was appropriate. However, there were a significant number of participants for whom the standard question model was not appropriate. For these participants individual strategies were used, sometimes focussing on a single issue and delving into greater depth on matters of process – such as fine details on drafting of a particular policy, or the thinking and planning behind a particular campaign strategy.

Most interviews were recorded and transcribed and are included in the appendices, although interviewees were given the option of whether or not to allow inclusion of the full transcript (see appendix 2). A number of the interviews were not recorded due to environmental or technological restrictions. In these cases notes from the conversation are provided.

Because the interviews were targeted at specially selected individuals in strategic positions, in-depth questioning was a particularly effective way of gaining insights not available from other (documentary) sources. Many of the participants had first-hand experience of policy processes developed over long periods of time, giving them unique ability to enhance evidence from documentary analysis and fill in gaps where official material was unavailable. Additionally, where ongoing 'real-time' events were discussed, the interviews provided an interesting snapshot of both personal and professional outlooks on particular events and organisational effectiveness at that point in time. Interpretations and deductions based upon this knowledge were thus particularly valuable as a way to supplement and contextualise documentary evidence.

However, it is noted that where interviews are used to gain hard facts about events or processes, the information gathered cannot be assumed to have the same authority as most documentary sources. It is possible for participants to misremember when recounting experiences, or for dates or names to be incorrect. Where possible, multiple oral sources were sought to back-up any claims made for which documentary proof could not be found.

Where questioning produced more positional responses relating to opinion or outlook, often factual accuracy was deemed less important, precisely because it was the subjective response which illuminated the analysis (e.g. to shed light on a particular relationship). However, the position of the source was also carefully considered when judging how to interpret particular views and feelings. Individuals who have a particular organisational outlook or positional relationship to processes and to results of processes may have legitimately skewed or biased opinions. Such opinions must be understood in their contexts before meaning can be successfully derived. As such, this data is deployed with caution and used variously to support either positivist or interpretivist arguments as appropriate.

In addition to the formal interviews, many informal conversations have taken place with persons within the sector relating to issues of note within this analysis. Where relevant, these conversations are referenced as personal communications in the text.

Participation/Observation

Over the course of the investigation I have attempted to instigate access to historic environment sector networks and have been involved as an observer (and latterly participant) in heritage policy advocacy and decision-making. This has included attending events, meetings, and sector fora and has enabled access to observe various relationships, sectoral network dynamics, and deliberative and decision-making processes, as well as being able to stay informed. As stated above it has also allowed for many informal conversations with individuals which have been useful in gaining knowledge of the workings of the sector. Of particular note are:

- *The Archaeology Forum*: A national group of archaeological bodies involved with policy advocacy for archaeology. I have been involved with all meetings since January 2012 and have undertaken the role of Secretary since September 2012, observing the interaction of member bodies and advancement of policy concerns, including results of action and debates relating to effectiveness.

- *The Heritage Alliance Spatial Planning Advisory Group* (SPAG): The SPAG is a cross sectoral group that meets to discuss developments in planning policy and discuss sectoral responses, often articulated through the actions of the Heritage Alliance. I have been included in all SPAG communications since 2012 and have occasionally attended meetings at crucial times in the development of particular policies such as the NPPF and Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act. Again, group dynamics, methods of advocacy, results and effectiveness were all critically observed through these meetings.

- *The All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group* (APPAG): I have occasionally attended APPAG meetings in a similar manner to the above stated. Similar observations were possible at this different point of access for archaeological lobbying within parliament.

- *Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO): UK committee meetings*: Between September 2014 and August 2015 I attended and acted as secretary at ALGAO UK committee meetings.

- *Howell/Redesdale review into the Future of Local Government Archaeology Services*: As amanuensis to John Howell MP and Lord Redesdale I participated in the design of the review, evidence collection, and writing of the report. Although the report has yet to be published at the time of writing, it allowed for various insights into the Westminster system and relationships between Ministers, parliamentarians, civil servants, and the sector.

- *Heritage 2020 'advocacy' steering group*: In November 2015 I was invited to sit on the specialist steering group for the advocacy section of the sector's Heritage 2020 strategic plan. At the time of writing the group has only met once but will, in early 2016, be responsible for developing proposals to inform the next iteration of the draft Heritage 2020 document.

Observations made at a number of events such as conferences, workshops and professional annual general meetings have also contributed to knowledge of the sector. Some of these events, for example the HLF's Heritage Exchange (2014), were particularly useful for assessing ideological intent regarding future sector development and the use of rhetoric. These individual opportunities to observe the passage of key decisions in policy forums or discussion in high profile sectoral events have allowed for the contextualisation of findings of documentary analysis. Additionally, as was often the case, where interviews were gained with individuals who had been observed directly in a meeting setting, a better knowledge base from which to conduct penetrating interviews was also obtained which was advantageous to the questioning.

Survey

One major disadvantage with a programme of interviews with high level individuals is that it tends to treat organisations as being totally represented by their leaders. It was not the intention of the study to homogenise organisations in this way, and as such, a more general sense of political perceptions was sought from a wider cross-section of the professional heritage community, and related disciplines.

A survey was carried out to sample the views of practitioners across a range of professional areas connected with the historic environment. Questions largely related to concepts of heritage value and regulatory features and processes within the sector. The intention was to discover how political rhetoric was interpreted by professionals; to what extent they shared views on particular key public value messages, and whether ethical emphases were the same or different across different heritage professions and different levels of seniority. As the project developed the survey became less relevant to the overall direction of the work. Nonetheless, the survey was important in order to collect data with which to contextualise or prove general remarks or deductions made elsewhere in the analysis. As such the survey data is employed at various points to validate or develop other findings.

The survey was made available online, and was advertised to employees of various heritage organisations via internal mailings. It was also given to various bodies of the planning sector, and distributed among local authority archaeological and conservation staff through online professional forums. In total 115 responses to the survey were received.

Taken together, the primary data collection was important in providing a real contrast to the rhetorical, idealised or subjective visions provided by the documentary analyses, providing insights into processes which are not recorded in documentary sources – particularly where these were related to recent events.

2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the nature and complexity of the task of analysing the importance of a public value paradigm for the historic environment. It has set boundaries for the investigation of the influence of political systems and processes and discussed how heritage ideologies and political practices interact. The following chapters will be developed using these theoretical and methodological principles: In chapters three, four, and five the dialectic relationship between regulatory superstructure and determining social base will be explored historically and then used to develop a practical framework for sector strategy and advocacy which is based upon an ontological reading of heritage and its importance to people. Chapters six, seven, and eight will then examine this proposition with reference to three recent scenarios.

Historical Analysis

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The origins of the regulation of the historic environment in England lie in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since then a diverse range of understandings of the importance of protecting, conserving or enhancing material heritage and of the values and benefits which result from it are evidenced in the actions of the state and the historic environment sector, as well as among the public. These understandings have been influenced by various political and societal factors, such as the emergence of planning, civic amenity, and the social welfare movement, as well as the effects of economics. This chapter describes these regulatory and political origins and developments and makes observations on them with reference to the social and political processes which have shaped the historic environment sector's engagement with people and the state. Particular attention is paid to elements of this development which directly foreshadow or echo perceived 'public' heritage values, but also to important alternate and residual processes which still carry influence today.

Any meaningful attempt to trace the history of the principles and concepts which underpin the historic environment would have to span many centuries before the first examples of British heritage regulation. These historical precursors include such processes as antiquarianism and the 'cult of relics' which spanned the medieval period (Howard 2003: 33), the roots of nationalism and identity politics (Davidson 2010: 31), museums, and cultural education. Many of these concepts relate to universally exhibited human cultural characteristics such as a tendency towards cultural self-identification, belonging, otherness, 'cultural capital', or curiosity about the past, and the ontological experiences of Being-in-the-World. These emotional resonances and deeper meanings permeate the history of heritage, and their influence is apparent throughout the chapter. However, the main attention of the chapter is with the regulatory age of heritage management, as it is through these restrictive agents of social and political control that the impact and purpose of heritage is defined, through management of rights, responsibilities, opportunities, and threats in the majority of people's lives.

The chapter is arranged by the description of four 'eras' of historic environment development which are each characterised with reference to: (1) major developments in the regulation of heritage protection, planning, and civic society, (2) various political, societal and economic narratives, trends, and occurrences, (3) attitudes of the public and politicians to heritage issues, and (4) the outlook and organisation of the historic environment sector (or its appropriate contemporary corollary).

3.2 THE PRESERVATIONIST ERA (1882-1964)

The eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquarian movement is, in Britain, often seen as the root of the origins of the historic environment (Howard 2003: 33; Delafons 1996: 1; Cleere 1989). The sentiment of the age was one of fascination, among a section of the learned classes, with archaeology and history; itself blossoming out of a Romanticist nostalgia towards the past and the interests of society in its aesthetic and emotional qualities. It was these gentlemen and women who were the torchbearers of the conservation movement in Britain and brought concern for historic structures and archaeology into the political realm long before it was ever a mainstream concern among the political classes, or the general public.

After the establishment of various learned societies and museums associated with an antiquarian discipline (for example the Society of Antiquaries, granted Royal Charter in 1751 and British Museum, established by Act in 1753), the first conservation legislation appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Ancient Monuments Acts (1882, 1900, 1913) had a slow gestation, as equally did the early Planning Acts in 1909, 1913, 1923 and 1932, within which conservation was a backwater concern, often only present due to a surreptitious and un-debated late amendment, and usually largely ignored by policy makers and implementers alike (Delafons 1996: 37).

Though often lauded by today's commentators, many of the important characters in this early development – people like William Morris, John Ruskin, John Lubbock, Octavia Hill, Edward Morrell, Patrick Geddes, and their contemporaries, and to a certain extent those who took up the cause in the 1940s and '50s, such as Wayland Kennet and Duncan Sandys – struggled to convince their peers of the importance of conservation and the historic environment. There was a widespread lack of recognition that these issues warranted attention from government or a professional sector and the various pursuits of antiquarianism were more likely to be considered as a 'gentlemanly' interest or area of intellectual study than an integral component of culture or identity.

This era spans a large period of time and numerous important developments in the history of heritage regulation during which attitudes towards the historic environment gestated and achieved far greater recognition. This period could certainly be sub-divided further to illustrate this development (see for example Delafons 1996). However, it is unified by a trajectory towards a particularly recognisable ethical approach to the management of the historic environment. Arguably, by the end of the era, a preservationist ethic was entrenched in the system of regulation which has survived ever since. For the purposes of this analysis of the ethical development of heritage, this is the most relevant issue to highlight. However, if deeper analysis of the practical development of heritage management processes and developments in social consciousness were undertaken, it is possible that several preservationist eras could be identified.

3.2.1 'Monumentalism'

The earliest regulatory attempts at historic environment protections were limited in terms of scope and level of protection. It was with reticence that any idea of a category of 'ownership' beyond private property could be conceived by the predominantly landed classes in parliament and this issue dominated the conservation debate (Cullingworth and Nadin 2006: 288). Concerns that property rights would be impinged provide one of the reasons why the original Ancient Monument Acts were so restricted in terms of the type of site that could be designated, with only prehistoric monuments initially included, to the exclusion of an enormous proportion of existing historic buildings, including all in-use ecclesiastical buildings and any property which was inhabited (Chippendale 1983:25; Swenson 2013: 303). Certainly, in this early period, the principle of 'heritage' as something with which people identify independently of ownership took a considerable length of time to establish.

This narrowly focussed definition of ancient monuments was also largely defined by prestigious ancient sites and, later, polite historic architecture, with no recognition of the value of popular or vernacular sites (Hobson 2004: 30; Monclus and Guàrdia 2006: xiii). Nor was the legislation particularly well integrated into wider thinking about culture, society, or environment. If there was a collective meaning which articulated the importance of these objects to people it was to be found in the establishment of a collective identity for the nation; a 'distinctive origin and evolution to the present day' (Holtorf 2011: 10).

It is clear from this genesis how little 'public value' was a consideration in the elite interests of early monumental protectionism. There are hints in the nascent zeitgeist of the Preservationist era of the value concepts which develop into recognisable concepts of public value in future eras, but the actual system of regulation focussed narrowly upon rules; for instance, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings' (SPAB) 1877 charter speaks about subjective beauty (Society for

the Protection of Ancient Buildings 2009), the Athens Charter speaks of character (International Council of Sites and Monuments 1931), the Venice Charter of cultural significance, setting, and balance but all three set their actual principles more by physical rules of protection and preservation than by any principle of why these sites and places were important (Clark 2010: 91).

Whilst the definitions of what may constitute the 'interest' which such sites and objects generate have expanded massively since this time, progressively becoming inclusive of more and more modern objects and widening categories, it is still primarily the same closed, expert-led, processes which are used to determine the 'intrinsic' value that designated places are ascribed in the system which operates today. For instance, the ecclesiastical exemption, mentioned above, still survives in the present, and illustrates the lasting influence that this early stage of regulation had on the conservation movement. We also still use largely the same lexicon of terms to encompass our modern conservation values as was being used at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Conversely, phraseology has developed within planning legislation and is substantially different in terms of wider rhetoric on heritage. The 1909 Planning Act mirrors the Ancient Monuments Acts' usage of 'historical, architectural and artistic interest' (Mynors 2006: 10; Delafons 1996: 36), but more recent planning policy has changed with the incidence of significance, which is taken in best practice to often include 'communal' values and a wider basis for understanding meaning (e.g. English Heritage 2008a). The criteria for designation, however, whilst couched in more holistic language in current guidance documents (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2010: 3) are still fundamentally based on the original limited range of elite academic 'interests' (Ibid.:4; P(LB&CA)A 1990; AMA 1979).

These fundamentally exclusionary definitions for what is 'interesting', judged by elites, still form the backbone of the monumental heritage protection system – focused on a narrow grouping of isolated buildings, sites and monuments worthy of national designation. Arguably, what this monumental system does is to make possible the protection of all types of historic remnant in the environment based on criteria such as age and rarity. These can, in theory, be judged objectively, and thereby preserve a representative sample of historical sites and monuments. However the monumental protection system is not organised in such a way as to assess public values, which are *assumed* (Carmen 1996). This narrow expert-defined criteria therefore potentially restricts exploration of heritage which arises through ontological experience and limits the regulatory sphere to an 'authorised' cadre of heritage (Smith 2006). Thus, as heritage values change over subsequent eras, the relatively static system of monumental protections is in danger of becoming less and less relevant.

3.2.2 Early social heritage consciousness

Beyond monumentalism in the early Preservationist era, there was a substantially alternate narrative for the nascent heritage phenomenon which can be read within the work of various high profile social reformers. Arguably these people and the social movements they represented, including many of the early monumental preservationists, are linked by connections to an intellectual liberalism and socialism which can be characterised as being in the same ethical tradition as public value. From this period was born ideas of physical and social ameliorative effects of heritage and the principle of holding heritage in trust for the public – all of which were precursors of public value principles (Fairclough 2010a: 127).

It is, for instance, important to note that in addition to the association which William Morris – the founder of the SPAB – had with John Ruskin's preservationist ethic (Donovan 2008: 17), he is also generally considered to be part of an intellectual left-wing which was intimately concerned with the well-being of the common man (Samuel 2010: 274; Jones 2012: 26, Howard 2003: 35; Barker 1976: 18). In founding the SPAB in 1877, Morris was not only influenced by Ruskin's principles of material preservation and authenticity, but also felt that the purpose of conservation was for a general public purpose of the beatification and enrichment of the world, even though it can be argued that it is the values of 'educated, artistic' elites which are taken into account (Donovan 2008: 19).

Another high profile liberal was Octavia Hill who, as a social reform campaigner, was a passionate exponent of the idea that access to countryside and heritage was beneficial for people, particularly the working classes (Hill 1956: 18). She championed the *transcendental* qualities of heritage which today are commonly perceived as being at the core of public value (Jowell 2006), but which at the time was a somewhat outlandish claim; these were 'moral over material values' (Jones 2012: 17). Together with Canon Rawnsley and Robert Hunter, Hill also founded the National Trust in 1895, an organisation established for the purposes of 'promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest' (National Trusts Act 1907). The Trust, now deeply embedded within a national consciousness, has remained more or less true to these original social purposes of universal access to culture, heritage, and the countryside (Reynolds 2011) despite relatively recently establishing a reputation for a particularly elite type of heritage – thanks primarily to the leadership of James Lees-Milne in the mid-twentieth century (Wright 2009a: 62; Jones 2012: 57). Its original purpose is attested by the Trust's motto 'For Ever, For Everyone' which it retains today and which is, arguably, more relevant than ever (Ghosh 2014). Even more of an impressive testament to the relevance of Hill's ideology to modern heritage is the way in which the campaigns for social housing, open spaces, and heritage were inescapably interlinked in her mind (Jones 2012: 18) – a view which is

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characteristic of forward-looking twenty-first century approaches to public value and is echoed in such current narratives as those which relate positive effects of heritage on poverty, health, and social exclusion (e.g. Andrews 2014; Neal 2015, Fujiwara et. al. 2015).

However, these individuals, whilst all motivated in small or large degree by principles of egalitarian or public value, were members of the wealthier classes which dominated societal discourse and politics in the period. Much of the movement of early public heritage consciousness was thus tied to this so-called 'missionary-aestheticism' (Maltz 2006: 2). Nevertheless, there were other signs of 'popular' heritage, for example, among the emerging passion for rambling – a movement which led to the founding of various pressure groups as well as displays of civil disobedience against property rights of the landed gentry, claiming a 'right of way' to experience natural landscapes as a 'morally beneficial leisure activity' (Matless 1998: 71). The most prominent example of this was the 1932 'mass trespass' on Kinder Scout, which is attributed with influencing the creation of the National Parks Act in 1949 (Bell 1975: 7; Samuel 2010: 281).

Fig. 3.1 – The Explorer's Chart, 1930 (Gilcraft cited in Matless 1998: 74).
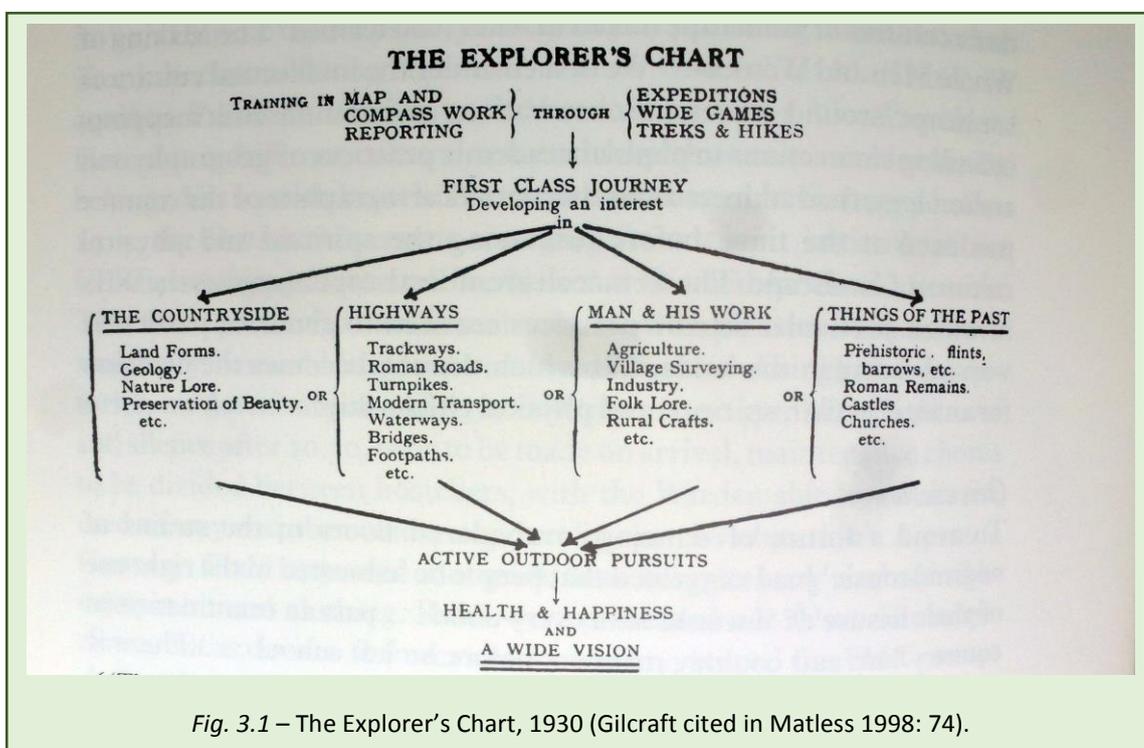
These early endeavours prove that 'public' values have a long history within heritage. These roots are deeply embedded within ideas of heritage as a social phenomenon and have arguably provided, since the earliest eras of regulation, a prominent ethical purpose for the expansion of regulatory policies for the historic environment.

3.2.3 Planning and heritage

In terms of the regulatory development of the historic environment, almost undoubtedly the most significant sphere of legislation and policy has been that of the planning system. The planning

system, similarly to ancient monuments, has its origins in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century (Fairclough 2010a: 125). However, it was the fast-changing demographics of town and country, the increase in population and the effect of two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century which elevated planning to high prominence and established it as a key responsibility of the government (Sutcliffe 1981: 4). By the mid-twentieth century, planning had a developed ideology and a political mandate to exercise it. As Andrew Saint contends, that was significant to the historic environment interests which were swept along with it:

> 'The listing of buildings would never have taken hold in Britain or assumed the
> impetus that it did... had a wider political enthusiasm not gathered force from the
> 1920s to 1940s about broader environmental issues – about the beauty of the
> countryside, the proper development of towns and suburbs, in brief, about
> planning'
>
> (Saint 1996: 115)

Certain publications by enlightened voices, such as Patrick Geddes in *Cities in Evolution* (1915) and Gerald Baldwin Brown in *The Care of Ancient Monuments* (1905), had respectively stressed the importance of understanding the history and development of a place to planning its future (Hebbert and Sonne 2006: 11) and called for integration of conservation and planning throughout the early development of the monumentalist system (Saint 1996: 127). Indeed, various references to such things as the 'special architectural, historic or artistic interest attaching to a locality' (Housing Etc. Act 1923 cited in Delafons 1996: 38) were apparent in the early Planning Acts. Slightly later, in 1944, John Summerson recounted that;

> '...preservation in general is only of value when it is coordinated and related to a
> plan of positive development. The planned survival of old structures can enrich a
> town enormously. An unplanned snatching of isolated buildings from unplanned
> development will result in pathetic patchworks of obsolescence'
>
> (Summerson cited in Saint 1996: 127)

The key points of change in this era in terms of planning were the 1944 *Town and Country Planning Act* (TCPA), which made many of the conservation provisions of the 1932 *Housing Act* mandatory for all authorities, and the 1947 TCPA, which added for the first time a system of building designation that is recognisable as being similar to the one we have today. The inclusion of a mandatory system of heritage protection measures was, in a large part, developed in the wake of a realisation of the importance of historic buildings, prompted by the large-scale destruction of World War II and the accelerated change that began to occur after it (Larkham 2003: 295; Ashworth 1954: 230).

It was this sense of dislocation which spurred the advancements in protections for historic buildings. This was a deeply visceral societal response to change, which highlights the innate ontological connections that people have to places. A variety of societal responses to this particular period of intense environmental change and ontological insecurity are evident, laden with memories of the human tragedies of war as well as the importance of physical surroundings (Cannadine 1995: 12). Whether these responses are demonstrated by the brick-by-brick reconstruction of the old city of Warsaw or the freezing in time of the village of Oradour-sur-Glane (and these are discussed at length by other scholars), it was clear that society's connections to places were deeply meaningful. That neither of these models of heritage protection would have been acceptable in the monumentalist model is irrelevant. In fact, it hints at the much broader ethical potential of the more ontologically sensitive public value heritage which would begin to arise in the 1990s.

Listing proceeded slowly until the 1960s, as still the mainstream significance of conservation was largely unacknowledged, and resources to accomplish the task of assessing the entire stock of national buildings were insufficient. Even where lists were formed, the system of protections for assets at risk were often inadequate to ensure effective protection, or were simply not pursued by planners. The policies that existed had little theoretical underpinning, and communication of conservation values was almost non-existent (Delafons 1996: 65).

One of the major significances of this, however, was that in stark contrast to the development of the intensely materialist ethic which underlay the compulsion to protect ancient monuments, the planning zeitgeist was based explicitly upon the principle that it was carried out in the 'public interest' rather than upon learned 'interests' in deference to a national identity – albeit that this role as a guardian of public value has at times been a dubious one (Hobson 2004: 36; Larkham 2003: 305; Thornley 1995: 55). Planning related directly to public needs and public desires as it designed, made, and maintained places in a way which looked to create public goods. These public goods were not always aligned with benefits to conservation or heritage and this is explored further below. However it was arguably these planning processes which stimulated debate and exploration of the contribution of historic places to these public goods of planning. In turn this catalysed the development of perceptions of the historic environment as being part of the everyday experience of places, and out of planning processes which tended to destroy heritage, greater recognition of the value of such things as vernacular and relatively modern buildings and places as heritage also grew. Throughout this period and the decades that followed, these processes were much more visceral and relevant to the average person than was the Ancient Monuments legislation.

This was the position of the historic environment as transition to the next 'era' began. Ancient monuments and listed buildings were still elite structures, although beginning to be integrated as tool in planning decision-making. Landscape (or townscape, as often used in earlier planning language), amenity, character, and sense of place were all concepts which entered the sphere of historic environment interests through planning, and it was through planning that protections for the experienced qualities of the historic environment were first talked about in relation to these concepts. These were significant developments in heritage planning ideology which occurred during the next era.

3.2.4 Conclusions

For the nascent heritage protections of this early era, much of the impetus for development lay with a handful of individuals who dragged the political classes, largely unwillingly, towards the establishment of conservation principles in law. The principles which they established were based upon a narrow conception of what was of historic interest, and the system of national designations was born amid a preservationist culture which was based upon elite values and had little relevance to normal people.

Cultural capital was highly concentrated with these elites: Whether it be illustrated by Clough William-Ellis' (1938) assertion that the 'Beast' of the public would destroy the natural beauty of the countryside by visiting in too large numbers, or the snobbery of those such as S. P. B. Mais who claimed that to experience the natural heritage of the countryside the 'vulgar' classes might first need 'training' (cited in Matless 1998: 67). Indeed, even the social reformers were guilty of paternalistic treatment of the public which would be at odds with twenty-first century social expectation. Certainly, however, for every social reformer such as Hill there were many more in elite positions who considered such work to be part of a lunatic fringe, and it took many decades longer to become established as a common principle.

The narrow spectrum of expertly-identified material heritage worthy of protection, whilst broadened over time, still forms the basis for material heritage protections and carries influence, despite resting on an assumption that what it protects is what is valued by people today. However, the early planning system also provided the seed for an expansion of meaning for heritage which would take place during the next era. Nonetheless, the origins of a recognisable public ethos are evident, with an underlying understanding of the transcendental qualities of both cultural and natural heritage, the ameliorative effects of it on people and the innate ontological connections between people and places.

3.3 THE CONSERVATION PLANNING ERA (1964-1979)

The late 1960s and early 1970s was the time that conservation really began to crystallise within a comprehensive and ideologically sound planning structure. For the first time it began to gain a wider acceptance amongst politicians, and amongst the public, for whom local identity - anchored in appreciation of the historic qualities of towns and villages - began to manifest in a desire to preserve the historic character of their environments (Fairclough 2010a: 128; Larkham 2003: 307). The date chosen for the transition to a new era falls at the beginning of the first Harold Wilson Government which began a particularly fruitful development of the conservation ethos within the planning system.

Some of the important changes in this period included the rapid spread of local civic and amenity societies, along with a policy drive initiated and perpetuated by several committed conservationists within the Ministry for Housing and Local Government (MHLG). One of these men was Wayland (later Lord) Kennet who summed up the public mood of the period in his diaries:

> 'There was a general shift of our national consciousness towards the visual ... more and more people became conscious that their street, their village, their town, their quarter of a city, was different from others because it had grown differently, and that that was interesting'
>
> (Kennet cited in Delafons 1996: 96).

It was under these conditions that a holistic planning ideology for the comprehensive planning system was able to be developed; one which viewed urban and rural development as something which could be controlled for social benefit. By 1964 the Wilson Government was able to expound a commitment to social improvement and liberalisation which included grand ideals for securing urban change in a manner that could benefit the lives of individuals (Larkham 2003: 316).

As stated above, the effect of this socially driven planning ideology did not always correlate with progress in terms of conservation (Sharp 1968: 1). The 1960s was also an era of architectural modernism, which consciously broke from the historical tradition and which led to the demolition of many historic buildings and the rise in perception of conservation being anti-progress (Amery and Cruickshank 1975: 12). Conservation was a growing interest, but it was by no means the norm. Despite a growing respect for historic character, huge scale clearances of so-called inner city 'slums' still took place in the name of modernisation and social amelioration, as they had since the 1940s, erasing large parts of the Victorian vernacular built heritage in many cities across Britain (see Larkham 2003). This tension arguably still characterises a particular relationship between conservation and planning's social improvement agenda (Cooper and Wray 2001; Cooper 2008).

There were, however, significant positive developments in the way heritage was practiced and understood in this era: for instance, the appointment of the first conservation officers and county archaeologists within local authorities helped to embed historic environment protections within planning departments at a local level across the country and principles of a socially aware system of planning that would protect and enhance the character of towns were established and presented by the MHLG. Under successive ministers Richard Crossman and Anthony Greenwood, Lord Kennet and the MP Duncan Sandys – who were architects of the civic movement and who introduced the private member's bill that was to become the 1967 Civic Amenities Act (CAA) – built strong policy and gathered the support necessary to embed it in practice (Kennet 1972). This team oversaw the introduction, over a remarkably short space of time, of a significantly enhanced ideology for the historic environment and, as part of a wider societal movement, helped to characterise the shift in policy of the era.

The CAA was the central piece of legislative activity and highlights the various significances of the planning model envisioned by Kennet and Sandys. The Act introduced Conservation Areas – the first area-based heritage designation in the UK – and changed the focus of the previous designation procedures by making it less about a rigid interpretation of historic or architectural interest (although these were still the terms used for description of these areas), and more about the unique *character* of a place. Conservation Areas applied judgements of the appropriate use of materials and scale of new buildings next to old, and the overall balance, distinctiveness and visual quality of a place even to non-listed buildings in appreciation of the area's defined qualities. Moreover, the decision to designate was taken at a local level, with, potentially, any local characteristic capable of being defined as a reason for designation. In essence, the implementation of an area-based protection identified that the setting and relationship of heritage assets to their surroundings mattered. This was a tacit realisation that the immediate perceptions and experience of a place by people was important to its heritage value.

The CAA did not overhaul the elite monumental values of the heritage protection system, and it did not confront any of its inadequacies directly, as it was still essentially rooted in the same formal designation model based upon values of historical and architectural significance, albeit based on areas rather than individual buildings. Nevertheless, the recognition of the principles outlined above were still important in broadening the remit for conservation, which was extended from a narrow protectionist platform concerned with architectural and historic 'interest' to include a much wider range of visual and aesthetic criteria implied within a judgement relating to the surrounding environment, and the place of a particular building or monument within a landscape.

Beyond conservation area designations, the MHLG team had broader ideas about how historic interest was to be interpreted; it was not just about those few towns of Medieval character – those

which had been changed little for hundreds of years – which were important, but all places in which people lived and worked (Worskett 1969: 10). Important publications such as the MHLG's *Preservation and Change* (1967) and Roy Worskett's *The character of towns: an approach to conservation* (a privately penned book, although a truer perspective on the MHLG's unadulterated planning ethos than *Preservation and Change* (Kennet 1972: 68)) espoused a vision for conservation of the character of existing places and their individual identities. These books illustrate a much broader understanding of the significance of the historic environment, exploring social themes that were new to conservation, with Worskett proposing that preserving historic and architectural quality in towns was an environmental issue, and one which concerned not only architects and planners, but 'everyone with eyes to use and the will to make a fuss' (Worskett 1969: 7). What this ideology hinted at was a willingness by government to explore and expand social opportunities to safeguard places of value (whether worthy of designation or not) through the planning system.

3.3.1 Amenity

The trends in development of values observable in the 1960s and early 70s towards the expansion of the lay heritage interest, were not intrinsically dependent upon the pre-set ideas of historic or architectural interest and thus upon learned opinions, but simply on quality of life and quality of environment – things which were often underpinned by historic connections, although considered as part of a wider spatial or civic sphere of interest. This was significance cast in the social dimension, derived from, as the Act's title suggests, the concept of 'amenity'.

The term amenity is recognised as being a key component of town and country planning and it has had a flexible meaning since the earliest planners used it to indicate issues of public health, such as sanitation, and other basic needs such as housing. However, its meaning became more general during the twentieth century, implying social considerations to do with visual attractiveness, local character and interest, and so came to describe the myriad different factors which combine to create places of worth. Now, it can be broadly understood to mean 'environmental quality' (Smith 1974: 11). The concept is necessarily tied to public well-being, and thus to public values, personal aesthetics, comfort, and happiness. The 1967 Act brought heritage values under this umbrella - officially - for the first time.

In reality, the conservation movement had pioneered ideas of civic amenity through organisations such as the SPAB, National Trust, Council for British Archaeology (CBA), Ancient Monuments Society, Georgian Group, Victorian Group and Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE) since the 1940s. All of these organisations, synonymous with early conservation, were founded with, or took up the cause of, the amenity movement in the late-nineteenth and early-to-

mid-twentieth centuries: the leaders of these organisations were in the forefront of the movement for social improvement (Barker 1976: 17).

There are two reasons why amenity has such great importance to planning and public ideas of heritage. The first is that it relates to aspects of life which people readily experience – by definition it is implicitly aligned towards conservation as it is concerned with that which is valued, as well as that which is desired, and so it has a clear connection, not only to protecting, but also improving inherited places in a similar way as we understand constructive *change* in the public value era (English Heritage 1997). What amenity added to historic environment policy was a greater intuition relating to social values. In all previously existing legislation and policy the protection of historic fabric was only explicitly concerned with its value for academic and historic reasons. Amenity recognises that these reasons are best served when they are also seen as being for the benefit of *people* who hold the historic character of places to be valuable for personal reasons - usually with lay knowledge of history and architecture. It therefore relies less heavily on privileged knowledge and 'objective' value sets and can be more holistically applied to a treatment of the rural and urban landscape.

The second reason is that amenity, unlike previous monumental protectionist methods, is directly applicable everywhere, not just to the oldest, best, or most attractive. This difference is a significant one because it is a direct antecedent of the principles of public value era heritage, and is not found in the greater body of preservationist legislation and policy which, as described above, is concerned chiefly with expert opinion based upon objective historical and material value.

Amenity influenced policies on urban renewal, which began to reflect recognition of the value of retaining continuity between historic elements of towns and countryside when planning new development, not simply because of the intrinsic historic or material value of one particular structure in any given street, but because of its wider amenity value within a dynamic landscape. This consideration of landscape and amenity concepts applied without the use of strict boundaries of what is objectively and materially significant is now considered to be a central part of public heritage understanding (Thérond 2009: 10). The conservation of communities and of the social fabric are just as important to heritage as factors relating to history and architecture (English Heritage 1997: 3).

Amenity, in this sense, is a corollary of the type of public value heritage which we now commonly observe, with the only difference being that amenity is specifically related to planning and puts less emphasis on personal emotional values (e.g. identity). Certainly a public value heritage, understood as being an active, social concept, has a much clearer connection to amenity than it has to the considerations applied in the designation of listed buildings, which is an entirely

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passive process with no connection to the lives of people in contemporary society (Middleton 1968: 1). Future heritage thought would expand these seeds of wider social significance and appreciation of amenity values. By the release of PPS5 in 2010, they had become, arguably, the primary reasons for planning for the historic environment.

3.3.2 Amenity Societies and public involvement in heritage

In addition to the regulatory impacts of amenity on planning values and decision-making, this era also saw an explosion in public involvement in built historic environment management. A huge growth in local amenity societies brought a hitherto unseen public pressure to political decisions over the environment. The Civic Trust was founded in 1957, built on the principles of improving townscape character, appearance, local distinctiveness and care for the local environment (Barker 1967: 4; Hobson 2004: 37). By 1976 local societies were estimated to have 'hundreds of thousands' of members – a most significant public force for pressuring policy makers (Barker 1976: 1). The government also acknowledged the importance of public involvement in the built environment in the 1969 Skeffington Report – entitled *People and Planning* – commissioned by the MHLG, which concluded broadly that public participation ought to be a cornerstone of the planning process and formally endorsed local amenity and civic societies and encouraged their growth (Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1969).

One major significance of the amenity movement was the emphasis on the local; be it county, city, town, village, neighbourhood, or street. This position underlies the lobbying power of such groups, namely the vital knowledge of places which is gained through closeness to them, and also underpins a claim to ownership and democratic legitimacy. In contrast, both the local and popular dimensions were absent from the national, expertly defined criteria for designations within the monumental heritage system. Even in the current incarnation of the system, public involvement in listing procedures is limited to suggesting sites to be considered for listing by experts, and determined by the Secretary of State, with public values to support the case carrying no influence (Historic England 2015b). Fewer than one fifth of public suggestions for listing are accepted, which shows a notable gap between what at least some people consider to be important heritage assets and what are deemed to be of sufficient national interest to be defined in the lists (Jackson 2013). Whilst this does not necessarily point to listing criteria being poorly defined, it does illustrate that its narrow purpose does not represent the range of heritage values held by people.

3.3.3 European Architectural Heritage Year 1975

The culmination of progressive MHLG policy and growth in public support for both civic amenity and heritage conservation is illustrated by the celebration of European Architectural Heritage Year (EAHY) in 1975. The event was a boon for the reputation of the historic environment sector and an

indicator of how it had grown in the past fifteen years. As a result, new opportunities were provided for funding through the establishment of the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF), pressure groups RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust and SAVE Britain's Heritage were also founded, and the event provided a high profile platform for discussing contemporary challenges facing the historic environment (Dartmouth et. al. 1975).

EAHY was an initiative designed by the Council of Europe which was thoroughly planned and debated throughout the first half of the 1970s. Duncan Sandys was chosen to chair the International Organising Committee for the campaign and was able to imprint the clear emphasis of the existing work of the MHLG on the project (Sandys 1979). *The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (Amsterdam Declaration), published at the conclusion of EAHY, proclaimed that;

> 'the future of the architectural heritage depends largely upon its integration into the context of people's lives and upon the weight given to it in regional and town planning and development schemes'

<div align="right">(Council of Europe 1975a)</div>

Fig. 3.2: Significant articles of the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*:

1. 'European heritage consists not only of our most important monuments: it also includes the groups of lesser buildings in our old towns and characteristic villages in their natural or manmade settings. … even if they do not include any example of outstanding merit…'

2. 'The past as embodied in the architectural heritage provides the sort of environment indispensable for a balanced and complete life…'

3. 'The architectural heritage is a capital of irreplaceable spiritual, cultural, social and economic value…'

4. 'The structure of historic centres and sites is conducive to a harmonious social balance…'

5. 'The architectural heritage has an important part to play in education…'

<div align="right">(ICOMOS 1975)</div>

What was particularly significant about the EAHY was that in addition to reinforcing the MHLG's principles for a socially aware planning system and expanded definition of heritage value, it also did so in a way that attracted a great deal of public and media attention. It was supported strongly in government, perhaps due to the importance assigned to Britain's position in Europe by the Edward Heath Government, which had just seen the country ratified as a member of the EEC. Emphasising Britain's contribution to European architectural heritage was therefore backed by a wider political will, with the media equally willing to report it heavily to satisfy its own European

news agenda. EAHY was therefore able to yield significant results; a 'varied and intensive' programme to support the principles of the project and provide money to fund it (European Architectural Heritage Year United Kingdom Secretariat 1976: 1).

Because of this political background, EAHY had an unusually strong impact upon conservation. It launched a range of activities which raised the conservation agenda and built an enhanced public image for heritage; from high profile restorations of buildings and areas across the country (for example in Edinburgh New Town or through the National Trust for Scotland's Little Houses Scheme) to staging exhibitions to raise public awareness of various conservation issues. More locally there was an explosion of projects run by civic societies to preserve or protect their areas (European Architectural Heritage Year United Kingdom Secretariat 1976: 17-19).

Beneath the practical and financial benefits that resulted from the associated interests in EAHY, however, was a charter of principles that represented a considerable advance on traditional preservationist values. It contained a principled valorisation of social benefits derived from the significance of people's environments – including such things as the complexity of 'spiritual, cultural, social and economic' values and the value of education, and all in the pursuit of a 'harmonious social balance'. These concepts characterise the era's influence on future meanings assigned to heritage. It is for these reasons that the Congress on the European Architectural Heritage highlights very well the ideology of the era and is a clear antecedent of public value era policies.

It is also interesting to note that EAHY preceded, in the main, the popular uptake of the word 'heritage' as the primary descriptor of value relating to remains of the past for contemporary society. However, as Britain moved on from the Conservation Planning era, changes in politics began to alter perceptions of 'heritage' as well as significantly shape its direction as a result of domestic political policy and the social ideology that EAHY promoted as 'heritage' became subsumed by the economic policy of Margaret Thatcher's government.

3.3.4 Conclusions

As well as continuing to see the development of the previous era's trends towards the growth of designation and an expanding breadth of heritage protectionism, the Conservation Planning era also represents the initial expansion of historic environment issues as a point of widespread public interest and involvement. The beginnings of a true 'sector' are also to be found here, with new bodies grown out of the civic amenity movement, assisted by the fanfare (and funding) surrounding EAHY. These bodies advanced the purpose of the sector with central concerns for public interest and community heritage, history and archaeology (Council for British Archaeology 2014). With the possible exception of the National Trust, the previous era's heritage organisations

such as the SPAB substantially reflected the preservationist ethic. These trends meant that heritage was able to become more embedded within public consciousness, expanding its role within the regulatory sphere and interlinked with wider societal interests – both aspects which are important to the development of public value. Nonetheless, the main advancements in regulatory practice retained a substantially preservationist purpose, and aside from the positive ethic and progress of planning, much of this development was driven by what were perceived to be serious threats to the historic environment. The new organisations formed around EAHY may have been energised by the development of a greater political will and positive momentum behind the conservation and amenity movements, but they were also driven by new destructive trends. For example, the early and mid-1970s were when the idea of 'rescue' archaeology era began to become politicised (Rahtz 1974: 1; Everill 2012: 9) – with archaeology campaigners unsatisfied with the lack of protection for sites discovered during the development process. There was also a continuing perception of an inherent opposition of conservation and modernism in architecture. These seeds of division and negative reputation for heritage as being anti-change and anti-progress were certainly prevalent in this era and characterised development in the era which followed (Farrells 2014).

3.4 THE HERITAGE ERA (1979-1997)

The period of uninterrupted Conservative government from 1979 to 1997 under Margaret Thatcher and John Major marked a break in the transition towards an ethos of holistic societal relevance of the historic environment and its utilisation within a broadly conceived planning function. Thatcherite policy cultured free-market economics and a governing style characterised by 'New Public Management' (NPM) – a response, in large part, to the recession and economic crises of the earlier 1970s. Thatcher developed an economic imperative for heritage too, encouraging the development of heritage as an 'industry' which generated economic benefits both in terms of regeneration and tourism.

The NPM model for public sector organisation sought to deliver 'responsive, customer focused, efficient and effective' governance (O'Brien 2014: 117) and was heavily focussed on the economic bottom line as a means to judge success of policies and political agencies. Former Conservative Minister Nigel Lawson recounted in the 1990s that Thatcherism was a mixture of 'free markets, financial discipline, firm control over public expenditure, tax cuts, nationalism, Victorian values, privatisation, and a dash of populism.' (cited in Larkham and Barret 1998: 55). All of these things were, in one way or other, influential on the development in the historic environment sector in this era.

In addition to economic themes, the era saw politicians *use* heritage as a symbol of national identity and a rhetorical tool for legitimation to a hitherto unseen extent, used by government in

its efforts to make Britain 'Great' again (Wright 2009b: xiii). Critics allege that this overtly nationalist sub-current within Thatcherite politics amounted to the construction of an idealised past which supplied a framework of justifications for actions in the present (Hewison 1995: 211). This effect was certainly reliant upon the growth in the popularity of heritage with the public, but also attracted harsh criticisms from professionals and commentators by the mid-1980s.

A third theme was the development of a more clearly articulated environmental narrative in government in the light of growing evidence of climate change: the historic environment portfolio was reorganised within the Department of the Environment (DoE) from 1970, merging both MHLG and the Ministry of Works with the Ministry of Transport. This meant that these areas of policy became more influenced by developing narratives of environmental protection.

More broadly, the wider governing ethos under Thatcher led to the MHLG's progressive planning ideology being largely replaced by prevailing agendas defined by sustainability, economic growth, deregulation and market dynamics. This particularly influenced the shape of the development of archaeological protections in the planning system.

This era was also when the term 'heritage' became established in political rhetoric as something with different connotations from 'conservation' or 'preservation'. However, rather than the progressive aims and public principles of heritage as defined by the Amsterdam Declaration, this was an entirely different concept of heritage – one which developed a lasting association with some of the negative aspects of Thatcher's regulatory ideology and political uses of the past.

3.4.1 An economic imperative for heritage

Under Thatcher's Government, the historic environment was pinpointed as an area for reform. 'Heritage' became the term associated with Thatcher's vision for a business-like and profitable heritage sector (Delafons 1996:136). In a certain sense this economic rationale capitalised on the continued growth in the popularity of heritage, both for leisure and in people's daily lives – with such things as restoration of historic buildings gaining popularity, and the growing popularity of historic areas, as shown by the rising property prices and trend towards 'gentrification' and success of conservation areas (Howard 2003: 37).

In 1983 the government published the National Heritage Bill which created the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, better known by the informal name English Heritage (now, in part, Historic England). This new 'guardian' of the national heritage was charged with an economic mandate to 'sell' heritage to the public in order to recoup some of the public subsidy required to support it (Larkham and Barrett 1998: 54). The government consultation paper *Organisation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings in England* initially appeared to sanction

the pure commercialisation of the past and a vision for heritage as economic resource – so little reference was there to other values within its text (Department of the Environment 1981). Much of this rhetoric, it later became clear, had been derived from the Treasury and was subsequently revised in a more peaceable form for the historic environment sector professionals who had objected to the draft (Delafons 1996: 137).

Similarly, government funding for 'rescue' archaeology was spiralling upwards in the 1970s which led Thatcher to cut provisions several times before eventually instituting an entirely new system marked by the 'polluter pays' principle which took the money for excavation from developers. The change revolutionised the archaeological sector by making it a market-driven operation. Even trends towards heritage-led regeneration were not without an element of selectivity based primarily on marketability to tourists and thus an essential bottom line and not a true commitment to place-making (Kearns and Philo 1993).

Despite the misgivings of many professionals at the time (Delafons 1996: 137), this economic rationale was reactive to several important and reasonable facts about heritage: It was a 'commodity' (Schouten 1995: 21) capable, in many cases, of generating income through tourist revenues, or through attracting investment for conservation through re-use. These primarily instrumental benefits of heritage were considered to be a necessary foundation of the business case for heritage and have been important to the sector ever since.

3.4.2 Heritage and 'Britishness'

As well as being potentially lucrative, heritage was also developed as a matter of national prestige under Thatcher's primacy. Her government attempted to encourage a powerful sense of 'Britishness', closely connected with the island's industrial and imperial heritage. Not only was heritage deemed to be important and its preservation sought, but it was additionally integral to the national identity at a time when the country was in a period of economic and political strife. Richard Luce, then Minister for Arts, commented in 1984 that the growth in museums in Britain indicated that they were a 'source of reassurance and stability… [indicative of] an apparent need for roots when all around us is changing so fast' (cited in Hewison 1987: 84). Raphael Samuel states that 'it seemed quite plausible to think of [heritage] as reactionary, and to argue that it fitted into, and could have been seen as an expression of, the dominant ideology, and ruling politics, of the time' (2010: 276).

In Robert Hewison's 1987 attack on the heritage 'industry' it was this cultural policy which were as much the target of his criticism as Thatcher's economic rationale. Heritage, it was said, amounted to 'the imaginative death of [the] country'. The accusation was that Britain was 'obsessed with its past, and unable to face its future' (Hewison 1987: 9). Culturally, Britain was 'in a

climate of decline' and focussed on an 'irrecoverable' past from which it contrived a self-definition which legitimised the political zeitgeist. During this era, the National Trust was targeted by Patrick Wright (1986) who accused it of arrogantly putting forward a;

> 'purifying cult of permanence, continuity, and endurance' where 'the nation is not seen as a heterogeneous society that makes its own history as it moves forward, however chaotically, in the future. Instead it is portrayed as an already achieved and timeless historical identity which demands only appropriate reverence and protection in the present.'

Heritage was, 'in short, Thatcherism in period dress' (Samuel 2010: 276) and a symptom of the 'the end of history' – as Francis Fukuyama (1992) famously put it – where the near universal and homogeneous achievement of western liberal democracy deprived humanity of its place in the continuum of history.

In 1992 John Major continued a similar cultural policy focus on heritage, creating the Department of National Heritage, taking the portfolio out of the former DoE. Whilst this move was arguably intended to highlight the specific importance of heritage to the Conservative agenda under Major – similar to its importance under Thatcher – the move had the effect of situating heritage in a comparatively tiny department which has been frequently characterised as a Westminster backwater, with a reputation as a dysfunctional portfolio and a reputed dumping ground for washed-up Ministers and poor quality civil servants (Nisbett 2010; Wingfield 2011; Raab 2013; Grenville 2016, pers. comm.). The split from the DoE also further undermined its relationship with the planning system, as well as with the natural environment, and its perception of an area which complemented these more widely interconnected policy areas. These issues all contributed to a reversal of fortunes for the sector, which began to see its influence and presence in government regress from one which was enhancing engagement and relevance to people and becoming further embedded into a narrow and politicised preservationist role as a manager of national designations and a purveyor of national identity (Delafons 1996: 157).

3.4.3 Heritage and the public

During the Heritage era there was a distinct shift towards an understanding that 'heritage', as it was being established in government rhetoric, implied the presentation of the past to the public. This was a significant change to the expert controlled protectionism that went before. The 1983 Bill introduced the stated aim for utilising the potential of built heritage in the education of the public (Department of the Environment 1982). The era was one in which the public appetite for heritage continued to rise, and according to some (e.g. Pendlebury 2009: 81) was when conservation truly achieved mainstream status. Even the so-called 'commodification' (Ibid.: 103) of heritage, the

underlying ideology of which continued to be criticised in the following era, acted to further enhance the popular interest in heritage, and provided government with an indication of just how important heritage was to the nation (through, for instance, the numbers of people who flocked to visitor attractions and the number of members of English Heritage and the National Trust, which grew from 0.9 to 1.9 million over the course of the 1980s (Department of the Environment 1990: 126)).

However, during this period English Heritage purposefully avoided any question of public heritage values suggesting that 'we could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say, beauty or art…' (National Heritage Memorial Fund 1981: 20). Whilst this recognises the plurality of heritage connections which is implicit to public heritage it shies away from accepting a role to manage that type of heritage or act as facilitator of public benefits. Instead this public relationship was predominantly one of commercial profit, touristic nostalgia, and nationalism which supported the organisation and sector's preservationist roles.

3.4.4 Thatcher's planning system

The trends in conservation under Thatcher's government were largely continuous throughout the Heritage era. The systems of designation and heritage protection through planning were observed with growing importance and broadening scope (Larkham and Barrett 1998: 54). This much was a certain aim of the Conservatives, who set out such a commitment within the first Queen's Speech of Thatcher's government in 1979 (House of Commons Debate 15 May 1979: 967 cc.47-51). Significantly, the government was responsive to revealed crises in the historic environment, moving to amend systems of appropriation of assets into the publically owned 'National Collection' following the mishandling of the Mentmore Towers sale in 1977 (Gaze 1988) and, more significantly, reacting to various high-profile cases of rescue archaeology such as the discovery of the Rose Theatre. The latter of these led to publication of *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16* (PPG16) in 1990 and fundamentally changed the face of archaeology and its engagement with the planning system. Other regulatory changes included the 1987 *Circular 8/87,* which embodied some minor interesting emphasis on a 'familiar and cherished local scene' but which was predominantly a consolidating document. In addition, the 1990 *Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas Act* for the first time gave conservation a separate planning act which largely consolidated existing powers, albeit that it effected a split between the core planning and conservation mechanisms. Finally, *Planning Policy Guidance Note 15* (PPG15), in 1994 under Major's premiership, did similarly, with some more significant changes in emphasis including a consideration of the 'wider historic landscape' (Department of the Environment 1990; Department for National Heritage and Department of the Environment 1995).

From a practical point of view, English Heritage was also quick to make an impact on the seriousness with which casework was treated, embedding the processes of Listed Building Consent (LBC) in practice and providing a quasi-governmental authority to the whole process which was able to achieve a higher profile for the issues of conservation and heritage management (Delafons 1996: 137). English Heritage also helped to develop a powerful lobby for the historic environment, and created good links with independent bodies, such as the National Amenity Societies (NAS), and generally increased the profile of heritage in government (Thurley 2013). The organisation was also able to give a much higher public profile to conservation issues surrounding plans to demolish historic buildings and, in particular, ensuring protection for buried urban archaeology. Examples include the redevelopment of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, Spittlefields market, Paternoster Square, and the Rose Theatre (Delafons 1996: 145). It set up the infrastructure and embedded it in practice and provided a more visible platform from which to raise the profile of the conservation agenda. Although much of this pro-conservation work was the subject of high profile disagreements between ministers in the Conservative party in the late 1980s – who clashed over continued insistence of the sanctity of private property (Samuel 2010: 276), these combined influences still arguably represent the zenith of the preservationist conservation orthodoxy, as the principles of the 'presumption in favour of conservation' took a prominent role in the national planning zeitgeist.

However, broader planning changes under Thatcher were mainly characterised by relaxations of regulation for the purposes of economic efficiency (Fairclough 2010a: 129; Thornley 1995: 56). Critics asked 'whatever happened to planning?' as Thatcher brought about new economically designed stimulus policies such as Business Enterprise Zones and Simplified Planning Zones (Ambrose 1986). What this amounted to was not quite a dismantling of the planning system, but rather a shake-down of the social emphasis of planning which had predominated since the 1950s and which had built such a case in policy for the social value of historic character and heritage amenity (Brindley et al. 1989: 1). The Thatcher years thus provide a clear ideological break between the socially progressive planning of the MHLG in the 1950s -1970s and the re-emphasis of the social responsibilities of planning to heritage in the late 1990s. In effect, the ideology underpinning Thatcher's planning system rejected public values in terms of something which could be planned for, preferring the principle that market-driven forces would naturally find the most efficient results (Hayek 1982). Arguably the planning system has never regained its original ground as a socially progressive 'public' discipline in this respect, with successive changes to the system largely being undertaken for the purposes of deregulation or greater efficiency. In particular, there are striking parallels between Thatcher's changes to the planning system and those under David Cameron in 2011, which will be discussed in detail in chapter seven.

3.4.5 Environmental ethics

One of the wider societal factors apparent during this era was a growing concern with the environment, which was beginning to dominate scientific discussion in the 1980s. Increased fear for human impact upon wildlife and the atmosphere brought with them new ideologies for how we ought to live and how we ought to care for the planet. Sustainability, which has become a standard point of reference across the political arena, but particularly with regard to the environment, was a concept filtered down from the World Commission on UN Environment and Development's (WCED) Bruntland Commission Report (1987) and utilised immediately in policy responses by the UK government.

This environmental rhetoric had a huge impact on the effectiveness of natural environment sector agendas and advocacy, and slowly began to filter through into a number of aspects of historic conservation. Cultural and natural landscape issues all found themselves under the umbrella policies created to combat environmental impact. The language of the 'historic environment' began to be used in this period, and was connected to the greater human ecosystem and thus was part of the consideration of how we ought to approach its protection. Partially, this was because of heritage portfolio being positioned within the DoE. As such the heritage was included in environmental policy as far back as 1972 (Department of the Environment 1972: 26). Indeed, headline environmental policy guidance from the DoE such as the 1990 publication '*This Common Inheritance*', which detailed the government's long term environment strategy and contained guidance on a holistic scope of appropriate measures for dealing with the environment, from the most scientific issues (such as CFCs and fertilizer content regulation) to broader issues like heritage, framed largely in terms of 'landscape' (Department of the Environment 1990). Above all, what this rhetoric promoted was a moral duty of stewardship for the sustainability of the environment. This movement broadly influenced the sector and government's uptake of the language of 'historic environment' – with a wider lexicon of terms relating to sustainability, finite resources and human eco-systems, which were directly imported from environmental science.

In turn, this rhetoric inspired policy changes. Both the institution of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) (European Commission 2015) and the 'polluter pays' logic of PPG16's developer funding for archaeology were symptoms of the link with the environmental agenda (Darvill and Russell 2002: 37). However, whilst conservation and archaeology as planning concerns were being aligned with the environment, this was in contrast to the touristic and economic aspects of 'heritage'. Largely, the types of consideration used in each area of policy were fundamentally different, with a measurable cultural, social, and environmental 'impact' on one side and the economically productive tourist heritage industry on the other.

3.4.6 The changing political landscape

Although the sector sustained growth in terms of the continued establishment of conservation and archaeology within the planning system and growth of popular interest in heritage, there was nonetheless an ethical stagnation which was evident within the historic environment sector by the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s. Despite a cabinet level post for the Heritage Minister from the newly created Department of National Heritage (DNH), an established quango, and developed practical mechanisms and polished rhetoric supporting preservation and conservation, there were rumblings of discontent among professionals and academic claiming that practice was 'tarnished by class connotations', was not engaging, and lacked relevance to people (Ucko 1989: xi; Hewison 1987: 138; Baxter 2009: 91).

The Heritage era established principles of economic imperative for heritage which have not disappeared since. However, the importance of heritage within planning and wider society was pigeon-holed as a niche concern – bottled up within National Trust houses and the National Collection and confined within 'red lines' on a map of designated assets. Holistic ideas of heritage found in the interaction between people and place, and the broader emotional and ontological qualities of historic assets suffered during this period as the planning ethos changed and the heritage industry failed to remain authentic to people's experience of a 'lived' past, as it was utilised as an entertainment or as a legitimation of contemporary national culture. Whilst the National Trust's membership continued to rise, its properties were criticised for cutting out the reality of social strife and not appealing to a wide enough audience (Wright 2009a: 95), the NHMF failed to present itself in terms of intrinsic values, neither seeking nor enabling social or economic benefits (Holden and Hewison 2004: 13).

By the mid-1990s there were signs that heritage was changing: 1994 saw ICOMOS debating a broadening of the meaning of cultural heritage in Nara, Japan. Critical Heritage discourse was producing new debate over the meaning of heritage (International Council of Sites and Monuments 1994). Raphael Samuel was among those who asserted that heritage was, fundamentally, a phenomenon which related to people, despite the regulatory tools of government and the heritage sector creating a managed picture of heritage value (Samuel 1994). Others, such as Lipe (1984), Lowenthal (1985), Cleere (1989), Mayer-Oakes (1989) Giddens (1990, 1991), Bhabha (1994) and Cresswell (1996) were all beginning to deconstruct traditional dominant narratives in favour of a more plural and personal account of heritage value located at a personal level.

By 1992, English Heritage stated that it had 'chosen to reassess objectives and priorities' and concluded that to 'understand our past helps us to come to terms with the present and provide foundations for the future' (English Heritage 1992). The organisational rhetoric then began to

speak of the 'mission for social benefits' (English Heritage 1993). During this period, from 1992 to 1997 the conservation sector attempted to redefine itself after the degradation suffered in the 1990s as a result of perceptions of commercialisation (Delafons 1996: 146) and a perceived disconnection between the attitudes of professional – traditionally heavily top-down in their approach – and the public.

Arguably, it was this discourse which grew in the twilight of the Heritage era which was responsible for the growth in public value ethics in the following decade. Since 1979 political influences, including the deregulation of the planning system, had created a disconnection from earlier progressive social ideologies which looked to be beginning to instil new purposes for heritage in the early-1970s. The era was characterised by the retrenchment of a narrow monumental heritage protection, and a greater focus on selling heritage to a consumer public, an ideological use of heritage to underpin political legitimacy and national identity, and a NPM style of governance which was less successful at linking areas of policy or seeing past the economic bottom line as a method of measurement of success.

3.5 THE PUBLIC VALUE ERA (1997-Present)

Following 18 years of Conservative government Tony Blair's New Labour won a landslide victory in the 1997 General Election. Blair's manifesto promised revitalisation and change; the antidote to the Conservative 'climate of decline'. Part of the rhetoric was to do with building the creative industries and making Britain into a world leader in contemporary art and culture (Labour Party 1997). No longer would Britain be perceived as a 'backward looking island immersed in its heritage', but would instead be turned into a vibrant nation 'bursting with the energy and excitement that young countries enjoy' (Leonard 1997: 8, 70).

The Thatcherite vision of heritage providing the cultural backbone of the nation was replaced with a completely modern image for Britain. This amounted to a far-reaching change in cultural policy, and as the DNH became the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS), heritage was dropped from the forefront of cultural affairs. There were no mentions of heritage or the historic environment in the Labour manifesto in 1997, which focussed instead on art, culture, leisure, and sport. These, however, were lauded for their societal importance and contribution to quality of life – a truly public benefit (Labour Party 1997). However, whilst money was poured into these newly defined cultural industries and into sports, heritage was neglected. In fact, over the period of Labour government up to 2005, funding of the arts increased 53%, sport increased 98%, and whilst Labour kept a promise to make the national museums free, costing a 36% increase in museum funding (CMS Committee 2002), heritage only increased its budget by 3% (Thurley 2009).

These emphases amounted to a sea change in British politics – particularly for culture, with the party echoing the same structure of feeling which was developing in the academic discourse of heritage in the mid-1990s, highlighted above. However, by 1997 the developing academic narrative began to give way to a more conscious pre-emptive response to New Labour policy, with historic environment sector bodies like English Heritage moving to emphasise that heritage could resonate with a new cultural agenda too (Handley and Schadla Hall 2004: 137).

3.5.1 New values rhetoric

In 1997 (three months prior to Labour's election victory) English Heritage released a discussion paper called *Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future* (English Heritage 1997). It stated that the historic environment 'is not about the past – it is about the present day and the future… Nor is [it] just about monuments and buildings. Like the idea of sustainability itself, it is about people' (English Heritage 1997: 1). The document promotes itself as a 'starting point', setting out new views on the value of heritage: It states that heritage is 'one of the touchstones of society and community', recognises that it 'plays a particularly significant part in our quality of life', and emphasises sustainability-driven models for heritage and the historic environment (Ibid.: 2-3). The overt intention of this document was to establish relevance to the new government agenda by substantially subverting the Heritage era developments in the sector and returning to the societal values which were more prominent in earlier periods.

Even prior to the general election result there were signs of the beginnings of a shift in emphasis coming from the tail end of the Conservative administration: The National Heritage Act 1997 – virtually the final word of the Major administration – updated the previous Act with requirements that heritage projects be of 'public benefit' (cited in Holden and Hewison 2004: 14). Beginnings of similar rhetoric of 'general public benefit' had been inserted into the foundations of the National Lottery's funding for heritage since 1994 (Home Office 1992) – a purpose which would become central to organisational strategies from 1997 after results from an HLF commissioned MORI poll of members of the public. The poll indicated;

> 'a much more marked emphasis…on the need for projects to benefit the local community and to help protect the countryside. The creation of new jobs, encouragement of access for all, and a general concern with "relevance" are also high priorities.'
>
> (National Heritage Memorial Fund 1997: 2)

In response to this research, in 1998, the government adapted the policy directions under which the HLF acted to distribute lottery money to emphasise the needs to;

- reduce economic and social deprivation at the same time as creating heritage benefits
- promote access, for people from all sections of society, to heritage objects and collections
- promote knowledge of and interest in the heritage by children and young people
- further the objectives of sustainable development

(Heritage Lottery Fund 1999)

From these politically motivated strategic imperatives the organisation looked to public value principles to help describe how the organisation created value for people and demonstrated value (for money) to the Treasury. These principles created relevance for heritage by associating it with 'well-being', creating 'prosperity', 'strengthening communities', and ensuring equity and fairness (Ibid.). These types of principle implicitly promote a view of heritage which is relevant to all people, not elite, and which is regularly experienced, rather than something which is ancillary to everyday life.

In 1999, English Heritage commissioned research from polling organisation Ipsos MORI and published a high profile and glossy report called the *Power of Place: the future of the historic environment*. The presentation of the report was one which mirrored that of the New Labour Departments and emphasised its public accessibility (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2000: 139). The poll sought to establish 'general perceptions/attitudes towards the concept of heritage and what it [meant] to people' (MORI 2000: 1) with the aim of proving incontrovertibly that heritage did matter and that government needed to take account. The findings revealed that, when asked, around three quarters of people agreed with the statement that 'what I love about Britain is its heritage', and the same amount believed that their lives were richer as a result of having the opportunity to see and visit examples of the country's heritage (Ibid.: 4). Across an extensive range of questions, responses were overwhelmingly positive: Britons cared deeply about heritage and indicated the importance of heritage to education, for recreation, the economy, and tourism, and that it contributed to a quality of life, sense of place, and to the cultural life of the country. What this did was to highlight the vast difference between the government's low political valuation of heritage as a social tool, and the public's high opinion of it (Holden 2004: 9), additionally underpinning an approach to the historic environment which was fundamentally characterised by its public value outcomes.

Power of Place was a concerted attempt to create a new outlook for the organisation emphasising the main principles of a public-based value; a holistic definition of the historic environment, based upon entire landscapes; the extent of public valuation of heritage; and, critically, to the decade of discourse which followed it, that ownership of heritage necessitates wide public engagement and multiple channels of control (English Heritage 2000: 1-2). The MORI

survey was an explicit attempt to underline the strength of public feeling towards heritage, and highlight its potential social benefits.

The following year the DCMS and DTLR (Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions) released *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future,* a document that substantially echoed the principles behind *Power of Place* and set out a vision for a consciously managed, socially sensitive historic environment sector. In it the government also promised to initiate a review of heritage policies and produce a consultation the following year (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2001). The protracted period of discussion that followed is here referred to as the *Heritage Protection Review* (HPR).

Despite coming to power without a single mention of heritage, this approach to reconceptualising heritage as a contributor to the New Labour values of the present and the future, was highly significant. In effect the rhetoric of *Power of Place* aimed to force the mainstreaming of the idea of heritage within core aspects of daily life. By anchoring heritage to mainstream concerns with people, heritage was more aligned with the politically expedient topics of social inclusion, community wellbeing, and quality of life.

This political influence explains the speed of the change in rhetoric in sector publications. However, rather than simply being acts of political pandering, the ideas raised in the paper can be seen as the genuine ethical progression of the sector, which drew on the critical responses to aspects of the Heritage era and resonant ethical principles from earlier eras. There was greater freedom under New Labour for those in the sector who had previously been critical of heritage under the Conservatives (see Robert Hewison's work with the HLF, for example), as well as greater compulsion for those who had previously not been moved towards a public outlook. This can certainly be seen as a pragmatic move from a sector securing its influence, but can also be recognised as an opportunistic move by those genuinely discontented with the sector's lack of a popular locus during the previous decade.

3.5.2 Heritage protection review

In April 2003 the DCMS followed through with its promise and issued a press release stating its intention to undertake a complete review of historic environment protection with a view to updating all related policy and guidance. Arts Minister Baroness Blackstone announced the review stating that;

> '...perceptions and priorities have evolved over time from an initial focus on
> individual buildings and monuments towards a wider interest in the urban and

rural landscape as a whole, in historic parks and gardens, and in our more recent

past. We now need a new approach to the management of our heritage, one

that will be effective, sustainable, inclusive and transparent. Our goal is a

legislative framework that remains robust in the protection it affords but at the

same time provides for the management and enabling of change, rather than its

prevention.'

(Blackstone cited in Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2003)

The report set out a range of social aims for the new heritage protection system to fulfil, with concepts of contributing to prosperity, the quality of everyday life, and the overall integral connection of the historic environment to place-making, the built environment, and environmental regeneration (Cossons and Lipton cited in Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2003).

In 2004 Tessa Jowell, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, released a personally authored essay entitled *Better Places to Live* which stated the importance which heritage had to the public, and therefore to the Government (Jowell 2005). The DCMS also published documents relating to the HPR; *Heritage Protection: Making the System Work Better* (2003) and *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward* (2004) which marked the beginnings of a long and broad scale consultation procedure in which the sector – led by an English Heritage working group and through various rafts of consultation and debate-centred workshops – were heavily involved from the outset (McCallum 2012, Interview 1).

The sector, meanwhile, continued to explore notions of public value, explicitly, through commissioned research (e.g. Holden 2004, 2006, Holden and Hewison 2004, 2006; CASE 2010a, 2010b; O'Brien 2010), organisational reviews (e.g. National Trust and Accenture 2006; Kearney 2007; Bunting 2006, 2007) and two large-scale conferences, the first in 2003, *Valuing Culture* (Demos 2003) facilitated by think tank Demos, and the latter in 2006 entitled *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage* and facilitated by the HLF (Clark 2006). These documents provided a rich academic discourse which played into the courting of attitudes and opinions of those involved with the HPR.

Debates about measurement of value were also prominent in government thinking throughout the 2000s, with successive government reports on value in culture and arts being produced by think tank the Institute for Public Policy Research (Cowling 2004) and Sir Brian McMaster (2008), with Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell's private essays highlighting the theme in 2004 and 2005. These debates centred on the idea that culture, the arts, and heritage had contributions to make in areas which were difficult to measure using a solely monetary model for valuation.

In 2008, parallel to the government's involvement in the HPR, English Heritage published its *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (hereinafter; *Conservation Principles*) (English Heritage 2008a). This 30 page guidance document was clearly an attempt to bridge the gap between the existing system of statutory language on heritage protection and the new principles guiding heritage values at the time (Bee 2008: 14). It broadened the ethical take of the traditional components of the heritage protection regime, such as designation, beginning with the logic of public value principles such as the 'perception of a place as a link between past and present people' within the traditional definition of historical value. Distinctiveness of assets was linked not only to material qualities, but also social identities, emotional connections, or sensory stimulation. It also gave unprecedented weight to 'communal value', including commemorative, symbolic, social, and spiritual values.

Conservation Principles introduced to UK policy the idea of 'significance' as a core concept for understanding place. Significance had been developed in Australia in the Burra Charter (International Council of Sites and Monuments Australia 2000) – a document which is recognised as having been hugely influential upon English Heritage at the time (Clark 2010: 91). In essence significance identifies the aspects of a place which gave it a 'distinctive identity' and embraced 'all the diverse cultural and natural heritage values that people associate' with that place. Significance, moreover, was reactive to understanding, being deepened as a result of exposure to a place, or education about its importance (English Heritage 2008a: 21). Significance effectively provided the logical means to remove the threshold for what it was possible to consider 'heritage': Every place had significance in some respect, even if it is not judged to be capable of designation and subject to its technical protections. This concept allowed for a much more holistic, less elitist way to understand all places as having heritage value.

3.5.3 Culminations

At around the same time as *Conservation Principles* was published, a White Paper *Heritage Protection for the 21st Century* was released. A draft *Heritage Protection Bill* (hereinafter the Heritage Bill) followed in 2008. It was planned to consolidate the system of designations, proposing a single historic register, and substantially followed the logic and the ethical intent of *Conservation Principles*. It altered the language associated with designation of asset to a general 'special interest', to be set out in full in policy, in theory to match the language of *Conservation Principles*. Various practical changes to the system of heritage protection, such as codifying a statutory requirement to maintain historic environment records, were also included (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2008a, 2008b).

The Bill was to be accompanied by updated planning policy to replace PPGs 15 and 16. The new *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (PPS5) was eventually published in 2010 and unified archaeology and conservation in a single policy, solidifying the concept of significance in planning practice by aligning it within sustainable development rather than as a separate issue and, by doing so enabling the historic environment to move closer towards an understanding of heritage as holistic contributor to the built and natural environment (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010). PPS5 described the historic environment in terms of broad benefits such as contribution to local character, quality of life, sense of place, and the social and cultural benefits of enhancing knowledge and understanding of the past (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010: para. 6-7).

The determination of significance hinted at a greater understanding of plural public valuations of a site (whether designated or not) and, whilst still somewhat tied to expert criteria for listing, was more capable of calculating value in a broader sense than it previously was. PPS5 states 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 that it holds for this and future generations.'
>
> (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010: HE.7.2)

And:

> '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.'
>
> (Ibid.: HE.7.3)

PPS5 was accompanied by a practice guide which further supported these principles and expanded upon descriptions using similar rhetoric to *Conservation Principles* (English Heritage 2010d). These value guidelines expanded upon the approach taken in the previous PPGs 15 and 16:

> 'The physical survivals of our past are to be valued and protected for their own sake, as a central part of our cultural heritage and our sense of national identity. They are an irreplaceable record which contributes, through formal education and in many other ways, to our understanding of both the present and the past.'
>
> (Department for National Heritage and Department of the Environment 1995: 1.1)

Whilst PPG15 did contain reference to benefits to quality of life, the documents were much more focused upon intrinsic values, and wholly associated with designated assets, whose value was defined along lines of preservationist principles such as period, rarity, documentation, condition, etc. (Department of the Environment 1990: Annex 4).

The Heritage Bill, however, failed to find parliamentary time during the 2008/2009 session. This failure, it is sometimes argued, was due to circumstances and the legislative necessities arising from the 2008 economic crash (McCallum 2012, Interview 1, Cowell 2012, Interview 4). However, it is also suggested that the DCMS' management of the process and overall support of the Bill lacked the effectiveness necessary for it to pass through Parliament (CMS Committee 2008), and was subsequently shelved.

The final word on the HPR, however, was in the *Government's Statement on the Historic Environment in England 2010*. This powerfully worded strategic document set out a profound support for the public values of the sector and the government's support for the continued development. Through this statement heritage was confirmed as an integrated socially relevant subject which was a central contributor to a wider variety of social, cultural, environmental, and economic endeavours.

3.5.4 Critical heritage discourse and public value

During this period, these trends towards a public-focused heritage were also evident in other arenas. In Europe, the Council of Europe's 2000 *European Landscape Convention* (ELC) and 2005 *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro Convention) both embodied a new outlet for pan-European cultural policy – linking clearly the concepts of mutual respect for cultures, education in different ways of life, and unity in diversity, with the protection, enhancement, and enjoyment of state parties' historic environments. In short, Faro in particular, is about 'how people interact with and interpret the world around them' and about 'the process of using (and making) cultural heritage for broader social benefits' (Holtorf and Fairclough 2013: 200). These holistic ideas of heritage as a human right, heritage communities, and connections between people and places were all aspects of the new CoE cultural heritage paradigm.

Academic voices during this period had also explored the debate about public values which arguably had begun with critiques of the previous era's ethics by scholars in the 1980s and 1990s. Among key new influential concepts and ideas were the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) proposed by Smith (2006) and carried by various others such as Waterton (2008) and influencing many more (e.g. Cooper 2013, Pendlebury 2013, Harrison 2013), the pluralisation of pasts and multivocality in heritage and identity (e.g. Ashworth et. al. 2007; Coombe and Weiss 2015), the conceptualisation of the values of people as a driver for conservation practice (Avrami, et. al.

2000), the use of landscape to define and shape holistic visions of heritage (Fairclough 2010b: 126), the exploration of multiple heritage narratives, consideration of multiculturalism and post-national identities (Paludan-Müller 2009; Holtorf 2011), and maligned or hidden heritages (e.g. Schofield 2013; Kiddey and Schofield 2011). Trends in these diverse works can be seen against the dominance of particular narratives, such as national identities, instead favouring multivocal, pluralised, democratic, and local heritages (e.g. Fojut 2009; Holtorf 2011; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009), against intrinsic values in favour of holistic people-centred ones (e.g. Avrami et. al. 2000, Pendlebury 2009), and against expert-led processes for the definition and exploration of heritages, in favour of grassroots expressions of importance and the facilitation of assistance of professionals in conservation and heritage management (Paludan-Müller 2010, Schofield 2013).

The prevailing logic underpinning all these trends was fundamentally for the purpose of heritage serving society (e.g. Paludan-Müller 2010; Holtorf 2011; Loulanski 2006), or at the very least, having a revised relationship with society such that the traditional modes of 'preservation' and 'conservation' must be viewed differently (Ashworth 1997). This cultural heritage could be understood as the process of managing change, embracing the reality of present socio-political actions and accepting that the historic environment is a part of a continually evolving and interconnected world (Willems 2010: 19; Pendlebury 2009; Fairclough 2003). Contrast, for instance, the views of Anthony Thornley's 1995 assessment of conservation and planning as being inherently opposed (1995: 55), with that of Terry Farrell in 2013 who suggests that conservation is a vital contributor to the betterment of the built environment (2013: 11).

In essence, what can be seen to have taken place in this era is a fundamental shift in the understanding of what heritage is and how it should be managed. For example, Gustavo Araoz (2011) has hailed a 'new paradigm for heritage in society', Holtorf (2011: 12) describes a 'new cultural heritage', and Ashworth et. al. call it a 'present-centred paradigm' (2007: 35). All this has been widely paralleled in both public and political responses to heritage, albeit at varying speeds and in various ways, across Europe and further afield.

3.5.5 Historic environment post-crash

The development of the public value era for the historic environment from 1997 to 2008 has a fairly clear trajectory in terms of ethical development and consequent developments in political policies, relationships and influences. However, the 2008 global economic crisis and the subsequent impacts upon political society have been acutely felt since then and have led to sweeping political changes across Europe. Political narratives in the UK have shifted to explain the economic vulnerability in which the country found itself with, for example, the Conservative party

characterising the era of New Labour's public value governance as one of irresponsible and unsustainable public spending.

The 2008 crash immediately exerted an influence by pushing the Heritage Protection Bill into the political long grass, ensuring that there were no second chances for the Bill to be passed into law. A prevalent criticism of the Bill raised by the Culture Media and Sport Committee was that the Bill underplayed the financial burden necessary for its implementation (CMS committee 2008). Given the sudden economic realisations brought on by the crash, this was a terminal blow. And given other emergency proceedings taking up time in both chambers, the Bill was not afforded extra time to redraft.

Perhaps even more impactful were the changes in the outlook of the electorate which were in large part responsible for the election of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government in 2010 (hereinafter 'the Coalition'). Prime Minister David Cameron's mandate was one of true small-state Conservatism, emphasising reductions in public spending, deregulation, and greater trust in the free-market. All of these agendas were damaging for the trajectory of progression of public value heritage policies and distinctly reminiscent of Thatcher's Government in the early 1980s.

These political changes have also shifted much of the explicit analysis of public value in heritage. New Labour were overtly influenced by public value theory and as such much of the complementary approach to public value adopted within heritage appears to have been assumed to be tied inherently to the progression of those political agendas. At first glance, there would seem to have been an obvious shift in the reflection of heritage within policies and governing narratives. The rationale of government since 2010 has been principally an economic one; there has been a change in emphasis placed upon instrumental heritage benefits which contribute to economic sustainability and self-sufficiency, meaning that social benefits such as social inclusion, education and health, and the wider emotional benefits of heritage – all associated with the previous government's perceived overspending – have lost much of their underpinning connection to heritage, which has retreated to the 'core' ground of protectionism. These changes have all limited the political influence of historic environment sector rhetoric. However, beneath this change in the forcefully expressed economic narrative of government, the repositioning of culture and heritage at a lower level of priority is not necessarily one which has resulted in a conscious shift in the way heritage values are understood.

The Coalition introduced various policies over the period of their government including a new simplified National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), an Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act (ERR) which tweaked some heritage protection mechanisms (Department of Business Innovation and Skills2012), and a sell off of nationally-owned forests (a decision which was heavily criticised

and subsequently reversed). The dominant agenda in all these moves can be clearly seen to be economic, rather than social or cultural (Lennox 2012), with a scant explicit consideration of the transcendental heritage values associated with people's lives and the variety of benefits which result from its management (Flatman and Perring 2012: 7). The lone social policy highlight of the Coalition period was the 'Big Society' agenda (see chapter eight) – a policy which aimed to bolster volunteerism, community power, and local decision-making and introduced a variety of new mechanisms to achieve this, such as Neighbourhood Planning.

However, these policies are marked, not so much by an alternate or changed sense of heritage value, but rather a lack of reference to it at all at a political level. This was not unlike the position of New Labour in 1997. Unlike under Thatcher, where heritage was an overt part of a nationalist rebuilding agenda, Cameron's agenda was characterised by one of economic pragmatism which, at worst, wilfully ignored heritage or failed to fully appreciate its potential. The plans to sell off nationally owned forests, for instance (this policy is analysed in detail in chapter seven), were reversed following a public backlash which centred on the heritage value of these assets. Arguably, the government was not promoting a pernicious sentiment (Cameron 2011), but was simply overlooking heritage as something which should have been considered in the decision-making process.

The wider cultural agenda of the Coalition was certainly one of limited sympathy for the sector during economically 'testing times' (Miller 2013). Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt's primary role in post was to enact huge cuts across the cultural sectors from 2010 to 2012, and whilst his successor Maria Miller allegedly came out to 'fight culture's corner' in her only culture keynote address during her time as Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, her message was one which provided a starkly economic rationale for the arts which, it was argued, could not assume entitlement to funding and that the sector needed to 'reframe the argument' from a social and cultural focus to an economic one, and demonstrate not simply the value, but the profitability of culture.

This has almost certainly applied to the heritage sector as well, with consistent political interactions focussed on streamlining and deregulating planning. Arguably this lack of policy profile and political capital has had negative effects on public value principles in practice and led to failures to continue to work on relationships with the other relevant sectors, often equally damaged by budget cuts which have restricted capacity and stifled innovation. Arguably, many of heritage's allied sectors have also been in retreat from government cuts, which in addition to impacting the likes of English Heritage (and Historic England) have also affected such allies as the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) which have been reorganised and scrapped respectively since 2010.

Indeed, continued speculation that the DCMS could be axed completely has never been far from the debate on government reorganisation over this period (e.g. Lebrecht 2015).

The response to this by the heritage sector has been tangible; economic arguments have been given extra emphasis as heritage bodies have attempted to communicate narratives of value and have engaged in measurement and assessment. Both the Historic Environment Forum (HEF) and the Heritage Alliance have developed their advice and advocacy along economic lines, through the Heritage Counts surveys, and the campaign to cut VAT on historic building repair and maintenance (English Heritage 2011a, 2012b; Heritage Alliance 2014a). Other sector bodies such as ALGAO have also considered adopting more overtly economic research stance, perceiving that a resurgence in thinking based on the 'bottom line' is the only effective way of influencing government (Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers 2015). The Arts sector has gone further, with a considerable amount of work by Arts Council England (ACE) to assess whether the sector was organised appropriately for an 'age of austerity' (Knell and Taylor 2011).

However, even though economic rationales for government policy have dominated, there has been no obvious change in the underlying rhetoric and discourse of why heritage is important, which still relates the same public values as prior to 2008. Whilst sector research has drawn more attention to economic outcomes, these outcomes are still often resulting from contributions of heritage to social wellbeing and social integration as per broad public value principles, for example, savings to social care budgets resulting from participation in heritage activities (Fujiwara et. al. 2014a; Fujiwara et. al. 2015). Such changes of emphasis in advocacy give a pragmatic spin to public value narratives to match new government economic priorities, but do not affect the central values of the sector, which are still perceived as having a fundamentally public purpose (Southport Group 2011), even if approaches to advocating these principles and consequent opportunities have changed.

Indeed Ian Baxter (2015) implies that despite economic hardship, David Cameron's government have internalised public heritage values and that whilst heritage is 'no longer seen as requiring direct intervention' this is a stance which reveals that the sector has been successful in achieving 'mainstream' status. Various signs from government have shown this to be the case: For instance, in separate reports commissioned by the Minister for Culture Ed Vaizey in 2012 – one on architecture and the built environment (Farrells 2014), and the other on archaeology (Howell and Redesdale 2014), the primary importance of the historic environment is considered to be its public benefits and both David Cameron (2012) and George Osborne (2015a, 2015b) have stated in response to lobbying that they respect and value the principles of protection of the historic environment.

For these reasons it should be judged that there has not been an epochal shift since 2008 or 2010, despite changes in the nature of various challenges in communicating these messages to government and obtaining authorisation for that public value agenda. The situation is rather one in which political trends have changed the nature of historic environment sector advocacy by opening new debates on the role of the state within the historic environment, and increased competition for funds, or the requirement for stronger evidence to prove contribution to particular agendas. However the ethical paradigm for public value cannot be seen to have been substantially displaced by any other core understanding of what heritage is. These issues are all significant and have contributed to a new environment for political engagement. However, the essential point of the relevance of a public value ethos remains valid, even if the political process to support sector advocacy and advice to government have changed. These issues will be explored in depth in chapter five.

3.5.6 Characteristics of the Public Value era

The public value era can be characterised with reference to a number of key rhetorical meanings which underpin the ethics of the sector and the presentation of the historic environment by politicians and professionals to the public. An assessment of the literature produced by government and the main quasi-autonomous and independent heritage bodies reveals that we exist in a system which observes a dominant set of values based upon the importance of public impacts. This paradigm shift, having taken place since the late 1990s, is important for the way in which the sector understands its own purpose and responsibility, and conducts itself in relation to government and toward publics. The era is characterised by the following ethical principles:

a) Associating heritage with being a part of *everyday life*;

b) Associating heritage with both the *present and the future*;

c) Perceiving heritage values in *ordinary places*;

d) Perceiving heritage in terms of *local distinctiveness*;

e) Perceiving heritage value in *broader landscape* terms and as being fundamentally interconnected with *place*;

f) Perceiving heritage as having an important connection with *people's opinions* and perceptions about the world (values and beliefs) and recognising that these are *essentially plural*;

g) Understanding that the historic environment has implications for enhanced *quality of life*;

h) Understanding that heritage is a necessary component of *community and society*;

i) Recognising that heritage is an *inclusive* concept concerned with mutual cultural understanding and celebration, and is opposed to definitions on in/out groups;

j) Recognising that heritage must be *sustainable* and embody *managed change*;

k) Acknowledging that heritage *should be led by democratic values, not expert ones.*

In addition, heritage in the public value era is also instrumentalist in the following ways:

l) Recognising that heritage can play an important part in *generating other social, economic, or environmental benefits* such as regeneration and business growth;

m) Recognising that heritage must aim to be *financially sustainable* in the long term;

n) Recognising that heritage is a *key driver of tourism*;

o) Recognising that heritage can be a *net contributor* to the economy;

p) Recognising that heritage is *not a brake on growth*.

These instrumental characteristics are not unique to public value heritage, existing also in the Heritage era, but are part of a public heritage ethos insofar as heritage management which is sustainable and creates wealth, jobs, and other instrumental benefits is also in the public interest. Often these wider benefits and instrumental effects are directly assessed as being resultant from a public patrimony (i.e. heritage belongs to everyone, therefore the financial benefits from tourism should be channelled into positive public uses). They can thus be considered to be complementary public values.

In addition to these characteristics, there are various 'preservationist' themes which still exist within the era and exert a strong influence on policy and practice - largely in relation to existing practices such as designation, or technical processes, for instance conservation and archaeological investigation. Arguably these can be seen as alternate or residual elements as they are notably reliant upon a different logic to those outlined above:

q) Some heritage is of national or international importance and this can be assessed by the use of 'objective' value criteria;

r) Correct methods exist for determining how an object, site, or building should be maintained, conserved, or adapted which takes account of this importance.

This ethical dichotomy is to be expected if we understand the transitioning processes of heritage understandings to be subject to a dialectic development. The system still functions based on preservationist principles, which are evident throughout the process and which continue to influence people (i.e. by providing familiar structures, such as designation, through which to interpret and define 'heritage'). Nonetheless, an ethically distinct public value paradigm dominates public experience and political rhetoric and is therefore vital to the direction of the sector in the current era.

3.6 CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In particular, this chapter has demonstrated that there has been an overwhelming continuity in the framework for statutory protections for heritage since the first Ancient Monuments Acts (Pendlebury 2009), and as such, preservationist values perpetuate and create conditions which continue to limit the expression of public values in regulatory processes. Nevertheless, a broader public value spectrum for historic environment importance is now broadly understood, and this is changing the way stakeholders are engaging with the issue of historic environment management and regulation. This public value paradigm indicates an important factor in the development of the political relationships and practical frameworks for delivering regulation of the historic environment. These public value characteristics are arguably the principles through which heritage achieves or is imbued with value to individuals or society, culture, environment, and economy.

The next chapter will explore the critical heritage discourse to assess exactly what these stated public value principles mean, and will consider how they have been developed and used in practice by the historic environment sector. The process of epochal transition towards the embodiment of these values also requires further exploration, and both chapters four and five will further explore how these principles and modes of discussing heritage in public and political spheres are important to the future direction of regulation and political relationships between the public, historic environment sector, and the state.

The public value and benefit of heritage

4.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Randall Mason (2010: 99) the notion of value is a 'guiding idea' in heritage management. Indeed, the consideration of value within the various discourses of the historic environment, conservation and critical heritage studies has always been a core debate for academics and practitioners. It also appears, from the prevalence of the term in academic literature, that the importance of 'values' has increased in the past decade, both within heritage (Baxter 2009: 92; Clark 2010) and across large parts of the entire societal spectrum – particularly in the discourses surrounding professionalism and public administration. The ethnographer Daniel Miller (2008: 1122) has said that 'when my fieldwork has taken me into ordinary offices, whether in the study of commercial firms or more recently offices in local government, the word value seems to have become about as ubiquitous as email.' This thesis argues that values are both uniquely influential in the contemporary theory and practice of heritage and that they are simultaneously influenced by the political and social contexts within which they exist. This chapter will begin to explore this and explain why a public value framework for the historic environment sector offers the means to take control of the direction of the sector by enhancing relationships between key political and public audiences and developing the contribution that heritage makes to society.

To do this the chapter considers logical principles of heritage values (and value) before looking at how these principles have been taken up for rhetorical and practical effect within heritage sector bodies and how both the practical evidence base for a public heritage and wider understandings of the sector and its value has been achieved. What the analysis describes is the development of public value theory in the USA in the 1990s and its influence over UK government during the New Labour period in the 2000s. Some of these uses of the described public value theory are shown to be characterised by empty rhetoric or incomplete, confused, or pernicious applications in practice, and much existing analysis of public value unhelpfully intimates that public value is a New Labour phenomenon.

However, this chapter concludes that the public value ethic is still relevant and its effects apparent, and even dominant, even though many of the political conditions have changed. It shows how a great deal of work has been done over the period of the public value era which has focussed on the role of the heritage sector to create benefits. These debates have affected the processes of measurement of heritage outcomes, changed how heritage organisations describe their role and value to government, and how they interact and engage with wider stakeholders. Consequently, it is argued that public value has helped the sector to develop new potentialities for communication, developing public and political legitimacy, and advocating for the historic environment.

4.2 DEFINING HERITAGE 'VALUES'

Value, in both regular speech and in heritage discourse, can have a variety of meanings. In this thesis it is acknowledged that the term value is used to refer to at least two different phenomena (see glossary) which are of distinct conceptual importance but which are nonetheless both important to the process of understanding and managing heritage (Miller 2008: 1123). The essential difference is between 'values' which are feelings of regard (defined herein as ontological 'connections') attributed to things which hold significance or importance for the bearer, and 'value' which is a measurement of worth (described here as 'benefits'). A third definition which is also potentially important to discussion of heritage is that which indicates principles or standards which are important (e.g. it is important that we teach children about heritage).

4.2.1 Values as 'connections'

The first use of value is as a description of connections or feeling of regard held by people; for example, as thoughts, feelings, attachments, memories, or identities. These I will call *ontological* values as they are directly descriptive of the Heideggerian connections between the individual who holds them and the world. When these feelings are applied to or imbued upon objects or places we can begin to think of those things as being heritage, though in actuality, it is the values which confer this heritage status on the material, rather than being intrinsic to the object (Smith 2006).

These values arise spontaneously as part of our lives, as a result of experiences and are deepened by emotional closeness and personal feeling; as such they are essentially non-truth dependent, plural and individual. Heritage values can be learned, and they can be shared. We learn from our families (for example, to develop a love of music or architecture) and we deepen our attachments to things we know (like our hometown and its local historic buildings), but we can also make new connections (to foreign places or cultures).

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From ontological values we can begin to understand the significance of places. Any place can be thought of as significant for many reasons based upon facts about that place (significance is truth dependent – albeit that such things as myths can also be significant in and of themselves): An important battle may have been fought at this place, an influential figure may have lived here. These significances are additional layers of connections which enrich or inspire value. One may value a place because it is beautiful or because it provides emotional value; understanding its significance can deepen these value connections. Significance therefore affects values, but it is also affected by values: If a group of people align to agree that a place is collectively important, then it gains significance by that agreement. Values and significances in this sense are both plural and subjective. They thus require identification, both on a personal scale and on a group scale, where it can be argued that they are 'collectively discovered' (Reynolds cited in Blaug et. al. 2006: 24) through, for example, the action of synthesising values into a statement of significance (Kalman 2014: 200). This can involve reaching understandings about differences in held values and resolving them to agree on appropriate action. Public value implies a challenge of discovering and mediating this heritage, whereas preservationist ideologies omit this stage of discovery by attributing a set of *a priori* values to the process of discovering significance.

It is this type of *ontological* value where the transcendental and human importance of heritage is located. Values and significance describe these connections between people and the world, and it is from this position that heritage can be judged to be inherently broad in scope and inclusive of a vast range of things as well as being both produced in specific cultural and temporal contexts (i.e. shared heritage values will differ between social groups, and cultures, and may change over time). From this definition of values as connections we can develop an understanding of value as the benefits that we derive or create from these connections.

4.2.2 Value as 'benefits'

In the discussion about public value and the operation of the heritage sector, we are largely concerned by what values *do*. That is, what the effects or *benefits* are which are produced as a result of valuing heritage. In the political realm, it is what values do that is of primary importance to policy makers and politicians because this is what dictates the outcomes and outputs for society which processes of governance seek to affect – as such it is creating benefits which becomes the core concern of a public value heritage sector.

A site which is imbued with ontological values by people (e.g. purely personal – it is beautiful, it is a place of memory for me, it reminds me of home; or significance-based – It is an important Civil War site, the only pre-1700 building in town, etc.) has both personal and aggregated social value (where shared), because consequent benefits arise in those people (e.g. feelings of security,

well-being, happiness, health, pride, inclusion, community). These benefits are sometimes confusingly described in the public value era as *intrinsic values* (e.g. Holden and Hewison 2006), not because the value is intrinsic to the thing, but because it is *naturally arising* from the process of ontological valorisation.

Another type of benefit is that which is *derived* from undertaking heritage management processes (Avrami et. al. 2000). These processes may be related to the achievement of economic advantages (e.g. through appropriate use), the enhancement of social conditions (e.g. through regeneration, inclusion, or celebration of culture and diversity), the enhancement of the environment (e.g. through cutting carbon emissions or improving visual amenity of design of a place) or various other things (see for example Stottman 2010: 2). These benefits have been described as *instrumental values* (e.g. Holden and Hewison 2006). It is the interaction between ontological values, significance, and created values/benefits which defines the processes of heritage management in the public value era.
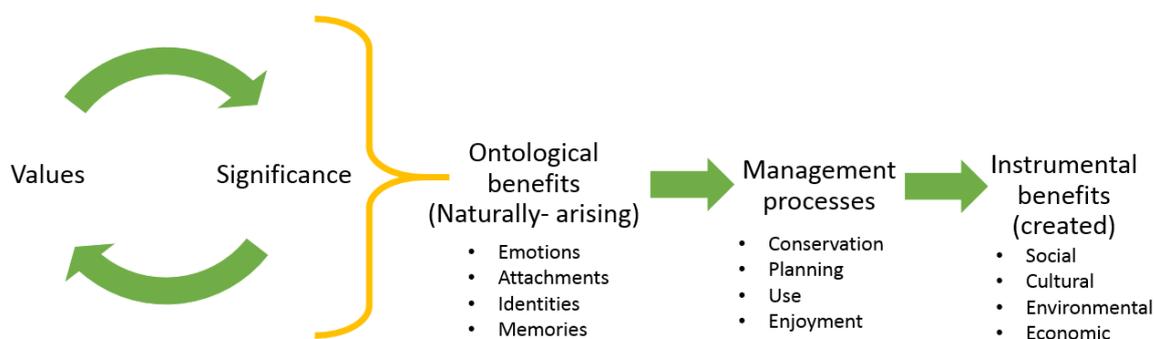
Fig. 4.1: heritage values process

4.3 THE PUBLIC VALUE PARADIGM

By understanding the processes of value identification, investigation of significance, and creation of benefits it is possible to begin to describe a public value paradigm for heritage management which is based upon the achievement of these 'public' benefits. As mentioned in chapter three, there are various scholars who identify this paradigm (e.g. Araoz 2011; Holtorf 2011; Ashworth et al 2007; Pendlebury 2013; Fairclough 2010b; Loulanski 2009) and between them an extraordinary body of work has been produced in which discussion of a variety of concepts and characteristics has been explored. Among them are concepts such as cultural capital, multivocality and post-nation state identities. There are also substantial agreements in underpinning principles which can be applied to this discussion of a paradigmatic understanding of public administration and society in the present era. Without doubt there appears to be a broad 'structure of feeling' which evidences the existence of this public value paradigm.

In the political sphere of historic environment management it can be seen that many of the characteristic themes of this paradigm or structure of feeling have ascended to a level where they are prevalent in both rhetoric and practice. Holden and Balta (2012: 7), for instance, contend that 'at the level of practice… many organisations have been fundamentally changed by adopting new practices of public engagement prompted by the Public Value and Cultural Value discourses'. Particularly influential on UK heritage organisations are the typologies developed by John Holden (2004) and Robert Hewison (with Holden 2006) and adapted by others (Clark: 2006, 2010, 2014; Clark and Maeer 2008) which in turn draw on theories of public value set out by US political theoretician Mark Moore in his 1995 work on public administration and governance.

The essential thesis of Holden and Hewison is that the value of heritage can be expressed in reference to three types of value; intrinsic, institutional, and instrumental and are pictorially described as being three sides of an equilateral triangle. These three value/benefit types define a framework for the measurement and communication of heritage values to stakeholders in the processes of heritage management and governance.

Intrinsic value
Naturally resulting (ontological) benefits

Institutional value
Service benefits

Instrumental value
Created benefits
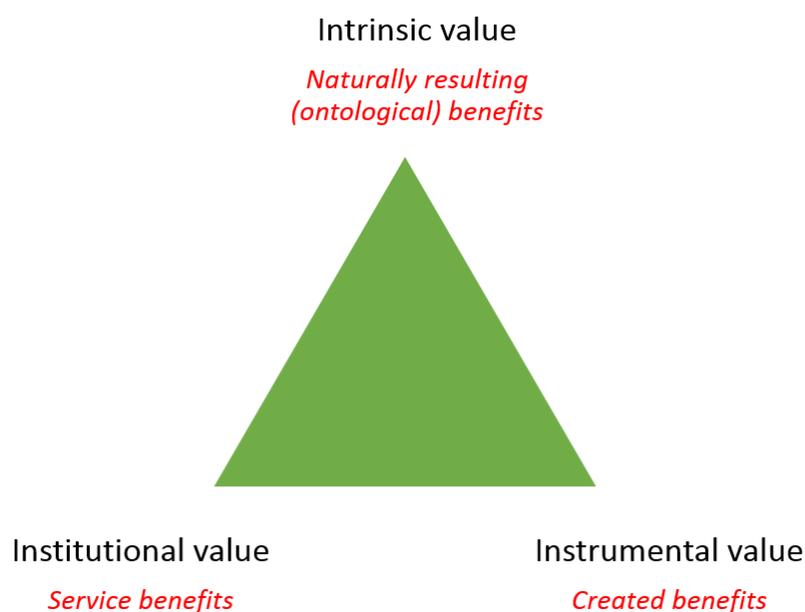
Fig.4.2: Holden and Hewison's (2004, 2006) triangle of heritage values (author's additions in red)

Intrinsic values can be described as those benefits which are naturally arising from ontological heritage values. This is described by Holden and Hewison (2006: 15) as 'heritage in itself'. Intrinsic values have traditionally been treated in one of two ways in previous eras: On one hand they have been manipulated (intentionally or as a natural product of political and societal power relations) to provide legitimacy for an 'authorised' national heritage and identity, by creating or appropriating origin myths (e.g. Stonehenge as an identifier of contemporary British identity or origin) and emphasising particular historical influences (e.g. polite architectural heritage and aristocratic history). Critical heritage theorists such as Howard (2003), Byrne and Goodall (2013) and notably

Smith (2006) and Waterton (2008), among others, have demonstrated how political influences affect the development of individual and group identities in this way through a variety of uses and abuses of power which can act through heritage management to indirectly create effects on people. On the other hand, these ontological or transcendental elements of heritage have often been overlooked in political activity, particularly since the Heritage era as they have not been readily measurable in terms of (often monetised) instrumental benefits (Jowell 2006).

The public value paradigm arguably encourages reflections on the value of the ontological experience of heritage as part of the processes of heritage management. Under both the above prevailing norms, when an individual or group asserts an ontological value attached to a particular heritage 'asset', it is considered a largely apolitical process which it is not an intention of the system to influence – thus 'heritage' is limited to that which is deemed to be of historic 'importance'. Public value understandings recognise that individual ontological connections are of importance to society since they contribute to the happiness and well-being of individuals in numerous ways. They are therefore an indirect concern of public organisations who deal regularly with things which may form parts of people's heritage. Thus these *naturally arising* values are still important in policy terms, as they describe 'what culture actually does in and of itself' (Jowell 2004).

Both instrumental and institutional values broadly conform with *created* benefits, as described above. They illustrate the additional benefits which are produced as a result of engaging with heritage. Instrumental benefits can be ancillary to the main intent of the heritage work (e.g. through restoring a historic building jobs are created) or they can provide the main reason for doing that work (e.g. restoring a historic building in order to attract businesses to an area or create momentum for regeneration). These can have significant and wide ranging positive effects, as suggested, on social, cultural, environmental, and economic factors, and are the basis of a positively affective framework for heritage which has been set out in various typologies by academics and heritage organisations (e.g. National Trust and Accenture 2006; Holden and Hewison 2004, 2006; Bunting 2007).

Institutional values/benefits flow directly from the processes and techniques of the institutions which engage in the management of heritage and can be maximised by a strategic pursuit of public value aims. These 'benefits' are largely related to aspects of effectiveness or efficiency in the pursuit of goals within the public value paradigm. For example, organisations should effectively represent public needs, have proper systems for engagement, communicate aims and actions clearly, and inspire trust. Institutional values might therefore be tied to issues such as a strong brand (e.g. recognition value), transparent procedures (e.g. trust value) and proper public engagement (e.g. representation values) (Clark 2015).

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4.3.1 The 'strategic triangle' and 'authorising environment'

What this framework for values/benefits reveals is a complex role for heritage in the public and political spheres, both in terms of its 'intrinsic' place in people's lives and for the 'instrumental' benefits it creates. From this position one can better describe and direct the political relations which result. Thus far, this framework essentially describes the 'public value outcomes' (Benington and Moore 2011: 5) of engaging with heritage. This, according to Moore (1995: 70), is one of the necessary components for the achievement of the 'public value mission' which he defines as the 'strategic triangle'; the second is the 'organisational capacity' required to organise and achieve its stated objectives, and the third is the 'authorisation' required to tap into and sustain engagement of society in the enterprise and thus demonstrate legitimacy and political sustainability. Holden and Hewison set out their take on this third aspect – the 'authorising environment' (Ibid.) – with another triangle (see fig. 4.3).
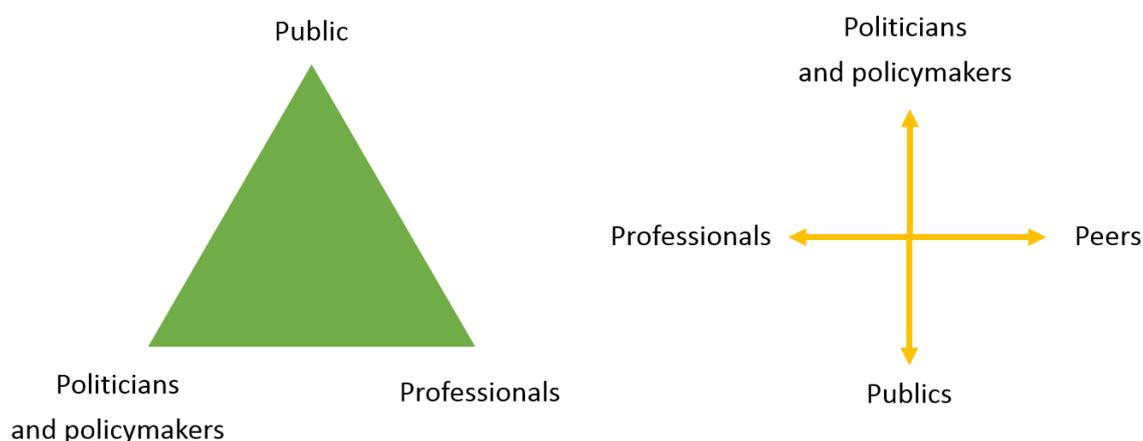
Fig. 4.3: left: Holden and Hewison's (2006) authorising environment. Right: Clark's (2015) adaptation

The authorising environment describes relationships between stakeholders – politicians and policy-makers, professionals and the public – to which Clark (2015) helpfully adds 'peers' (i.e. professionals from other sectors). It is within this spectrum of influences that the operation of the heritage sector is linked to processes of governance, policy, and public administration. The way that these relationships work and draw on the framework for public value and benefit is extremely important in how the sector operates. Any analysis of the public value paradigm in practice must therefore seek to understand the wider societal and political trends in value and governance, and how the heritage sector interacts with them (this will be discussed further in chapter five).

4.3.2 Public 'stakeholders' and the public sphere

As an ideological approach to public administration and governance theory, public value is relatively new. The organisation of public administration has, of course, always created relationships with the public or publics. Public value, however, implies that administrations have

specific responsibilities towards the public and seeks to locate it as its core stakeholder, with the responsibility of 'public managers' to the public akin to that of business managers to shareholders. However, Moore's theory is not simply one which vaguely posits the importance of this stakeholder relationship; it is a rigorously structured framework for navigating important democratic relationships.

In Moore's original work, the concept of individual and public are conceived as existing within a marketplace where the equivalent of 'profit' is 'public benefit'. Essentially the public value theory encourages public managers and institutions to seek to maximise this benefit and in doing so implies an appropriate assessment of what such benefit is and how it can be achieved. For heritage, this principle works reasonably well on utilitarian grounds, and allows for the shaping of collective strategies for dealing with heritage based upon what makes the greatest number of people the best off. Public value therefore inverts the traditional 'producer-led' approach to heritage management and is instead predominantly 'consumer-led' (Benington 2009). The public value framework therefore requires responsible practices to measure how effectively public benefit is created and to audit wider organisational activity to provide accountability via such means as performance indicators (Baxter 2009: 89).

However, whilst public value is, in part, about what the public values (Benington 2009; Jowell 2006), heritage also develops wider outlooks on the past and the future which skew this utilitarian approach. Sustainability, the recognition that historic assets are irreplaceable, and the embodiment of knowledge and understanding of the past are all subjects which require a concept which goes beyond a simple public consumer model. Therefore, rather than being simply about what the public values, it is also about what adds value to the 'public sphere' (Benington 2009: 233). Thus, a dilapidated historic building which is a visual detractor from an area may not be presently valued by local people, but after restoration has the potential to add value to the landscape and be valued by future generations. Similarly, a development on a piece of archaeologically sensitive land which will create a new hospital may not provoke strong cries for protection of buried archaeology which no-one currently enjoys benefits of. Nonetheless an expert public manager may be required to consider the knowledge embodied within the site's archaeology which would be of public value if excavated, and as such goes beyond mere popular support. The notion of a public sphere helps to relax the tension which exists between heritage protection and unchecked public opinion, providing a role for public managers to interpret contributions to the public sphere, including considerations of different scales of interest (e.g. local vs. national) and potential future values, and factor this into deliberative decision-making processes. In this sense, public value does not logically collapse under the recognition of plural heritage values, and nor does it require the rejection of a role for experts who take on the important task of interpreting contextual situations and revealing

significance to guide discussion and collective discovery, and facilitate involvement and co-production (Pendlebury 2009: 186; Waterton 2005: 318).

4.4 VALUE TRENDS IN HERITAGE AND STATE INTERACTION

Most nineteenth and early-twentieth century heritage values had a common aim to measure why or how some 'thing' should be assessed for *intrinsic* importance (e.g. Reigl cited in Feilden and Jokilehto 1998), judged by what was 'objectively' good (Clark 2010: 92). They were tightly controlled by *elite* interests in the various antiquarian fields of art history, archaeology, and history, with values identified by *experts*, and few ways in which normal individuals could have their views taken into account. They were also heavily influenced by prevailing political norms, such as the sanctity of private property. This was the dominant monumental and preservationist agenda perpetuated through the narrow ancient monuments and listed buildings system well into the mid-twentieth century. Early socially instrumental uses of heritage were innovative and aimed to achieve public benefit, albeit driven not by a democratic sense of listening to publics, but by a liberal paternalism – seeking to produce benefits such as health, happiness, and productivity in the working classes – which would be unlikely to be palatable to twenty-first century social expectations. This was a competing residual agenda in the Preservationist era.

Both of these elements, however, share a reliance upon *non-monetary* values. The attribution of *monetary values* to heritage began to gain prominence in the 1950s and became a dominant narrative during the Heritage Era, when greater scrutiny of public subsidy for conservation and New Public Management (NPM) governance ideologies created new requirements for heritage to be a *producer* of instrumental benefits. During this period there was an emphasis on measurable economic benefits, for instance as an asset to drive tourism, jobs, urban regeneration, and business growth. This amounted to the core of an alternate paradigm for heritage as well, with much to commend it within the wider political decision-making process.

What these values comprise is an ethical context which exists in a balance and has shifted over time. Within this continuum there is a relationship between monetary and non-monetary values, and a relationship between those values which are primarily preservationist, those which are primarily economic, and those which are primarily public. Each value set has considerable precedent in previous eras and no theme has ever been truly absent. Adherence to a public value paradigm does not imply a rejection of economic or preservationist values. Rather, it indicates an adaption to particular political and societal conditions in which the balance of elements is shifted to represent different imperatives.

4.4.1   Political ideology: New Public Management to Public Value

This current trajectory towards ever greater public understandings of heritage can be shown to have begun as a reaction to the effects of NPM on heritage in the 1970s and 80s. In this period heritage, following a wider pattern in governance and public administration, came to be dominated by economic instrumentalism, with a rationale derived from the private sector – i.e. jobs created or tourist revenues collected (e.g. Belfiore 2002). Whilst going further than just measuring direct economic factors, considering a number of created benefits such as regeneration, the limitations of this method of measurement of public sector outcomes proved to be one which was problematic for heritage sector bodies. As the political trend in NPM developed, the heritage value/values balance was similarly shifted in terms of political perception and policy focus on economics.

The roots of the public value era can be argued to have emerged initially as a reaction to roughly two decades of political shift towards this marketization of the public sphere and the subsequent criticism of the values associated with the heritage 'industry'. Together with the wider cultural and arts sectors, heritage struggled to retain an acceptable value balance in what Power (1997) has termed the 'audit society'; finding that the rationale for policies developed to mirror private sector economic models proved a problematic way of communicating the value of heritage in public life, where public 'goods' such as contribution to personal happiness or well-being were not readily measurable (e.g. Böhm and Land 2009; Leicester and Sharpe 2010:11). O'Brien (2014: 113) finds this to be a major reason why the broad cultural sector turned to public value theory in the 1990s, as it offered a way to conceptualise the benefits which arose from heritage which differed fundamentally from the economic logic of the NPM tradition.

The shift to public values in the late 1990s was catalysed by the change in governing party ideology. New Labour were influenced by theories of 'public value' in public administration, which had emerged in the United States in the mid-1990s and can be attributed primarily to Mark Moore's 'Creating Public Value' (1995). This work was conceived as a reaction to the dominant neoliberal ideologies of 1990s USA. It essentially sought to describe the unique aspects of government and public sector management in order to challenge the pared back neo-liberal perception of the state as a mere regulatory function which was, fundamentally, seen as a necessary evil, and otherwise an impediment to the advancement of society through more efficient free market dynamics. Instead Moore's thesis promoted government as being a potential 'creator of public value' (Moore 1995: 296) and 'a proactive shaper of the public sphere' (Benington and Moore 2011: 3).

Moore's book describes the roles of public managers as stewards of public assets and the challenges of their work as being responsive to public needs (to assess what is valued) and

primarily focussed upon the delivery of returns or benefits (operational capacity), suggesting that they exist within an 'authorising environment' in which they must maintain legitimacy and support from the public who are their 'stakeholders' (Moore 1995: 71). The book advocates, among other things, broad partnerships between public institutions, the third and voluntary sectors and the informal and community sector. Most of all, the theory suggests that decision-making should be directed towards the creation of public benefit. Underpinning this pursuit of public benefit is a pragmatism which suggests that it is the task of public managers to negotiate a *political marketplace*, not an economic one, wherein the elements outlined above are balanced in order to achieve the most beneficial outcomes across a wider range of societal objectives.

These ideas proved very popular in the UK as the Blair administration emerged from two decades of Thatcherite neo-liberalism and were used widely, not just in cultural sectors but across government, to influence practices in various government departments, think tanks, and quasi-autonomous agencies. New Labour was keen to prove that its government could create improvements in social goods, and public value provided the framework to pursue it. From 2001 so called 'public value' methodologies began to be utilised by government including by the DCMS – the government department primarily responsible for heritage – with similar interest amongst public institutions such as the National Health Service, British Broadcasting Company (BBC), Audit Commission, and Arts Council England (ACE), as well as by heritage organisations such as the HLF and National Trust (O'Brien 2014: 125; Keaney 2007: 3).

For the historic environment sector, this political shift (which had been anticipated in various sector publications) provided the opportunity to develop its position on the value of heritage towards a more balanced weighting of economic and public values, utilising a customer focussed approach, but one which emphasised such things as positive feelings, memories (ontological and non-monetary values), contribution to happiness, contribution to health and welfare and to wider life (naturally arising benefits) as well as consequential benefits to economy, society and the environment (created benefits, monetary and non-monetary). The development of public value heritage thus helped to facilitate the transmission of many pre-existing – but not, generally, previously politically influential – values of heritage into practical public policy discussions and enabled the sector to substantially change the way in which it perceived the scope and reach of the importance and impact of heritage and provided focus for its self-justification and advocacy.

This New Labour experiment with public value was not a fundamental shift from the positivist progressive ethic of NPM: New systems for managing public values drew on many of the same audit mechanisms, but attempted to meld an economic instrumentalism with a broader public value instrumentalism. In reality, many of the New Labour mechanisms for doing this became mired in bureaucracy and failed to adequately measure real feeling (Belfiore 2002, 2012; Miller

2008; McMaster 2008). Nevertheless it did broaden the types of evidence which were deemed useful in achieving the outcomes of efficiency and effectiveness (Miller 2008), drawing on the idea that a government or an agency should take public money and use it in such a way as to serve the local populations, taxpayers, or citizens, and that benefits (not necessarily financial) were what were 'owed' to people.

At least in ideology, if not completely in practice, these public value approaches highlighted the incompleteness of NPM's approach to weighting policy based upon an economic 'bottom-line' and reliant upon such things as numerical targets alone. It enabled the historic environment sector to think more broadly about different types of evidence which it could use to support its activities, drawing on social science research and developed through think tanks, academia, and professional consultancies. This corrective to NPM (Meynhardt 2009: 192) opened the door to enhanced opportunity to develop legitimacy for sector actions and describe the unique values of public institutions and policies in a way which did not need to be reduced to a set of private market transactions. This allowed for better presentation of the importance of the sector's work to government (O'Brien 2014: 117). This was influential upon the historic environment and wider cultural sectors as they altered various practices in order to establish a public value legitimacy under New Labour.

4.5 USE OF PUBLIC VALUE IN THE HERITAGE/CULTURAL SECTORS

Since 1997, as a matter of strategic priority, the sector has been setting the scene for the development of public value-influenced practices. Particularly since 2001, this rhetoric began affecting both organisational strategies across the sector and processes of policy reform within government. This section seeks to examine some of the effects of these processes and will consider five separate themes: rhetoric, strategy, measurement, policy, and practice.

4.5.1 Rhetoric

It is clear that the public value themes (outlined in chapter three) have in the past two decades become ingrained as the primary way of describing why heritage is important. Clearly, however, rhetoric alone is neither sufficient to prove the value of public investment in heritage management nor achieve the genuine public engagement necessary for the execution of many of the tenets of the public value paradigm. For instance, public value truisms, such as statements that 'local heritage is important because it is valued by communities' are only useful in actuality if demonstrated through real contextual interactions with communities, a strategy to create benefit or better protect or reveal ontological values, and a wider framework for the relevance of these

values in the world. This is a danger which is highlighted by critics of public value; that there is potential for the subject to become a portmanteau for a sector such as heritage arguing for 'special treatment' from an economically driven instrumentalist state (Benington 2009: 233).

Nonetheless, developing public value rhetoric in the late 1990s and early 2000s was arguably a vital way in which heritage aligned with more high profile political agendas (Handley and Schadla Hall 2004: 139). By appealing to the simple logical truth that people necessarily build attachments and feelings about the environments in which they exist and that we can call these feelings heritage values, the sector has been able to promote a renewed sense of political appreciation of heritage, which has aimed to overturn negative perceptions of heritage as a narrow interest obsessed with a non-representative past and a few nationally important monuments (e.g. MORI 2000).

4.5.2 Strategy

The process of how values are defined and communicated, was, together with measurement, one of the core interests of Moore's thesis (1995: 73). For the historic environment sector, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) was one organisation that was particularly influential in driving the development of a public value approach to communicating organisational value and measuring impacts in order to provide a framework for accountability to government (Holden and Hewison 2006; Clark 2006). In effect the HLF instituted a strategy for guiding the creation of public value which played directly to the requirements of government to seek 'instrumental' (created) benefits but also sought to develop the understandings of the benefits 'intrinsic' to (naturally arising from) heritage which was of value to people, drawing upon the influential theories of Moore in order to underpin its logic.

The HLF's strategy has been enormously successful at creating a sense of heritage value which is not encumbered by preservationist rules or technical conservation, nor completely by economic imperatives, but which treats the creation of public benefits as its core instrumental aim, within which high quality conservation is encouraged and economic sustainability and return maximised. The use of public value to underpin the organisation's strategy improved the political recognition of heritage values, particularly because it broadened definitions of heritage to include types of activities and places which were traditionally undervalued by preservationist or economic values, either because their worth was difficult to measure by traditional means, or were not deemed to be nationally significant (Clark and Maeer 2008). The HLF created new ways to direct projects and conduct measurement, either utilising qualitative mechanisms such as citizens' juries (Clark 2006: 92) or by instructing grant applicants to address specific public value outcomes in their project designs.

Additionally, the organisation's emphasis on the importance of so called 'institutional' values (service benefits) such as transparency, consistency and trust have also contributed to the organisation's positive political reputation and its brand identity and clear communication has helped with its public legitimacy. Demonstration of sustainable investment and the creation of social, economic and environmental benefits additionally reassures government that Lottery money (essentially treated as public subsidy) is achieving value-for-money.

Of course, this approach has not been without its share of high profile failures, such as Sheffield's Pop Music Museum which folded after a short period of operation, having failed to attract visitors and sustainable revenues (Ward and O'Hara 1999). Other critics of the HLF point to restrictive applications procedures and poor quality reporting and outcome measurement processes as being current flaws. This possibly indicates an over-reliance on public-value measures for grant-giving, without the necessary practical or fiscal prudence required to ensure sustainable projects.

Nonetheless, this type of strategic outlook which seeks to develop institutional trust has also helped to ameliorate tensions between government and the sector, leading to a more positive perception of the aims and objectives of heritage work. By doing this HLF has certainly contributed to a new acceptance by government of public heritage principles (Clark and Maeer 2008; Clark 2014) and better responses from the public (Morrison 2014, Interview 18). Whilst the perceptions of others in the wider sector remain somewhat lagging in terms of uptake of public values (Clark 2015, pers. comm.), signs are that this is changing (Ibid.), and that the broader sector is starting to achieve similar results through application of sector 'roadmaps'. The forthcoming Heritage 2020 plan (Historic Environment Forum 2015) aims to crystallise a practical strategic outlook for the historic environment sector which is based upon practical implementation of rhetoric on public value and which allows organisations to tailor approaches to achievement of public value goals based on areas of activity. It was an explicit aim of Heritage 2020 that it should 'return to the *Power of Place*' in terms of capturing an ethical base for strategic action in the historic environment sector (Heyworth 2015, pers. comm.).

4.5.3 Measurement

Measurement has always been close to the centre of public value and wider historic environment sector discourse throughout the development of the ideology in the 2000s and as far back as early instrumentalist heritage agendas of the 1970s and 80s. Successive reviews focussing on the measurement of value in cultural sectors pepper the public value era, with anxious debate over how public heritage values can be properly revealed via audit and appropriately taken account of (Kearns 2004; McMaster 2008; Jowell 2004). There has been a particular perception that bodies in

receipt of public funding, or in want of government support, have traditionally failed to effectively measure and communicate their benefits (O'Brien 2014: 115; Belfiore 2002).

Some Public Value era responses to the measurement debate have sought to side-step measurement by recourse to the argument that heritage is too transcendental to be measured. It is certainly true that the crux of the debate of measuring public value is that factors such as resultant happiness, sense of place, and health benefits are less easy to measure than direct economic outputs. However, criticism has been levelled at those heritage and cultural bodies which have used this logic to try to side-step the requirement for measurement and claim that such issues are 'special cases' when it comes to justification for public spending (Kearney 2007; Selman 2015). This attitude misrepresents the position of Moore and his original public value thesis, which states that measurement forms a necessary part in validating the success of the public value mission, which is in turn necessary to achieve authorisation. Furthermore, this assumption also underestimates the ability of new measurement techniques to show public value in a way which can be viably compared with economic or quantitative assessments of value (e.g. Bakhshi et. al. 2009; Fujiwara et. al. 2014a).

What is important is that there is a broad range of suitable measurement techniques available to justify investment in projects. Some organisations have sought to use public value to create measurement techniques capable of capturing values and benefits in ways which could stand up statistically against forms of monetary benefits, with one example being the Public Value Service Model developed by the National Trust and marketing firm Accenture in 2006 (Accenture 2006). This model used advanced survey techniques from economics applied specifically to questions of public value to allow issues such as the translation of user enjoyment into statistically relevant data. Other theorists such as O'Brien (2010) and Bakhshi et. al. (2009) have shown how public value can be applied to adapt techniques accepted by the Treasury which subsequently revised methods for social and cultural measurement of value for money within its Green Book in 2011 (HM Treasury 2011: 1, 57-8).

Similar methods of analysis have been used by the sector through the Heritage Counts surveys, which often contain statistical analysis of broad public values, sometimes taking the form of metrics for visitor numbers, numbers of people reached through outreach, or visitor enjoyment ratings, to more complex statistical processes for comparison with other policy areas, such as 'willingness to pay', 'stated preference' and 'subjective well-being assessment' methodologies (Fujiwara and Campbell 2011). Fujiwara and his collaborators have, for instance, developed methods of estimating monetary values for such activities as visiting heritage sites or participating in heritage activities (Fujiwara et. al. 2014b). Findings suggest that benefits resulting from these activities (including enhanced health and quality of life) can be worth the equivalent of thousands

of pounds of extra household income for those participants involved. Some of these measurement models have provided a bridge between the Treasury and wider government's NPM legacy and the themes of public value heritage, linking outcomes from heritage sector activity to value for money. Other sectors have been more successful at pursuing this type of recognition. For example, the natural environment sector have developed complex ways of showing how access to nature benefits health (Peh et. al. 2013; Wildlife Trust 2015; Maller et. al. 2006) and these methodologies are slowly beginning to be adapted for the cultural heritage sector as well (Leadbetter and O'Connor 2013; Neal 2015). Many qualitative measurement methods can also be useful. Longitudinal surveys such as Heritage Counts can measure change in value and perception of benefits over time, whereas different types of qualitative audience or stakeholder analysis can be useful in highlighting progress towards strategic goals.

Measurement certainly remains a topic of academic discussion (Belfiore 2012), however, the fact that there is recognition of these methodologies within DCMS and even, since 2011, in the Treasury Green Book goes to show that public values are no longer shut out of instrumental measurement. Arguably, what the impact of this more recent public value era discourse on measurement has achieved is to ensure that the historic environment and wider cultural sectors are able to move beyond failures of the NPM era to take adequate account of transcendental values or heritage on the one hand, and the failures of some early New Labour era sector advocates who wished to treat heritage as a 'special case' on the other (Miller 2008: 1125; Bakhshi et. al. 2009).

4.5.4 Policy

Beyond the rhetorical debate surrounding public value since the late 1990s, there have also been several advancements in policy which have changed understandings of heritage and indicated a transition towards public-centred models for regulating and managing heritage. The most important documents, the Heritage Protection Bill and PPS5 each show this, and since 2010, the NPPF has, after a fashion, confirmed many of these moves. Wider contextualisation of government positions such as the 2010 Government Statement on the Historic Environment have also provided support for underpinning public value principles.

Whilst the macro-structures of the heritage protection system were not altered by these policy changes, the move towards embodying concepts of significance within the planning system has been a clear step forwards towards public value heritage. The strength with which the eventual NPPF retained its support for the historic environment, and recognised the broad interest in it, is also significant to note (although the difficult process of assuring this inclusion and assessing new nuances is discussed in chapter seven).

Despite a continued failure to design and implement practices to effectively measure the value attached to undesignated sites and places, beyond the processes of listing, the sector and government have gone further than ever towards solidifying the operation of Historic Environment Records (HERs) as publicly accessible resources of information on the historic environment. Despite the fact that the Draft Heritage Protection Bill was never published, the inclusion of a statutory provision for HERs received, at the time, cross-party acceptance as a positive move, albeit one which now is off the table in advocacy discussions due to the Conservative Government's resistance to burdening local authorities with extra duties at a time when their budgets are being cut heavily (Howell 2014, pers. comm.). The value of these services and their public benefits, however, is acknowledged by the Government in principle (Cameron 2011; Clark 2011; Osborne 2015b). Comments by these government figures suggests that protecting heritage assets has been internalised as a democratically necessary principle, even if policy provision in practice suffers from a limited political will. Moreover, the underpinning reason for this necessity to protect heritage is one that ultimately rests on the importance of such protection to people. David Cameron, for instance, has stated; 'I have always believed that our beautiful British Landscape is a national treasure. We should cherish and protect it for everyone's benefit.' (Cameron 2011).

Wider policies such as local listing, community planning, and community asset transfer have all also developed during the public value era and provide additional policy mechanisms through which public values can be articulated within decision-making processes. However, most of these non-statutory tools are, as yet, poorly developed, with ideological flaws (such as local listing frequently applying similar tests as used for national designation, rather than directly seeking public valuations) and not well used in practice (with many local authorities not having taken steps to involve themselves or local communities in such processes). Despite this, the most significant obstacles to further developing these policies are funding and political will and creativity among groups to implement them. Public value policies, as Moore notes (2005), rely upon wider networks of interaction and partnership to succeed, as well as upon organisational capacity within both local government (on whom the responsibility for many of these policies fall) and sector bodies – with both requiring effective practices for public engagement. These organisational limitations (lack of joined-up thinking, lack of investment, and variable commitment to public value strategic goals among partners) may be the biggest barriers to policy development and the furthering of public value principles in the current austere era (Heritage Lottery Fund2013a: 51).

4.5.5 Practice

In addition to policy, the shift towards types of thinking associated with public value has necessitated changes in the practice of many sector bodies. For example, during this period, trends towards historic landscape characterisation have increased understanding and acceptance in

planning practice that every place has a character and value (Schofield 2013: 4); trends towards community involvement in heritage (e.g. Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings 2015) have shown that there is a growing interest in co-production mechanisms (e.g. RCAHMS 2015; Graham et. al. 2015); and the growth of public or community archaeology shows that the direct acts of discovering and interpreting the past – sometimes in a professional or academic way, and other times as a more visceral and interpretive process – can hold enormous interest for people (e.g. Stottman 2010; Little 2002).

These types of heritage activity have been encouraged by actions within the sector, for instance via funding guidance for HLF grants (as described above), smaller funds such as the CBA's Mick Aston Archaeology Fund (Council for British Archaeology c.2014), or wider sector efforts to focus practices on public inclusion (Graham et. al. 2015), historic area regeneration partnerships (English Heritage 2013b), or projects such as HER 21 (English Heritage 2010c), all of which are aligned with ideas of public value imperative.

Through such activity new heritage values have been spread and demonstrated, underpinning the wide public value conceptions of heritage. Both English Heritage and the HLF receive direct policy directions from government which recognise these public value aims, but equally, independent organisations have seen similar shifts in practices towards putting public value themes at the heart of their practice. One example is the National Trust which, although maintaining a particular ideological focus on people from its inception, in the past decade has reasserted the relevance of this representation in response to wider thinking.

Under the Directorship of Fiona Reynolds, the National Trust aimed to rethink its strategy and practice in order to embed a renewed vision for conceptualising public value (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22). In short, whilst the Trust had become very business-like over recent decades, it was decided, from the mid-2000s, that its business *was* public value (Ibid.). Partly this effort required the Trust to be more popular and engaging to shed a reputation for being an elite, 'old and stuffy' relic of a previous era (Ibid.). Drawing on the Trust's historic motto 'For Ever, For Everyone' and reinventing it as a statement describing the core public value of the organisation, the Trust has attempted to change the way their activities are structured to ensure greater responsiveness to local stakeholders, visitor experience, and wider social strategic ambitions, in addition to ensuring that the charity maintained strong institutional values and gave a perception of being a broad public good. These aims manifest in successive strategies for 'Going Local' (National Trust 2010) and 'Bringing Places to Life' (Henley 2010) as well as in campaigns such as 'Planning for People' (National Trust 2012).

In terms of the Trust's portfolio of properties, these strategies implemented ways of using the Trust's resources to influence the 'places and things that matter' (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22) including through involving local communities in the sphere of influence of the Trust's properties, creating better links with local businesses and farmers, and expanding the range of visitor experiences in order to attract a wider range of people. Trust conservation and acquisitions policies were made more publically visible, with processes being openly displayed, and have led to awards (English Heritage Angel Award 2013). Finally, in terms of advocacy, the Trust has become more effective at using its influence to advocate for appropriate changes to legislation and policy (see chapter seven for detailed discussion).

The Trust has also engaged widely with other organisations across a range of sectors to develop practice in a broad range of areas such as green energy (Jones 2015) and extolling the benefits of exercise for children (Wild Network 2015). These types of activities have contributed to increasing the breadth of the Trust's influence – maximising engagement and understanding of the broad instrumental benefits of engaging with natural and cultural heritage through wide partnerships, and building up political capital and institutional benefits in terms of a strong brand and purpose, all delivered in an open and constructive manner.

The report of the Southport Group (a wide cross-sectoral grouping of archaeologists, formed at the 2010 IfA conference in Southport) is another example of a sector vision statement which identifies public value as the central concept for understanding practice. It states that;

> 'In spite of all our current challenges, this [the publication of PPS5] is the best opportunity since 1990 to introduce arrangements that ensure the consistent delivery of public benefits from planning-led investigation, and it could well be another 20 years before another chance like this comes along.'

(Southport Group 2011: 9)

The report put in motion many developments in public value practice which have been influential on the sector's wider ways of working. It has led to the development of new standards and guidance by the CIfA, and stimulated greater cross-sector co-operation on a variety of measures related to community participation, training, and wider collaboration (Ibid.).

However, many bodies have not been entirely successful at communicating positive public values both outwardly to stakeholders in the public and government or internally to practitioners and staff. Many organisations also appear unclear about how they can apply public value to their operations, or are cautious about pursuing it. Progress towards Southport's aims such as the development of 'meaningful new initiatives for public participation' has been slow and often too

expensive to pursue in the current economic climate, and actions including 'community training in PPS5 principles' has not genuinely reached communities on a broad enough basis, or has failed to convince the population at large of the public values of heritage or the institutional commitment to developing them (Chitty 2011: 162).

English Heritage has produced sector-leading conceptual rhetoric, including *Power of Place* (English Heritage 2000), and has underpinned it up with documentation on principles of practice such as *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008a) and have defined organisational strategies, for instance 'Constructive Conservation' (English Heritage 2008b), all of which promote broad public value benefits in organisational practice. However, in terms of existing practice the organisation is hamstrung by the narrow statutory functions of designation and their statutory role to deliver development control advice. The public value paradigm has limited application in these roles: Although efforts for greater public benefit outcomes (e.g. access to live dig sites, publication and display of archives) and better use of significance to describe the importance of assets all convey a wider measurement of public value, the system is limited by its statutory purpose of protecting a narrow set of sites and monuments. There is a tendency for politicians to perceive these functions as not being of particularly high public interest, and for people to view them as not being something which is *for them*. English Heritage's reticence to reassess this focus is possibly caused by a lack of belief or interest within its current leadership (see chapter six), and a consequent failure to perceive the benefits of pursuing any radical developments in its purpose with government, combined with a lack of political capital to enact such a change in organisational presentation and branding. For these reasons, the instilling of a new sense of strategic priority within the organisation's workforce has not happened and has meant that the impact of public value on practice has been limited (Clark 2015, pers. comm.).

Partly, the difference in success between the National Trust and English Heritage in developing new public value roles in practice can be judged to be rooted in their independence, which makes the Trust naturally more reliant upon the support of people and therefore logically requiring it to be more reactive to changes in public will. English Heritage, on the other hand, are more restricted by external governmental influences (see chapter six for more detailed discussion). However, other aspects of management are also influential and are much more of an organisational choice. For instance, National Trust staff are quickly trained in the benefits of creating a positive stakeholder relationship with the public at their sites. Members are valued supporters and buy-in is high to both the intrinsic heritage values and creation of benefits like the enjoyment people get from visiting sites. However further values are created from the organisation's conservation, heritage protection and advocacy work, all of which are packaged in terms of public value and are delivered to visitors and members through various modes of communication and reinforced through the

media, direct communication, public advertisement, or the publication and dissemination of research. The National Trust also put considerable resource into maintaining or improving institutional values such as public trust, recognition, and positive reputation (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22).

There remains considerable work still needs to be done to affect a coherent and complete transition to public value principles, not least in terms of embedded procedural processes such as those arising from the planning system – for example, the assessment of the significance of heritage assets – which are fundamentally changed by the advent of public value principles (Townend and Whittaker 2010). However, this evidence shows that the sector has demonstrated a widespread commitment to public value approaches to heritage. It is, however, also important to examine some of the criticisms which have been levelled at public value principles and practices over this period, before assessing how this evidence of transition can be judged to represent a dominant narrative for the historic environment.

4.6 CRITICISM OF PUBLIC VALUE

Over the past decade various critical responses to public value have been developed in the academic literature and political arena. Partially, this criticism refers to Moore's original theory of public value in public administration (Rhodes and Wanna 2007), and to some extent it refers to the varying interpretations and uses of that theory and its outcomes in various organisational and governmental contexts (for example; Lee et. al. 2011; Gray 2008).

The criticisms of the political and social tenets of public value have taken three main lines which are relevant to this discussion: Firstly, that public value overemphasises the role of public managers who are cast as 'Platonic guardians and arbiters of the public interest' (Rhodes and Wanna 2007: 406). These critics argue that 'public managers' or organisations can never be truly without professional or personal self-interest and are as such not capable of acting selflessly towards the creation of public benefit. Public value therefore puts too much power in the hands of these public managers, leading to a potential erosion of democratic political power (Ibid.: 407). The next criticism is that public value proponents utilise strategic rhetoric – which Belfiore (2009) calls 'bullshit' – which has the sole purpose of maximising political messages whilst attempting to avoid the possibility of scrutiny. A more nuanced version of this same criticism is that public value is fundamentally rooted in an advocacy agenda, and as such only sets itself the task of searching for 'validation for public funding' (Belfiore and Bennett 2008: 10). Finally, the charge is levelled that the concept of a 'public' is inherently assumptive and an abstraction when used to try to illustrate 'complex phenomena' (Meynhardt 2009: 204) such as heritage.

Examples of public value in real situations in the UK bureaucracy have also drawn criticism. Lee et. al. (2011: 294, 296) have judged that cultural institutions are 'seduced' by the rhetoric of public value and have been 'plagued by epistemological inconsistencies' and 'empty rhetoric' in practice. They argue that the use of public value by Arts Council England (ACE) and the BBC (Keaney 2006; Bunting 2006, 2007) in the late 2000s was emblematic of this failure, accusing the BBC of creating an overarching narrative of public value and 'telling it back to itself and to its external political stakeholders during a particular period of stress' (2011: 296). Gray (2008: 211) also accuses ACE of 'leading' the public through its engagement methods to re-assert the value of the arts and using that evidence to support the existing role of ACE as creators of maximum public values. This comes close to providing ACE with a self-fulfilling prophecy on the value and 'uniqueness' of the arts (Gray 2008: 213). Lee et al. (2011: 296) also accuse ACE of de-politicising the question of funding the arts by 'privileging public value' as a special case and 'denying the political reality of arts funding'.

None of these criticisms are without merit. However, all of the proposed theoretical problems can be diverted by appropriate consideration of Moore's 'strategic triangle' of assessment of public needs, organisational capacity, and authorising environment. These set the limits of use for public value in the context of public management by ensuring that public value instruments and strategies are underpinned by robust theoretical understandings, that organisations are capable of delivering on rhetorical promises, and that democracy is maintained through the balance of public legitimation and consequent authorisation and the appropriate negotiation of the political marketplace (Benington and Moore 2011: 18-20).

The criticisms of the BBC and ACE, rather than revealing fundamental problems with public value, show the dangers of an overly rhetorical approach to assessing the public value of an organisation without proper mechanisms for engaging ethical rhetoric with practical strategy and pragmatic working within a wider political system. As Coats and Passmore (2008: 27) have stated, 'many organisations promise too much and deliver too little when it comes to engaging citizens in decision-making'. If a solely rhetorical angle is taken, an overemphasis of the 'unique' value of culture or heritage can lead to a judgement that particular organisations should not be scrutinised in the same ways as other instrumental bodies. Both cases exhibit a failure to rigorously assess, through measurement and engagement, the effectiveness of the services involved and a dishonesty in pushing a self-fulfilling rhetoric as an explicit attempt to justify funding. This is not an adequate reflection of Moore's public value in action, as it fails to provide the honest assessment of the public need, fails to employ organisational capacity in the adequate co-creation of policy, and assumes a position of privilege in the political marketplace based upon rhetoric, rather than measurement. More broadly, these examples represent what can happen when public value is

utilised purely as an advocacy tool. In both cases the turn to public value did not represent a strategic decision to engage publics, develop public legitimacy, and utilise these in advocacy, but are simply attempts to show government that they are worthy of being funded (c.f. Belfiore and Bennett 2008: 10). One question which could be asked might be, would an organisation pursue a public value strategy if advocacy was not necessary?

In this way, the uses of public value by the HLF and the National Trust and the discussion of 'cultural value' as developed by Holden and Hewison under the HLF's aegis already do embody a more robust use of Moore's theory. These models are both more technocratic (i.e. providing a framework for decision making and public engagement) in addition to being rhetorical devices to describe and communicate value, and are more measured in their response to how that value framework provides both accountability to the public and government, and legitimacy drawn from institutional values, public trust and political mandate. These relationships are defined and balanced within the authorising environment which guides the interactions between politicians, publics and professionals and their peers relative to circumstances (Alford and O'Flynn 2009: 177; Clark 2014b).

The important factor in the utilisation of public value to guide organisational action, as Moore's original thesis provides, is that public value should focus upon outcomes as well as performance measurement and rhetoric on values. This has sometimes not been the case in some cultural and heritage sector uses of public value. Nonetheless, public value can provide an effective framework for organisation of sectoral relations with publics and politicians, if it guards sufficiently against the use of empty rhetoric and assumptive reasoning in the application of public measurement to institutional practice.

4.7 IS PUBLIC VALUE A DOMINANT SECTOR ETHIC?

Both in terms of academic and professional discourse on the purpose of heritage, public values, conforming to the typology outlined in the previous chapter, are clearly represented in the strongest terms in current and recent thinking. Public value approaches have been central to sector rhetoric on heritage in the context of its social and political importance as well as exerting considerable influence on strategy, and a growing demonstration in practice, as the evidence above shows. In the UK this owed much to synergies with New Labour social policy in the 2000s; however, strong trends can also be observed internationally (e.g. Council of Europe 2000, 2005; European Commission 2014; Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium 2015), showing that this was not a product of a narrow political ideology, but a larger cultural shift in the operation of public management of heritage (Pendlebury 2009: 12). As stated above, this public value has

proved the basis for a significant re-engineering of sectoral strategy in many places and political positioning in relation to government and other sectors and policy areas (e.g. English Heritage 2008a; Southport Group 2011; Historic Environment Forum 2015).

There has been waning overt governmental interest in public value since 2010 with a move away from New Labour style 'evidence-based policy making', social agendas, and consultative policy-making tendencies which provided a sympathetic context for public value heritage (Alcock 2010: 379). However, there have been no signs of a substantial shift away from the overall adherence to an underpinning public value ethic in the sector, other than as a result of increased focus on austerity governance and reduced capacity for public services, which have limited opportunities for many bodies since 2010. Ian Baxter even argues that strategies for measurement for social and cultural industries have improved over this period despite the renewed emphasis on the bottom-line, which has no doubt seen a resurgence since 2008 (Baxter 2015).

However, whilst there is a clear dominance of public value themes in much high level organisational rhetoric and strategy, there are also persisting perceptions of heritage as a narrow preservationist or economic activity. Many in the sector still tend to focus, for example, on the monumental, rather than on everyday heritage, in a way that restricts improvement in the understanding of the broad and interconnected public value agenda (e.g. Heritage Alliance 2015a, 2015b). For example, a report into the perceptions of heritage from the polling company ComRes (2015) is striking not for its results, which show that personal and experienced heritage is ranked as the most important 'type' of heritage to people (confirming the affecting nature of public value heritage) but because the questions are, in places, very leading, and clearly focussed on a much narrower spectrum of heritage tourism and economy than is commonly associated with the word by people. These blinkered approaches do not necessarily deny the validity of public value concepts, but fail to transcend previous notions of heritage as the 'great and the good' of historic buildings – often discussed solely through the lens of income-generating tourism. In this sense, these are powerful alternate narratives of *preservationism* and *economic instrumentalism* which perpetuate for several reasons. Firstly because of the tendency for professional conservators and archaeologists to inwardly assess the objects of their own work as being representative of the range of ontologically affecting heritage. Secondly, because of the sector's failure to develop connections with wider sectors and government agendas. And thirdly, because of the perceived priorities of Government – and protections from the existing statutory instruments – being to the monumental heritage and the touristic above all others (Smith 2003).

Fig. 4.4 - Survey answers revealing professional attitudes to heritage value concepts

Note: 1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree
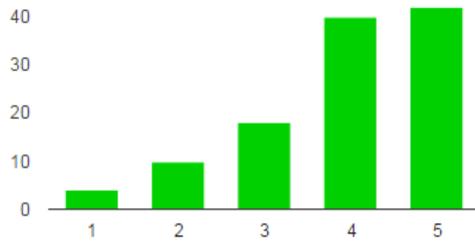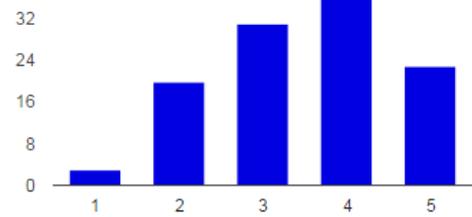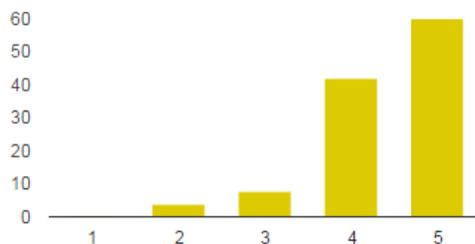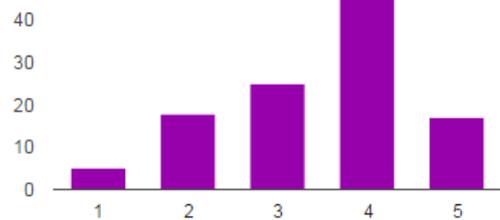
Survey respondents showed a high level of agreement (71.9% agree/strongly agree) with statements such as 'any place can have heritage significance' and very strongly in favour of notions of the importance of the present and future on heritage management (89.4% agree/strongly agree). Only 29.8% of respondents agree that national heritage is more important than local heritage. However, there was less agreement over whether heritage was fundamentally about what people value (52.7% agree/agree strongly, 27.2% neither agree nor disagree), with a majority (57.9% agree/strongly agree) of respondents expressing that designation was a satisfactory way to manage those values. These answers may show that general perceptions of heritage as something which is part of a broader social context are widespread, but that traditional preservationist principles are also still important to professional perspectives on the definition of heritage and for management practices.

Traditional preservationist values also still underpin many of the core processes of heritage protection which have been less malleable to public value principles and therefore exert a continued influence over many historic environment professionals who make recourse to designation processes to lead their assessments of what is valued, rather than the opposite (Carman 1996; Pendlebury 2009: 180). Deeply embedded and publically well-understood preservationist tools such as listing also have an attraction to organisations for whom they may be seen as points of rootedness or stability in a time of threat to heritage interests. They thus still define a significant aspect of the public understanding of what heritage is understood to be, with commentators such as Katherine Peacock opining that 'heritage is not an activity for the masses'

whereas in fact it is only a narrow touristic type of heritage which regularly fails to attract socio-economically diverse audiences (Heritage Alliance 2015b).

This, arguably, is a result of a failure to successfully frame sectoral strategy and outlook, and to ensure consistent messaging through sectoral fora, not a problem with the public's perceptions of why a public value heritage is relevant to them – as the many positive examples that exist show (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22). Whilst the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) (English Heritage 2013d) did attempt to define a sector strategy which put such things as local empowerment at its heart, this was not entirely successful. Opportunities to learn from this do currently exist, with the forthcoming Heritage 2020 strategy intended to ensure that sectoral ownership of a broad public value vision is at the heart of the strategy in an effort to provide such a structure as may help to ensure that professionals become better at positioning the sector and its activity in the wider political realm.

In addition to residual alternate preservationist narratives, a second alternate narrative of heritage is economics. The economic narrative is one which, whilst always present in the assessment of instrumental benefits of heritage since the 1980s and earlier, relies on reductive reasoning to emphasise that heritage has a position as an instrumental economic contributor, being composed of various beneficial aspects (such as its importance to tourism revenues) and some negative aspects (for example, the relative cost of conservation versus new build or perceptions of delays in planning processes). Similar rationales for all public services exist and clearly have an important place within any society which has limited resources for public spending. However, the economic narrative has been particularly resurgent since the 2008 global economic crash and in the past five years since 2010 within the Coalition Government's austerity agenda.

To a certain extent these economic conditions have re-enforced preservationism at the expense of public value, as lower funding, a lack of direct governmental will to legislate or provide guidance, and a strict view on justifying any public investment (across all of government, not just heritage) have meant that many organisations have been less able to pursue particular public value policies. Some groups appear to have superficially lost faith that public value remains a viable position for political advocacy (Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers 2015), but it seems more likely that in these cases what is lacking is opportunity and a willingness to innovate to find new ways to develop practice to achieve public value benefits. These issues will be discussed in more detail in chapters six, seven and eight. During this period particularly, the retention of statutory preservationist principles has in many cases made sense for organisations in the heritage sector to cling to whilst they have been threatened by cuts and economic recession, with Government restricting funding to local

authorities and changing the emphasis on public sector spending and investment in heritage (Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers et. al. 2014).

Local authorities have received cuts in funding of around 33% since 2010 which have led to the dramatic decline of heritage services offered. Whereas in the mid-2000s heritage officers, archaeological advisors, conservation officers, Renaissance officers (Renaissance Review Advisory Group 2009), and Finds Liaison Offers (British Museum 2009), were growing in number and expanding their roles in terms of public services which generated benefits in both the instrumental and intrinsic parts of the value spectrum, these roles are now in decline (Kindred 2014). Local authority heritage and archaeological specialists are now much more commonly focused solely on the statutory, and preservationist, elements of heritage protection.

This distinct recent period of the public value era has been dominated by fear of recession, consequent growth agendas, and the governing ideals of the 2010 Coalition and 2015 Conservative Governments. These fears have altered the policy environment and have restricted organisational abilities to pursue public value by promoting a strong political agenda focussed on economic recovery, austerity, and repeating a negative view of the previous government's public spending strategies. As described in chapter three, these influences have led to historic environment stakeholders changing in their approach to various issues, with emphasis on economic aspects of the communication of heritage to government being particularly notable (e.g. English Heritage 2012b; Howell and Redesdale 2014).

Nevertheless, other sector activity is exploring potentials for the delivery of public benefits in new ways – in spite of the new economic conditions – through partnerships with communities (Graham et. al. 2015), alternate funding routes such as crowd-sourcing (Baxter 2015) and greater commercial activity (Historic England 2014). As Rachael Turner of the innovative 'digital laboratory' Madlab states: 'Give people less money, create more energy and action' (cited in Graham et. al. 2015). These are processes which will define the next decade of pursuit of public value principles in heritage and give hope that the public value agenda will continue to develop in spite of other challenges. Heritage organisations will continue to be moved to 'reconnect with their public' (Blaug et al. 2006:23) through a greater emphasis on the development of new ways to engage people, motivated by a perceived need to fulfil basic tenets of a social contract to create value to underpin sectoral political legitimacy.

4.7.1 Balancing competing narratives

Arguably, public value ideologies have developed in tandem with existing preservationist rationales for heritage protection legislation, with the influence of instrumental economic benefits observably changing in response to the ebbs and flows of economic growth, with resurgence in the

1970s and 2010s each time following national recessions under fiscally tough Conservative Governments. Whilst they may compete with public value narratives in some respects, these are parallel elements of heritage sector activity and are based upon fundamentally different sectoral imperatives and different principles of the importance of heritage. For example, the impact of the 2008 financial crash on the political environment has imposed restrictions on the freedom of heritage bodies to act to pursue public value aims. This has not, however, altered the organisational ethos of public value in most organisations. Preservationist legislation also retains a logical base which is still valid: some sites are, objectively speaking, rare or old, and therefore statistically significant in terms of the need to preserve them for the embodied knowledge which they hold.

It is for these reasons that public value should not be seen as a 'fundamentally transformative shift', but rather a 'gloss' (Pendlebury 2009: 186) or a broadening out which establishes a new political position within both democratic and governance structures. Preservationism, economic sustainability and instrumentalism, and public value can exist in an equilibrium which represents good value for money, appropriate preservation of historic assets, and public benefits. However, this equilibrium is still shifting, particularly in terms of regulatory structures in the public value era.

In terms of Raymond Williams' analysis of cultural processes, public value narratives and economic narratives can be seen to currently exist in a constant state of co-dominance which is subject to the availability of financial resources which are needed to support public services. Preservationism, on the other hand, could be argued to be a residual narrative which is declining in importance, although currently relatively firmly embedded in statutory practices and still influential in public, political, and even professional perceptions. There is no fundamental conflict between preservationism and public value. Preservationism represents some fundamental truths about the remains of the past and their continued survival, which is always likely to underpin at least part of the public's corpus of valued places or things. Public value adds to this by widening this narrow material and historical spectrum for heritage and advocating a wider meaning of heritage as what matters to people in their lives – inflecting a more responsive way of assessing this broad heritage and how to balance its values in a wider interconnected social context.

Whilst it does not appear that there is currently any appetite to overhaul the system of national designations to enable a more fundamentally holistic public value system to be established, it is likely that a different relationship between the preservationist and the public is likely to develop in the future. The continued expansion of the designation system towards ever more inclusive criteria and broad appreciation of landscape-scale significance and value seems likely in the long term, even if at present the increased influence of the economic prevents considerable movement in that direction.

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To this end, whilst public value will be expressed in the following chapters as being capable of providing both a framework for heritage sector relations and a description of the purpose of heritage practice (O'Brien 2014: 121), it is not a complete nor a fundamental guiding ideology for the sector. Some pragmatism is required to traverse these relationships, with adaptation to contextual political restraints or opportunities necessary as part of the process of advancement towards ideological goals. Consequently, the public value ethos needs to be flexible enough to allow for variable measurement requirements.

4.8 WHY IS PUBLIC VALUE USEFUL TO HERITAGE ORGANISATIONS?

What the above discussions identify is an existent understanding of public value which is both based on some of the core principles of Mark Moore's public administration theories and catalysed by the political opportunities which developed in the 2000s as a result of New Labour political ideologies. The purpose of this chapter, however, has been to look beyond associations with New Labour which have now faded out of political relevance and to consider the potentials of public value to deliver a sustainable vision for heritage management, theory and practice, which is based on strong ethical reasoning on the nature of heritage value, and which is capable of describing political relationships in the current era and adapting to political changes in the future.

The development of a 'public value heritage' has helped the sector to redefine its activities in reference to a broader understanding of values (the public value triangle) and reimagine its relationships with stakeholders (the authorising environment) as well as its strategy and direction (the strategic triangle). The sector has also developed a partially successful set of ways to measure its broad value and relevance and communicate it to government, which although constantly shifting to match political expectations in response to changes in government and the economy, have instilled a greater emphasis on heritage which is based on public value logic.

4.8.1 The public value framework

Using these public value concepts as a base, it is possible to design a framework to direct a strategic vision for historic environment sector bodies in the future. This framework provides, through an adherence to the public value mission, ethical imperatives to be more public, and less government focussed; work more widely across a large variety of stakeholders from public, private, and voluntary, to community, and across difference scales of government and with different sectors; pursue wide relevance with publics, develop 'deep' engagement; and, fundamentally, aim to maximise the delivery of benefits to people through the process of management of the historic environment.
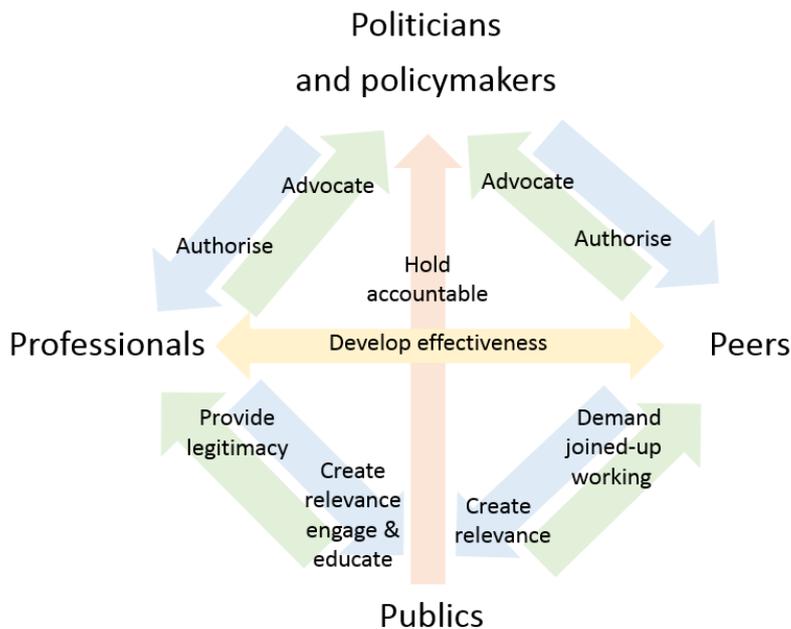
Fig. 4.5 – Holden and Hewison and Clark's authorising environments adapted to show sectoral effects of a public value framework

It is through these things that legitimation, and subsequently authorisation for heritage activities are achieved. This arguably presents the sector with opportunities to secure and develop a solid foundation for its advocacy towards politicians and decision-makers and sets the ideological context for the political engagements within the system of government. These things – relevance, reputation, legitimacy, authorisation, and effectiveness – are outputs of working within a public value framework, provided that responsibilities are upheld in respect of operational rigour in measuring, communicating, and creating public value.

What the public value framework does is to provide a way to understand the necessary relationships within the authorising environment (see fig. 4.5) and develop sufficient mechanisms for engaging with and responding to publics (including representing diversity), effective intra and cross-sectoral working with 'peers' and 'professionals', and appropriate advocacy, based on proper measurement and articulation of public values and communication of legitimacy and effectiveness, to politicians. These relationships are self-supporting, as strong public legitimacy and effective partnerships reinforce political reputation and therefore authorisation. In practice, however, many political influences affect these relationships and often impede the achievement of public value goals. The following chapter will discuss these influences and will explore how a public value framework provides a way to effectively manage them.

Political relationships and the Authorising Environment

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was shown how the authorising environment provides a framework for managing relationships between public, professional, and political stakeholders which allows historic environment bodies to conceptualise the delivery of a public value mission. This chapter examines how political processes, structures, and organisation of the various actors in the authorising environment affect these relationships and thereby shape current practice in the historic environment. These processes include legislation and policy-making, agenda setting, the design and delivery of public services, and the delivery of independent, third sector, private, and voluntary action.

The political realm which surrounds the historic environment comprises a great many institutional actors working in various roles relating to the regulatory framework. Actors in this system can mostly be categorised as belonging to the following groups: Government departments, national agencies, other 'quangos', professional institutes, national and local amenity societies, umbrella bodies, land and property owners' groups, civic groups, campaign bodies, independents, and individuals (additional information can be found in appendix one).

In the sector, diverse organisations represent different professional groups, undertake different regulatory functions, and maintain varying conceptual interpretations of heritage and its relevance within the world. These sector bodies interact with the instruments of the state with effects that influence perceptions of heritage as a contributor to society and economy, and its relative political importance. Practices and positions of the sector and the state are mutually affecting. They have bearing on the formation of government policy, political reputations, the effectiveness of advocacy, the public visibility of the sector, its political independence, and many other factors. Arguably, the public value paradigm's authorising environment provides a model for understanding these structures and relationships and considering whether present practice could be reassessed in light of an ethical prerogative for public values.

This chapter considers, in turn, the organisational structures of the state and the sector, and aims to develop a critique of the political processes which influence them and consider how the public value paradigm could provide a framework for sector organisations to lessen the impact of certain political impositions to the achievement of public value. By the end of the chapter, these influences will have been explained and analysed, allowing for detailed case studies to be examined in chapters six, seven, and eight which will each answer questions relating to the ethical importance and usefulness of public value strategies for the historic environment, and will present specific analysis of recent political issues.

5.2 STATE STRUCTURES AND GOVERNANCE

The organisation of national government is a key part of understanding the position of politicians in the authorising environment, and therefore the operation of public value in the historic environment sector. Across Whitehall, there are a number of key institutions which affect the interests of the professional sector. Principally, these are government departments, which have delegated responsibility for particular legislative portfolios and are the lead bodies which create legislation and policy in those areas. They are also responsible for managing relationships with stakeholders outside government. Departments sit beneath a central executive comprising a Cabinet, under the ultimate control of the Prime Minister with whom central influence over agenda-setting lies. The exact power of these executive institutions may vary depending upon governing styles, ministerial personalities, or party political ideals, but in most cases there is a distinct relationship between government ideology and agenda and the operation of ministerial portfolios (See appendix 2, table 2). Responsibilities for areas of the broad public value heritage spectrum are split across various departments. Policies affecting heritage are therefore also subject to inter-departmental relationships as well as the various operative influences of the Whitehall system which affects working relationships and reputations.

5.2.1 Legislation and policy-making processes

An important element of the state's role in management and care of the historic environment is the process of policy and law-making, which is governed by parliamentary rules and influenced by a range of actors, dependent upon styles of approach to stakeholder management, wider agendas, research, and advice (Goodin et. al. 2008: 12). The exact influence and power of each actor is extremely difficult to measure, and each government pursues policy in different ways, altering the balance of power as non-governmental actors rise and fall in prominence. These considerations are at the heart of governance theory and have an operative effect on roles and relationships in the authorising environment.

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Most of the examples referred to in the following sections relate to policy, rather than law-making. This is because legislation on heritage is altogether rarer than policy and is often comprised primarily of periodic renewals of frameworks of powers and therefore not usually controversial (Larkham and Barrett 1998: 56; Mynors 2006: 19; Page 2012: 49). Whilst many of the processes in law-making as opposed to policy-making are similar (e.g. stakeholder networks), legislation is subject to more complex processes of parliamentary scrutiny and oversight. These elements of the institutional process are not given especially deep consideration in these sections. However, for the purposes of the discussion of political influence, policy-making is the more interesting process as it is more readily reactive to changeable political and societal will and therefore often gives a better indication of current government thinking on a subject, and is more flexible and easier for successive Governments to adapt or revise (Mynors 2006: 22).

5.2.2 Agenda setting and policy-making

There are a number of key elements in the process of policy-making: (1) agendas and democratic mandates to legislate or regulate, (2) power relations and influences within government, (3) departmental processes of evidence gathering and leadership, (4) advice and advocacy from external stakeholders, and (5) consultation and parliamentary oversight.

The Government's agenda is usually drawn from the democratic mandate it earns when it is elected, and will be primarily based upon manifestos and green papers published during previous parliaments, but is also influenced by a wide variety of external factors. These can include crises, emergencies, or other developments, such as changes in the economy or particular lobbying pressure (Kendall 2000: 545-6). These agendas will trickle down into departmental directions, which Ministers of State are delegated responsibility to deliver upon. Ministerial personalities (and career aims) can be highly influential in the system, with passionate and skilled ministers capable of making the necessary connections or driving responses to particular ideas. Evidence of what a strong and committed ministerial team can achieve can be seen in the work of the Ministry for Housing and Local Government (MHLG) team in the 1960s; the MHLG's work significantly developed broader understandings of conservation and historic landscapes and led to the development of the Civic Amenities Act. Similarly, in Scotland, Cabinet Secretary for Culture Fiona Hyslop is widely credited as being the driving force behind the successful heritage agenda in Scotland since 2010 (Robertson 2013, Interview 12; Turner 2013, Interview 13; Hinton 2015). In England, the Culture Secretary post has not had a candidate with this level of influence for some time and the role is often tightly controlled by a central power dynamic – a powerful Prime Minister, Cabinet, or Treasury (Bennister and Heffernan 2011: 793). For instance Treasury colleagues, led by George Osborne, have the power to interfere in the affairs of DCLG. This can be seen in the case of the NPPF and various other policies during the previous parliament (Lock 2012:

479). Furthermore recent governments have tended to see the Culture Secretary post as one of the most junior ministerial positions, often held by first time Ministers such as Sajid Javid, or John Whittingdale. Since 1997 with the DCMS, the heritage portfolio has been shrinking, with the ministerial heritage role handed to more and more junior ministers.

Evidencing policy, and drafting it, is a crucial business with a non-linear trajectory which may involve a wide range of advisors and stakeholders or comparatively few (Rhodes 2008: 426). These advisors may be government agencies, think tanks, NGOs, charities, or academics (Davies 2004: 571). Policy also has a historical dimension, being influenced by what went before in terms of previous governments' approaches to issues and their legacies of success or failure (Lowndes 2001: 1959). Civil service teams usually lead on policy drafting and manage consultations, sometimes openly in close collaboration with advisors, and other times substantially hidden from all but the small civil service drafting team, and consultation is sometimes thorough and sometimes restricted. At a minimum, a written public consultation will be conducted and a relevant parliamentary committee will report on a draft document, giving government an opportunity – although no requirement – to make changes to a draft.

5.2.3 Policy networks

There are various approaches to managing 'policy networks' to contribute to processes of policy-making. In terms of the public value framework outlined by the authorising environment, effective relationships require broad policy networks in order to maximise public value opportunities. However, in practice, the manner in which policy networks are managed is variable, and can restrict sectoral advice or cross-sector working (e.g. Howlett et al. 2009: 81). This system is subject to change depending upon the style of any particular government or the origin or purpose of a particular policy. Two polarised models for this process are given by Richardson and Jordan (1979: 73-74) who define a model of 'policy communities' and Heclo, who defines 'issue networks' (1978: 87).

In a policy community model, a relatively closed set of actors are responsible for the vast majority of input on a policy. These actors comprise three key insider groups, known collectively as 'iron triangles'; government, civil service and selected advisors or interest groups – those with whom the government has a particular relationship (Laffin 1986: 5; Howlett et. al. 2009: 81). Various interest groups may at different times be privileged with access to 'insider' policy communities – for example think tanks such as Demos had significant influence, under New Labour, over the establishment of public value ideas for culture (Bentham 2006: 166; Holden and Hewison 2004). Historic environment sector organisations also may benefit from close relationships in this regard, particularly Historic England whose direct relationship to government

makes it the primary advisor on specialist issues within its purview, but also independent bodies many of whom have built a reputation for expertise over long periods of time. However, it is possible that respect and trust will wax and wane over time dependent upon multiple factors, none more important than a perceived or demonstrated *value consensus* with government. Policy communities can be characterised as being relatively stable, with accepted ways of working which are largely followed by member interests (Laffin 1986: 7). Another consequence of a closed system model is that the policy community is able to maintain *low public visibility* and thus protect their policy debates by limiting influence and scrutiny from outside (Ibid.).

The naturally more diffuse and inclusive model is that of issue networks. Essentially, as many stakeholders as wish to express their views are able to enter into the network, which is managed by central actors (e.g. government departments) utilising a wide variety of potential methods of engagement. Influence is not guaranteed, but there is no prior value consensus and competing views are not excluded (Heclo 1978: 104). Issue networks may work in different ways, but the essential point is that this model treats government as in some way wanting or needing to share power in order to create fairness or increase legitimacy in the policy process (Rhodes 2008: 429). The 'joined-up' nature of policy formation under the influence of issue networks is clear, as such a model is characterised by increased interaction and negotiation between government and other interests.

The potential to influence policy through issue networks may arise in a number of ways. Since 2000 government have published a code of practice on consultations (HM Govt. 2008: 5) under which an open opportunity for public comment is usually an absolute minimum. This allows a broad range of actors to potentially affect the process, albeit with no guarantee of influencing the final policies. However, recent government changes to guidance on public consultations means they are no longer mandatory in all situations (Cabinet Office 2012b). More widespread involvement through stakeholder groups, workshops, and formal advocacy forums may also be facilitated by government, or by select committees who may call evidence from external stakeholders, or even through informal channels of communication between government officials and sector representatives.

In terms of the public value ethos for the historic environment, issue networks represent an optimum basis for policy-making – one which is more democratic and acknowledges a much broader range of relevant viewpoints and expertise on an issue. This means that heritage may be more effectively built into wider policies, as it can be mooted during discussions by experts who, in a closed policy community, may not be present. This enables greater stakeholder collaboration, and better joined-up policy making. That being said, issue networks are no guarantee of political influence, and can lead to certain disadvantages for the sector; for instance, without strong

organisation, an issue network may lack a strong single voice and may give a negative impression to government. Similarly, networks may self-organise in a way which undermines certain fringe interests. Arguably this is the case in the historic environment sector where archaeological issues are routinely undermined by the sometimes stronger buildings lobby (for example; Jura Consulting 2016).

The potential benefit of this model in terms of public value and the operation of the authorising environment can be seen in the outcomes for heritage post-1997, where New Labour's contemporary culture agenda made effective use of issue networks, enabling the sector to exert influence in terms of creating opportunities for collaboration which met government agendas and strengthened sector legitimacy as well as creating public value outcomes. In contrast, during the process of evidencing the NPPF, experts from English Heritage (among other sectors considered ancillary to planning reform) were not included in discussions (McCallum 2012, Interview 1).

Policy ideas which arise from issue networks may be given a higher place on government agendas if there is a specific reason why that network's views are politically amenable, for instance, in the wake of a high profile event or vociferous public campaign. An example of this is the situation surrounding PPG16, which developed in the wake of the Rose Theatre debacle, which elevated the profile of the existing advocacy network surrounding rescue archaeology and prompted government to act where there had previously not been enough political will to do so. In this instance a particular issue network was raised into a position of significant political influence in collaboration with a willing government (Wainwright 2000: 926).

However, in less favourable political and economic climates, decision-making over historic environment policy may be almost totally dominated by *non-decisions* – meaning that issue networks are frozen out by government actors (Howlett et. al. 2009: 140; Slocombe 2013, Interview 9). This shows that even where horizontal power is largest, a hierarchical structure for decision making is still in evidence and that the priority given to even the most democratic issue network may be insufficient to guarantee a response from government to generate policy. In addition, if issue networks are not well organised, a lack of consensus may lead to an increased willingness by government to avoid engagement on policy issues.

In reality, elements of both models usually exist side-by side to some extent, with a policy community existing at some level either within or above a wider issue network, who will be sometimes excluded, but other times not (Laffin 1986: 7). However, in whatever balance these networks exist, pursuing effective relationships within the authorising environment will likely allow groups to develop better status and position to contribute as advisors to policy processes – even where they are excluded from insider networks.

Since 2010, the balance of how policy networks have operated has shifted towards a more closed and centrally controlled model. Under New Labour strong links were developed to sector voices through agencies like English Heritage, and considerable empathy extended to the third sector to advise policy processes (Kendall 2000: 551; Lewis 2005). Comparatively, David Cameron's Conservative-led governments since 2010 have substantially cut ties with third sector issue networks, maintaining relationships with some centre-right think tanks, but generally preferring to design policy more centrally, experimenting with new models of inviting a limited number of external advisors to contribute to a closed policy community (Smithson 2012, Interview 2). Cameron's Government also scrapped New Labour's normalised requirement for twelve week consultations on policy (Cabinet Office 2012a), limiting opportunities for genuine public consultation, and have shown a very narrow view on cross-departmental work and understanding, all of which have contributed to shutting out wider issue networks and which are anathema to the public value model's emphasis on partnerships and joined-up thinking (Pugh 2014, Interview 15). Furthermore, although adopting a tone early in the coalition which indicated interest in building relationships with community organisations as part of the push towards local representation and Big Society agenda (Cabinet Office 2010a), this has been perceived by some as a blow to the reputation of traditional 'expert' bodies within the third sector (Lamb 2013).

In the modern world of media and public profile, however, it is difficult for any voice to remain entirely unheard, as even if a strong policy community conducts the policy-making process without wide consultation and with low public visibility, those wider networks of stakeholders do not go away, but instead will aim to find different, unofficial ways to influence the debate. This spectrum from insider advice to outsider campaigning defines the various approaches to advocacy, many of which may be useful in fulfilling responsibilities to public value principles and enhancing relationships within the authorising environment. Differently organised sector groups will likely adopt different strategies to influence the policy process based on these alternate ways to manage relationships within the authorising environment, with each potentially having different chances of success dependent upon governance style. For instance, whereas an organisation like the HHA seeks to build a political research base and engage in insider advocacy (Way 2013, Interview 8), Rescue or SAVE largely make the choice to remain outsiders, and consequently put resource into public campaign strategies (Grant 2004: 409). In this way different sector groups focus on achieving influence in different ways. There are also dynamics which can be developed through communication and intra-sector relationships: For instance, policy 'insiders', such as Historic England, may draw in other stakeholders from the policy network, even if unofficially. Alternatively, pressure from excluded groups can break a policy community open, or ineffectiveness of an issue network will force a more select community to form.

A particularly useful sub-system model for highlighting the importance of these different roles and potentials of heritage sector bodies is the idea of an 'advocacy coalition' proposed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, which refers to a group of public or private institutions who, sharing a set of beliefs, are able to exert a combined pressure upon governmental institutions to achieve collective goals over time (1993a: 5) and is effectively a condensed issue network with a more organised, less anarchic, influence structure (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993b: 212). Such a description is accurate for the combined interest groups in the historic environment sector in many cases, and reflects an organising factor which has the potential to influence how advocacy strategies across the sector are made effective, and how variable the influence or involvement of issue network actors may be over time (1993b: 211). This dimension of strategic organisation and organisational capacity provides a helpful way to consider how effective advocacy coalitions could be formed, with consideration of issues such as readiness of resources and number of supporters (Sabatier 1997: 288). Mutual organisational support could also allow bodies to cover for weaknesses in relationships by utilising each body's strengths, with outright campaign bodies stimulating public interest and insider advocates driving home policy goals (these issues are explored further in chapter seven).

5.2.4 The dispersal of departmental responsibilities

Another factor of the structure of government which affects the historic environment's authorising environment is the dispersal of departmental responsibilities. As described in chapters three and four, the historic environment in the public value era has made efforts to develop a broadly interconnected set of relevances based upon values that are created across social, economic, cultural and environmental policies. For this reason, the strictly observed divisions in Whitehall departments present a distinct obstacle to the pursuit of public value outcomes for the historic environment.

Culture, including museums, heritage sites, and archaeology is a responsibility of the DCMS. The planning system is a function of the DCLG. The natural environment has many synergies with the historic environment as well. Primarily the natural environment is within the jurisdiction of DEFRA and includes responsibility for 'landscape' policy, including the implementation of the European Landscape Convention – a treaty which has important implications for the Council of Europe, and latterly European Union's, cultural heritage policies which have influenced historic environment management domestically through environmental stewardship schemes. Other areas in which heritage has instrumental benefits, such as health (DoH), education (DfE), or business regeneration (BIS), are responsibilities of other departments.

This fragmented authority means that in order for broad public value relevances to be properly taken into account, a great deal of cross-departmental working is required and a high level of mutual understanding. These are aspects of governance for which the Westminster model has a poor reputation (Christensen and Lægreid 2006: 189). This means that the historic environment is more difficult to promote as any government strategy which promotes practical applications of public value heritage would be likely to involve joint input from several departments. Equally it puts pressure on sector bodies to maintain advisory and advocacy relationships with more people, leading to greater demands fulfilling relationships in the authorising environment.
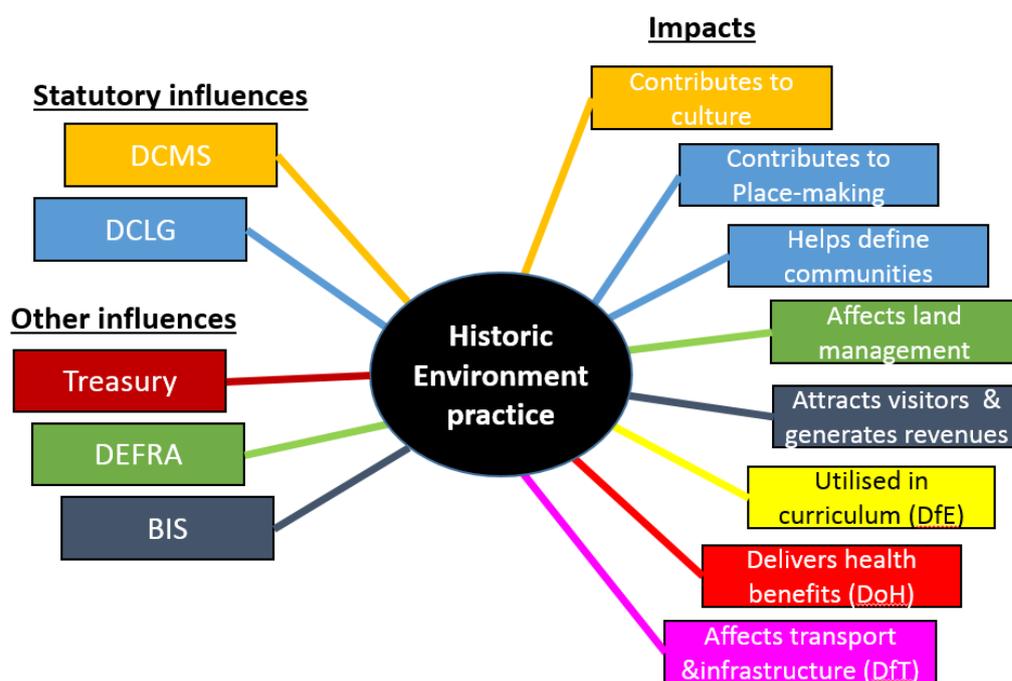

Fig. 5.1 – Examples of the relevance of heritage across Whitehall departments

This perception of the Whitehall system's failure to provide a streamlined and effective environment for cross-departmental working is based upon observations that relationships between ministries are characterised as one of secrecy and territoriality, with communication between departments notoriously bad (e.g. Gowers 1950; Delafons 1996: 72-73, 156-7; Lalor and Hickey 2014: 171; Raab 2013: 15). Under New Labour, this perception formed part of a renewed push for 'joined-up government' and inter-departmental co-operation, at least partially inspired by the principles of Moore's public value ideals (Richards and Smith 2002: 7; Hay 2003: 14). New Labour's joined-up government has generally been agreed to have been an endeavour which never fully matured to success, with far too great a weight of traditional departmental competition built into the parliamentary system (Christensen 2008: 461; Richards and Smith 2002: 9). This so-called 'pathology of departmentalism' (Richards and Smith 2002: 6) is very much in evidence where sectors such as heritage are split between departments where a lack of co-operation or mutual

interest is still a major factor in the policy process. The potential for the heritage sector to work with departments such as DECC, DEFRA, and BIS is impeded in this way, and whilst some sector bodies may have better relations depending upon special areas of expertise (Way 2013, Interview 8), the general orientation towards a single narrow departmental sponsor (DCMS) makes it difficult to maintain useful visibility to other ministers in the fragmented departmental system (All-Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group 2003: 11).

In this sense, governance styles that do not favour cross-sector issue network approaches naturally restrict opportunities to develop public value creation. If departmental divisions are accepted as limiting collaboration and cross-sector public benefits, regulation is more likely to fail to represent the breadth and potential of public value heritage and lead organisations such as Historic England to become entrenched in roles which, through policy directions and ministerial oversight, mirror its parent department's own (narrow) portfolio. This presents a challenge to organisations like Historic England in pursuing public value principles which aim to produce benefits relating to wider departmental portfolios and agendas such as place-making. Other departments, like the Department of Health may not be informed enough about the specific relevance of work in the historic environment when conducting research into, for example, health and well-being. As a result, they may neglect to consider the instrumental benefits of heritage activities and thus undermine the sector's contribution to this avenue for public value. In turn, this means that Historic England has to manage its quasi-independence and its relationships with both its parent department and other departments very well in order to be effective at achieving public value goals. For example, the 2009 DCLG place-making strategy document *World Class Places* notably omitted reference to the historic environment, despite being relevant to wider principles associated with public value heritage such as sense of place and local distinctiveness (c.f. Department of the Environment 1987).

Of course, it is reasonable for the complex business of government to be shared into portfolios. Indeed, this dispersal of relevance is something which is implicitly acknowledged in the public value paradigm. The requirement for optimum relationships within the authorising environment is not necessarily for a more unified government outlook on heritage as some commentators' desire (Magnus 2015a; 2015b), but rather the pursuit of good relations and shared understandings across a whole spectrum of interests. This in turn requires advocacy in the sector to be directed more towards this goal. It also requires sector bodies to be more politically savvy, better connected, and maintain greater political networks – this is a challenge for a small and resource poor sector (Slocombe 2013; Hinton 2013, Interview 5; Clayton 2014).

In addition to heritage relevant portfolios being fragmented, they are also subject to relatively frequent change. This change is often not specifically designed with the impacts upon heritage in

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mind. For instance, following the 2015 general election, the architecture portfolio was moved from DCMS to DCLG, which makes sense in terms of developing closeness with the planning portfolio, but creates a further schism between place-making and heritage. In the past, heritage-related departmental portfolios have changed many times, with significant effect on the sector's work, as described in chapter three. Conversely, portfolios such as health, education, and the home office have remained consistently the same over the vast majority of the history of government (Farrells 2014: 30).

A final institutional factor that influences relationships in the authorising environment is the relative importance of the historic environment to other policy areas and the consequent relationships that exist between heritage ministers and other centres of government power. Arguably, cultural heritage is only a tiny concern of government when compared to health, education, and welfare (Gray and Wingfield 2011: 601).
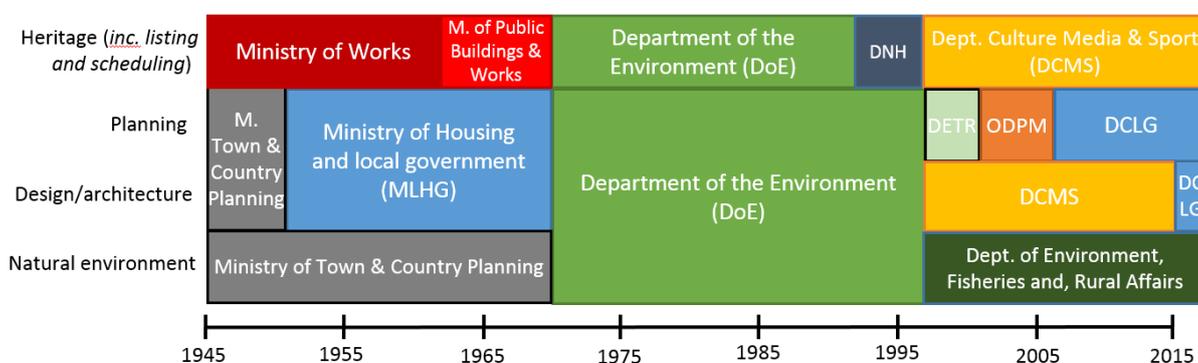

Fig. 5.2 – Heritage related ministerial portfolios 1945-present

The DCMS is currently the third smallest government department in terms of its budgetary spending and size of staff (Guardian 2012). It is also, arguably, one of the weakest in terms of influence and has been periodically cited as an example of the bloated and inefficient Whitehall system, and a target to be scrapped in a bid to reduce the size of government (Raab 2013: 15). Nisbett (2010) and Gray and Wingfield (2011) go so far as to suggest that the DCMS is defined by its reactive relationships with other departments and is 'a hostage to instrumental concerns' over which it has limited influence. The Department has been noted as being a collection of largely unrelated functions, from broadband to sports, arts and heritage – each a portfolio with wider relevance, but restricted due to the nature of Whitehall 'fiefdoms' which hamper cross-cutting policy-making (Raab 2013: 15-16).

The Secretary of State for Culture is not a key or influential cabinet member and the person chosen for the post is not usually a political 'heavyweight'. The post is often filled by a person either at the start of his or her career in Cabinet – destined to rise quickly to a more prominent role (for example, James Purnell – moved to Work and Pensions, Andy Burnham – moved to Health,

Sajid Javid – moved to Business), an established Minister being removed from the spotlight (Virginia Bottomly, David Mellor), or a party political appeasement for a backbench faction (John Whittingdale).

In addition, the DCMS (and previously DNH) has had a high turnover of ministers in the last 30 years, with few post-holders staying in office longer than two years (Cleary and Reeves 2009). This allows little time to get to understand the breadth of issues facing the department, build reputation and rapport with stakeholders and advisors, and lead effective policy change. Of the eight Ministers to have held the post prior to the appointment of John Whittingdale in June 2015, only Tessa Jowell has served more than five years, with four (James Purnell, Andy Burnham, Ben Bradshaw, and Sajid Javid) holding the position for less than a year. Regularly these Ministers have been relatively junior – and thus either not willing or not able to implement radical policy or build fruitful relationships outside their department (Theakston 1987: 41; Gray and Wingfield 2011: 601; Cleary and Reeves 2009: 2).

Even within the department, it could be argued that the historic environment is a sinking priority. When the DCMS was renamed in 1997 from the old DNH, 'heritage' was dropped from the frontline of departmental affairs. Since then, in the 2012 Cabinet reshuffle, it was announced that the junior Minister for Tourism and Heritage post was to be dropped, with the portfolio being merged with the other cultural post for Culture, Communications and the Creative Industries – with no change in name to reflect the new responsibilities (Council for British Archaeology 2012). In 2015, again, heritage was dropped from the portfolio of junior Minister Ed Vaizey and given to DCMS Parliamentary Under-Secretary Tracey Crouch, whose job title initially did not even reflect the heritage role (it was subsequently amended after Ms. Crouch appealed to government). Arguably this is a reflection of the decreasing role of government in aspects of preservationist heritage (Grossman 2015) and further exemplified by the de-merger of English Heritage in 2015 (see chapter six).

The DCLG, by contrast, is the fifth largest department by spending, with a budget in excess of £32 billion, nearly five times that of DCMS, and its political weight is much greater (Guardian 2012). However, the Government's current agenda is intensely focussed on house building and development as a key part of its strategy to end the country's recession. As such, the increased scrutiny over the departmental portfolio has meant that many decisions by Ministers since 2010 have been made under heavy pressure from outside influences. This was certainly a perception of some commentators during the NPPF process (see chapter seven). Similarly, in 2015 it was the Chancellor George Osborne and Business Secretary Sajid Javid who launched proposals to 'radically reform' permitted development and land allocation strategies, despite these tools being the responsibility of DCLG (HM Treasury 2015; Javid 2015). These plans, which could have significant

impact upon the historic environment, had not been discussed with any historic environment stakeholders (Wilson 2015a). The impact of this is a Ministry whose independence is choked and towards whom any directed advocacy is less likely to be impactful. For example, under New Labour, the Treasury resisted (until 2011) updating the Green Book with to include appropriate public value methodologies for measurement that were being used by other departments (O'Brien 2014: 114; Lock 2012).

These structural realities influence the operation of the authorising environment, because they skew where power is vested in government and in the policy process and affect the potential to deliver public value outcomes. For the sector, relating to these bodies in order to advance public value benefits through policy and practice is made harder if inter-governmental communication is restricted by Whitehall silos, or relationships are closest with bodies of relatively low standing within government networks.

5.3 SECTOR ORGANISATION AND ROLES

The position of 'professionals' as a single point within the authorising environment, in a similar way to state structures, belies the true complexity of the historic environment sector and the various roles and diverse organisation of the actors involved. These various actors represent different interests, draw their authority from different places, are accountable to different stakeholders and consequently operate in different ways with different effects on the shape of the authorising environment. These roles affect relationships, political reputations, and public perceptions of heritage, each of which have implications for the public value framework. Using the authorising environment as a template, this section maps some of the issues faced by various organisations which represent different types of organisational model. Further information on these actors and roles can be found in appendix one.

Within the authorising environment, the historic environment sector has several key roles: (1) To advocate for the value of the historic environment to government, and seek consequent authorisation for its work and principles; (2) to ensure high standards of cross-sector communication and joined-up working in order to maximise the potential of the broad public benefits of heritage; (3) to engage publics in order to educate, demonstrate relevance, and earn legitimacy; and (4) to ensure high standards of intra-sector working practices which enable all other stakeholder relationships and which are consistent with all other attempts to develop historic environment benefits.

Historic environment sector Venn diagram:

Fig. 5.3 – Historic Environment Sector Venn diagram (see overleaf for key)

KEY:

- Umbrella body
- Archaeology body*
- Conservation/heritage body*
- Natural environment body*
- National Lottery Funding body

- Built environment body
- Government department
- Tourism body
- Communities sector body
- Government NPDB/Agency

- Statutory responsibility
- Advisory relationship/other connection
- National Amenity Society
- Professional member body

- Bodies which appear striped are cross-disciplinary.
- Large circles indicate the membership of the umbrella bodies/forums which sit astride the line. NOTE: Some umbrella bodies are member bodies of other groups in their own right.

HEF members:

- ALGAO
- Architectural Heritage Fund - AHF
- British Property Federation - BPF
- Campaign for the Protection of Rural England - CPRE
- Chartered Institute of Archaeologists - CIfA
- Church of England (Archbishops Council, Cathedrals & Buildings Division)
- Civic Voice - CV
- Council for British Archaeology - CBA
- Country Land and Business Association - CLA
- Department of Culture Media and Sport - DCMS (observer)
- English Heritage/Historic England – EH/HE
- Historic Towns Forum - HTF
- The Heritage Alliance - THA
- Heritage Lottery Fund - HLF
- Historic Houses Association - HHA
- Historic Royal Palaces - HRP
- Institute of Historic Buildings Conservation - IHBC
- Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies - JCNAS
- The National Trust - NT
- Historic Religious Buildings @ the Heritage Alliance
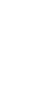
THA Members (99 total) including:

- Ancient Monuments Society - AMS
- Architectural Heritage Fund - AHF
- Association Large Visitor Attractions - ALVA
- Battlefields Trust - BT
- Campaign for the Protection of Rural England - CPRE
- Canal and River Trust – C&RT
- Chartered Institute of Archaeologists - CIfA
- Church of England (Archbishops Council, Cathedrals & Buildings Division) – C.o.E
- Churches Conservation Trust - CCT
- Civic Voice - CV
- Council for British Archaeology - CBA
- Country Land and Business Association - CLA
- Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers - FAME
- Garden History Society - GHS
- Georgian Group - GG
- Historic Houses Association - HHA
- Historic Royal Palaces - HRP
- Historic Towns Forum - HTF
- ICOMOS UK
- Institute of Conservation - ICON
- Institute of Historic Buildings Conservation - IHBC
- Jewish Heritage UK
- The Landmark Trust - LT
- National Heritage Training – Group NHTG
- The National Trust - NT
- The Prince's Regeneration Trust - PRT
- RESCUE: The British Trust for Archaeology
- RICS Building Conservation Forum
- RAI – Royal Archaeological Institute
- RTPI Historic Environment Network
- SAVE Britain's Heritage
- Society of Antiquaries London - SAL
- Society for the protection of Ancient Buildings - SPAB
- Theatres Trust - TT
- Twentieth Century Society - C20 Soc.
- Association of Preservation Technology UK - APT
- Victorian Society – Vic. Soc.
- War Memorials Trust - WMT
- World Monuments Fund UK- WMF
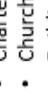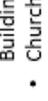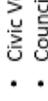
These roles rely upon institutional values such as earning public trust, building a brand, effective working methods, good communication and networking as well as naturally-arising and instrumental values which demonstrate relevance to wider political and public desires or agendas. However, as figure 5.3 shows, the range of organisations within the sector means that various bodies have different relationships to these authorising environment roles which have particular effects on how these roles are fulfilled and how the authorising environment operates in reality.

5.3.1 Advice, advocacy, and authorisation
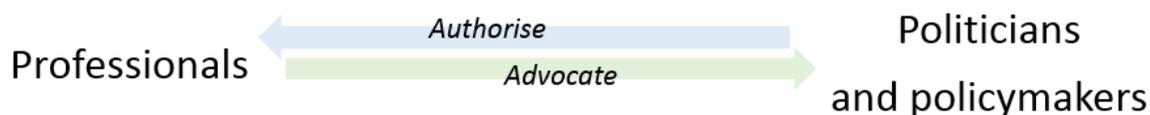
Fig 5.4 – A sub-section of the authorising environment relationship matrix

The central dynamic between the historic environment sector and the state is one of advocacy and authorisation. Advocacy implies the culturing of effective methods of access, communication, and influence, either through policy networks, informal relationships, or public sphere campaigns. To be effective, advocacy requires a level of *legitimacy*, whether based upon expertise and reputation or demonstrable public support. Authorisation indicates the acceptance of the legitimacy of an argument and the consequent support required to enable activity; for example, providing funding, or involving bodies in agenda setting and policy making.

Sector advocacy is undertaken in a number of ways, arising as a result of sector discourse or research, or in response to political issues. Usually advocacy issues have long histories, although due to political circumstance, certain issues may become more prevalent at particular times. Issues are often debated in sector fora, whether at conferences, or under the aegis of umbrella bodies such as HEF or TAF. The Heritage Alliance, for example, operates advisory groups (Heritage Alliance n.d) where issues are discussed and can be developed through advocacy manifestos and proactive discussions with policy makers and politicians. Some of these issues are communicated – through letters, or raised at formal or informal meetings – with Historic England or with contacts in the civil service, or direct to ministers. Political figures are invited to conferences or events held by sector bodies at which key messages or sectoral policy aspirations are stressed, and other parliamentary avenues, such as All Party Parliamentary Groups (APPGs) or select committees may be utilised. There are many ways in which advocacy on issues of sectoral interest can be pursued.

This type of activity represents a regular advocacy 'cycle' and can be described as *standard pro-active* advocacy, and is common for issues of everyday practice or understanding. However, lobbying efforts are increased during campaigns, with more frequent and better attended forum meetings and increased personal communication owing to the more urgent and focussed

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requirements (Pugh 2013, Interview 6). Other issues, which rise up the sectoral agenda in response to a particular trend or threat create a particular pressure to seek recourse and require a different approach. *Specific threat pro-active* advocacy might be, for instance, in response to economic downturn, the cumulative effect of VAT increases on the restoration of historic buildings, or the effort to seek a statutory duty for Local Authorities to maintain HERs under threat of closure due to staff cuts. A third category for advocacy is *reactive* advocacy, which comes about in response to particular policies or plans within government or elsewhere in the political world that would impact sectoral activity in some way.

In addition to direct advocacy, some heritage organisations may use their public profiles to develop indirect messages to government which seek to influence public opinion or media narratives. For instance, organisations may contribute to newspapers, television programmes and radio shows. Other organisations – those with large numbers of members or prominent public profiles – may develop political material in the form of publications (e.g. National Trust Magazine), blogs (e.g. CBA's Local Heritage Engagement Network), or events.

A further distinction is made between advocacy and advice. Advocacy is considered to be a form of influencing which is not initiated by government request, whereas advice is directly requested. Advice is therefore provided on request by groups which are invited to take part in the policy process at any given level from pre-consultation through to collaborative policy writing. This kind of insider access may arise as the result of a long term statutory or non-statutory relationship – for instance, with the National Amenity Societies, as a result of a specific expertise deemed too important to omit from discussions; or as the result of a successful lobbying campaign – such as the National Trust's involvement late in the drafting of the NPPF (Cowell 2012, Interview 4). Advice can be sought by government departments and by civil servants, but also by other parliamentary interests such as select committees, oversight review boards, or parliamentary inquiries.

The strength of *proactive* lobbying is based upon various factors: The personal and professional relationships and reputations with political contacts and government departments; the political weight of the issue being raised and how demonstrable its public support is; the urgency of the issue; the political and practical consequences of ignoring the problem; and the cost of investigating or instituting a policy programme to look into it. The extent to which proactive lobbying is carried out, and is effective in the sector, is highly varied. The Heritage Alliance, for instance, admits that it rarely finds time to produce research through its *Policy Advisory Groups* (Pugh 2013, Interview 6), whereas the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) sets great value in the fact that it produces research into areas designed to support advocacy in this way (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9). For instance, advice given by invitation as part of the policy community is likely to be more immediately effective than advocacy which acts against a particular

political will (for example, the desire to streamline planning processes or cut red tape). It may be the intention simply to inform decision-makers in the hope of making an impression (Hinton 2013, Interview 5). Advocacy may equally create a body of evidence over time which may eventually become assimilated into political responses to a particular issue, whether an organisation is approached directly to advise on the issue in question, as the SPAB has found on issues such as climate change and historic buildings (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9).

5.3.2 Hybrid bodies

Arguably the central organisation in the dynamic between sector and state is Historic England (formerly English Heritage). It holds a unique position in England as a hybrid (Kickert 2001: 135) sector/state organisation, which is subject to government oversight but has a significant degree of independence to operate towards a set role. As an Executive Non Departmental Public Body (NDPB), the organisation is directly accountable to and funded by government and works within the terms of executive directions (which may change periodically) to deliver a specific delegated policy remit which includes statutory and non-statutory functions. Historic England is government's official lead advisor on historic environment issues (English Heritage 1998).

Historic England has, since its inception as English Heritage in 1983, been an important partner in driving the developments in sector practice. It is not organised like a civil service department, rather it is made up predominantly of historic environment specialists from across a range of disciplines; although in reality, the hybrid NDPB model was primarily designed to boost administrative efficiency (Kickert and Koppenjan 1999: 37; Moran 2011: 111). It was primarily this economic imperative which English Heritage was created to address (Delafons 1996: 137). Nonetheless, the organisation is commonly perceived as being a sector ally with certain insider access and influence, capable of assisting in advocacy endeavours and putting forward sectoral interests using its privileged access to government in a range of environments (McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Pugh 2013, Interview 6). This perception is based upon the assumption that government will call upon Historic England during the process of policy making. This assumption relies upon there being a sufficient level of trust for the agency to be brought 'inside' on relevant discussions. This relationship is not inherent in the NDPB model, and is subject to change dependent upon various political factors such as the importance of heritage in government agendas and the reputation of the body (or individuals within it) with the government of the time.

A further observation is that the quasi-independence also limits the ways in which the organisation can react to government and act as an advocate (Hinton 2012). The organisation's role is therefore essentially one of compromise, whereby there is a potential opportunity to act as an inside advisor to government, but a limited potential to act as a dissenting voice. Whilst English

Heritage does challenge government, from time to time (e.g. English Heritage 2004), in doing so the organisation has to carefully consider its political reputation and potentially incurring harm to its future insider status, or risk being targeted with future budget cuts (Larkham and Barratt 1998: 56). In recent years, this relationship has seemed far from secure, as evidenced in the government's efforts since 2010 to rein in decision-making autonomy to tackle perceived 'undemocratic practices' among government agencies (Cameron 2009) culminating in the 2011 Public Bodies Act (Cabinet Office 2011) reforms, dubbed the 'bonfire of the quangos' (Telegraph 2012). This policy saw a wholesale review of every existing NDPB and government agency, ultimately leading to the abolition of such organisations as the Design Council and Theatres Trust – which became charities – the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) – which was incorporated into the new Design Council charity in a much reduced form – and the Museums and Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) – which was abolished in its entirety and responsibilities shifted to the Arts Council (HM Govt. 2010a, Cabinet Office 2012b).

The role of English Heritage was preserved largely because it performed 'a technical function which should remain independent from Government' rather than for its respected advice (HM Govt. 2010a: 8). Recent evidence also suggests that Government has looked at English Heritage as a 'soft target' on which to focus cuts (Slocombe 2013; Hinton 2013, Interview 5). Successive cuts to the service have been enacted since the 2010 General Election, with English Heritage facing a disproportionately heavy cut each time. In 2010 English Heritage shouldered a 32% cut, with instruction that no more than 15% would be cut from planning support and designation responsibilities, and in 2013 it received a further 10% cut, raised from a 6% average cut across DCMS (Hunt 2010; English Heritage 2013a). The idea of a split, announced in the 2014 budget, with the Collections to be managed by a new charitable body, was seen by many as an effort to reduce costs on government – an aim which the then Chief Executive Simon Thurley notes had been held by government since Cameron came to power (Thurley 2013: 5). Whilst a split had been considered and thought generally sensible for years (e.g. English Heritage 2002b), the resurrected plans appeared to be the result of the organisation needing to produce a plan to stave off financial ruin, and resorting to one which had considered and consulted on in the past (this is discussed in detail in chapter six).

Certainly at present, the attribution of authorisation to the organisation is questionable, as government is seemingly engaging with the body in a limited way as an advisor. In addition, although Historic England was launched with a corporate plan which emphasised its broader public value vision to some extent (Historic England 2014), the government has shown relatively few signs of any similar understanding or appreciation of the significance of this role or its place in contributing to wider agendas such as localism and place-making. At the present time, the

organisation has shown few signs of operating an effective strategy to build upon its existing (financially depressed) role, its public brand or its advocacy profile in a way which is likely to strengthen its position in the authorising environment.

Another NPDB under the DCMS is the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) which provides a slightly different example on the operational position of a hybrid organisation in the current era. The HLF's role is somewhat different from Historic England in that it is not directly funded by government, but rather is supported from the protected funds generated from the National Lottery. The body does have a similar relationship with government, receiving policy directions from the DCMS (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2007), but because of the nature of its role as a distributor of non-governmental money is able to substantially absent itself from political erosion of authorisation by maintaining value-for-money and achieving consequent strong public approvals.

The HLF arguably has a more effective relationship with government which is based upon high levels of public legitimacy and enhanced by effective reporting of its work and high levels of consumer satisfaction. By contrast, Historic England's reputation suffers from the associations with its role as a statutory advisor which more regularly deals in bad news (i.e. rejected consent applications, rather than grants of funding) and does not adequately demonstrate its public institutional values well through wider engagement through these processes. Whilst HLF usually refrains from overt advocacy, particularly advocacy which is antagonistic of government, it does a better job maintaining an impression of the public support for the work of the organisation which acts to imply the public legitimacy of the organisation by engaging in research and reporting on the effects of its grant giving. Historic England does assist the sector to do this, for example through the Heritage Counts survey led by HEF, but arguably the positive effects of these reports is not to reflect on Historic England itself, but on the wider sector. The former Head of Historic Environment at the HLF, Ian Morrison, comments that there was a different philosophy and culture at English Heritage compared with at the HLF – one which was less focussed on people and more on assets – and that this was substantially affected by its statutory roles (Morrison 2014, Interview 18).

5.3.3 Independence and advocacy

The relationship with government is key distinguishing factor which sets Historic England and the HLF apart from the rest of the historic environment sector. In theory, the closer direct relationship brings enhanced authorisation of the state and an official advisory role. For the independent sector, however, this influence may be off-set in other ways, such as the ability to cultivate different advocacy strategies and public relations. The most prominent representation of the independent heritage sector is the National Trust. The Trust does have a high level of authorisation

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in that it is incorporated under the National Trust Acts 1907-1971 (National Trust 2005) and has special privileges regarding guardianship of property and the ability to hold land in perpetuity for the benefit of the nation (Home Office 1994). Mynors (2006: 208) notes the similarity in language between the Ancient Monuments legislation and that setting up the responsibilities of the National Trust and its relationship with the state.

Despite this, independence is still a core facet of the Trust's operation. Since the mid-2000s the National Trust has used this to cultivate a wide variety of advocacy interests which are pursued with full strategic freedom (Cowell 2012, Interview 4; Trimmer 2015, Interview 22). The Trust's vision is thus able to extend far beyond the physical preservation of cultural and natural heritage that is defined within its statutory role. The organisation's ideological development retains a vision very much tied to its origins, described in chapter three. Unlike the National Heritage Agencies, the independence of the Trust is its virtue in advocacy terms, and it is not bound by reliance upon government funding, nor restricted by ministerial oversight. In this way the organisation is able to be more reactive to public opinion and free to develop relationships with public stakeholders (see chapter seven for more discussion).

Other sector bodies also exhibit independence and utilise this strategic freedom in their advocacy pursuits. However, true independence relies upon a variety factors. For instance, an organisation such as the Heritage Alliance is primarily reliant upon funding from Historic England for its operation, and as such perceives a consequent effect on its ability to be an effective independent advocate as it must continue to demonstrate its value to Historic England (and therefore to government) and to the sector in order to maintain its grant (Pugh 2013, Interview 6; Turner 2013, Interview 13).

As a result, advocacy strategies which directly attack government policies and seek to discredit or shame them are less likely to be employed. Whilst positive advocacy strategies have many advantages and are a reasonable way to conduct proactive advocacy, the relative impact of different strategies for influence will depend upon the context and there will be situations where it would be useful to have more options available. Financial independence and security can help to achieve this. However, this is only realistically achievable for a few organisations (Cowell 2012, Interview 4; Slocombe 2013, Interview 9).

5.4 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF STATE-SECTOR RELATIONSHIPS

The above discussion of sector advocacy highlights the importance of the relationships within the authorising environment for effective public value creation. Many of the aspects of good relations between stakeholders within the authorising environment – reputation, influence, and

authorisation – rely upon values which are generated through good intra-sector partnerships, communication, and collaborative or mutually beneficial action. This is particularly true of advocacy towards government, where lobbying relationships depend heavily upon the effectiveness of sector bodies' working practices to enable smooth communication, and helpful, reliable advice – establishing strong institutional values. Effective sector working practices also create institutional values with the public such as public respect and trust, which support the legitimacy and public relevance of the sector and further enable positive relationships with government. There are clearly optimum relationships for all these axes in the authorising environment, however, it is equally possible for some relationships to counterbalance others and create different positions.

5.4.1 Managing reputations

Even financially independent bodies like the National Trust are influenced in practice by the requirement to carefully maintain a positive *political reputation*. A well cultured political reputation will usually improve the ability of an organisation to act within policy networks and gain access and authorisation with government. However, similarly to the trade-off under the NDPB model, maintenance of this reputation may restrict opportunities to develop certain advocacy strategies, such as those which involve overt public criticism of government or activism. Arguably, organisations which do not do this, such as Rescue, accept a much lower level of political reputation, as they are likely be seen as troublemakers, rather than advisors, when the time comes to take a role in policy design. This political reputation can, however, be off-set by demonstrated public legitimacy. Of course, overt campaigning strategies, used by organisations such as Greenpeace may be beneficial at stimulating an overwhelming public response, outweighing any lack of insider access, but this must be carefully balanced against the requirement for inside access if direct impact to shape policy is to be made possible.

A reputation for *technical expertise* can be shown through research and academic excellence as well as through high quality professional work. This may strengthen relationships between professionals and politicians. Organisations such as the Churches Conservation Trust seek this through publicising successful project work (e.g. CCT 2015). The SPAB conducts research into new technical understandings (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9) and CIfA aims to develop it through promoting high professional standards across its membership and ensuring that a high proportion of the professional archaeology sector become members, lending the organisation a technical and professional authority. This, when successfully allied with a strong advocacy and brand image creates political capital for these organisations that can be of value for advocacy.

Other organisations such as the National Trust draw upon their representative support as a basis for political influence. Whilst behind the oak leaf badge is an organisation with a long and

prestigious history of involvement with social campaigning for heritage (Jenkins 1994: 2) it is no mere frivolity which sees the Trust employ a team of marketing experts to drive their public relations strategy (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22).

Reputation and brand image are useful both to alert politicians to one's presence and as a potential advisor, and also to attract public support through a visible profile. Thus, a high quality web presence, use of social media, and other public relations activities such as heritage open days, are all useful ways to increase political influence. For some bodies in the sector, this is a lower organisational priority than would be the ideal for a public value framework (Pugh 2013, Interview 6, Hinton 2013, Interview 5). The decision of the JCNAS to launch the Heritage Help website in 2013 was a partial recognition of this, with an attempt to deliver information to new audiences and increase public profile where previously the organisation had not considered overt public presentation to be part of its core role (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9). This type of action indicates the sectoral realisation that this dimension is becoming more important, however, it will take significantly more time and effort to develop effective public presentation for many bodies.

In many respects reputation and influence are part of a self-reinforcing cycle that can be highly beneficial for sector organisations. However, more recently and even more crucial for organisations in the heritage sector is the observation that government is increasingly liable to see technical experts as 'lobby groups', rather than representative stakeholders (Lamb 2013). This means that influence for those groups is likely to be harder to leverage with academic expertise or a history as a government advisor. Therefore for all organisations, the importance of public support is growing, with Localism and community rhetoric high up in politicians' minds. Certainly if this trend continues, advocacy strategies will need to become more reliant upon public influences and occasional government contact, and organisations would be wise to develop strategies to this effect.

5.4.2 Lobbying

Advocacy and lobbying often rely upon good relationships even as much as reputation. Commonly cited by interviewees were examples of informal contacts with MPs, members of the Lords, or civil servants with whom the organisation had relationships (Pugh 2013, Interview 6; Hinton 2012; Slocombe 2013, Interview 9), and it is perhaps an understandable assumption that these traditional modes of influence are still important in the modern political system. However, whilst potentially useful, in most examples, the impact of these relationships was not obviously significant and it is argued that in fact, especially for the heritage sector, these relationships are not necessarily – and certainly not alone – what the best advocacy strategies will be focussed on.

Whilst some impactful and innovative strategies for gaining informal influence through relationships in this way are developed within the sector – such as Civic Voice and TAF's use of political hustings events as a designed forum to stimulate debate and raise the profile of issues with politicians (Civic Voice 2015; The Archaeology Forum 2013), or the Heritage Alliance's scheme to place parliamentarians with heritage organisations in order to 'experience' their work (Pugh 2013, Interview 6) – in reality the overall feeling from interviewees was that this method of advocacy was ineffectual, much of the time. This may, in part, be to do with a changing political culture, wherein the informal networks of Whitehall contacts are becoming increasingly diluted at this policy level, where civil servants are much less likely to stay in the same post for many years, making it difficult to build relationships, and where politicians are increasingly too busy to meet in person with representatives of individual sector advocacy groups.

Similarly, the more formal use of stakeholder engagement by government has decreased markedly under the current Conservative-led government, with contact time between politicians, bureaucrats and stakeholders slashed by Governmental decree (Smithson 2012, Interview 2). Indeed, as Brian Lamb (2013) characterises the current situation, there is the perception of 'a general tightening of access to officials and the level and extent of informal consultation on policy development'. This is supported by the evidence obtained in interviews for this thesis (Hinton 2012; Pugh 2013, Interview 6; Kindred 2012, Interview 3; McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Smithson 2012, Interview 2).

A different option open to organisations is to pursue another kind of lobbying access: Professionalisation of political advice or lobbying services are becoming increasingly common in other sectors (Moran 2011: 140), but are largely unused within heritage. These services are able to offer high quality monitoring of Westminster systems, such as personnel changes, parliamentarians' interests and diaries, trends in political thinking, agendas, and contacts, as well as technical expertise to undertake specialised tasks such as targeted mail-shots.

Two examples were discussed in interviews conducted for this research with the National Trust and HHA both employing professional advice in two different ways. The Trust used a campaign strategist to help train and guide the Trust's efforts to influence the NPPF drafting process (Cowell 2012, Interview 4), whilst the HHA retain the services of a professional advisor on a permanent basis (Way 2013, Interview 8). In both these cases, the outsourced expertise was deemed to make an invaluable contribution to the effectiveness of the organisations' lobbying outcomes. For other organisations, a common fear was one of a lack of resources for such activities (Pugh 2013, Interview 6; Slocombe 2013, Interview 9). As such most historic environment bodies maintain government or policy advisors who are experts in the policy field, but not necessarily experts in government.

Whether or not this type of expertise is bought in or not, lessons can be learned from professional public affairs work; namely, that greater organisation of communication and promotion activities at a political level can bring significant benefits. However, in the world of modern politics, these relations are much less direct and more dependent upon wider factors of public reputation and presentation than in previous eras.

5.5 INTRA-SECTOR RELATIONS

Intra-sector relations create a basis from which to develop other relationships within the authorising environment. This is because joined-up sectoral strategy and approaches to policy advocacy enable effective communication with government and other sectors (PARN 2015: 16). Effective intra-sector relations have been a distinct goal for historic environment organisations since the start of the public value era. This is due in part to the identification of the holistic 'historic environment' by government and sector organisations in the 1990s and 2000s. Essentially, this holistic view was one which cut across previously instituted technical and professional boundaries – most obviously between the archaeology and buildings conservation 'professions', but also crossing a variety of other professional sectors with their own influences, such as architects, planners, and chartered surveyors, as well as museums and broader cultural sector professions. These ingrained professional identities have proved to be impediments to the strategic understanding of why the past was important in the present – the basis of the shared historic environment or heritage thinking. The public value paradigm relies upon this type of holistic view as it fails to separate the ideological importance of, for example, archaeology and conservation, despite the technical processes involved in the professional management of each potentially being very different. Achieving this politically practical holism, however, is potentially difficult with the myriad of interest groups, each operating with different objectives and priorities (see appendix one).

5.5.1 Sectoral unity

During the public value era, Governments have shown an explicit desire for the historic environment sector to show unity in order to allow for effective communication, rather than a diverse spectrum of niche experts or interest groups. In a large part, the sector has been successful at developing these tools to streamline communication and interaction with government, although certain fragmentation is still evident.

Umbrella bodies such as The Heritage Alliance, established in 2003 as Heritage Link and modelled on the Wildlife and Countryside Link (Pugh 2013, Interview 6), have sought to develop a

stronger advocacy voice and a forum for discussion of policy matters with a diverse membership. Umbrella bodies provide wider forums for intra-sector discussion and are essential for setting a clear multilateral advocacy and strategic agenda in order to engage government, and are potentially useful for presenting the sector to the public.

The Historic Environment Forum was born out of English Heritage as a forum for gathering the opinions and expertise of sector stakeholders and directly feed the organisation with material with which to advise government and plan its own activities. Although HEF is now administered by the Heritage Alliance, its core influence is still located in this way, with research being commissioned under its aegis and funding relatively easily accessible from pooled resources and Historic England.

The Heritage Alliance, meanwhile is an independent sector umbrella body which maintains a central purpose of undertaking advocacy focussed towards government on behalf of its 100 member organisations as well as providing information to filter back to its members through such tools as its 'Heritage Update' e-bulletin and 'Heritage Day' events. This backing gives the organisation significant weight and a strong representative mandate. The body purposefully maintains offices in Westminster, close to government centres in order to have access to high level national decision makers (Pugh 2013, Interview 6). The organisation is actively involved with building personal connections with government officials and civil servants and utilises influence to gain access to meetings and internal government consultations (Pugh 2015, pers. comm.), as well as briefing ministers (e.g. Heritage Alliance 2011b), holding debates and hustings, and producing manifestos (Heritage Alliance 2014b). Other bodies, such as The Archaeology Forum also conduct business in this way, contributing to government committee reports, lobbying Ministers to commission research (e.g. The Archaeology Forum 2014c), and facilitating the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group.

In many respects, this unity is a defining feature of intra-sector relations in the public value era and one which has enabled clearer developments towards a unified set of principles and approach to heritage issues, based upon shared centrality of public outcomes to the variety of technical areas of specialism of the range of bodies in the sector. Nonetheless, the advances in the public value era of such communication has not meant that all divisions in the sector have been effectively healed.

5.5.2 Sectoral divisions

Despite the work of umbrella bodies, there are a number of sectoral divisions which do act to affect the unified approach to advocacy and also various strategies and reflections upon the public value paradigm. Stated broadly these are the ideological differences created by (1) professional specialisms, and (2) organisational primary stakeholder groups. A third, less problematic, point

relates to variable strategies of action in relation to other stakeholders in the authorising environment.

The division of professional specialisms is dictated by the management of industry technical roles. These specialisms create particular professional cultures which are influential on organisational practice. The division of the labour force into professions engenders a 'relatively permanent affiliation' and an 'identity' with 'personal commitment to specific interests, and general loyalties' to that group (Larson 1977: 158). In addition, these institutes act as lobby groups with their own particular agendas which sometimes come to loggerheads when attempting to cohere a unified approach to advocacy with umbrella forums. Whilst sectoral relations between organisations are usually good (Pugh 2012), in the case of the professional institutes there is little collaboration in common between the organisations, with separate conferences held for each, separate guidelines developed, and so on. Whilst differences in professional skills and working practices – and even philosophies – are certainly justified in some of these areas owing to the different types of work represented, the divided nature of the institutions which manage professions inhibits wider politically beneficial sector unity where organisations do not work closely together.

A high profile example of the differences between professional silos is the split between the two main professional institutes in the historic environment sector – the Chartered Institute of Archaeologists (CIfA) and the Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation (IHBC). These bodies represent members with a 3% cross over (Chetwyn 2013, Interview 7) and each represent members with different professional interests in similar processes. IHBC members may include, for example, conservation architects, local authority conservation officers, and building surveyors with a specialism in historic structures. CIfA members include commercial field archaeologists, local authority archaeological officers, or monuments inspectors.

Both organisations share certain ideological reflections on the wider importance of the historic environment and the public value paradigm (Kindred 2012, Interview 3; Chetwyn 2013, Interview 7; Hinton 2013, Interview 5) with these facts continually reinforcing sectoral activity through umbrella bodies. However, the lack of technical shared ground makes the issue a difficult one to resolve and has, in the past, led to a lack of understanding or solidarity with the aims of the other profession. When a merger of the IfA and IHBC was proposed in 2006 by English Heritage in an effort to unify both bodies in a way that better matched how English Heritage was encouraging the Government to think about the holistic value of the historic environment, fundamental disagreements over professional purpose, technical expertise, and strategic direction quickly developed which highlighted the differences in working practices and codes of ethics (Friedman and Williams 2007). At the crux was the issue of technical specialisation and the quality that comes

of having a professional badge of qualification that is recognised and respected in a very particular field (Chetwyn 2013, Interview 7). In addition, it was felt that the view being pushed by English Heritage was one which failed to grasp the broad connections of IHBC with wider built environment professions, and that the unified agenda lacked appropriate recognition of how the wider agendas of place-making and planning worked in reality (Ibid.). Arguably, there is a range of shared values and processes which could benefit from closer collaboration and broader understanding, if not a merger. However, a nuanced distinction between the historic environment as a broad entity that is ideologically centred on public value, and the traditional skilled professions that combine to fulfil sectoral functions, has been lacking in many previous attempts. This has contributed to preventing the sector from presenting a unified advocacy agenda to government and is a criticism which has limited the reputation and effectiveness of the sector in lobbying in the past (Heyworth 2012, pers. comm.). It also indicates that at least some bodies do not have a clear relationship or strategic outlook on sector collaboration and perhaps suggests that those mechanisms for developing sector unity lacks a clear strategic locus.

5.5.3 Organisational stakeholders

Another division in the sector is based upon the various stakeholder groups to which different bodies across the sector are accountable. Many organisations, such as the National Trust and CBA hold that their primary responsibility is to the public (Cowell 2012, Interview 4; Heyworth and Lennox 2015; Southport Group 2011) or indirectly to the public through their members. Some organisations, however, are based upon models which were fundamentally created for different purposes.

Some of these bodies have highly technical bases for knowledge and operation conforming closely to traditional preservationist values. Bodies like the SPAB have consequently responded to contemporary ethical ideas of public value in different ways. The organisation was set up as a direct response to the high profile late-Victorian era preservation debate in 1877 and is directly and stubbornly adherent to its original constitution, written by William Morris. SPAB director Matthew Slocombe admits that the organisation's material focus puts it somewhat at odds with English Heritage's public value era assertion that people are at the centre of its operational values;

> '...as far as the SPAB is concerned [it is primarily accountable] to the buildings.
> And we really mean that. We're thinking of the long-term future of these
> structures and not their present users.'
>
> (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9)

The period societies too, have a history of representing special material interests over wider public opinion in order to pursue an agenda of protection of special architectural and historic

interest. In the past Georgian, Victorian, and 1930s buildings were widely undervalued at their respective points in time and were deemed to require special efforts to prevent a lack of interest in them leading to their destruction. The same is perhaps true today of 1960s architecture – for which the Twentieth Century Society campaigns (Merrick 2011). It is interesting, from a public value perspective, that this pattern of valorisation has occurred before, since nowadays Georgian and Victorian buildings are highly valued heritage assets. There is, therefore, clear logical precedent for why objective special interest categories are important to heritage protection. The relationship between these types of organisations, which pursue preservationist goals rather than explicit public value, and the public is less straightforward than many others. This is perhaps evident in the fact that the JCNAS has a very small public profile and has not, historically, actively sought a reputation in the public sphere.

Another important stakeholder group are private land and property owners. Over 90% of all designated heritage assets are in private ownership and heritage sector bodies such as the Historic Houses Association (HHA) and Country Land and Business Association (CLA) exist specifically to represent the interests of these private owners. The HHA states that its first policy is to 'work for the future of our member properties, the heritage they conserve, and the businesses, families and employees it supports, by lobbying on their behalf at national, regional and local level.' (Historic Houses Association n.d.). Advocacy strategies are likely to be different for an organisation representing private member interests (for example, inheritance tax) compared with one representing the general public. It is therefore unlikely that the CLA would be able to generate as much public relevance as the CPRE or CBA, because its aims are not directly meant to be broadly representative. Public-focussed groups have higher potential for relevance and therefore have more to gain from public engagement.

These private interests, where accountability is vested in non-public groups, could be thought to be anathema to public value (e.g. Coats and Passmore 2008: 15). However, these interests are usually compatible with wider sector goals and are often demonstrably designed to be concordant with principles of producing public benefits. The HHA, for instance are core members of THA, HEF, and the Small Champions, and have contributed to wider campaigns on planning and cutting red tape, in addition to pursuing members' direct interests. The HHA also promotes public values created by its members, by opening their properties to the public, generating tourism revenues, and for the contribution they make to 'the culture of our nation and informs our knowledge of our history and our sense of place' (Historic Houses Assocation n.d.). In this sense, even groups which are not operating directly for the public, can reflect public values in a consistent way with the rest of the sector and can, through positive partnerships, contribute to the relationships within the authorising environment. Similarly, whilst having a history of wishing to protect buildings that a

majority of the public would prefer to see demolished, the period societies do so under the expert assumption that these buildings hold future public values and not simply because they are part of an elite preservationist history (Slocombe 2014, Interview 16). These are attitudes which are arguably coherent with the operation of a 'public sphere'.

These stakeholders are natural parts of the public value spectrum, and although other organisations exist which do much less to engage with the sector and with public value outcomes, such as the Listed Property Owners Club, which is a private company, these stakeholders mainly accept a position within a wider sector which needs to engage along the lines of the authorising environment. Even where particular organisations do not pursue public legitimation through engagement, the sector as a whole, through umbrella bodies and other higher profile groups can utilise skills of the HHA, CLA and others to benefit public value outcomes.

Professional differences are entrenched in some current organisations' practice, which can be blinkered and fail to appreciate the political benefits of a broader approach to public value. However, in a similar way the unification of the sector through other means makes it possible to overcome differences for the benefit of the practical relationships within the authorising environment. Despite this, there are still points at which the sector is fractured and diverse to the point of damaging the coherence and clear representation of the sector both towards government, the public, and wider sectors.

5.6 CROSS-SECTOR RELATIONS
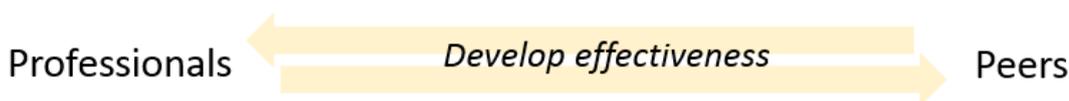
Fig 5.5 – A sub-section of the authorising environment relationship matrix

Relationships between the historic environment and other sectors are crucial to the core principle of wide relevance under the public value paradigm. As previously mentioned, the relevance of heritage to wider government departments means that sector bodies must be prepared to build relationships with these authorities and break silos at government level. These connections are supported and demonstrated by cross-sector links, joint projects and shared interests. However, the sector is highly inconsistent in maintaining connections with corollaries in the natural and built environment sectors, communities sector, and arts and cultural sectors.

Some bodies stand out as being cross-sectoral organisations in their own right, for example, the National Trust. Different bodies then have different connections, such as the IHBC with the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors (RICS), Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) among whom membership and professional communities overlap.

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Other bodies align primarily with other sectors but have strong relationships with the historic environment, for instance the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), and Civic Voice. Other cross-overs exist; the Heritage Alliance, for instance, sits on the Wildlife and Countryside Link as an observer and the CBA is a member (although it very rarely engages). However, these links are not often developed into strategic partnerships, and there remains a strong recognition among sector bodies that more needs to be done to build relationships in this way (Pugh 2015, pers.comm.; Heyworth 2015, pers. comm.; Holden and Hewison 2014). Part of the reason for this is that other sectors are perceived to have extra influence in many cases, which the heritage sector struggles to achieve – whether because of better connections, better funding, or greater political authorisation and public legitimacy. Enhancing the understanding of the historic environment's contribution in these areas is seen as a way to develop similar influence (Clarke 2014).

This relationship building begins with organisational alliances based on commonalities of approach, measurement and value – many of which can be derived through the public value framework, which also carries influence with the communities and arts and culture sectors, and to a certain extent the natural environment. For example, instrumental benefits can be achieved by considering applications across multiple sectors, for example, using archaeology as a form of rehabilitation or therapy (Neal 2015) or integrating the management of historic and natural landscape features in management plans for national parks, farms, or heritage sites (e.g. Bradley et. al. 2009). Cross-sector reporting of these types of work could help to develop understanding and increase cross-sector reputation and influence. However it can also be achieved through naturally arising benefits which are experienced as applying in overlapping scenarios, for example, heritage values contributing to experience of place, happiness, or life satisfaction.

There are many examples of where cross-sector working already takes place. Since September 2015, the RIBA and National Trust have jointly delivered the Heritage Open Days programme in England. The National Trust has worked with energy companies to promote renewable technology, and the Heritage Lottery Fund has funded many projects between museums and health services (e.g. Norfolk and Suffolk NHS Foundation Trust 2015), each creating positive cross sector support. There are good examples of cross-sector advocacy as the Heritage Alliance, National Trust, and other heritage sector bodies are partners in the Cut the VAT alliance, run by the Federation of Master Builders (FMB) and supported by more than 40 bodies from across the construction, development, planning and conservation sectors. Nonetheless, there are many other examples of projects which fail to make potential connections cross sector (e.g. Howell and Redesdale 2014).

Where connections do exist, it is questionable whether the sector is successful enough at using those relationships to any great advantage either to build political influence or public relevance. A goal within the authorising environment, for instance, could be to build relationships

with DCLG or DEFRA, through connections with environmental charities and further underline the connections between the historic environment and the built and natural environments with the public. Moreover, shared intervention strategies and collective impact opportunities should be sought at a strategic level with cross-sector colleagues. In a sense, this will require effort to be directed towards bodies outside the historic environment in order to promote shared values and trust between sectors.

Certainly at present there remains a significant lack of cross-sector reputation and influence for heritage. It may be that individual organisations do not have enough regard for non-sector partners when assessing the potential for mutual gain from facilitating cross-sector growth. Furthermore, the access routes for historic environment organisations into other sectors and wider government departments at different points would be much better served if organisations in the historic environment were strategically committed to building relationships in pursuit of agreed cross-sectoral goals. There are existing opportunities to do this, for example working with Natural England to maximise the contribution of archaeology and heritage within landscape management schemes (Bretherton 2015).

It is possible that historic environment sector bodies are concerned that attempting to build links with other larger sectors would be a lot of effort for relatively little gain. For instance, the natural environment sector, which commands greater public legitimacy and arguably greater political reputation – with several statutory instruments at European-level to protect certain interests – would potentially regard the historic environment as being only a tiny part of their activity. Any collaboration would be of ancillary importance at best. However, over multiple sectors these small cross-overs become reflections of the breath of importance of the historic environment sector, which, protecting its own wide influence could make better claims to being a part of everyday life and a core element of society.

There is significant potential for a more well-defined framework for establishing connections and mutual understandings with bodies from other sectors. For instance, keeping closer track of opportunities to feed into other sectors' research reports which demonstrate value in a particular area (e.g. the health benefits of access to heritage) or to jointly support advocacy. These types of move would help to establish the sector's broad relevance with government departments beyond the DCMS and grow its reputation, as well demonstrate its public relevance.

5.7 PUBLIC RELATIONS
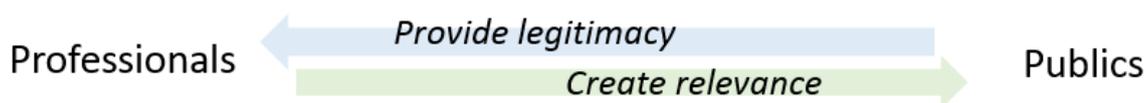
Fig 5.6 – A sub-section of the authorising environment relationship matrix

Public relationships within the historic environment sector are often cited, but rarely explained in terms of how they are important to maintaining the wider relationships with the state and other sectors. The public value paradigm privileges the outcomes which are generated by heritage activity which benefit people, and implies that direct engagement and institutional values such as trust are necessary to this relationship. However, the relationships are not just ethically motivated, but politically beneficial within the authorising environment.

In the current era of political participation, it is commonly acknowledged that there is a much broader range of participation which matters to government and to the general populace. Since the late-twentieth century voter turnout has been in decline and membership of political parties has tumbled. Similarly, large-scale and previously politically influential institutions like the church and trade-unions have also been in decline. Arguably, however, the issue-based participation in politics is rising (Maloney et. al. 2000: 805), and groups like the National Trust and RSPB are among the best examples (Moran 2011: 137). Even ostensibly non-political groups, such as local archaeology societies, are recognised as having potential to influence (Moran 2011: 251; Council for British Archaeology 2015a). In fact, this informal social influence on politics is convincingly shown to be becoming more important in much wider sense, as well: Participation in direct democratic action, such as demonstrations, is increasing (Pattie et. al. 2003: 47; Grant 2004: 412; Bailey 2013: 68), and so-called 'clicktivism' (although only questionably influential) has seen an explosion in popularity, partly due to the availability of digital platforms and social media (e.g. change.org). In response to these changes in society, government itself has become more publically organised: Resources for the Number 10 Press Office have soared since 1997, and government have made moves to recognise digital petitions as a legitimate form of governance (Kelly and Priddy 2015).

In this political context, the potential for the relationship between professional historic environment representatives and the public to be politically important is high. This type of active citizenship represents a more complex way of representing public interests which are more individual and therefore a better direct expression of public value (Pattie et. al. 2004: 270). In this sense the direct relationship between the historic environment sector and the public is extremely important.

In addition, the sector has several responsibilities to the public, drawn from the public value mission. These are education, engagement, and representation (i.e. the maintenance and demonstration of relevance). In return, the public provides legitimation and support for sectoral work, which can help to raise the heritage agenda and help to lever authorisation from government. Bodies like the National Trust, CBA, Civic Voice, Rescue, and SAVE all draw legitimacy directly from the public interest in and care for the historic environment and claim to represent these feelings. Actively engaging and demonstrating this representation is therefore important. Arguably, in the current political climate, this is becoming a more important aspect of professional sector work with direct connections to communities prized over traditional professional expertise (Lamb 2013). Other bodies are less focussed on public audiences: The HHA and CLA operate primarily for their land/property-owning members, whereas the Heritage Alliance focuses specifically on political audiences and advocacy – tacitly underpinned by the public principles of many member organisations (Pugh 2013, Interview 6). Although the Heritage Alliance has pursued significant public outputs – largely through the shrewd use of the media profile of its chairman Loyd Grossman, it has not aimed consciously to build a publically recognisable brand, nor any direct offer of representation.

As stated in chapter four, various methods of engaging the public exist. Whilst there is no requirement to be directly led by public will (Pendlebury 2009: 180), some demonstration of responsiveness to public needs within a framework for organisational delivery of public sphere benefits is required. This may be through periodic measurement of public perceptions and results (e.g. ComRes 2015; Heritage Lottery Fund2012a; English Heritage 2000) or through more advanced co-production and local or contextual community-led programmes on which there is a substantial and growing literature (e.g. Bennett 2007; Bennett 2013; Graham 2012; Durose et. al. 2013).

The National Trust, for example, demonstrates its public credentials by virtue of its four million members, and has a public reputation built upon a long history, and a large and well-known network of visitor attractions. The brand is well recognised, with the organisation continuing to work to improve it further. From this position it is fairly straightforward to gain either tacit or explicit consent to act as a representative stakeholder (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22).

Public relations can be damaged by poor institutional practices and negative reputations. For example, persistent perceptions of English Heritage/Historic England as being a restrictive influence on owners and a block to the planning process (e.g. Thurley 2009; Peacock 2015) arguably damage the organisation's brand and ability to be seen as a guardian of public value heritage. This reputation arises partly because the majority of the organisation's public contact occurs within a restrictive preservationist system, and is shaped by a number of high profile cases which gain prominence in the media (e.g. Shropshire Star 2015; Smith 2015). The political

positioning of the body as the primary regulator of preservationist systems by government makes it harder for the organisation to establish itself as a key public value creator, despite undertaking similar measurement of public stakeholders as the National Trust.

This public relations quandary is related to the arm's length relationship with government: Forced to often be the bearers of bad news, Historic England has no choice but to suffer the public image resulting from it. English Heritage also suffered from a reputation, shared by almost all 'quangos', for being largely democratically unaccountable. This contributes to the popular feeling that unwelcome news is somehow unjustified, bolsters the view that the organisation represents an intellectual elite, and further removes it from being understood as the 'guardian of the public interest' in heritage which it were designed to be in the 1983 Act (Delafons 1996: 146). English Heritage had also been the target of indirect negative rhetorical sentiment, for example relating to issues such as its Chief Executive's lucrative salary (Peev 2013) and its perceived upper class associations and elitism (Patterson 2013; Forbes 2009). Whilst not inherently so, these particular examples also serve to undermine the relevance and reputation of the organisation in the public mind-set.

As was shown in chapter four, the sector has – during the public value era – committed considerable energy to describing its public value strengths and attempting to communicate them to government, but often does not spend enough time developing direct connections with people and enhancing the resonances which sectoral activities have on those people. In this sense the authorising environment is currently providing a theoretical basis for advocacy, but not clearly developing a strong emotive public support and practically demonstrable legitimacy (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22; Heyworth 2014, Interview 20). For advocacy, it is this practical relationship with public which it is most valuable to demonstrate and which high-level discussion of public values alone is not sufficient to achieve. The processes of education, engagement, and representation should form clear strategic objectives for the sector, as each helps to underpin the democratic legitimacy required to enhance relationships with politicians. Of course, different approaches to the public are valuable and, potentially, beneficial. Different approaches to developing legitimacy, advocacy strategies, and public reputation and engagement can be utilised to develop a particular approach to navigating the authorising environment – especially if a clear sectoral strategy is in place then these different types of relationship can be made to be mutually supporting (see, for example, chapter 7, p.209).

5.8 CONCLUSIONS

In the analysis of the authorising environment conducted by Holden and Hewison, and by Clark, the relationships between the various stakeholders and the influence of the political system within which they operate was given extremely limited attention. This chapter has argued that these processes, structures and relationships are vital in the shaping of strategic action for the sector and can provide useful evidence for understanding sector dynamics as well as challenges which are institutionalised in systems of governance and resourcing.

Using the authorising environment as a conceptual framework for political relationships and interactions provides a fresh perspective on the pursuit of proactive strategies to overcome an influence deficit created by changes in political governance, which limit the effective pursuit of public value goals. It can help to counter imbalances in access and influence with government through the demonstration of public legitimacy, and can force authorisation through these means. It also helps to ensure effective working within the historic environment sector and across wider sectors – further improving and widening the relevance of the discipline and improving its practices to deliver ever greater public benefits. The crucial factor is that this public value framework does not simply outline an optimum set of relations but is also dynamic and capable of reacting to changes in the governance style which may affect the pursuit of public value goals in practice. Moreover, pursuit of optimum public value relationships is a long-term aim: There is no single action that can be taken by sector bodies to improve public relations or increase political reputation and it is not likely to be process where a straightforward and constant relationship will ever be possible. What is required instead is the long term pursuit of balanced relationships and effective influence.

For the historic environment sector, adherence to this model framework would help to overcome existing inconsistencies in strategic direction, which are still evident in some areas of the sector and in its wider cross-sectoral collaboration – although roadmaps such as Heritage 2020 (Historic Environment Forum 2015) will seek to overcome this in the coming years. This type of joined-up action should allow for the development of clearer roles within the sector which can be mutually supporting, with clear strategic principles improving cross-sectoral understanding of public value principles which is sometimes lacking.

Implicit in this strategic outlook is a broad, shared vision of a holistic 'historic environment' which is the locator of the central meaning of all work of bodies falling under its aegis – be it archaeology, conservation, tourism, place, or general reflections on the past in the present. This has been shown to be a politically beneficial grouping since the 1990s, although its wider relevance has often been restricted by both an introverted stance on outward partnerships and some fractious sub-sector relationships. The rhetoric underpinning the sector, however, is strong. Thus,

as individuals pursue relations within and outside the sector, the reflection of these wide relevances will improve the standing of the whole sector.

These relationships, developed from the ethical understandings and in the context of historic development, define the basis for the proposed system of political engagement for the sector. The following three chapters will examine recent examples from the historic environment sector's political engagements which will further describe existing practice and use the resulting critique to develop and illustrate how the public value framework could work in practice.

Part 2:

Contextual analysis

Reputation and organisation: national heritage agencies

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the organisation of the national heritage agencies in England, Scotland and Wales and the political influences which act upon them. These bodies are of unique importance to heritage sector regulation, operating, in England and Scotland, with hybrid status as sector/state intermediaries and acting as 'lead bodies' of the sector (Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland 2004: 3; English Heritage 1999: 6). All three national contexts in mainland Britain have relatively recently diverged from a largely shared history of unified regulation of the historic environment into a period of devolution which has spanned the whole of the Public Value era. In this time Wales and Scotland have had the opportunity to develop distinct systems of heritage protection based upon their own political responses to public value heritage. Northern Ireland also has its own national structures for heritage management and regulation, but these are omitted from this discussion due to Northern Ireland presenting a less directly comparable institutional context in terms of both its organisation and the more fundamental challenges faced by the Northern Irish government in regard to its financial sustainability.

In the past few years, it is with some degree of coincidence that all three agencies – Cadw, Historic Scotland, and English Heritage – have been subject to debates about their reform. Because these processes of reorganisation are relatively rare, they are potentially valuable points at which to reveal insights into the political and ethical environments of each nation. This chapter therefore utilises this opportunity to examine the wider political context and influences on the organisations and how they have affected the development towards public value practice across the three nations. The chapter reflects on the political roles of these organisations and on their effectiveness as well as more broadly considering what political situations are necessary for the development of positive relations in a public value era.

6.2 HISTORY, ORIGIN, FUNCTION, IMPORTANCE

The history of historic environment agencies in Britain stretches back to the 1960s in the form of the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (DAMHB), with more disparate pre-cursors going back to the nineteenth century Parliamentary reforms which established the Ministry of Works (Pilatzky 1992: 556). However, the first arm's length NDPBs, created in the 1980s, were functionally very different from these early ministries. The arm's length agency model is important because of the implicit political purpose, expectations, and roles that these bodies had at the various times they were set up. As a hybrid bodies, agencies were ideologically different from the civil service make-up of government Ministries. They were designed to fulfil leadership roles for professional sectors, exert independence to control their own direction, and operate under a mandate to control spending more efficiently than central departments (Moran 2011: 111).

6.2.1 English Heritage

English Heritage (officially known as the *Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England*) was founded in October 1983 as a result of the 1983 National Heritage Act and assumed functions in April 1984 (National Archives 2005). As a government sponsored non-departmental public body (NDPB) it was envisioned to be a 'new independent agency with specific responsibility for conservation' which would be a more effective expert guardian for the nation's valued heritage (Delafons 1996: 139).

Since 1984 the Commission has undergone numerous developments and internal reorganisations, including the assimilation of the Greater London Council's (GLC) Historic Buildings Division in 1986 due to the dissolution of the GLC, and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) in 1999. These roles each contributed to the organisation's comprehensive role as England's 'lead heritage body' (English Heritage 1998: 3). In April 2015 English Heritage underwent a 'demerger' (Thurley c.2016), first announced in the Government's spending review for 2015/16 in June 2013 (HM Treasury 2013: 24). The move split English Heritage into two new bodies, (1) a charity (which retained the name English Heritage) whose role would be to manage the National Heritage Collection, and (2) a new NDPB, to be called Historic England, which would continue to perform the existing heritage protection and government advice roles (English Heritage 2013a; Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 5).

The original vision for English Heritage remains the same for Historic England, defined within the 1983 Act as follows:

> "a) to secure the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings situated
>   in England;

a) to promote the preservation and enhancement of conservation areas situated in England; and

b) to promote the public's enjoyment of, and advance their knowledge of, Ancient Monuments and historic buildings in England, and their preservation"

(HM Govt. 1983)

Before the split, English Heritage was responsible for a significant amount of research; management of physical and digital archives; heritage protection (from statutory advice on designations and development control, to heritage at risk); the production of national guidance and research frameworks for the sector; a substantial amount of grant-giving; professional training; public education (both in schools and for adults); advice to property owners, builders, developers, etc.; and, public enjoyment through the operation of the collections as visitor attractions, blue plaques, and other schemes which build the profile of the organisation (English Heritage n.d.).

However, the organisational profile for English Heritage/Historic England is more than the sum of its statutory and proscribed agency duties, with the organisation also being an important exponent and innovator in the development of sectoral values and operation – for example by leading conceptual value debate for the sector through documents such as *Conservation Principles* (2008), or by conducting sectoral initiatives such as the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP). The organisation is also an important funder and facilitator of sector activity. These roles make it a key fulcrum for sector activity. In addition, the body has a higher public visibility comparable to most other heritage bodies, save perhaps for the National Trust. This means that the organisation has an informal influence over public perceptions of heritage which in many cases extends beyond the established roles of the organisation and reflects on wider facets of the historic environment sector.

Organisational model

As an executive NDPB, English Heritage/Historic England is, in theory, effectively managerially independent from Ministerial control. Whilst the precise manifestation and extent of this independence can vary substantially between different NDPBs, as a general rule they can be said to have autonomous control over a set of given public functions, are responsible for appointments, and control an independent budget and wider strategic management, but lack legal independence, being accountable to a 'sponsoring' government department (James et. al. 2011). The body has a governing board, which is appointed by the Minister for Culture, Media and Sport, and which ensures that the organisation complies with government policy. The Government also remains responsible for policy-making (advised by English Heritage) and has ultimate control over statutory

functions such as listing and scheduling, and taking monuments into care (Department of the Environment 1981; Delafons 1996: 137).

In the 1980s, much of the political rhetoric surrounding the creation of new NDPBs revolved around operational efficiency and economic savings, with prevailing principles favouring the delegation of appropriate tasks to units which could effectively mimic business management, with greater managerial and spending freedoms (e.g. Wettenhall 2005: 625; Moran 2011: 111). Generally speaking, the intention was to create an optimal balance between accountability and autonomy which promoted these management efficiencies (e.g. Wettenhall 2005: 627; James et. al. 2011).

In the specific case of English Heritage, the proposals to hive off functions from the DAMHB in the DoE into a non-departmental body came as a result of a turbulent decade for the organisation and management of conservation in Government in which perceived poor financial management had led to frustrations with the DAMHB within Whitehall and in the wider heritage sector (Thurley 2013: 250-253). Streamlining government was the main agenda for the Conservatives in Government at the time and the creation of English Heritage was an early example of what would later become a recognised Thatcherite New Public Management (NPM) trend towards the establishment of government agencies (Department of the Environment 1981: 3; Delafons 1996: 136). However, it is also important to consider that the move took place at a time when political awareness of conservation was at a high point, becoming embedded in the public consciousness (Pendlebury 2009: 89).

Because of this, in addition to NPM streamlining of the state, other important reasons for the move cited in the consultation process were the 'single minded focus' which an NDPB could provide for future heritage protection, the ability to 'command greater respect in the heritage field' and enhance potential for 'commercial and entrepreneurial flair' (Department of the Environment 1981: 3-4; Department of the Environment 1982: 1). The relationship of the proposed body to the government was also considered, with parallels being drawn with the Arts and Museum sectors, in which the 'abundant goodwill' of the public was being tapped through private donations (Department of the Environment 1981: 4). And, although it was not explicit in the literature surrounding the change, the move can be said to have increased the visibility of the organisation substantially, proving clear branding and new opportunities to develop public engagement. Essentially, the role of the new NDPB centred on the following benefits: (1) more effective and efficient management (through arm's length independence); (2) a sectoral leadership role (commanding greater respect and expertise); (3) commercial opportunities (delivering business and fundraising potential); (4) development of educational possibilities; and (5) increased public visibility.

Since its creation, on balance, English Heritage was generally regarded as having been broadly successful in these respects (Pendlebury 2009: 89) and few voices either within government or the heritage sector would be likely to call for the organisation to be dissolved and return to any previous state of affairs for government heritage control (HM Govt. 2010a: 8).

Activity and values

In the Public Value era, the roles of the organisation are substantially defined by the following factors, which map clearly on to the authorising environment (see Fig. 6.1), with English Heritage/Historic England existing in a key role between all stakeholder groups;

1) The organisation's independence and strategic innovation
2) Its leadership of, and collaboration with, the sector
3) The effective management of delegated responsibilities and finances
4) The implicit responsibility to shape public understandings of heritage

English Heritage's independence has arguably been of critical importance to the development of the value framework of the heritage sector over the last 30 years. For instance, it has been able to have a greater role as an advocate for heritage than it otherwise would within government; English Heritage regularly gives evidence at public inquiries and responds to public consultations (Pendlebury 2009: 89) and develops its responses based upon a reflection of sectoral ethics, which frequently align it outside of government policy. For example, strategic changes as illustrated in documents such as *Managing England's Heritage: Setting our Priorities in the 1990s* (1992), *Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspectives on the Future* (1997), and *Power of Place* (2000) which gradually developed – with no prior governmental mandate or instruction – the rhetoric surrounding the social role for heritage and contributed to the raising of heritage up the Government's agenda in the 2000s. Thinking such as this is less likely to occur without organisational independence.

However, even though substantially independent, the privileged position as a government advisor necessitates a careful management of this relationship, preserving reputation and political will by working with and for government, as well as being an advocate for sector and public heritage principles. Factors such as the personal interests of the Minister in charge of the DCMS, or the overarching government agenda can also substantially damage chances to communicate effectively any organisational will and thereby undermine the independence of the organisation.

Secondly, the role as a leader of the sector is tied closely to the intention in 1983 to create English Heritage as a body with a professional heritage ethos, defined in part by the specialist nature of its staff (Department of the Environment 1982: 8). This role also draws upon the effective

independence from government, inspiring perceptions of the organisation as an ally with privileged governmental access, rather than as a government mouthpiece. English Heritage's grant giving supports this with strategic support for such sectoral tools as the Historic Environment Forum and organisations including the Heritage Alliance, which is funded to a significant extent by English Heritage grant (Pugh 2013, Interview 6).
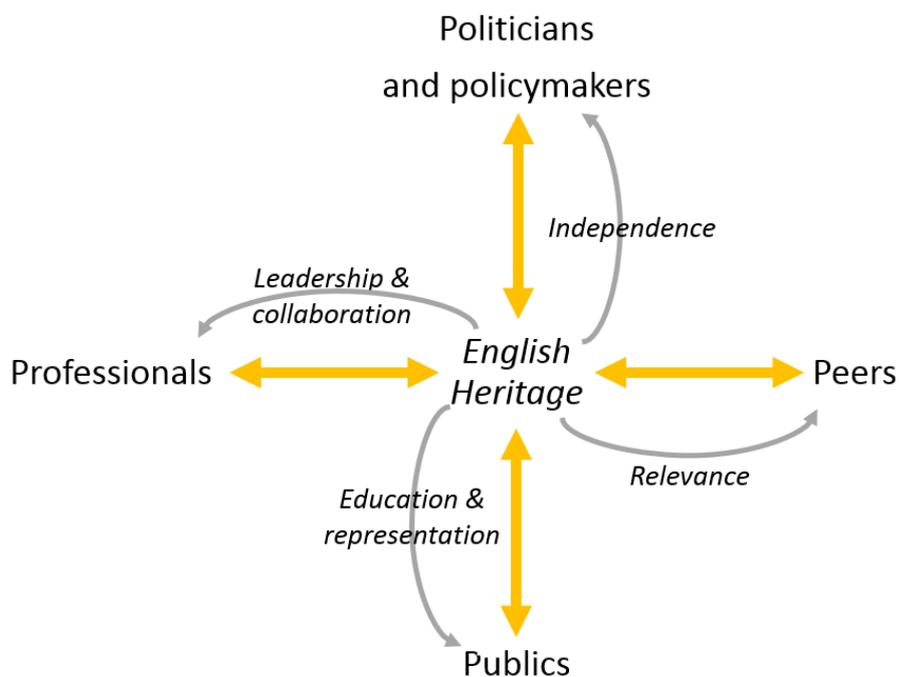
Fig. 6.1 – The roles of English Heritage within the authorising environment

The organisation has also developed an important place in public consciousness: It has always had an official role to promote 'knowledge' and 'enjoyment' of heritage, with this responsibility informally cast as a requirement to act as a 'guardian for the public interests' in the historic environment – although not explicitly stated in such broad terms in the National Heritage Act (HM Govt. 1983; Delafons 1996: 144). During the public value era, the organisation helped to pioneer the expansion of these public principles (Pendlebury 2009: 211) and has stated that their primary responsibility was now to people, rather than to material heritage (English Heritage 2005: 2). Operating the National Collection also meant that English Heritage was a high profile heritage body with which people interacted in large numbers; this, arguably, is what was most closely associated with the organisation since the 1980s, with the other most recognisable role being as a statutory advisor on designated heritage assets in the planning system (Montagu of Beaulieu 1987: 2).

These roles and the wider public profile of the organisation have complex implications, as the organisation, by virtue of its high profile, is likely to be responsible for public perceptions of the nature and meaning of heritage in a number of important respects. This gives the organisation an important influence over public perceptions of the relevance of heritage, meaning that the

organisation's actions are potentially more important than many other historic environment stakeholders.

Finally, effective management of delegated responsibilities and finances embodies what is debatably the primary original purpose of the organisation; to deliver economic efficiencies, achieve management goals and maximise the economic benefits in a more effective way than other available models of organisation. This requirement still holds credibility across government, where NDPBs must perform to business-like standards of efficiency and good management.

In general terms, there is a widespread recognition that English Heritage has been relatively successful over the course of its 30-year life, relative to what came before. It has been able to establish itself as a feature of the landscape of government across several departments, works reasonably effectively with the independent sector, and has had relatively steady financial growth and progress in its main heritage protection programmes. However, for the purposes of this investigation, the question of effectiveness is given no further consideration. Rather, the focus of the comparison with Scotland and Wales is how this organisational role is affected by political influences and the subsequent effects on the public value mission.

6.2.2 Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland fulfils a similar range of functions in the management of Scotland's historic environment. It was formed in 1991 as an executive agency of Scottish Government. The change came as a result of the UK Government's 'Next Steps' Initiative (Efficiency Unit 1988), launched by Margaret Thatcher in 1988. Previously the self-contained branch of the Scottish Office's Historic Buildings and Monument Directorate (HBMD) had been the advisor to Government and had been responsible for managing the 300 plus monuments in the care of the Scottish Office since 1984. Since 1999, as a result of devolution Historic Scotland has been sponsored by the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) (Audit Scotland 2004: 2). After devolution, culture emerged as a core policy issue in Scotland, with Scottish Government making a conscious effort in the late 1990s to establish an interest in the 'articulation of a cultural identity' for the nation, creating ministerial posts and commissioning major reviews of cultural activity (Baxter 2009: 86). This activity has led to strong support for Historic Scotland, which is funded by government at a much higher per capita rate than Historic England.

In 2013 it was proposed to merge Historic Scotland and The Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland (RCAHMS) to create a new Executive NDPB with the working name Historic Environment Scotland (Geohagen 2014a). In anticipation of the merger, the policy team from Historic Scotland was moved inside government and named the Historic Environment Policy Unit (HEPU) in 2013 in order to establish a unit capable of championing the historic environment

'at the heart of government' (Scottish Government 2014: 13). However, subsequently, due to government budget cuts, HEPU was dissolved in 2015 with the advisors being absorbed into wider government departments.

Organisational model: executive agency

As an executive agency, Historic Scotland was, officially, directly accountable to Scottish Ministers, unlike the executive NDPB English Heritage, which was technically defined as being operationally independent of government control (Historic Scotland 2013: 4). This model for 'Next Step' agencies was designed to reduce the size of the civil service, whilst creating benefits in efficiency for the agencies themselves, but without sacrificing the close relationship with government in the process. For the HBMD it was envisioned that becoming an agency would create beneficial organisational freedom from governmental red tape; for instance, the authority to recruit freely, allowing the organisation to build a more effective specialist workforce, rather than using a civil service pool, and an ability to increase income generation (Gordon 1990). A further stated reason for becoming a Next Step agency was to create a strong corporate identity and more recognisable public image, to help raise awareness and increase the profile of historic environment issues. The friendly and accessible brand name of 'Historic Scotland' was envisaged to signify public accessibility, which was to be an important aim of the new agency (Nash 1989).

The move to become an Agency drew on the example of the Historic Royal Palaces (HRP) which was among the first government branch to successfully complete the transition to the new model (Connelly 1989). The reasoning for HRP was clear, allowing a more business-like organisation of employment – appropriate for a tourism driven organisation – and a clearer specialist business model and staff profile, but at the same time being sensitive to the issue of farming out control of Royal properties (not to mention the Crown Jewels) by keeping the new body directly under the control of government. This sensitivity, incidentally, was one of the reasons why the Royal Palaces were not transferred to the management of English Heritage in 1984 (Department of the Environment 1982: 23; Turton 1988). However, by 1998, the Government had relaxed sufficiently from this position to make HRP an independent charity managing the sites under license – thereby giving precedence to the 2015 English Heritage split (Burne-James 2014).

There are a number of technical differences between the agency and NDPB models which were considered significant when Historic Scotland was established and which have been influential since then (Hillhouse 1990; Munro 1989). On the one hand, the agency model allowed for closer working with Ministers and avoided certain 'functional difficulties' suffered in England, where Ministerial reserved responsibilities for ultimate decisions, in matters such as listing, led to some double-handling of work (Connelly 1987). However, there is also a perception that this

relationship means that Historic Scotland is less able to act as a champion of its own cause, and that perceived conflicts between the conservation functions of the organisation and the wider political aims of government can sometimes impact upon the exercise of independent decision making (Cooper 2013, pers. comm.; Nicholson 2004: 4). However, the overall perceptions of the organisation are as an open and helpful sectoral leader and a strong force for the continued pursuit of improvements in the way heritage values are delivered (Slocombe 2014, Interview 16).

The merger of Historic Scotland with RCAHMS – an executive NDPB – created an issue of the effective removal of an independent expert body if the merged organisation became an agency. As such, Historic Environment Scotland was established as an executive NDPB, with the compromise that HEPU would be brought inside government to retain an effective government control over policy. The exact role of the new body in providing an independent voice on policy issues, however, is not yet clear, particularly now, in the light of HEPU's premature dissolution due to budget cuts.

Activity and values

Broadly speaking the three intentions in the creation of English Heritage can be similarly applied to Historic Scotland, albeit with perhaps less emphasis on independence to act as an advocate for the heritage sector due to its closer relationship to Government. Even more clearly than with English Heritage, however, the strategic objectives of the organisation have been broadly defined in terms of both the protection of heritage and its public presentation (Historic Scotland 1991a). This public value theme is more in keeping with the organisation's more recent origins, but is nonetheless an important issue in the overall development of the organisation's role. Aspects such as the historic environment's contribution to social and environmental policy and public engagement are strongly restated as core elements of the organisation's purpose, by both Scottish Government and by Historic Scotland itself, and this reinforcement is significant in the light of public value theories of heritage (Audit Scotland 2004: 2; Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland 2004: 5; Historic Scotland 1991b).

6.2.3 Cadw

Cadw was founded in 1984 when the Ministry of Works transferred functions for the protection of historic buildings and monuments in care to the Welsh Office (Cadw 2002:7). It then became a Next Steps agency in 1991 (Welsh Government and the National Archives 2013: 36). In 1998 the agency became part of the newly established National Assembly for Wales and in 2002 was recommended to have its functions transferred within the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) as a conventional policy division. This move, completed in 2005 brought Cadw officially within Government (Cadw 2005). This reflected the desire of the WAG to retain a centralised approach to governance, retaining services, as far as possible, in-house (Cadw 2002: 8). It is currently part of the

Welsh Government's Culture and Sport Department – its original home – having been transferred to the former Department for Housing, Regeneration and Heritage in 2011 and then back in 2013 (BBC 2013).

Organisational model: conventional policy division

The Welsh political system is the smallest of the three nations examined here, providing a more intimate context for governance and policy-making. The organisational model of Cadw in relation to the WAG is subject to unique considerations for this reason. For instance, it is more likely that an Assembly Sponsored Public body (equivalent of an NDPB) for heritage in Wales would be so small as to be less efficient than an internal policy division and thus make the model much less attractive (Cadw 2002: 35). The compact nature of the WAG also drives how productive central administration can be, with less bureaucracy and closer inter-connection of departments by default. That being said, the decision to locate Cadw within government since 2005 was made following consideration of similar options as those examined in England and Scotland, but coming to a different conclusion about optimum arrangements (Cadw 2002: 38-9). Fundamentally, the consideration in Wales placed more value on Cadw being able to reflect the aims and strategies of the WAG over greater independence and the ability to act as a more vocal independent champion (Cadw 2002: 36).

The effect of this positioning inside government is two-fold: (1) It limits the extent to which the organisation can act independently and act as an ally of the sector in terms of advocacy for the historic environment, and potentially restricts the role of strategic innovation in policy or ethos, being forced to be more closely aligned to the will of government; and (2) it increases the closeness of the working relationship between heritage expertise and government policy makers, potentially encouraging a more active political engagement with historic environment issues.

Activity and values

The earliest areas of focus for the limited Welsh Government between 1998 and 2005 were culture, language and agriculture, giving heritage a natural place within the core of devolved governmental interests with which the Welsh Assembly was founded. In this respect the close working of the historic environment policy advisors with ministers would have been important to the WAG's legislative agenda in a way which was perhaps less obvious in Scotland and certainly so in England (Hughes 2014, Interview 21).

In 2011, First Minister Carwyn Jones launched the Government's legislative programme for 2011-16 by stating that:

'Sustainability lies at the heart of the Welsh Government's agenda for Wales; it also lies at the heart of this legislative programme. Taken as a whole, it will promote economic, social and environmental wellbeing, and enhance people's quality of life in Wales. Our approach to sustainable development has been to focus on fairness, social justice and the protection of our outstanding culture and heritage.'

(Jones cited in National Assembly for Wales 2011b)

Given this high priority agenda is so complementary to public value heritage, it is perhaps less surprising that the WAG would want to take close control over Cadw and the running of the Welsh heritage programme.

It is also true that Welsh heritage initiatives have, in recent years, exhibited a greater sense of cross-departmental initiative, with various policy discussions engaging ministers responsible for planning, education, regeneration and culture, and thus more obviously recognising the potential of heritage to provide benefits to a wide range of policy areas (Hughes 2014, Interview 21; The Archaeology Forum 2014a). For example, Baroness Kay Andrews' 2014 report *Tackling Poverty through Culture,* was conducted with joint input from the Ministers for Culture and Sport, Housing and Regeneration, and Education and Skills, and had links with a parallel report for the Department of Education (Andrews 2014: 36, 73; Smith 2013).

However, there are also negative aspects of Cadw's close relationship with government. For instance, some professionals perceive that Cadw is more difficult to work with than Historic Scotland or English Heritage because its staff are more strictly bound by government agendas, with interactions characterised as 'cagey' and 'formal' rather than collegiate (Slocombe 2014, Interview 16; Hinton 2014). Additionally, it is claimed to suffer from an institutionally narrowed outlook, and does not have the critical capacity to innovate that is present in, for example, Historic Scotland. These institutional limiting factors are important to consider given the otherwise favourable governmental contexts for heritage which will be discussed in greater detail below.

In general however, the values of Cadw since becoming a conventional policy division within Welsh Government can be defined as being based on;

1. Close partnership with government to deliver key Government goals
2. Effective management of duties and financial contribution to government
3. Formal development of and consultation with sectoral bodies.

This analysis of the structure, organisation, and stated roles of the three heritage agencies shows how political influences lead to interesting differences in the position of national heritage

agencies within the authorising environment. Different relationships arise from each organisational model, affecting wider reputations with politicians, the sector, and the public. The next section will consider what the recent reforms of each body reveal about these critical public value roles in the current climate.

6.3 REFORMS IN ENGLAND

The plans, announced in June 2013, to split English Heritage into two new bodies were presented as part of the 'next stage in the Government's plan to move Britain from rescue to recovery' (HM Treasury 2013: 1). The reforms to English Heritage, under the sub-section entitled 'New approaches to public services funding and delivery', were approached with this vision at the forefront of the reasoning for reform. The move was framed by the aim of making the National Collection 'self-financing' by 2023. To support this transition, a one off injection of funding of £85 million would be provided by government (HM Treasury 2013: 24).

This aim was underpinned by suggestions that various practices open to a charitable body would give greater options in terms of management of fundraising (Miller 2014). The statement from English Heritage which followed the announcement was spun as an 'investment in historic properties across the entire country [which would] create jobs and boost local economies' (English Heritage 2013c). Beyond the investment, it was claimed that the split would 'greatly benefit England's planning and heritage protection responsibilities', becoming 'more public-facing', 'enhance its service to owners, developers and the public' (ibid.). Critics, however, both official consultation respondents, and professional and academic commentators (e.g. Clark 2013; Heyworth 2014, Interview 20; Larkin 2014) have doubted how realistic this is.

The way in which this news was deliberately presented as an investment in heritage belies all other evidence which suggests that the move was made with little or no political consideration for the heritage benefits. This view is supported by Simon Thurley who, writing before the announcement of the split, recounts his perceptions, as Chief Executive of English Heritage, government interest in the organisation in 2010:

> 'When, in 2010, the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition had to make massive cuts, ministers turned to the part of the National Heritage Collection in the care of English Heritage. Could it be given away, sold or dismembered in some way?'
>
> (Thurley 2013: 3-4)

A nine week consultation process was launched in December 2013 which set out more details, focussed largely on the ways in which the proposals would create economic benefits. Of the benefits described in the consultation, all but one were framed with ultimate reference to economic goals, so that tackling the Collection's conservation backlog, the separation of the Commission's other responsibilities, and the greater autonomy from government, were all primarily justified as being of long-term financial benefit to the government and the taxpayer. The sole non-financial element was the improvement of the 'offer' of the Collections, which was justified in terms of engaging more people. This is reflected also in the success criteria (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 15-16). This illustrates the clear motive behind the move which was undoubtedly one relating to the financial bottom line of government funding for English Heritage. This parallels the situation in 1981 when the proposals to form the NDPB were first discussed.

What language there is to describe the move beyond the economic imperative, however, is encouraging as it implicitly underlines the fact that the government perceives the value of heritage to be something which relates to the public. Whilst most of the money will be invested in the physical condition of the Collection, the underlying benefits of this are recognisably public – that increasing access and enjoyment of these sites is of societal importance. Interpretation of sites and education are also stated as being important (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 14). This is true in spite of the fact that the Conservative small state agenda typically aims to limit the expectation that the creation of this public benefit should be a government responsibility. This is significant because it hints that the current government have not fundamentally rethought the public value basis for heritage value, as codified in multiple documents from the previous parliaments (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport and DLTR 2001; HM Govt. 2010b), but rather are simply less appreciative of a central role for government in furthering these aims, beyond providing an allegedly more sustainable future.

The consultation dedicated just two and a half pages to Historic England, largely restating existing organisational commitments (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013) without reasoning why the proposed changes aided such a vision. The section positively recognised the 'opportunity to reassess priorities and look at ways of improving the way heritage protection services are managed and delivered'. However this was tempered by clarification that;

> 'These broad proposals are about delivering English Heritage's existing powers and duties in a different way, not about new regulations... There will be no change to the duties and responsibilities of the Commission which relate to England's wider heritage.'

> (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 17)

Overall the consultation gives the distinct impression that any real change is off the table, and that the rhetoric of opportunity is largely an empty gesture, with no discussion of what the reassessment of goals and vision may yield, or what values it may pursue. The consultation laid out the clear 'preferred option', giving only scant paragraphs to alternative proposals and the status quo. Given that the proposals were put together explicitly in the context of pre-budget negotiations – with the announcement taking the majority of commentators by surprise – the high level of economic rhetoric in the consultation only adds weight to the accusation that the government had no real intention to work with the sector on any plans to develop the effectiveness of the organisation, its priorities, or ways of working. Given this focus, it is perhaps not surprising that much of the focus in the sector's response to the consultation was equally tied to the financial detail (Department for Communities and Local Government 2014a). Considerable worry about the lack of emphasis on the Historic England role, however, was also communicated by the sector and by parliamentarians (see for example; Westminster Hall Debate 2014; National Trust 2014; All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group 2014).

It should be noted that the origin of the plans for splitting English Heritage predate the Coalition government and were originally discussed seriously by English Heritage in the quinquennial reviews of 1997 and 2002. These discussions also focussed, in part, on creating greater efficiencies in the management of the collections and the potential benefits of creating a distinction between the organisation's property management and its lead body and regulatory role (English Heritage 2002a: 2, 15). However, additionally, the appraisal was also concerned with delivering the optimum balance of freedoms from and responsibilities to government, along with whether various organisational aims might be better achieved with some degree of separation between the Collection and the wider heritage functions of the NDPB. It was this critical value consideration which guided the discussion, and although financial risks were ultimately cited as a reason why the status quo should be preserved (English Heritage 2002b), a solid strategic intent was in evidence.

This is not the case with the 2013 proposals which are scant on detailed reasoning for anything other than the financial case for government. Essentially the plans were resurrected by English Heritage's leadership as an option for the explicit purpose of fulfilling a near impossible government demand for budget cuts. The desperation of the situation is shown, in the view that many commentators have taken, arguing that the economic challenge for the new charity is far too big to overcome, with evidence from the National Trust in particular showing that the estimated revenue required to meet the shortfall in capital grant is far in excess of even the largest annual growth statistics that the Trust has produced in its recent history (Clark 2013).

6.3.1 Opportunities

The proposal to split English Heritage poses the most major change to the organisation in its 30-year history. This change is taking place under challenging circumstances, but, as Mike Clarke of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) has stated, 'change creates opportunity' (Clarke 2014: 7), and there are certainly opportunities which arise from the move to split English Heritage. The split offers a significant opportunity for Historic England to reconsider its sectoral role and redefine its public image, taking real steps to institute a fully considered strategic plan in the light of the new shape of the NDPB. Whilst there are undoubtedly many areas in which Historic England could make practical improvements to the work that is currently undertaken, this investigation focuses on the opportunities to develop the organisation's public image and readdress the strategic direction and organisational focus in respect of the public value framework.

6.3.2 Public understanding and reputation

In 1987 Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, English Heritage's first Chairman stated that managing the collections is 'the best known aspect of the work of English Heritage' (1987: 7). The split removes from Historic England this most recognisable role which, in one sense, is potentially damaging for ongoing organisational public relations. The organisation's other most recognisable aspect is its statutory planning functions. This function will remain with Historic England. However, this reputation is often one which led English Heritage to be criticised as being out of touch, socially irrelevant, and elite, as public perceptions revolve around a limited notion of heritage which does not readily represent public values and one which is regularly negative – being associated with denials of permission for development and also delays in planning processes (Pendlebury 2009: 180). It could be argued that this is a reputation which has harmed English Heritage in its attempts since 1997 to communicate its public value aims.

Nonetheless, English Heritage identified a 'confusion of purpose' between managing collections and overseeing heritage protection processes in the 2002 Quinquennial review discussions – a phrase which was recycled for use in the split consultation in 2013 (English Heritage 2002a: 14; Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 17). Beginning afresh was to allow a new reputation to be built for each body. In this sense the charity's retention of the English Heritage brand makes the most sense as it retains continuity for its paying members and collection's infrastructure. Historic England, meanwhile, could utilise the change to emphasise a more up-to-date vision of public value purpose and use a fresh start to move away from outdated perceptions of a restrictive heritage, elitism, and as a blocker of change. This rhetoric already substantially exists in documents such as *Constructive Conservation* (2010) and *Conservation*

Principles (2008), but in theory, these documents and others could be placed at the centre of a new collaborative organisation, if the opportunity is seized.

Fig. 6.2 – The well-recognised crenelated square of English Heritage (retained by the new charity arm) and the new Historic England logo representing rural, urban, and marine heritage. (Image credit: Historic England 2015c; Ison 2013; Openplaques n.d)

In order to establish this in public understanding, the processes of re-branding and restating the strategic engagements of the organisation are vital. The split proposals did recognise a need to build a public image for the new organisation and there was a brief reference to the opportunity to 'develop a stronger public-facing role' in the consultation (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013: 18). However, there have been no obvious early moves from the organisation to seek to broaden its engagement with wider sectors nor the public. The branding exercise was, it seems, conducted predominantly in-house, with questionable outcomes – all of which are understandable given the lack of budget and on a very tight timescale to deliver the new organisation before the 2015 General Election, leaving little time to properly think through a branding and launch strategy. Because of this lack of a vision, the new brand has nothing inspiring or different to reflect, and rather than making a statement, the new name and logo lack a clear branding message. There has been no restatement of vision following the organisation's launch either, in spite of opportunities to restate principles or advertise the organisation's credentials to wider built, natural, and communities sectors and interests – all of which is characteristic of a retention of the status quo. In this sense, the opportunities have not been capitalised upon in a way which positively off-sets the loss of public recognition, thereby damaging the organisations' position in the authorising environment.

Of course, it will take time for the new organisation to fully explore potential avenues for its position in government and wider reputation in society, but early consultation with broad sector partners and discussions across government departments further afield than Department for Culture, Media, and Sport would be welcome from the point of view of an anxious sector. One option, which had been previously promised by Culture Minister Ed Vaizey (Hinton 2013, Interview 5), would be for the government to revise or reissue a version of the 2010 *Government Statement on the Historic Environment*, and for Historic England to take a lead in the drafting. Any such document could be badged jointly by DCLG, DEFRA and DCMS, as previous documents such as *A Force for Our Future* were badged jointly by DETR and DCMS. At the time of writing DCMS are consulting on a Culture White Paper, which could potentially advance a new joined-up approach to heritage issues (Wilson 2015b), and further discussions of a UK contribution to a proposed European Cultural Heritage Year in 2018 may also provide an opportunity for innovative thinking (Heritage Alliance 2015c). This type of action could provide a platform for the reinvigoration of the relationship between Historic England and government, and, as will be discussed below, is exactly what is happening as a result of the Scottish and Welsh reforms.

There are however, many challenges which will make these opportunities difficult to fully realise; not least the genuine restrictions on resources which are the subject of great sectoral concern (e.g. Heyworth 2013; National Trust 2014; Wilding 2013; Clark 2013; Burne-James 2014). This means that any radical changes in organisational outlook will likely be underpinned by necessity. At a time when a sharp move towards a more integrated public value system of heritage protection are not likely to elicit strong government response without an underpinning economic gain, the landscape for opportunities is likely to be restricted.

6.3.3 Outlook

Given the effect that the overarching government agenda has had on the reform process it would seem the move is being treated less as an opportunity than a forced step, with uncertain consequences resulting should targets not be met. Furthermore, the government has seemed unconcerned in discussing the role of the organisation and opportunities for improvement, with Minister Ed Vaizey stating in response to questions about Historic England's role;

> 'Nothing will change under Historic England, which will still carry out that [statutory protection] role. I cannot see the concerns.' And '…there is no doubt that the two new bodies that are effectively being created … will still have exactly the same powers as they have now.'

> (Vaizey 2014)

Ostensibly this is again evidence of an approach to financial management with little concern for the ethical direction of the cultural sector. Government demands on the financial aspects of the reorganisation restrict the issue of the organisation's development. In this context the apparent decision to withdraw from high public value rhetoric and project focus since 2010 – evidenced by such actions as the Coalition's effective abandonment of the 2010 Labour *Government Statement on the Historic Environment in England* (HM Government 2010b) - has put English Heritage – and now Historic England – in a position where its purpose is still limited by its statutory protectionist role.

Rather than optimism that the split might allow the achievement of 'great clarity and purpose' for both organisations, Lianne Birney assesses that 'the timing makes it easier for Treasury, or DCMS, to implement a policy of divide and diminish.' (Birney 2013). The overarching governmental agenda has, in effect, stifled the tone of the debate and the organisation's leadership has failed to articulate a more positive message from the opportunity to develop institutional values and cultivate better relationships within the authorising environment. This is arguably a direct influence of the political context in England which has exacerbated management fears of declining favour with political masters and deflated the third sector, who rather than positively aiming to influence reformation, are instead largely absorbed with negatively challenging the Government's proposals.

6.4 REFORMS IN SCOTLAND AND WALES

It is because of the stark contrast with the reform processes which were announced in Wales and Scotland in 2011/12 that each provides a worthwhile addition to this study which focusses mainly on the English system. Despite each nation being subject to roughly similar macroeconomic impacts, the systems of heritage management have matured to exhibit important differences due, in part, to the political conditions, ideologies and agendas of each national government since devolution. These differences arguably stem from factors such as better political relationships, reputations, cross-sector and cross-governmental working, and better integration into national agendas.

It is not the intention of this comparison to critically analyse the specific structural changes of the current reforms in Scotland and Wales. Neither is it the intention to criticise the decision to split English Heritage which in itself is not prejudged to be an unreasonable proposition. Rather it is the manner in which the respective changes have been pursued, the relationships between the national agency and government, and the political responses to wider challenges and opportunities which are the focus. This is vital to the perception of the importance of heritage in more general

terms and to the overall climate of the political relationships between the heritage sector and the state.

6.4.1 Scottish reforms

In Scotland, the proposal for a Heritage Bill, which would form the statutory vehicle for a merger between Historic Scotland and the RCAHMS, was first consulted on in early 2012 (Built Environment Forum Scotland 2012) and announced publicly in July the same year (Historic Scotland 2012). In parallel to the Bill, a process of wider ethical and strategic reconsideration of the historic environment sector and its role in government was also begun. The main focus of this reform was a collaboratively produced 'Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland' called *Our Place in Time* (hereinafter OPiT) which was eventually released in March 2014 after an extensive consultation process (Historic Scotland 2014).

As a result of the process, Historic Scotland's policy directorate moved inside government, becoming the Historic Environment Policy Unit (HEPU), thereby securing closer connections to Government Ministers for the purpose of providing more effective expert advice on legislation and policy – and enabling the government to be better supported in delivering on its clear goals for enhancement of the nation's heritage. The remainder of Historic Scotland joined formerly with the RCAHMS in October 2015, following an enabling Historic Environment Bill (with little content other than that necessary to formally secure the merger) which secured royal assent in December 2014 and came into force in April 2015 (Scottish Parliament 2014a). The new body, Historic Environment Scotland (HES), was reformed as an Executive NDPB and a registered charity, giving it, in theory, greater independence than HS enjoyed as an executive agency more directly subject to Government policy directives. This provided for a change in governance, appointing an independent board of trustees whose ultimate duty would be to ensure the aims of the charity are properly implemented, rather than that duty being to Scottish Ministers (Turner 2013, Interview 13).

Key to both the creation of the new body and the implementation of the OPiT strategy has been the ongoing discussions between Scottish Government, Historic Scotland, RCAHMS, and partners in the sector. Those involved have commented that they have been 'inspired' and 'challenged' (Gilmour cited in Built Environment Forum Scotland 2014) by the process and have hailed the 'manner in which the Scottish Government has positively engaged' with a wide variety of partners (Calman cited in Built Environment Forum Scotland 2012).

Part of the grounding for the reforms has been the principle of developing a Strategy which belonged to Scotland, rather than just to government (Turner 2013, Interview 13). This approach set a more collaborative basis for discussion, and changed the dynamic of the document,

potentially making it much harder to abandon following future general elections, as it is a sector-led strategy, owned by the people of Scotland. Moreover it is an explicit statement on the nature of heritage as a public phenomenon, with the strategy signifying a commitment to 'ensure that the cultural, social, environmental and economic value of Scotland's heritage makes a strong contribution to the wellbeing of the nation and its people' (Scottish Govt. 2014: v.). This principle of public ownership also gives HES a primary purpose which is closely tied to public value principles (Turner 2013, Interview 13). The organisation will lead on the implementation of the strategy and the delivery of its goals, many of which are explicit about relationships with communities and achieving public benefits.

Both the initial, closed consultation (ODS Consulting 2013) and the formal, public, joint consultation (Scottish Government 2013a) on the merger and the Strategy made extensive efforts to engage sector partners, and a comfortable timetable to allow for a real debate was valued by discussants. Questions were full and substantive, dealing with issues of strategic direction, ethical positioning and collaborative opportunity (Scottish Government 2013a). Whilst there was some feeling in the sector that the decision to pursue a merger was a *fait accompli*, the consultation process was detailed and fairly wide ranging regarding the details of that move (Robertson 2013, Interview 12; The Archaeology Forum 2012). In contrast, the English Heritage reforms came out of the blue with apparently no consultation taking place prior to the announcement, and a much narrower and shorter remit for the minimum statutory consultation, which did not make the same efforts to create a sense that the wider sector was making any substantive contribution to the outcome of decision-making.

Importantly the Scottish reforms set a much more flexible policy agenda, offering the sector a significant opportunity to help set the top-level strategic direction for heritage in Scotland for the next decade. Beyond the formal consultation, all the main independent heritage bodies reported good relations with civil servants prior to the formal consultation, and had regular monthly meetings with those leading on the merger throughout the process (Robertson 2013, Interview 12).

Throughout the reform process, the concept of 'mainstreaming' the historic environment was a driving vision (Scottish Government 2014). The idea being that heritage needs to become fully integrated with the policy areas which it cross-cuts for benefits to be gained (Scottish Govt. 2013a: 14). This vision has been mirrored by sector partners such as the BEFS, who are actively engaged beyond historic environment partners in efforts to deliver mainstreaming effects (Robertson 2013, Interview 12), and the RCAHMS, whose projects have been working with issues such as social inclusion and place-making for several years (for example RCAHMS 2011). The idea to co-opt HEPU into government illustrated this desire for a more effective base for joined-up working between

heritage specialists and other areas of government policy – an aim which Cabinet Secretary Fiona Hyslop explicitly stated during a debate in parliament (Scottish Parliament 2014c).

Whilst OPiT is a notably high-level strategy, lacking in detailed practical advice, the principles have been overwhelmingly welcomed and work is continuing to develop the strategy's implementation (Robertson 2013, Interview 12; Jones 2014). Despite wider economic effects influencing this progress, the agenda and ethos of heritage within Scottish Government and led by the national agency continues to advance towards public value principles, pursuing relevant opportunities afforded by government policymaking and agendas.

6.4.2 Welsh reforms

In 2011 the Welsh Government was granted primary law-making powers for the first time (Deacon 2012: 163). Among the first bills on the table was a heritage bill, which Cadw was instructed to lead on developing. In conjunction with the Bill, a process of consideration of the case for reform of the historic environment in Wales was also undertaken (Cadw 2011). From the outset the instruction was that the process be undertaken in an 'open and collaborative way, without any pre-determined perspective' (The Archaeology Forum 2012).

The process began with a series of 'horizon scanning workshops', followed by a second round dealing with the separate issues of historic built environment, archaeology, landscape, and owners, respectively (Turner 2013, Interview 13). In addition, a Heritage Bill External Reference Group consisting of a range of experts from across the UK also met throughout the process to advise and guide the Cadw-led process, and two consultant-delivered reports were commissioned to investigate 'emerging topics' (Ove Arup 2013) and 'options for delivery' (Hyder Consulting 2013). A consultation was launched in July 2013 with multiple proposals and options for consideration (Welsh Government 2013a). It was notable for the range and scope of issues under consideration, and the apparent willingness to invest in legislative change to improve the historic environment's management in line with public value reasoning relating to the purpose of the historic environment and in line with the Government's social agenda. Proposals included amendments to historic environment procedures to increase effectiveness, many of which were similar to those discussed in the 2008 Heritage Bill [for England and Wales] and the 2010 Penfold Review (Department of Business Innovation and Skills 2010): For instance, the creation of a national register of historic places of significance, the merging of planning permission with conservation area consent, and the establishment of heritage partnership agreements (Welsh Government 2014). However, a much wider range of more radical plans were also discussed by the contributors to the process (Heyworth 2014, Interview 20).

Whilst it initially appeared that a merger between the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments Wales (RCAHMW) and Cadw was a favoured option for reform, the decision was eventually taken to retain two bodies (Welsh Government 2013a: 55). This was because a merger within government was opposed politically within the hung Welsh Assembly and created unease in the sector as it would have left no independent national agency, and a merger outside government could not be balanced financially (Welsh Government 2014: 51-55; Griffiths cited in National Assembly for Wales 2014).

The merger, however, was only one issue within a much broader context of the reconsideration of how the Welsh historic environment was managed and the Government's approach to genuinely open consultation was in stark contrast to the English case. However, the process was also criticised for stimulating interesting ideas 'then shutting the door on them', as a lack of organisational desire within Cadw to risk being too radical, and overriding financial concerns arose within the Government (Heyworth 2014, Interview 20). This situation was frustrating given the positive approach to indicators that the WAG has given in their support of the heritage agenda and the broad recognition of public value synergies between heritage and wider cultural and social policies (Andrews 2014; Skates 2015; National Assembly for Wales 2013).

Nevertheless, there have been considerable commitments to creating a more public-centred, mainstream, and socially and culturally instrumental heritage protection system as a result of a proposed strategic plan for the historic environment (to be issued on a rolling four-year basis), and to create a mechanism for independent expert advice to inform Government policy (Hughes 2014, Interview 21; Welsh Government 2014). Both are indicators of the genuine approach taken to improving sector-state relations. The Heritage Bill, which is scheduled to become law in April 2016, will also introduce a statutory duty on local authorities to maintain a historic environment record – with the Welsh Archaeological Trusts already at the forefront of innovation for public uses of HERs demonstrated through its interactive public platform for accessing and contributing data to the HER, Archwillio (Welsh Archaeological Trusts c.2014).

It is likely that the manner in which the Bill was taken forward was influenced by the newness of the powers within Wales, and that the political desire was to engage in a process which was seen as politically buoyant in the burgeoning Welsh policy agenda (Deacon 2012: 158). The focus on the 20 policy areas devolved following the 2011 referendum on the additional transfer of primary law-making powers in particular seems to have placed public value-centred heritage within the core of this distinctly Welsh approach to joined-up cultural and social policy (Deacon and Sandry 2007: 143). The Welsh Government's Legislative Programme (National Assembly for Wales 2013), for instance, clearly links public value heritage principles with wider programmes of

legislative activity such as planning, environment, and sustainable futures – all areas which have Bills currently in passage – as well as regeneration and tourism.

Similar problems regarding the reality of legislative and policy restrictions limiting the potential of progressive public value ideas exist in Wales as in Scotland. As Mike Heyworth suggests, this process of adaptation to opportunities in this wider sphere of social policy, in Cadw particularly, is akin to 'turning a tanker' in an organisation built on a politically staid civil service model (Heyworth 2014, Interview 20). Nevertheless, the current governing ethos in Wales is largely complementary to the public value goals of the heritage sector and has therefore encouraged engagement with broad social and environment narratives, including the co-designing of improvements to policies, which provides a positive example for England, where such opportunities are not currently present.

6.4.3 Opportunities and outlook

In both Scotland and Wales, opportunities for innovative policy under governments which place a high value on a public value-centred heritage sector and its ability to contribute to the wider social, cultural and environmental agendas continue to present themselves to heritage agencies and sector bodies. Historic Environment Scotland are likely to continue to have the political capital to pursue and support innovative projects such as RCAHMS' Scotland's Rural Past, and the sector-wide year of celebration of Scottish heritage and identity, 'Dig It!' (2014). Indeed, the government itself has designated a 'Focus Year' of 'history, heritage and archaeology' in 2017 (Scottish Government 2013b). This will remain possible because of how embedded these broadly public value projects are within Government, with other social and environmental agendas all resulting in benefits to the public profile of heritage and the recognition of its legitimacy as a policy area. This self-fulfilling cycle of influence and reputation continues to give energy to continued advancements in sector practice (e.g. Scottish Government 2015a).

Reform of the National Planning Framework and Scottish Planning Policy have both also been undertaken, and whilst tackling similar issues as the NPPF in England – i.e. of housing shortage and a 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' – this reform has been notably lacking in similar levels of contentiousness with heritage bodies. Rather, the response from the heritage sector has cited a more compassionate process where the sector felt less threatened. For example, Aeden Smith of RSPB Scotland commented that 'It doesn't seem to have the same pro-development angle as in [England's] NPPF' (cited in Geohagan 2014a). What this perhaps shows is the extent to which a positive approach to a heritage agenda can act to relieve tension and suspicion of government of the kind which led to the scale of antagonism seen in England with the NPPF.

Whilst unavoidable funding cuts will cause significant tightening of heritage budgets in Scotland as in England – with some commentators arguing that Government's positive posturing will be proved to be hollow when financial realities really begin to bite (Baxter 2014, pers. comm.) – the overall outlook continues to be overwhelmingly positive compared to England in terms of commitment to a public value agenda. Part of the benefit of the Scottish Government's interest in heritage comes in the way that it engages other areas of the political system through the wider social sectors and built environment. For example, the Community Empowerment Bill (Scottish Parliament 2014b) engages ideas of localism and community with ideas of sense of place, local distinctiveness, and historic environment assets (Convention of Scottish Local Authorities and Scottish Government and Scottish Govt. 2009). This joined-up agenda, codified in Scotland's *National Performance Framework* (NPF), highlights aims which contribute to making heritage much more societally relevant, which in turn leads to a broadening of understanding, as well as challenging the principles of heritage sector work, and also helping to measure the benefits of public value approaches to heritage. Examples of some of the relevant cross-cutting statements/aims of the NPF are;

- '[To] live in well-designed, sustainable places where we are able to access the amenities and services we need;'
- '[To] have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others;'
- '[To] value and enjoy our built and natural environment and protect it and enhance it for future generations'
- '[To] take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity'

(Scottish Govt. 2011)

At the time of writing, Scottish historic environment sector advocates, led by BEFS, are pursuing discussions on enhancing the national performance indicator which specifically refers to the historic environment in order to broaden its recognition of the direct social, cultural, and environmental benefits of heritage (Built Environment Forum Scotland 2015). This seeks to bring the current indicator 'Improve the condition of Scotland's historic sites' and measure of 'the percentage of category A listed buildings on the Buildings at Risk Register' more in line with public value principles (Scottish Govt. 2007).

The situation is similar in Wales where positive social and environmental agendas carry good cross-departmental understanding of how heritage helps to achieve positive social and environmental benefits. This is overarched by rhetorical commitments to the value of heritage in high level publications (Hughes 2014, Interview 21). This is key to the broad relationship between government and heritage sector. However there is some suggestion that the Welsh institutions are

unable to effectively deliver on this ambitious joined-up agenda – with one example being the limited interlinking of the Historic Environment Bill with parallel Planning, Environment, and Well-being of Future Generations Bills, which although teams have been in discussions (Hughes 2014, Interview 21), appear to display only limited cross-bill understanding (The Archaeology Forum 2015).

Another indicator that the platform for effective public value delivery is limited in Wales is the Government's indecision over where the heritage portfolio should most usefully sit within government, potentially illustrating a low valuation of the issue, or a lack of strategic vision about its contribution. The portfolio was returned to the Department of Culture and Sport in 2015 following a brief stint within the portfolio of Housing and Regeneration since 2011. A close inspection of this decision shows one which was rushed for unrelated party political reasons, 18 months prior to Assembly elections (Atkinson 2015). Cadw's Assistant Director and Head of Historic Environment, Gwilym Hughes, reconciled himself to the change as part of the nature of political decision-making (Hughes 2014, Interview 21). However, despite this, heritage arguably remains a key part of the Housing and Regeneration strategy (Welsh Government 2013b) and the Minister for the redefined department has communicated and worked with the Culture and Sport Minister and others since the change (Skates 2015). In England, by contrast, whilst English Heritage has successfully worked with other bodies across planning and natural environment sectors at a practitioner level, and does have an advisory relationship with other government departments, these links do not seem to influence the upper echelons of government Ministers, who very rarely express an interest in sectors outside their own silo.

It merits mention that many of the positive proposals for the historic environment in Scotland and Wales have yet to deliver tangible results and are still in early stages (The Archaeology Forum 2014a; Heyworth 2014, Interview 20). Nevertheless, the mere fact that the opportunities exist to pursue a positive heritage agenda with a government which is willing to provide parliamentary time and resource to ensure collaborative changes to historic environment policy and legislation, is significant and in stark contrast to England.

6.5 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CONTEXTS AND PUBLIC VALUE

The evidence from these parallel national contexts is illustrative of a number of important factors which contribute to a successful heritage sector-state relationship. These factors are discussed in turn below.

6.5.1 'Mainstreaming' heritage within government agendas.

Firstly, heritage is higher on the Government's agenda in both Scotland and Wales. In part this is because recent Governments have held strong institutionalised social values, which easily map onto the public value heritage ethic. These values are commonly stated in rhetoric relating to the 'mainstreaming' of heritage within wider government agendas (Scottish Government 2014). This means that authorisation is not fought for, but freely developed, allowing enhanced reputations to grow and public legitimacy to be actively sought.

As an illustration of this, the progress toward a historic environment strategy was discussed twice within the Scottish Cabinet and debated once in Parliament – a not insignificant achievement for a heritage issue (Wormald 2014, pers. comm.; Robertson 2013, Interview 12). In contrast, England's reforms did not even engage with the opportunity to reform historic environment strategy in its process, offering only the most scant, caveated mention of such potential, whereas it was a key pillar of the purpose of Scottish and Welsh reforms. When the plans were discussed in a Westminster Hall debate, it was on Opposition time, and the Minister's responses were curt, refusing to be drawn into debates about heritage value and strategy (Westminster Hall Debate 2014).

Fig. 6.3 – Reenactors at an event to commemorate the 700th Anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn in 2014 (MacLeod 2014): Strong national identities and governmental ambitions re-establishment of functional national independence may account for strong heritage agendas in Scotland and Wales

Exactly why this difference in value exists, in unclear. In part it may be to do with the nationalism agendas in Scotland and (to a slightly lesser extent) Wales (Baxter 2009: 86; Ferrero 2005: 249). Nationalism speaks strongly to ideas of identity and culture which are at the heart of the public value paradigm for heritage. Whilst traditional nationalism which advocates an 'in-group' attitude at the expense of cultural diversity is a corruption of true public value theory, the type of nationalism advocated in policy in Scotland is usually associated – at least at governmental level – with a set of much more liberal principles on the value of culture, akin to the type advocated by the internationalist Council of Europe (although arguably much 'in-group feeling relating to heritage proliferates in popular conceptions (e.g. Ferrero 2005: 248) and, in organisational practices, may be an identifiable cause of certain heritage protection decisions (Cooper 2013)). Heritage therefore segues these ideas into a political agenda which is able to broaden nationalist sub-texts into a wider cultural and social frame. The relevance of these issues to the Scottish National Party (SNP) government, particularly in the run up to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence was not lost on many commentators (Robertson 2013, Interview 12), with potential for such things as the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn to be taken as a metaphor of Scottish independence campaigning in advance of the 2014 independence referendum (Bell 2014).

The use of heritage by the SNP, however, has largely not been politicised in this way (Turner 2013, Interview 13; Robertson 2013, Interview 12), and instead arguably reflects a deeper national connection to a Scottish cultural identity than in England. A prominent example of this can be seen in the document *Scotland's Future*, the SNP government's landmark vision statement for an independent Scotland. Heritage has a clear resonance within the document, which states:

> 'Scotland's strong and vibrant culture is one of our most enduring and powerful national assets. Our rich heritage gives Scotland its sense of place and underpins our understanding of our past, our present and our future. … Culture and heritage are already the responsibility of the Scottish Parliament, and this Scottish Government has focused on promoting Scotland's culture, creative industries and historic environment at home and internationally. For example, we have sought to protect these sectors from the level of cuts made in England by Westminster. This Government does not measure the worth of culture and heritage solely in money – we value culture and heritage precisely because they embody our heart and soul, and our essence.'

> (Scottish Govt. 2013c: 329)

Stakeholders in the Scottish sector relay that they feel this commitment to valuation of heritage runs deeper than an emotional contribution to the nationalist case. Interviewees

acknowledge that previous Labour ministers' had similar interests in public value principles of heritage (Turner 2013, Interview 13) and the current frameworks are being built with cross party support – having been recently debated in Parliament (Scottish Parliament 2014c). Respondents also noted the fact that current reforms are putting in place 'sector-led' frameworks which will still be in position after 2015 (Turner 2013, Interview 13; Wormald 2014, pers. comm.). Robin Turner of the RCAHMS, when interviewed said;

> 'I think it would be really surprising if the rug got pulled from under the organisation before it really got established. And from what we know from the parliamentary debate about this and from other feelers, there is really all party support for this.'

> (Turner 2013, Interview 13)

In contrast, English sector interviewees viewed the opposite, suggesting that it would be unlikely that any other political party would take a significantly different approach to heritage in the foreseeable future (e.g. Pugh 2014, Interview 15, Hinton 2012), showing that it is not simply a party-political issue under the recent Conservative-led governments, but a wider issue with the political culture in England and the wider perception and policy identification of heritage issues.

6.5.2 *Influential ministers, empowered departments*

Secondly, particularly in Scotland, the impact that a passionate Cabinet Secretary who, crucially, is a long-term appointee to the Culture portfolio, is perceived as being vitally important. Sectoral voices are keen to praise Fiona Hyslop's engagement and the resultant energy that the she is able to bring to heritage policy (The Archaeology Forum 2014b; Hinton 2014; Turner 2013, Interview 13; Robertson 2013, Interview 12). This has an important impact upon the relationship with sector bodies and leads to more open and productive policy discussions.

It was noted in interview that Hyslop has been somewhat of an anomaly by recent standards of Culture Secretaries in Scotland, but whilst her individual influential qualities could be overlooked it is harder to argue that the culture departments in both Scotland and Wales have a comparably higher status than the DCMS in England, where the heritage portfolio is also much smaller. In comparison, the English ministerial situation has been neglected, with the removal of the position of Heritage Minister in 2012, and the relative marginalisation of the portfolio with a department with limited capacity, and political capital to work collaboratively with other relevant government departments.

6.5.3 Better cross-departmental working

A generally more solid reputation for the heritage sector and its lead department enables better cross-departmental working, and this is key to unlocking the political impact of the public value ethos. Complementary public value agendas provide scope for identifying potential contributions that heritage can make to sectors such as planning, environment, health, and social welfare. Departmental silos in Westminster inhibit this, and the low influence of the DCMS compounds it, whereas in Wales and Scotland, bilateral or multilateral initiatives are seemingly easier to accomplish and more actively supported by government working practices.

Neither Scottish nor Welsh governments can claim to be seamlessly joined-up, but in each context the framework to identify mutual public value aims is more clearly articulated – for instance through the Scottish National Performance Framework, or through the Welsh Sustainable Futures grouping of allied departments, which enables better cross-departmental policy integration (Hughes 2014, Interview 21). This is an issue, partially, of ingrained political cultures in Westminster, but it is also connected with the recognition in government policy and national attitudes of the wider social, cultural, environmental and economic benefits that can be derived from heritage and the fact that these benefits are understood across the government spectrum.

A truly holistic approach to public value heritage is still a work in progress in Scotland; BEFS, for instance, has struggled to convince stakeholders of the necessity of a broad 'built environment' remit, with 'historic environment' funders expressing nervousness about areas beyond their purview, and confusion about what the 'built environment' role refers to in the organisation's name (Robertson 2013, Interview 12). However, the direction of travel is clear:

> 'If it's going to happen, it should be in this context, because at Cabinet level they've all bought into it and it's cross-cutting, so at the top level it is there – it's how you then implement it down. With the Historic Environment Strategy it's the civil servants encouraging us to think in this very cross-cutting way, which we at BEFS are kind of doing anyway.'
>
> (Robertson 2013, Interview 12)

Similarly, in Wales the recent movement of the heritage portfolio from Housing and Regeneration to Culture and Sport shows that the political recognition for heritage is still variable. Nonetheless, there is significant potential for benefit along such fruitful collaborative policy agendas as using heritage and identity to play a part in regeneration of communities and alleviation of poverty (Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation 2013; Andrews 2014).

6.5.4 Normalised consultation and collaboration

A fourth point of difference in Scotland and Wales is a normalisation of a collaborative approach to policy-making which values consultation and respects that advice from the independent sector and public – fulfilling the optimum relationships of the authorising environment. Jo Robertson from BEFS noted in interview that:

> 'What's interesting is that following the consultation [on the Scottish Historic Environment Strategy] they [Government] are coming back to check stuff, which is welcomed, because it shows that there is a purpose, rather than just being demoralising when things go away and nothing's changed with no feedback why.'
>
> (Robertson 2013, Interview 12)

Policies produced in this way will have a more reliable evidence base, potentially preventing fiascos like the one which followed the proposal to sell-off nationally-owned forests and encouraging better relationships between stakeholders because there will be a clearer understanding and greater sense of ownership over particular policies.

6.5.5 A reassured sector

A fifth and final point relates to the effect that results when a sector feels reassured as to its continued authorisation, rather than being constantly under threat. This reassurance appears to stimulate more creativity and willingness to pursue new avenues of operation. This idea flows from each of the above four points, but also encapsulates a critical difference between those UK nations where political relationships are deemed to be generally good, and those where it is deemed to be currently strained.

As Stewart Maxwell, MSP and convener of the Scottish Parliament's Education and Culture committee, highlighted in the Scottish Parliament's second debate on the Historic Environment Scotland Bill; 'We noted … that the successful implementation of the [Heritage] bill and the Strategy will largely depend on effective partnership working and the goodwill of all parties involved' (cited in Scottish Parliament 2014c). This willingness to recognise the importance of the healthy relationship between the sector and the state is vital to the success of the area of policy.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has set out how the different contexts in Scotland and Wales have created significantly different environments for the development of a public value heritage ethos and policy agenda in recent years. Some of these differences relate to structural issues such as the

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physical size of each country and the consequent organisation of its political institutions, meaning that in Scotland and Wales is it perhaps easier to conduct cross-departmental business or have good political relationships between sector and state. Other differences include cultural and political attitudes to heritage. These differences have been brought into sharp focus following devolution, which offered an opportunity to consider what it meant to be Welsh or Scottish, and has perhaps influenced the centrality of these narratives of identity and culture in heritage policy. This is in addition to the predominance of nationally left-leaning politics which mean that Scotland and Wales have had consistently more progressive agendas on environmentalism and social justice and have, in the public value era, been more conducive to developing synergies with culture and heritage (Hughes 2014, Interview 21).

However, this does not explain well enough why English political attitudes to culture and heritage are so comparably poor (For comparison see: Hyslop 2013, 2014; Miller 2013). People across the UK do share similar public expectations and values relating to culture and heritage, with national surveys returning similar scores for heritage values in all UK nations (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2013b; Scottish Government 2015b; ComRes 2015; Heritage Alliance 2014b; English Heritage 2000). This means that the differences in national experience can be considered primarily to be a result of specific political influences and not as a measured response to different needs or desires of the public.

The purpose of this analysis is not to explain why differences in national contexts create different outcomes, *per se*, but rather to reflect on how political influences can be understood in order to maximise the efficiency of a public value framework. The evidence highlights various relationships from within the authorising environment which show how political reputations, influence, cross-sector effectiveness, and public relevance can be cultured in order to shape how the public value framework delivers benefits in different political contexts.

A 'virtuous' operation of the public value framework exists where there are positive relationships between state, sector and public actors (see fig. 6.4). The Scottish and Welsh contexts provide good examples of where all partners broadly share a commitment to public value, and shows how positive relationships build trust, reputation, effective communication, partnership, and joined-up working. In England, there are extra challenges to obtaining the authorisation that flows from shared sector/state approaches to delivering public value. This may mean operating under slightly different levels of government involvement, funding models, or utilising different methods to win acceptance for policy which rely more on activism, community-led initiatives, or sector-led public engagement, rather than government-led.

The public value framework, though, has the potential to help organisations find appropriate solutions where such issues are perceived; where certain relationships within the authorising environment are weaker in a given context, other relationships must move to off-set. A sector which develops a strong evidence base for the social and cultural importance of its activities and, moreover, can demonstrate a strong democratic support for its purpose can gain influence to overcome a lack of political reputation or authorisation.
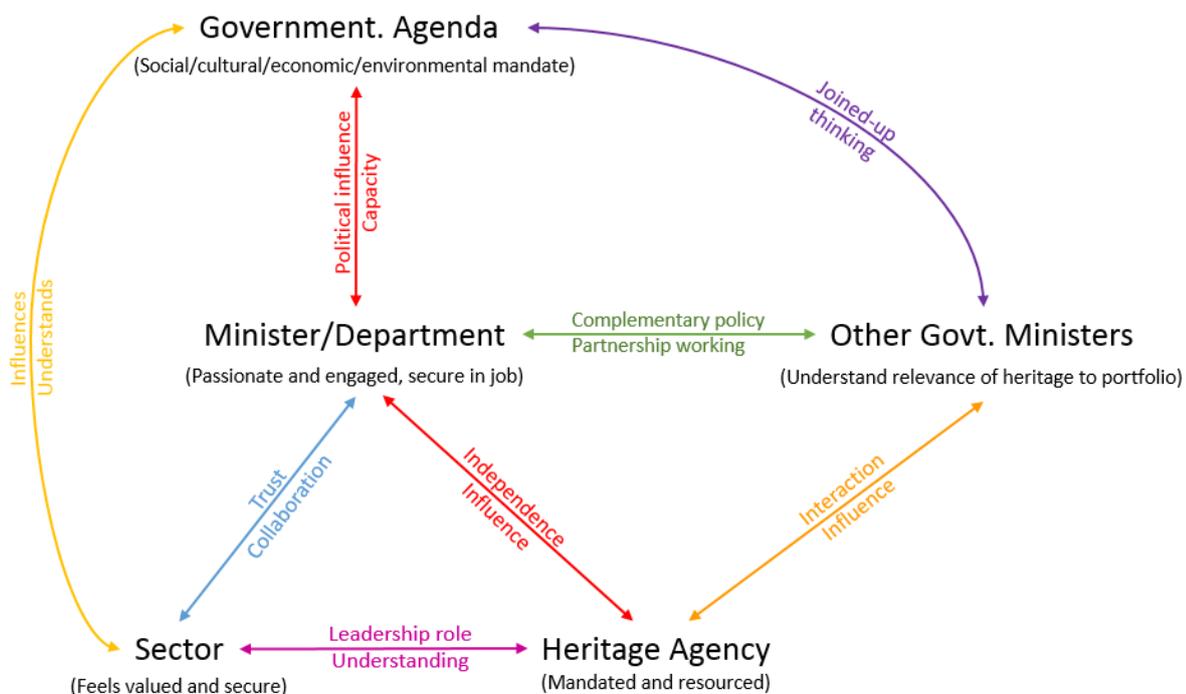

Fig. 6.4: an expanded section of a 'virtuous' authorising environment (heritage leadership cycle)

It is important to recognise that it is precisely *because* of England's political culture that it *needs* a stronger public value-driven sector in order to support its agenda. The approach of denying or down-playing public value because it is politically impractical, and limiting agendas in order to appease an unsympathetic political leadership, does nothing to help the sector in the long term. Arguably this reverses the progress towards embedding cultural heritage within a conception of broad public value governance and has led to the retrenchment in outdated models of monumental preservationism with a focus on the 'highest quality' sites, to the detriment of rhetoric on everyday places and values which are of relevance to most people in a core ontological sense.

In order to do this, there needs to be a more resilient way of advocating the value of heritage and a more bull-headed approach to demonstrating it through sectoral action. Populism and activism are two potential tools which could be used to this end, which can complement or bolster aspects of professional-governmental relationships in the authorising environment by

demonstrating public legitimacy. These advocacy strategies of off-setting political authorisation by engaging with other stakeholders will be discussed in the next chapter.

Policy and advocacy: the NPPF and PPS5

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines recent planning policy for the historic environment with the intention of exploring how it has influenced heritage sector ethics and the operation of a public value framework, as defined in the previous chapters. The analysis focuses on planning policy reform, associated advocacy processes, and the political influence exerted by the historic environment sector. In particular, expectations surrounding policy networks and governance processes are shown to have shifted markedly between the publication of *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (PPS5) in May 2010, in the last year of the New Labour Government, and the *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) in March 2012, under the Conservative-led coalition.

These policy processes illustrate transitions in government practice, ideology, and agenda which have affected the approach of the sector towards the development and furtherance of its own ethical principles, and have changed the momentum of, and shaped the opportunities for, the delivery of public value by the historic environment sector. This context provides an illuminating insight into the changing political context and allows a reflection upon the principles of public value, their utilisation in practice, and their further potential. The analysis also examines wider evidence from the political realm to contextualise particular governance and advocacy practices. The chapter concludes by developing a number of lessons relating to public value strategies for influencing political engagement and reflects upon the present political conditions for sector operation and its strategic direction.

7.2 TRANSITION IN PLANNING FOR THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

For the historic environment, the release of the 2010 PPS5 was a significant moment in the development of the sector and its transition towards a public value paradigm for heritage. The

enshrining of a new set of aims and visions for the historic environment, which was identified as a key contributor to planning and to society as a whole, was the clearest indication that the public value paradigm was becoming established within official thinking and that the sector was gearing to stake the next decade or more to the development of such principles as the policy set out (McCallum 2012, Interview 1). For instance the Southport Report states that;

> 'The future envisioned in this report is one in which the management of the historic environment exists as a partnership between local authorities and community groups and where decisions proactively, confidently and genuinely take account of public values and concerns.'

> (Southport Group 2010: 1)

Whilst retaining a core preservationist typology, the language and value understandings of PPS5 were rooted firmly in the public value principles described in chapter three. The processes by which the policy came to be produced were also reflective of the policy-making practices put in place by New Labour which emphasised wide collaboration and consultation (Alcock 2010: 380). These processes created an atmosphere for re-designing heritage provisions in the planning system and wider heritage practice (Ball and Exley 2010; Taylor and Warburton 2003). This practice of wide third sector consultation legitimised the sector's input into the policy and ensured that it had a substantial influence. In addition, the lead role of English Heritage in the process led to a strong sense of ownership over the policy when it was finally produced in 2010 (McCallum 2012, Interview 1). However, despite a long gestation, the transition from Planning Policy Guidance notes 15 and 16 (PPG15 and 16) to the new ways of thinking set out in PPS5 and its supporting documents was significantly impacted by the short period in which it had to develop before the announcement of the wholesale NPPF reforms, which created new uncertainty and the potential for fundamental changes to the planning framework.

7.2.1 The importance of PPS5's principles

PPS5 was the first major update to the policy locus of the historic environment sector for twenty years. The main reasons for its theoretical importance were that;

1) It *unified guidance* for archaeology and historic buildings, recognising that whilst being somewhat distinct in terms of practice and expertise, they were both necessary to the planning system because of the shared sets of primarily public benefits that their successful management entails;

2) It ensured the central importance of heritage in planning ideology through ideas such as 'creating sustainable places', as well as emphasising its 'contribution to local character and

sense of place' and also that it produced wider 'social, cultural, and economic benefits' rather than simply having intrinsic material value which necessitates preservation;

3) It was explicit about the centrality of people-centred values and benefits to why the historic environment was important.

These principles underlined the ethical commitment to the public value paradigm and, despite some reservations with details which would affect technical practice (e.g. Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation and Royal Town Planning Institute 2009) and less overt public value principles than were included in the 2007 Draft *Heritage Protection Bill* (e.g. Heritage Link 2009), the policy did represent a significant advance for the sector's position in the planning system (McCallum 2012). The development in government rhetoric of the idea that heritage was a contributing factor to the personal happiness of individuals due to the positive effect that it has upon both urban and rural landscapes was one of the key ideological achievements of early twenty-first century heritage professionals. In short, PPS5, its practice guide, and the *2010 Government Statement on the Historic Environment* together amounted to a huge gain for the historic environment sector by the middle of 2010.

7.2.2 Framing the reform process

Even before the publication of PPS5, the wider planning system was coming under criticism for having grown too large and unwieldy under the weight of policy guidance, which by 2010 stood at over 1000 pages (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012c). The then opposition Conservative party in February 2010 released a Green Paper entitled *Open Source Planning* containing its plan to reform the system broadly to achieve (Conservative Party 2010a);

1) A more democratic and locally controlled system
2) A simpler, quicker, cheaper, and less bureaucratic system, and
3) A system focused on 'sustainable development' as its core measure.

Thus, even as the final preparations for the publication of PPS5 were being made, it was understood that the policy would possibly have a very short shelf life (it was adopted for less than one quarter of the time it had taken to be formed from the first assessments of need in 2003). Nevertheless it was decided to push ahead and 'bank what they had' (McCallum 2012, Interview 1) with PPS5 and thereby secure the greatest chance of the policy having some impact before it was repealed, and the greatest likelihood of it being retained in principle after the reforms.

The National Planning Policy Framework was one of the first policies announced following the election of the Coalition government in May 2010. Historic environment stakeholders moved to gain assurances from the Planning Minister Greg Clark that the principles of PPS5 would remain.

Such assurances were obtained early on, with the minister confirming publicly and to various interest groups that technical policy areas such as the historic environment would not be subject to any substantive changes (Clark 2011; McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Hinton 2013, Interview 5). The new Framework, however, would draw heavily on the concerns outlined in the white paper.

Accustomed practice in the DCLG was for policy drafts to be prepared by teams of civil servants and internally consulted upon before being shared with relevant government NDPBs. More specialist areas, however, where particular expertise was more critical, often required much heavier reliance upon NDPBs. In the case of historic environment policy, this was especially the case, since such expertise technically resides within DCMS, rather than DCLG, meaning the role of English Heritage as advisor is even more important. The drafting of PPS5 was on the far end of the spectrum in this sense of outside involvement, involving English Heritage in a lead role in drafting the policy, who themselves involved the sector at large (McCallum 2012, Interview 1). In this scenario, the expert oversight and facilitation of DCLG objectives acted to minimise unintended impacts upon the sector and ensured that current sector principles were effectively communicated, both to civil servants leading the process, and in the nuanced policy language.

The problem in framing the reform process for the NPPF, however, included a practical assessment of the scale of the task being undertaken – namely to overhaul the entire planning policy corpus. Given that this body of policy takes in multiple technical specialisms, the task of thoroughly consulting all stakeholders would have been enormous. The new policy was based upon a political commitment to an economic growth agenda, and was principally engaged with targeting greater economic potentials of development, dealing with inefficiency in the current model, simplifying processes, and cutting red tape. These principles were all substantially alternate to the public value principles of PPS5. Likewise, the policy processes were also fundamentally different.

Given that the intention of government was to leave many of the specialist policy areas substantially intact, and to give the government a chance to manage an otherwise enormously complicated process, interested sectors such as the historic environment were not involved with policy discussions in any meaningful way. However, this decision underestimated the complexity of the bureaucratic system: the juxtaposed policy aims of implementing, on the one hand, improvements to policy efficiency, including drastically cutting length, and on the other, reforming policy content in order to substantively change the ethos of the system had contradictory effects on the policy process.

7.2.3 The NPPF policy process

For the independent sector bodies who had become used to having an important role in policy advice and advocacy during the period of the *Heritage Protection Review* and PPS5, the change in

governance culture that occurred in 2010 came as a shock (McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Pugh 2012; Cowell 2012, Interview 4). When the Conservative-led Coalition came to power in 2010 it drastically cut the amount of contact between civil servants and professional stakeholders (Smithson 2012, Interview 2; Bennister and Heffernan 2011: 779). Doing so was due in part to a streamlining of civil service staff, and partially due to a conscious change in relationship with third sector organisations. Despite the Conservatives' claim that they were committed to seeking 'more open policy-making' (HM Govt. 2011; 2012: 14; Rutter 2012: 4), the effects of their changes have been perceived by various political analysts (e.g. Lamb 2012; Bennister and Heffernan 2011: 779) as increasing secrecy around policy plans, keeping the media and professional stakeholders at arm's length, and creating more closed policy networks utilising hand-picked advisors who share a value consensus with government (c.f Rutter 2012). Interviewees from both the civil service (Smithson 2012, Interview 2) and third sector (McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Cowell 2012, Interview 4; Pugh 2013, Interview 6) confirm that these perceptions match their experiences.

Many heritage bodies were unprepared for this sudden change in access and influence, and their advocacy practices were considerably undermined (Pugh 2013, Interview 6; Cowell 2012, Interview 4). Relationships between sectoral bodies, English Heritage and central government, which were so central to the Labour government's engagement strategy were not renewed and new strategies for conducting advocacy, were not in place.

Compared to the consultation processes for PPS5, which took place against a backdrop of sequential reports relating to public value in the arts and heritage (Department for Energy, Transport, and the Regions and Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2001; Holden 2004; Holden and Hewison 2004; Jowell 2004, 2005; Clark 2006; McMaster 2008) the national policy agenda post-2010 was dominated to a much greater extent by rhetoric relating to the economic crash of 2008 (Lakin 2014: 477). The focus and tone of Government was one which emphasised a need for austerity, and criticised the economically damaging spending of the previous Government.

In contrast to the rhetoric used by the Secretary of State for Culture, Tessa Jowell in 2005, who highlighted the importance of heritage to society and demonstrated an understanding of the public value paradigm, the tone of Maria Miller's 2013 Arts keynote speech on 'Valuing culture in an age of austerity' was vastly different (Miller 2013). Where Jowell spoke of how the government must 'encourage a wider understanding of heritage' and that investment in heritage is an investment in 'personal social capital', Miller spoke of a 'focus on culture's economic impact'. Miller's recognition of the social values of heritage serves only as a feint in the setting out of the 'difficult messages' which 'will not be to everyone's taste'.

The close alignment between the public value paradigm's rhetorical base and that of the social agenda of New Labour (especially prior to 2008) was significantly mismatched with the new government's priorities. Under the umbrellas of these very different governmental agendas, the outlook for advocacy in the historic environment was considerably different. In the former, public benefit discourse was naturally privileged and wide networked policy-making encouraged. In the latter, production of social and cultural benefits were far less likely to be effective arguments. Miller's speech represented a clear swing back towards economic values, whilst government practice showed a similar shift away from networked governance practices which 'sat uncomfortably' with these NPM sensibilities (Stoker 2006: 41).

In addition to the ideological influence of the political agendas, the government strategies which dictate *how* policy goals are pursued are also an influential factor in the development of policies. For instance, the process of redrafting a piece of policy is highly intricate. It is often the case that both legal examinations, where policy wordings are tested in the courts, and practitioners' daily use of policy rely inordinately upon fine details. Re-drafting the minutiae therefore becomes a task of considerable skill with particular nuances very difficult to observe without expert knowledge, even if in general terms the principles remain very similar (Page 2003: 651).

When the Coalition government took office, it immediately manifested a strong desire to change policy on its own terms, without being mired by bureaucratic constraints. Where it had strong manifesto promises, such as on planning, under the umbrella of the deficit-cutting and localism agendas, the strong mandate to legislate led to the Government pushing ideas straight to legislation (Lowndes and Pratchett 2012: 26). However, this cavalier policy attitude meant fast-tracking many steps in the consultation process. Early policy initiatives of the Coalition government were characterised by this relative lack of consultation prior to release (Cabinet Office 2012a; Bennister and Heffernan 2011: 794). This was most obvious in the case of the proposed sale of government-owned forests maintained by the Forestry Commission and included as part of the 2010 *Public Bodies Bill* (House of Lords 2010). This policy was born of the same political agenda as the streamlining of the planning system – namely, austerity, long-term sustainability and deregulation. The language used in the sell-off focussed on such things as 'green assets', 'natural capital' and 'ecosystem services' – a style of economic rhetoric which also dominated the drafts of the NPPF and displayed little understanding for the public values invested in these assets. The proposals were met with 'near universal disgust and shock' (Hickman 2010) and were eventually dropped as a result of public pressure. The lack of consultation with key stakeholders was largely responsible for not flagging to the government the lack of popular support for the policy, and they were later forced to admit to having made mistakes (White et. al. 2011).

Similar processes were also employed with early consultation on the NPPF. In December 2010, the government took the unprecedented step of employing a four-person professional-stakeholder advisory panel to develop and produce a policy draft in order to 'advise the Minister on the potential form and content of a [DCLG] draft national policy framework' (CLG Committee 2011). This *Practitioners Advisory Group* (PAG) included four planning experts chosen specifically by the government to deliver a policy based upon the green paper *Open Source Planning* (Conservative Party 2010a). This group, in which there was no historic environment specialist, was made up of a director of a prominent development firm, a professional planning consultant, a local government councillor, and a director of an environmental charity. The group, assisted by a small DCLG secretariat, was solely responsible for the majority of the research and drafting. Whilst the group informally consulted with selected stakeholders during the process, the PAG was not explicitly charged with undertaking a consultation and it had no mandate to test ideas with stakeholders (CLG Committee 2011). It was, arguably, the strength of the Prime Minister's belief that the eventual policy was already largely defined within the green paper that underpinned the Government's intent for advancing the policy. The group reported regularly to Greg Clark and parliamentary under-secretary of State John Howell (CLG Committee 2011), maintaining oversight of the policy progression and control over the complex process, thereby keeping it manageable, but also keeping it closely aligned with the political will.

No historic environment groups are known to have been consulted during this period (Kindred 2012, Interview 3; McCallum 2012, Interview 1; Cowell 2012, Interview 4; Hinton 2012; Heyworth 2012, pers. comm.; Pugh 2013, Interview 6) although 17 sent unsolicited representations whilst the PAG was producing its draft (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012b). Whilst the scale of the task would have been enormous had such pre-draft consultation taken place, the level of secrecy was disproportionately high, and with the notable, if not unsurprising absence of a historic environment expert on the PAG, the sector began to worry that without its involvement, important content and nuanced meaning in the historic environment polices might be lost (McCallum 2012; Cowell 2012). Essentially, whilst the PAG provided expert advice on the formation of a policy ethos that cohered with the Government's ideals and made the scale of the reforms much more manageable with the given short time-frame – and was arguably an innovative example of policy-making with potential for future use (Rutter 2012: 15) – it should not have been assumed that those four individuals had the political or technical expertise to fully transcribe existing policy into a workable new form that would recognise all the necessary concerns.

The PAG draft was released in May 2011, with initial reaction illustrating a high level of dissatisfaction with the content and tone of the document, with several important areas where provision for the historic environment was judged to have been eroded from PPS5 (PAG 2011;

Heritage Alliance 2011a). In addition, it was judged that the overall intent of the document was too skewed in favour of economic principles and that the balance of protections had been lost in the desire to promote an increase in development (McCallum 2012). The PAG members, on the contrary, believed that they had fulfilled their brief. PAG member John Rhodes was quoted as saying that 'a careful framework was put in place to protect the historic environment ... with clear presumptions against *substantial harm* to *heritage assets of the highest significance* and with the importance of other heritage assets to be properly weighed in planning decision making' (CLG Select Committee 2011 – emphases added; Rhodes 2011). These comments illustrate a lack of nuanced understanding of the heritage values of PPS5, and highlight the importance of consultation with practitioners and policy experts. It is reasonable to assume that, given a lack of direct experience or involvement with the historic environment, that the nuance of the advancements in practice secured by PPS5 would be overlooked by these four individuals. However, the lack of ability to effectively recognise wider public and professional expectations surrounding these details is an indictment of the use of such a small team with such a large influence operating within a tightly controlled policy network.

After the draft was produced, and still at a relatively early stage in the process, the PAG welcomed suggestions from the historic environment sector, and many bodies responded. A large number of sector bodies provided detailed recommendations on where the draft fell short of fulfilling its stated aims, and how it could be modified. However, when the official DCLG draft appeared only two months later on 25 July – a very short time in public policy timescales – the vast majority of the PAG draft was transcribed verbatim and very few, if any, improvements on criticisms enacted (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011c).

7.3 ADAPTING ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

Whereas during the late 1990s and 2000s the historic environment sector reacted to the changing landscape of government and enhanced its reputation by aligning a broad public value advocacy coalition with government agendas, in 2010 the process of policy change happened too quickly for adaptation to new agendas and governance practices. Sector leaders admit partial responsibility for this (Pugh 2013, Interview 6, McCallum 2012, Interview 1): Relationships with civil servants were less than would have been desired and pre-2010 principles for action were not translated effectively in the light of new government priorities. However other challenges, in terms of government agenda and consultation practice also naturally prejudiced emerging public value practice. For instance, as mentioned above, ministerial practices of secrecy and a wider

government decrease in external stakeholder involvement were also largely responsible for a lack of a strong advocacy position going into the NPPF drafting process.

The primary advocacy toolkit of third sector organisations in the historic environment sector has been based on certain relatively formal methods: Official consultations and committee inquiries, writing letters, gaining meetings with key members of government and the civil service, and the directing of parliamentary questions – lobbied for variously through personal connections or all party parliamentary groups. Much of this activity arises from the engagement of key heritage bodies with policy affairs in Westminster.

The advocacy situation under the New Labour Governments was relatively successful because the sector had successfully aligned within a frame of reference which complemented Government agendas. However, it was also institutionally supported by the principles of 'joined-up government' and broad issue networks to which New Labour's third sector engagement strategy was formulated, making it easier to gain influence through formal channels (e.g. Grix and Phillpots 2011: 3). The issue in 2010 was that not only were the open and fruitful formal consultation relationships substantially tightened by the Coalition government, but indirectly, as a consequence, informal influences became much more important overnight. The sector, however, was not in a position to react quickly to this change in access due to the fact that relationships with civil servants in relevant departments were not in place at the right time. Whilst a period of flux following any change in government is likely to cause similar impact to advocacy channels, due to such practical issues as staff turnover, the extra effect of the change in existing governance narratives which were complementary to public value meant that the effect was particularly damaging in this case.

The written evidence provided by English Heritage to the Communities and Local Government Select Committee inquiry into the NPPF draft stated:

> 'English Heritage has had detailed discussions with DCLG and DCMS during the development of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), and these have been extremely useful in guiding the text towards achieving the aim of the same level of protection for the historic environment as is set out in existing policy (*Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* or PPS5). That aim is not yet achieved in the draft NPPF as it stands.'
>
> (English Heritage 2011g)

The guarded nature of these comments belies the truth that in fact the historic environment sections of the DCLG draft of the NPPF were only minutely different from the PAG draft on which English Heritage's input had been negligible. English Heritage's policy chief Duncan McCallum

recalls that the organisation had 'nothing to do with' the form and content of the draft. He continues;

> 'I think what they were doing was testing the water, really, in that document … but it was circumventing the normal things – the months of discussion – they didn't really do that. In fact, did they talk to us at all? I don't think so. We may have seen one or two drafts near the end, but basically they just took PPS5 and reworded it in a way that fitted their overall model.'

(McCallum 2012, Interview 1)

This is, conceivably, a legitimate policy strategy; putting out a highly controversial draft stating strongly the government's main objectives, and revising the elements which receive most adverse response, thereby eroding expectations to the government's advantage. However, it cannot be said with certainty that this was the government's intention from the outset. For instance, the case of the u-turn on the sale of nationally owned forests was politically embarrassing for the Government. Actively creating policy situations designed to trigger adverse responses from stakeholders and the public would be counterintuitive for a political culture which routinely ridicules politicians for changing their minds (Coote 1998: 128). In addition, most stakeholders (Pugh 2013, Interview 6, Hinton 2012, Heyworth 2012, pers. comm., Cowell 2012, Interview 4, Way 2013, Interview 8, Slocombe 2013, Interview 9) perceived that advocacy channels were not open and that constructive dialogue was not a viable option.

It should, however, be mentioned that some considerably more strategic advocacy work was being done by other bodies in the sector, with certain success: The Heritage Alliance employed, for a short period in 2011, a two-person parliamentary liaison team whose role was to access Westminster insiders and 'establish the Heritage Alliance as a source of information and expert briefings on both [the Localism Bill and the NPPF]', coordinate the advocacy activities of Alliance members, and collaborate with other historic environment stakeholders (Heritage Alliance 2011c). These purpose-designed posts allowed for the focussing of informal advocacy skills and resources to sustain a greater pressure on contacts than would be possible by relying on regular staff who are too stretched to make best use of advocacy channels. For instance, the team produced a briefing to Peers ahead of a debate in the House of Lords through which the Alliance instructed members on both historic environment content concerns and wider issues with the draft (Heritage Alliance 2011b). However, the effectiveness of this team was frustrated by the lack of funding available to support the post beyond June 2011 (Heritage Alliance 2011d). This meant that the most crucial stage of the NPPF consultation took place too late.

Whilst direct impact upon parliamentary process is difficult to demonstrate, this type of advocacy activity can have a beneficial effect on informing debate and lead potentially to a greater reputation within political circles, expanding networks of contacts and enhancing future influence. The nature of decision making in government can also depend upon the effects of personal conversations between ministers and other members, where a knowledge of or interest in a subject can be of critical importance. The Heritage Alliance specifically aims to develop this type of position. However, the historic environment sector necessarily struggles in comparison with influence commanded by larger sectors, both in terms of the leverage that can be exerted to obtain meetings, particularly with more senior officials and politicians, and because of limited resources available to most sector bodies, most of whom do not have specialised political advocacy staff. It is therefore ironic, for a sector which has a reputation as being an elite interest, that its potential for types of advocacy conducted over breakfast in Westminster or via 'brush-by' in some corridor of Parliament, is limited.

7.3.1 National Trust campaign

A very different strategy was employed by the National Trust in response to the perceived political shutting down of advocacy channels. After its initial submission of advice on the PAG draft was ignored, the Trust judged that no formal negotiations with DCLG would be forthcoming, and instead launched a large-scale public focussed campaign which ignited a form of advocacy which was based upon the weight of public support for the environment and on damaging the reputation of the draft policy in the media.

Drawing on the comparatively considerable resources of the charity, the Trust was able to mobilise an effective campaign team to very quickly launch a website, blog, and penetrating social media presence, as well as rolling out marketing materials to its visitor attractions and its members. It raised a petition which attracted over 230,000 signatures as a powerful tool to show the strength of its public support (National Trust 2012). It commanded a clever media strategy, feeding comments and stories to national newspapers. The organisation's Chairman, Simon Jenkins, also discussed the issues to great effect in television and radio debates, as well as in his high-profile column in *the Guardian*.

The business-like organisation of the Trust, as well as the resources available, were vital in achieving such a well organised campaign. This was due in part to having a significant staff pool to call upon and an appropriately flexible organisational structure, allowing a project team of about a dozen people to be drawn together from across the organisation. This allowed different specialist skills to be seconded on short notice to facilitate the web presence, the press liaison, the marketing

plan, and the planning expertise, together with a driven management structure to pursue goals in an efficient way.

Whilst former Deputy Director of External Affairs at the Trust, Ben Cowell, was keen to point out that the National Trust 'isn't Greenpeace', the decision to 'go big… with a public campaign' on the NPPF was consciously taken in the light of what was perceived as a freezing out of legitimate expert voices on a policy of the highest importance (Cowell 2012, Interview 4). The campaign was deliberately provocative, promoting images such as that of a Los Angeles-type sprawl in the English countryside as a nightmare scenario (Booth and Vidal 2011). Its aim was to hit the front pages – a feat not common for planning policy issues – but the deeper objective was to force the government to listen to its concerns and to incorporate them into the final framework.

The rhetoric of the campaign stressed the importance of the public's valuation of the countryside, which would be threatened by poorly drafted policy, and used that as a weapon against the Government. This was an interesting strategy as it relied not only upon its position as an expert third sector organisation, uniquely positioned to advise government on policy in this area, but also as a lobbying force representative of immense public backing. The Trust's four million members were frequently mentioned in media coverage, but the campaign more generally targeted the wider population drawing on the high public recognition of the Trust (in excess of 85%) and the institutional trust that it commands (Trimmer 2015, Interview 22). Essentially, what this amounted to was an 'activist' approach, underpinned with traditional third sector expert credentials, further enhancing the legitimacy of the arguments.

The Trust's actions undoubtedly contributed to the raising of the profile of the NPPF in the public eye. Similar campaigns were run independently by the CPRE and the *Daily Telegraph*, but it was the Trust which achieved the most attention. Indeed, the Prime Minister – an explicit target that the Trust aimed to influence (Cowell 2012, Interview 4) – chose to address a letter to it on 20 September 2011 to acknowledge the campaign aims and to assure it that he shared the same concerns for natural heritage, the countryside, and sense of place (Cameron 2011).

Following the letter the Trust's Chief Executive, Fiona Reynolds, met with the Prime Minister, and also went on to meet with Greg Clark and DCLG representatives privately on five separate occasions to discuss detailed suggestions for how the draft could be improved. It is unclear just how many other bodies Greg Clark met during this period, but certainly such a large amount of Ministerial time is rare and a clear indication of the tangible success of the campaign. Ben Cowell believes that these meetings had a significant impact, and led to changes that were eventually incorporated into the final NPPF.

It is very difficult to identify what causal relationships achieve in such complex political situations. Full information of exactly how and why Clark and DCLG moved to correct the earlier lack of stakeholder advice during the consultation is unobtainable, so it cannot be judged how much the response was forced and for what reasons. It is likewise unclear exactly what part the campaign played in stimulating the 16,000 official written consultation responses that were submitted. What is clear is that this number of consultation responses is exceptional by almost any standards and it would have been difficult for Government to ignore such a large number of responses, particularly in the context of the high profile coverage of the issue generated by the campaigning.

Fig. 7.1 – Protests over the proposed sale of nationally owned forests used heritage rhetoric as a point of emphasis and contributed to forcing the government into a u-turn (Sherratt 2011)

Whilst the Trust consulted with other sectoral bodies both prior to and during its campaign – and its principles were well supported by them – it is clear that it was the organisation's own size and breadth of expertise which was key to the campaign's eventual successful influence. It is possible that smaller historic environment groups were pigeon-holed as niche interests or as relatively low profile in comparison. However, other organisations from across the sector were able to open negotiations 'under the covering fire' of the Trust's 'big guns' (Hinton 2012b). Both the IfA and CBA, as well as others, met with Parliamentary Under-Secretary John Howell during this period, and were able to advise on significant technical aspects of the text (Hinton 2012a). This evidence appears to show that the Government's resolve was weakened in the face of perceived public pressure which resulted from the Trust's campaign and led to this access being possible for wider sector stakeholders. Similarly with the case of the forest sell-off, a further redirection of government policy, was signalled as a strong report by the purpose-built Independent Panel on

Forestry (2012) backed-up public demands and prompted Environment Secretary Owen Patterson to pledge to create a new NDPB to manage nationally owned forests and seek to keep them 'secured in public ownership for the people who enjoy them, the businesses that depend on them and the wildlife that flourishes in them' (Department of Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs 2013; Carrington 2013). Whilst progress on the development of a new body has been slow, the statement amounted to a considerable recognition of the public value purpose of these national 'assets'.

It should be recognised that the National Trust campaign was not, strictly speaking, a historic environment campaign; it spoke more broadly to the safeguarding of the countryside and the natural environment, only one facet of which related to heritage and the specific heritage policies of the NPPF. The Trust was ideally positioned to highlight countryside heritage issues such as the significance of landscape and place, and other broad corollaries of the historic environment. This fact is important because it emphasises how the nature of heritage as a highly interconnected interest, embedded within much wider sectors, can both stimulate a depth and breadth of public interest and can impact advocacy success. The fact that the broad public value meaning of heritage crosses into the built and natural environment sectors and the communities sector means that allying with broader interests will often be beneficial to advocacy influence, whereas technical or preservationist issues alone are less likely to command any such response. Developing the narratives of public value as a way to link the purpose of these wide interests also provides an important reason why fragmentation of interest groups and narrow technical specialism is potentially damaging to advocacy affairs.

7.4 OUTCOMES AND OBSERVATIONS

The final NPPF was issued in March 2012, replacing 44 existing national policy documents (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012a: 58), including PPS5 – condensing over 1000 pages of existing guidance to just 52 – roughly three of which observed policies for the historic environment. Whereas the principles of PPS5 were largely consciously retained, after extensive alterations to the draft text were secured, the wider planning and governmental contexts have arguably brought about interesting developments in, and implications for, historic environment policy. Furthermore, these developments shed light on the advocacy arrangements and political organisation of the historic environment sector.

7.4.1 Planning context

The NPPF system is, essentially, a condensed version of the old fragmented system of PPGs and PPSs with largely the same principles: It is plan-led, it is comprehensive, and it ostensibly observes

a balanced importance for economic, social and environmental objectives. However, the development of the policy in line with the prevailing political agendas of the time also creates some important effects: At its heart, a government aim to deliver growth is embodied in the core concept of the 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012a: 3), although this central focus on sustainability is a considerable climb-down from the 'presumption in favour of development' proposed in the original drafts, and even more of a change from the 'presumption in favour of conservation' that had previously been in place since Circular 8/87 (Department of the Environment 1987; Department for Communities and Local Government 2010: 8; Department for National Heritage and Department of the Environment 1995: 14). Rather, heritage protection is built into this central sustainability concept, and therein lies another major distinction between PPS5 and the NPPF: the historic environment provision is no longer contained within a second tier policy document but rather as an element of the overarching central principle of planning.

This change potentially weakens historic environment policies by reducing the number of words available to expound value principles and articulate key details and nuance, but it also raises the specialism into a more prominent position in the overall system. Protecting and enhancing the historic environment is listed as one of the twelve 'core principles' of planning in the NPPF which states that it is a responsibility to 'conserve heritage assets in a manner appropriate to their significance' (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012a: 5). This essentially opens up the possibility of normalising considerations of heritage value in normal planning decisions, and moving the central meaning of heritage in planning from being one which relates primarily to a tiny percentage of designated assets, and recognises a much broader and more relevant landscape for heritage values Whilst these are not substantive changes, in reality the use of the single document to draw together the whole planning system is important. It is harder to ignore the historic environment in this format than it was in the pigeon-holed PPS5, which would possibly only have ever been consulted where heritage was already an acknowledged aspect of the process. Thus, the understanding of the historic environment's significance is potentially improved and achieves a sectoral aim to put heritage 'at the heart of planning' (Southport Group 2011: 4).

However, underpinning what is ostensibly an adequate reconstitution of PPS5 in terms of actual policies is a substantial change in emphasis between the principled PPS5 and the 'process-driven' NPPF (Flatman and Perring 2012: 7, Lennox 2012: 31). Flatman and Perring read the NPPF as tacitly suggesting that heritage is a 'negative problem' rather than 'a positive thing to be embraced that might result in unexpected benefits of all sorts' (2012: 7). Indeed, reading the NPPF text on heritage it is much easier to miss that there is a commitment to wider social importance which underpins heritage planning. Whereas PPS5 sets out concepts such as place, sense of place,

quality of life, and the wider amenity and enjoyment to be derived from the environment in a powerfully stated introduction, in the NPPF they are less prominent, or are missing. The Heritage Alliance has commented of the current planning system that 'these [heritage] concerns can all-too-easily be overlooked' (cited in Farrells 2014: 106).

Role/value of historic environment/heritage:	PPS5	NPPF
Social, cultural and economic benefits	Yes: Intro (para. 7)	Yes: para. 126
Creating sustainable places	Yes: Intro and HE3.4, HE7.4	Yes: para. 131
Enhancing quality of life	Yes: Intro (para. 7)	Yes: para. 17
Enjoyment	Yes: Intro and HE3.1	Yes: para. 126
Contribution to local character/distinctiveness	Yes: Intro and HE3.4, HE7.5	Yes: para. 126, 131
Contributing to sense of place	Yes: Intro and HE3.1, HE3.4	No
Contribution to knowledge and understanding	Yes: Intro (para. 7)	No
Promoting place-shaping	Yes: Intro and HE7.4, HE9.5	Yes: para. 126
Intelligently managed change	Yes: Intro, annex 2	No
Future generations' understanding	Yes: Intro and HE2.3, HE7.2, annex 2	Yes: para. 18

Fig. 7.2: Statements of ideology: PPS5 vs. NPPF

Regardless of whether benefits were ever manifested as a result of PPS5, the ethical public value advancements that the policy brought can largely be perceived in the text and associated literature such as the foreword and practice guide; the potential for actual benefit to be derived from heritage – social, cultural, environmental and economic – and of the importance of promoting public engagement and enhancing knowledge and understanding of the past through instruments of heritage protection. Early expectations within the sector were for these themes to define development within the sector over the coming generation. PPS5 and the supporting practice guide (English Heritage 2010a) give significant emphasis to explaining these principles whereas largely, the NPPF provides very little in terms of underpinning ideology beyond that for sustainable development. The implications of this are potentially widespread and can be analysed by looking at the way in which the historic environment components of the system are treated in relation to other elements of the planning process.

The addition of *National Planning Practice Guidance* in March 2014 (Department for Communities and Local Government 2013a) and sector *Good Practice Advice Notes* (Historic England 2015d) arguably strengthen the ethical positioning of the NPPF, but only to a small degree.

These extra layers of guidance carried the potential to allow regulatory requirements to be fleshed out in terms of strategic vision. However, a similar approach in terms of exhibiting brevity and a lack of emphasis on the principles of planning has been enforced, giving the same impression of a process-led system. Essentially this style lacks any ethical leadership on public value issues, instead perceiving the core issue to be one of overarching efficiency and economic growth.

Without clear ethical guidance, the effect of this is a planning system which implicitly favours economic results over social and environmental ones. The CPRE, for instance, has claimed that the NPPF is not a planning framework, but an ideological tool which forces local authorities to drive unsustainable development and damage to the environment (Campaign to Protect Rural England 2014); the aims of the Coalition government to stimulate construction and housing policy to boost the economy has created idiosyncratic conflicts in principle when applying the NPPF. Requirements on local authorities to produce 'NPPF compliant' local plans which require the provision of five-years' worth of supply of land for housing has led many authorities to scramble to meet economic targets at the direct expense of protections for the historic environment and principles of public value instrumentalism (Local Government Information Unit and National Trust 2013: 1; Campaign to Protect Rural England 2014: 2; Hope 2014a, 2014b).

However, the position of social, or public value purposes within the NPPF is interesting, as countryside, green space, and heritage protections were all substantially increased following lobbying campaigns. This may be enough to suggest that the Government recognises that heritage protections, together with other related social, cultural, and environmental issues, are societal expectations and surround the public value structure of feeling. Whilst public value sectors are at a distinct disadvantage in having to fight against an ideologically unsympathetic authority in this way, there is hope that principles outside this small state Conservative vision can still have influence in lobbying when drawing upon public support.

In this context, social and cultural functions should be pursued through alternate means: For example, by translating public heritage benefits into forms relevant to current government agendas such as localism, which emphasise philanthropy, community innovation, start-ups and local responsibility (see chapter eight). It is in this context that advocacy from the built environment and communities lobby has been pushing with relative success. The 2014 Farrell Review, for instance, has helped to re-ignite a place-making agenda under the Conservatives by utilising powerful social and cultural rhetoric (as well as economic) to underpin its objectives (Farrells 2014). This is discussed in greater detail below and in chapter eight.

7.4.2 Political context

To a great extent, the development of themes in the planning context can be seen to match those in the wider governmental context. These themes, most obviously, arise from pressures created by the global recession and the culture of austerity which has been embedded by the Government since 2010, the Government's relaxation of social policies, and the wider governmental agendas of localism and economic growth. Together with the tight control of the policy agenda and more limited consultation practice, this simplified guidance has contributed to creating a simplified policy arena for the furtherance of economic growth agenda.

As discussed in previous chapters, this has also been mirrored within the sector which has been changing prevailing priorities, building a greater emphasis on economic issues in key publications in response to government priorities; for example Heritage Counts 2010 (Economic Impact) and 2012 (Resilience), the recent manifestos from the Heritage Alliance (2014) and HHA (2014), and wider research (e.g. Arts Council England 2014).

The NPPF is a clear indicator of this political context and the responses to it in advocacy and by practitioners since 2010. These professional stakeholders have been swayed by high level hard-line rhetoric on spending on social and cultural policies. This affects the relationships that form between the sector and politicians, as reputations tied to financial sustainability and strong institutional values relating to contribution to growth are pursued over and above the production of public values. Organisations are less likely, potentially, to pursue innovative projects with an emphasis on social, rather than economic, reward – especially if public funds are involved. To defend such social projects would much more difficult under these conditions.

Wider governmental relations illustrating the dominance of the Treasury of planning and heritage agendas are also demonstrated through the NPPF, with reports of a prominent disagreements amongst Cabinet members during the NPPF drafting; for example, George Osborne was accused of 'behaving like the Taliban on planning' (House of Commons Debate 2012: Col. 1339). Osborne was also criticised for the style of rhetoric employed in his comments during the most heated stages of the public campaign against the NPPF, and it would appear that whilst within DCLG, George Clark and Eric Pickles accepted that the final NPPF needed to make considerable concessions to campaigners, Osborne's aggressive approach continued right up until the week of the final release (Kirkup et. al. 2012; Lean 2012).

More generally, the social policies in the Conservative Party's manifesto, such as the Big Society, have proved largely subordinate to the grand economic recovery plan, and have been neglected in the implementation phases and often derided in terms of the general perceptions. Whilst these policies provide the potential for new ways of working to enhance heritage's influence

through new policies (discussed in chapter eight), the association of the austerity agenda and the Big Society has often led to perceptions of ineffectiveness at best, or duplicitousness at worst, on the part of the government to implement a beneficial social agenda.

Both in terms of the NPPF's formation and the wider governmental context, it is clear that political factors have impacted the historic environment in various ways. Since 2010 Government strategies have acted to inhibit effective policy-making for historic environment and wider public value issues by restricting opportunities to consult and undervaluing the contribution of cultural sectors to government agendas. Consequent responses by the sector have often compounded rather than eased this effect on public value progress. The sector must reflect on these issues if it wishes to develop more effective practices for navigating these political processes in the future.

7.5 POLICY AND ADVOACY STRATEGIES FOR THE PUBLIC VALUE ERA

Reflecting broadly on the context of policy-making and advocacy in the public value era post-2010, the example of the NPPF campaign raises a number of issues relating to how the sector conducts advocacy and engages with stakeholders within the authorising environment which are useful to consider. The central dynamic in this case is one of attempting to gain influence against an ostensibly unsympathetic government agenda. The National Trust's activist approach to the campaign illustrates one way in which public value principles can be protected under these conditions, and shows that public value is an effective ethical paradigm not only when there is direct political will to enable/authorise it. Rather, a different strategic approach to the authorising environment creates the possibility for the sector to demonstrate its public legitimacy and demand authorisation.

These populist, activist 'victories', however, were hard fought and may have adverse consequences. Campaigns on this scale and of this style are not likely to be a standard approach to advocacy for either the Trust or the wider sector due to the political effects of such tactics. Indeed, several interviewees noted how the Trust 'went quiet' after the NPPF (Cowell 2012, Interview 4, Pugh 2013, Interview 6). This was because the effects of such a high-profile, public focussed campaign – essentially antagonistic of government – is incredibly exhausting in terms of resources and damaging to political reputation. It carries the potential to create long-term animosity between interest groups and government, with the National Trust likely to be viewed with hostility by ministers, when looking to consult on future policy, for some time.

However, the approach of linking populist activism with expert advocacy – appealing to the unique selling point of public value sectors – is one which has been shown to be politically

powerful. As governmental consultation practices ebb and flow from broad networks to narrow ones, having the potential to forcefully remind government of the importance of the views and expertise represented by third sector public value oriented organisations is of considerable value. The ability to more effectively develop and utilise public interest in, and support for, heritage should be part of the combined sector's advocacy strategy. Heritage issues such as sense of place, belonging, and connection to the past, are not tracked in the types of political polls such as election issue trackers which influence party policies, and are perhaps considered apolitical by many, but they are nonetheless consistently shown to be important to people's identity and happiness (e.g. ComRes 2015; Historic Houses Association et. al. 2006). The response to issues such as the NPPF and the proposed sale of nationally owned forests highlights the importance of this public resource to heritage bodies engaging with advocacy, where mobilised effectively.

Such activism is but one part of an approach to advocacy which seeks to be more balanced and effective at facilitating the public value mission. Essentially this approach uses the authorising environment to envisage a way of managing relationships with stakeholders and achieving influence in a contextually responsive, but ethically consistent way. This approach draws on: (1) the logic of developing and utilising legitimacy drawn from the public; and (2) effecting better communication between stakeholders by working towards a more joined-up advocacy strategy.

7.5.1 A focus on people

Traditional insider groups such as the national amenity societies have tended, in the past, to focus more on governmental relations through a variety of formal and informal access routes, rather than the public (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9; Way 2013, Interview 8). This approach to advocacy either assumes public backing or fails to appreciate its relevance to the often dull or technical business of lobbying. However, modern societal demands for greater democratic representation are now filtering into political processes, through policies like localism, and low level direct democracy – which is more evident now thanks to new digital technologies such as online petitions (adopted as an official government process in 2011 (Kelly and Priddy 2015)). Whilst online petitions may be a poor form of engagement, they do demonstrate a growing interest in different types of political involvement among the public and recognition of this by politicians. As the power of the traditional expert lobby decreases, this element of public backing is becoming more significant – both in terms of direct public involvement in campaigning and of general institutional support for interest groups.

An example of how this trend is manifesting itself in the historic environment sector is the CBA's Local Heritage Engagement Network which gathers intelligence from local community groups and individuals to inform the organisation's understanding and policy positions, offering training

and skills to help local groups protect what is important to them, and simultaneously increase the organisation's legitimacy in its national advocacy (Council for British Archaeology 2015a). The JCNAS, in 2013, also launched the Heritage Help website, which was the result of a desire to increase public involvement in the traditionally low profile national amenity societies (Slocombe 2014, Interview 16). This type of action which focuses on people helps to raise the profile of sector activity and issues, all of which is valuable in itself in reference to the public value mission, but in the context of advocacy, can also help to provide a solid basis for public legitimacy when campaigning on policy issues affecting the delivery of public value benefits.

Outright activist campaigning, as demonstrated by the National Trust's NPPF campaign is an outlier in this focus on the public end of the authorising environment spectrum, but there are many other ways in which organisations can gain public support to underpin advocacy: Better communications with members and wider publics, effective use of the media, management of stakeholder relationships, as well as direct involvement, are all features of well-established campaigning charities common in the environment sector but less effective in the historic environment (Morgan 2015, pers. comm.).

Strengthening this public relationship establishes a support for the sector which is based upon direct democratic legitimacy and which implies a capability to challenge government on the basis that it represents a direct public interest. Even if this threat is not realised, however, it creates new space to bring forward constructive formal and informal lobbying. This type of advocacy can be pragmatic and couched in terms which are relevant enough to government agendas to allow a positive political narrative for their interests, but also staunch in its principles for enabling benefits through actions which would not otherwise gain political attention. For instance, utilising political conditions, such as sensitivity to voter engagement in the run up to elections, can enable particular arguments to be tied to necessary outcomes for government. By utilising public relationships in advocacy, sector bodies can create positive outcomes for governments which choose to support heritage, or conversely threaten undermine political support amongst particular audiences concerned with heritage. In the National Trust's NPPF campaign, this related, in part, to the targeting of Conservative rural voters, a tactic which was effective at making constituency MPs question government policy (Lloyd 2016 pers. comm.).

7.5.2 Strategy and communication

There are many ways in which advocacy in the historic environment sector could be improved, but the essential issue relates to communication between stakeholders in the authorising environment: this affects the development of influence based on public legitimacy but also the

effectiveness of other advocacy practices – how the sector uses its resources, works together, and defines organisational roles.

An example of effective advocacy practice which successfully worked between sector partners and government is the *Farrell Review of Architecture and the Built environment*, commissioned by Government in 2012 and conducted by Sir Terry Farrell and his allies (Farrells 2014). The review was thorough, authoritative, and effectively marketed and its subsequent impact upon government policy and innovative approaches to delivering a place-agenda which was originally outside of the government's objectives should be seen as a successful investment in advocacy for the built environment sector. This report has, since its publication forced politicians to pay attention and has enabled a broad sector-driven response to built environment issues. The report is interesting for a number of reasons: Firstly, it was paid for and marketed by Farrell's own business and not by government; secondly, it was conducted in an open and consultative process which was well documented and publicised; and thirdly, it put forward its vision with broad and evocative language which underpinned its technical recommendations.

The shrewd positioning of a public value agenda in the report was able to gain such legitimacy, drawn from the combined involvement of all the partners involved, and was argued in such a way as to be pragmatic and sensitive to government policies, that it would have been very difficult for the Government to dismiss its findings, despite having little interest in the place agenda. Continued promotion of the report's findings and lobbying to advance implementation and further work have kept the report in the public eye and on the Government's agenda.

A similar report, lobbied for by the Archaeology Forum, was commissioned by the Minister for Culture Ed Vaizey in 2013 and delivered by Lord Rupert Redesdale and John Howell. However, the Howell/Redesdale Report, unlike the Farrell Review, was not backed by investment from the sector sufficient to deliver a report which was as detailed and widely promoted. The review was also narrower in its scope, emanating from the political issues facing Archaeology bodies specifically, without regard for wider related issues in the historic environment, which would perhaps have been a more politically salient scale to achieve broad scale political impact. For these reasons, the review process ended up being too small and low profile to reach the level where the government could not ignore it, and it has thus far not been published. Although the archaeology sector was at a significant resource disadvantage compared to Farrells, meaning that the report was necessarily more limited, and it was controlled and written primarily by a Conservative MP who bore close attention to party political agendas, a more unified approach to the delivery of this report could have elicited a much better result. These dual issues of lack of joined-up thinking and lack of resources is a common problem for historic environment sector advocacy.

For these reasons, a closer strategic alignment across the sector would be extremely valuable. The main vehicles for this already exist, and are moving in the right direction: The Historic Environment Forum, the Heritage Alliance, and the Heritage 2020 framework are all tools with potential to deliver a unifying advocacy strategy with the capability of utilising public support effectively in political engagement. Resources which are invested in advocacy in a joined-up way are much more likely to achieve cumulative impact on wider agendas. To this end the Heritage 2020 framework should be used to develop sectoral goals and objectives to which all sector bodies can aim, under a consistent ethical vision. This framework could also help to develop sector advocacy partnerships where organisational goals overlap. Such action could have given the Howell/Redesdale review greater impact potential, had wider interests such as the buildings conservation lobby (who are facing very similar issues) been involved.

An example of where this type of partnership has occurred is the Cut the VAT campaign, ostensibly run by the Federation of Master Builders but bringing together over 60 charities, trade associations, businesses, and financial groups to lobby all political parties to include in manifestos for the 2015 general election pledges to cut VAT on repairs and maintenance of buildings from 20% to 5% to bring it in line with new builds (Federation of Master Builders n.d.). This campaign takes advantage of a wide range of support for the move, allying the conservation and heritage issues with those of the construction industry. Heritage bodies involved in the campaign include the Heritage Alliance, National Trust, HHA, and IHBC. The campaign received voluntary contributions from partners to support a campaign and maintain a national advocacy platform. The campaign has utilised a range of advocacy techniques from public awareness raising within the media, encouraging people to write to MPs, and engaging parliamentarians directly. The ability to pursue both broad and narrowcasting advocacy strategies results from the critical mass of funding, and legitimacy conferred by its wide range of partners.

This need for partnership working in advocacy is, seemingly, becoming more widely accepted; for example, the National Trust's new strategy for 2015-2025 'Playing Our Part' makes a specific point of recognising the role that it plays (as one of the largest and most powerful sector bodies) in supporting activity and sharing expertise with the wider sector wherever possible, for mutual benefit (National Trust 2015: 21; Trimmer 2015, Interview 22). Certainly, there is an evident inter-reliance between different organisations. Both CIfA and the Heritage Alliance (Hinton 2013, Interview 5; Pugh 2013, Interview 6) have commented that they would not have been as effective in leveraging meetings with DCLG officials had they not been able to act 'under the covering fire' of the Trust's NPPF campaign. Both, in the end, met with Greg Clark or DCLG representatives and were positive that their views had impressed upon the process.

This highlights the different roles that organisations will probably play in this joined-up system: The National Trust is an example of a type of body which draws its strength from its directly demonstrable public support. Because of this relationship, the organisation is very selective over what formal consultations it engages on, perceiving that they are often formulaic and lack real political influence (Cowell 2012, Interview 4). Rather than seeking to give technical advice on a whole spectrum of consultations, the primary purpose of the Trust's advocacy is to achieve public impact, and therefore this measure drives its strategic engagement with formal consultation. Conversely professional institutes have more of an interest in this type of technical advocacy, and are more likely to engage in formal advocacy on issues of low direct public interest, with far less public engagement opportunity. Other campaigning bodies such as Rescue or SAVE attempt to keep a more consistent pressure on government decision-making through public-focussed campaigns. These organisations exist primarily as provocateurs – often at a cost to their political reputation (Grant 2004: 410). However, all of these tactics can play a part in a sector-wide advocacy strategy: Indeed, effective joined-up strategy should allow for other bodies to compensate for various weaknesses in particular organisational roles. Simply ensuring that the central strategic vision is always reflected should ensure the balancing of political reputation, public legitimation, and authorisation and allow effective communication of advocacy messages to political and public stakeholders.

There is a potential to develop this central strategic vision through multilateral sector advocacy campaigns or events which would provide consistent reinforcement of public messaging and maintenance of legitimacy. An example of this type of activity is the 2006 *History Matters* campaign which attempted to achieve widespread public interest in heritage and underpin continued efforts to solidify the sector's place within authorised government agendas. The campaign was multilateral, public-focussed and aimed to be high profile, attaching an advocacy element to the Heritage Open Days programme which over a million people attended. Over the course of the campaign 46,000 people contributed diary reflections on heritage, and 20,000 people declared their support for heritage through an online portal (Historic Houses Association et. al. 2006). Events such as these provide the opportunity to simultaneously increase public engagement and awareness, and gain legitimacy and both explicit and tacit support for advocacy.

Another way in which strategic unity on advocacy would promote more effective use of resources is by expanding the role of umbrella bodies to deliver a greater range of advocacy services for the wider sector. There is a strong existing role here, with organisations such as the Heritage Alliance already reasonably effective at drawing consensus between individual organisations and undertaking high-level, Westminster-focussed advocacy, such as briefing parliamentarians, holding breakfast meetings, and political hustings on behalf of its members, as

well as informing the sector about political activity. Both of these roles are important for effective sector advocacy. However, at present the Heritage Alliance pursues its own formal and informal advocacy and acts as an additional layer of advocacy to that of its members, and does so with a low level of resource. Adapting this role to focus precisely on those things of which other organisations are not capable – for instance, meeting face to face with politicians, following political trends, appointments, debates – and acting essentially as a professional advocacy service for the wider sector as well as a figurehead for informal advocacy, would allow for benefits to be passed down to organisations. It may be that the Alliance would need to collect larger contributions from organisations in order to facilitate this expanded role to deliver centralised advocacy expertise or staff, which could be offered back to groups for specific advice services, directly benefitting members' organisational advocacy, however it would probably lead to greater effectiveness of operations.

Fig. 7.3 – Bill Bryson and Stephen Fry at the launch of the History Matters campaign at Kensington Palace in 2006 (Poitau 2006)

This type of service would allow the sector to professionalise its lobbying and emulate the more widespread use of public affairs specialists by many larger sectors (Parvin 2007; Moran 2011: 140). Professional lobbyists are rare among historic environment organisations, partly due to cost, but also for reasons of lack of consciousness as to their value, and what they can offer in terms of strategic options for influence (Pugh 2014, Interview 15). Both the HHA – which contracts a professional consultant to assist with its advocacy (Way 2013, Interview 8) and the National Trust – which employed a professional campaign strategist to help design its NPPF campaign (Cowell 2012, Interview 4) – have benefitted from this type of professional service.

In addition to the Alliance, the Historic Environment Forum might also serve a much more important role under a more joined-up system for advocacy; one which assists in the facilitation of partnerships as well as delivering the central structures of committees for discussion and implementation of the central strategy – as it does with Heritage 2020. It is not unimaginable that multilateral advocacy teams could be drawn from a number of organisations to oversee particular political campaigns, be that using traditional advocacy or public activism. Different bodies have different strengths, and an overall greater co-operation would see the potential for strategic coalitions to maximise political benefits.

7.6 CONCLUSIONS

As this chapter has demonstrated, the transition from PPS5 to the NPPF has been significantly influenced by the changes in political context which occurred between the period of the Heritage Protection Review and the post-2010 period of Conservative-led government. The demands of changing governance and policy-making systems and an ideological approach to a smaller state and less regulation for social and cultural aims within a streamlined planning system have necessitated a renewed relationship between the public value heritage sector and the state.

What this has illustrated is the need to adapt practices of historic environment sector political and public engagement to ensure communication of public value aims despite unsympathetic government ideals. In order to achieve this, a more populist approach to advocacy and engagement in activism should be adopted by the sector, based upon a unified sector strategic vision. This strategy should draw on the sector's unique selling point – its strong public value – and use the legitimacy gained from public engagement as a tool to develop greater influence through formal and informal advocacy strategies.

From a platform which is designed to demonstrate public legitimacy and create a problem of democratic accountability and public relations for the government, a pragmatic approach to developing policy based upon aligning with and adapting to particular government agendas can be developed. Figure 7.4 conceptualises how this approach might work, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of engagement which can guide advocacy and wider relationships between historic environment stakeholders and which would assist in creating a more effective environment for achieving public value.
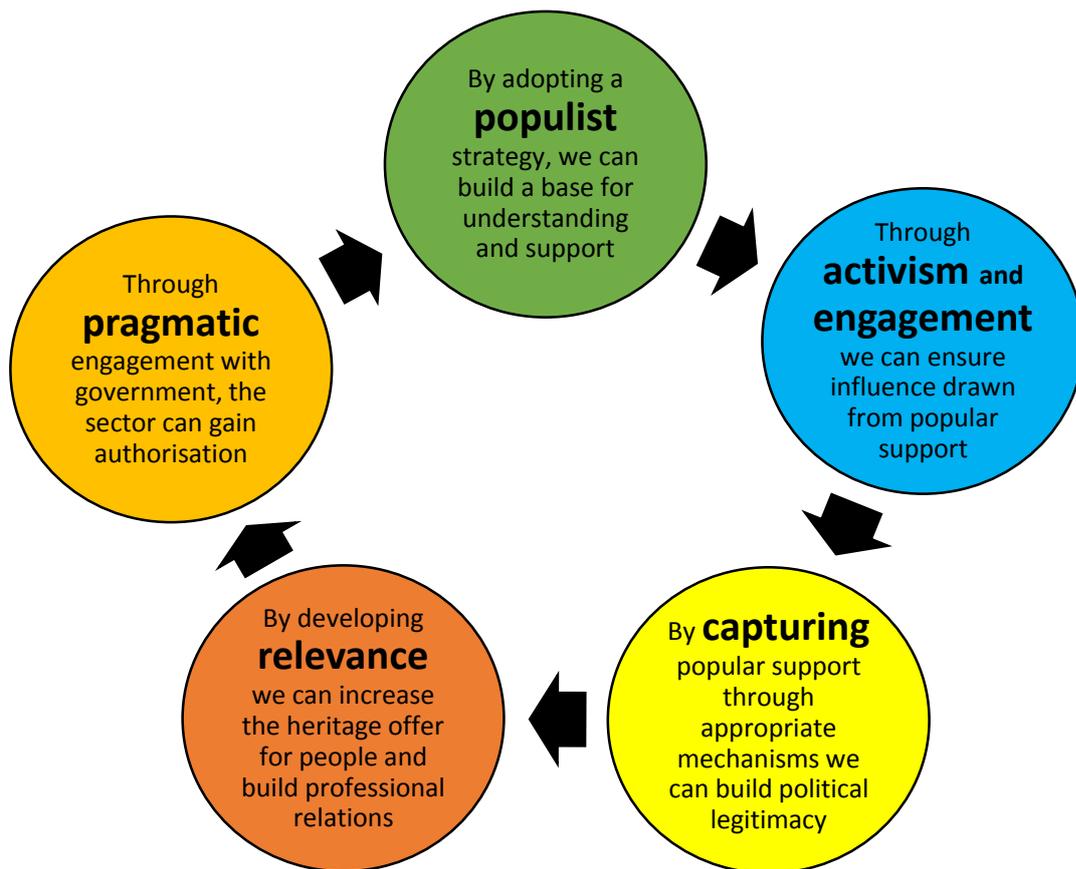
Fig. 7.4 – A public value framework advocacy cycle

This cycle essentially utilises public support, developed through activism and engagement, to build a basis for political activities. These activities are likely to be more successful the more relevant they are to people, so developing wider connections with parallel sectors is advantageous – as is the pragmatic engagement with government agendas and opportunities. This model should also be viable when positively aligned government agendas enable good relations within the authorising environment, but also maintains the potential to exert influence when unsympathetic political conditions exist. The relationship between professional and public interests and political ones is not adversarial, but it does require checks and balances to maintain ethical values at particular times.

However, in order to be effective in the implementation of this advocacy cycle, the sector also has to develop broad professional relevance. An isolated heritage will always be limited in how it effects public value outcomes because heritage benefits necessarily overlap with wider sectors and agendas. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Relevance: the Localism agenda

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis argues that heritage is of wide relevance to people and is capable of delivering benefits in terms of contributions to society, culture, environment and economics. It is something people care about and which affects their being-in-the-world; their experience of place in their daily lives. The public value framework, which this thesis develops, consequently describes how the historic environment sector must develop relationships which enable these benefits to be created. The narrow purview of protectionist historic environment policy is only one small part of this relevance. Wider sectors of relevance include the communities, built environment, natural environment, education, and health sectors with stakeholders including several government departments and hundreds of NGOs, charities, and businesses. It is important that heritage is represented across these areas, even if they tend to operate within wider spheres of influence and control. The authorising environment stresses how effective partnerships across this spectrum of relevance are a vital requirement of good public value strategy. However, pursuing these connections often requires a pragmatic approach to identifying opportunities as they arise in the political sphere.

One of the most recent examples of a politically prominent policy area which has had an ideological overlap with public value heritage is the localism or Big Society agenda, designed by the Conservatives as part of their 2010 election manifesto and implemented by the Coalition Government. This chapter seeks to examine localism with a view to describing how it presented an opportunity for the demonstration of public heritage values and of the sector's relevance to people and to the political agenda. The chapter provides critical commentary on the sectoral responses to localism, along with analysis of present and future opportunities that the sector has to engage with wider policy areas. It is judged that, in practice, the sector has not been adequately committed to the development of heritage's wider relevance through agendas such as localism. The analysis shows how strategies for heritage which span multiple overlapping arenas represent a way of

bringing the sector into the mainstream of political affairs in a way which makes it easier to develop public legitimacy and deliver the central benefits of public value heritage.

8.2 LOCALISM AND THE BIG SOCIETY

Localism is a broad term which has been used to describe many different socio-political projects or philosophical ideals which are concerned with democratic renewal, civic empowerment, and forms of power sharing between society and the state (Harris 2012: 62). Localist policy can involve direct empowerment of local government and communities, development of local economic systems, or a focus on community building, local culture or identity. Most recently, the term came to prominence in the run-up to the 2010 general election and in its aftermath, through the Conservative Party's flagship 'Big Society' policy idea, first published within the *Big Society, Not Big Government* White Paper (Conservative Party 2010b).

Fig. 8.1 – 'Big Society not big government' was a key line of the Conservative's 2010 general election campaign (Thirdsector 2009).

The Big Society and the current incarnation of localism are tied to the ideological tenets of David Cameron's Conservativism and entail a deep reflection on the nature of the relationship between society and the state and the propensity of the latter to control choices in peoples' lives – an accusation which was specifically applied to New Labour's 'big government' interventionism (Finlayson 2012; Blond 2010: 3). Essentially the Cameronite moral approach to these issues was to enable people to take decisions into their own hands, to help themselves and their communities to achieve what was best for them (Sandel 2010; Jordan 2010). Unlike previous Conservative leaders

following in the libertarian tradition – Cameron's approach differed by desiring to use the state to change society, rather than simply allowing the free-market to regulate society (Finlayson 2012: 41). Essentially the Big Society was a way to significantly evolve the enduring Tory narrative of a morally 'Broken Britain' and re-package its traditionalist moralising about fading community values in a way which reconciled it to liberal social principles (Kelly 2012) and language (Lakin 2014: 483).

This policy was and is deeply ideological. It relied upon assumptions about society and community and about the ideal operation of the state and the third sector. It focussed on an arguably nostalgic conception of traditional values of community (Jennings 2012: 69) tied explicitly to locality, as opposed to any wider social consciousness, such as that represented by charitable giving or volunteerism – both things which evidence shows to have been rising in recent years and which arguably represent a new form of 'society' (Hilton 2012). This societal vision, however, supported the Conservative's aim to curtail the role of public bodies and promote local service delivery – a process tied to Tory ideals of increasing competition in delivery of public services, in a mode akin to privatisation (HM Govt. 2011). It was also inherently tied to a small-state ideology, offering opportunities to groups to take control of local service, for instance, by setting up 'free schools', designed by communities to respond to unique needs and desires of communities, and free from the restrictive intervention of the state. Much of this kind of ideological underpinning necessarily clouds the overt emphases of localism on empowerment and freedom and has led to the Big Society and localism agenda foundering in public and political opinions. However, despite representing an ideological view on 'traditional values' and being conceptually tied to a centre-right erosion of public services, the Big Society also frames a relevant view on public value heritage, as it implicitly draws on notions of local distinctiveness, sense of place, cultural identity, and diversity in the public sphere (Blond 2010: 3).

It was also not simply a Conservative ideal. Localism tapped into a societal appetite for more localised power structures which had existed for well over a decade (e.g. Blair 1998; Filkin et. al. 2000; Coleman and Blumler 2011: 355). So whilst it was the Conservative party's policy which was politically packaged with the clearest intent and received the most attention in 2010, a very similar trend towards principles of community empowerment and local tools for problem-solving were evident in all main party manifestos, clearly indicating a general acceptance that a broad 'localism' had been becoming an increasingly important theme in society (Buser and Farthing 2011; Healy 2009). Labour's interpretation of the issue focussed attention on pledges to increase community involvement in governance in a variety of ways; from supporting community groups, social enterprises, co-operatives and volunteering, with a range of policies to support such action. These policies explicitly included aims which tied into public value heritage concepts such as valuing 'buildings in which [people] can take pride' and creating 'world-class places' (Labour Party 2010: 7:

4-6). The Liberal Democrats' commitments, whilst less prominent, also claimed commitment to 'handing power back to local communities' and proposed to 'radically decentralise politics' through such means as tax reform, reforming central government oversight, and implementing the 'Sustainable Communities Amendment Bill' to give local communities greater power over local governance (Liberal Democrats 2010: 84, 90-2).

Politically, this broad multi-party localism represents a general shift in governmental attitudes towards, initially, local government, and ultimately, to people and communities, giving them greater direct control over their lives, partially eroding the dominant model of strong central government with one of local strategic partnerships (Audit Commission 2003; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005a; Buser 2013: 5). Similar aims had been pursued throughout the early 2000s as New Labour developed their 'New Localism' agenda (Filkin et. al 2000: 11; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005b) with policies such as the 'National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal', and 'New Deal for Communities', which were designed to more effectively 'join-up' local structures for governance with a national programme of social improvement particularly targeted through regional frameworks and delivered to socially deprived areas (Social Exclusion Unit 2001; Department for Energy, Transport, and the Regions 2001).

Essentially, localism is an idea which has had significant political capital for well-over a decade in the public value era and is well supported in principle as it speaks essentially to a support for liberty and empowerment (Harrison and Sanders 2014: 3). Whether or not the execution of these various policies in their political and ideological guises have been particularly effective – which arguably they have not (Atkinson 2010; Barnett 2011: 280) – they have clearly been influential upon political relationships and potentialities for public involvement in the local public sphere in recent years.

This is the second reason why the Big Society was of importance to public value heritage: It provided new levers to develop complementary elements of a public value agenda. By the late 2000s it was the Conservative party's Big Society, built on the back of Cameron's 'progressive Conservatism' which was advancing this opportunity (Blond 2010; Wallace 2010). Essentially, it presented an opportunity to develop public value heritage under the cover of a relatively complementary and politically favoured agenda.

Upon election victory in 2010, the Coalition government adopted the Conservative's Big Society policy. The policy had several strands, but its essential vision was one which emphasised;

1. Community empowerment — to give power to local councils and residents;
2. Public Service Reform — to deliver services through a range of local providers, including charities, social enterprises, and voluntary groups;

3. Social Action — to ensure greater numbers of people become active citizens

(Cabinet Office 2010b: 3)

One of the policy's central pillars was the Localism Act (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011a) which promoted changes in local government structure which allowed them more independence, new neighbourhood planning powers for communities to have a greater say in local planning matters, new tools for charities and local groups to apply for contract work from councils, and mechanisms for communities to purchase assets of community value (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011b). It was envisioned that the commitment to localism would be a blank canvass for creative thinking, providing massive opportunities for local delivery of services and benefits to local people willing to take responsibility for their own community needs (HM Govt. 2010c: 3). This blank canvass was intended to produce local instruments for power sharing, co-production, and governing responsibility to communities. In order to achieve this, ministers were instructed to work across government departments, and a considerable onus to act flexibly about how to create or enhance opportunities for localist benefits was implicit upon local authorities, third sector organisations, businesses, and the public.

8.2.1 Localism, public value, and heritage

Localism is a logical corollary of the public value agenda: Essentially, localism seeks to enhance relationships within the authorising environment between the public and other stakeholders. Policy development under localism should seek to erode expert-domination in favour of community empowerment, and implies that more effort will be put into public engagement mechanisms (Norman 2010: 70). The public value paradigm also emphasises this people-centred approach with implications on the role of 'expert' as facilitator of public discourse, rather than as a controller of social activity – essentially democratising the mechanisms for the delivery of heritage (Schofield 2013: 2; English Heritage 2008a: 20). These may be aspects which challenge some present historic environment sector bodies, but are nonetheless aims towards which a public-focussed sector should be prepared to explore.

Even though the prioritisation of the local is not necessarily contingent on public heritage values, culturally and practically it is often logically linked through the immediacy of 'local' places upon people's ontologically defined heritage (Clifford 2011: 13). People are conceived of as being situated in environments which embody meaning, memory, and ontological security (Grenville 2007). This implies that it is likely to be the local that we experience first and foremost, in many circumstances. Denis Byrne (2010: 152) claims that it is to these local community notions that we tend to return to when considering the 'social significance of heritage places'. John Schofield and Rosy Szymanski (2011: 2) describe the development of heritage understandings that appreciate the

ordinary and everyday heritage which is situated at a local level and provides the most visceral and 'special' heritage for people. In addition, both public value heritage and localism are built on a model which develops a collective dimension with any social setting, wherein a collective discovery of heritage is made possible (Madden 2010: 176). Communities which exist around places of shared experience and memory are likely have a powerful shared heritage. Armit suggests that these local heritage values are realised through social (and political) relations and are likely to affect a range of local decision-making (2002: 18). Heritage can thus help to create cohesive communities and contribute to the enhancement of place and social wellbeing (Appadurai 1996).

The synergy between localism and public value heritage leads logically to a proximity-based (both emotional and physical) approach to understanding heritage, where the greatest Grade I listed assets in the country will often have substantially less impact on the life of a community than the heritage assets in their own village or neighbourhood. Public value era ethics have consistently drawn heritage to this kind of local scale thinking. Consequently, local heritage has been high on the agenda of historic environment organisations throughout the public value era through such mechanisms as community participation and volunteering, which have been widely promoted in the last decade by the HLF, English Heritage, and historically by the civic movement and a wide variety of local historical and archaeological societies. These trends all emphasise locality at the same time as reinforcing heritage identities and creating benefits (Heritage Lottery Fund2010; English Heritage 2011a). For these reasons the localism agenda is closely applicable to what Tony Burton (2014b) calls the 'direction of travel' of the heritage sector in becoming more integrated into the place agenda, more democratised, less expert, and more societally relevant.

Since the 1990s and 2000s initiatives such as local listing have expanded local senses of what is valuable in heritage terms – with various levels of ingenuity – with increasing attention being paid to new ways of engaging people with planning (Insole 2014, Interview 17). Community or public archaeology has grown considerably in importance as a method of archaeological outreach and education in the 2000s, particularly in response to frameworks for demonstrating social benefits of heritage and achieving popular interest and understanding in work previously closed off to members of the public (e.g. Stottman 2010). Similar themes can be seen to be at the heart of projects such as Heritage Open Days (Goodwin 2011), and the History Matters campaign.

These efforts are not intended to take attention away from national heritage protection regimes, but rather to contextualise the values which underpin heritage at all scales and increase legitimacy for the a wider spectrum of heritage. If localism is representative of a societal zeitgeist in any way, this will prevent heritage being seen as an embodiment of an older, elite, material value ethic. In this sense, public value heritage has been appropriately positioned to endorse localism and support its aims by developing its contribution within the context of current political agendas.

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In essence, the ideology of Cameron's Big Society is one which could have supported many aspects of a public value heritage sector vision. According to Jesse Norman (2011) – one of the main architects of the policy – 'there are many ways to achieving the Big Society'; arguably, public value heritage was one of them. This opportunity provided a national spotlight for developing the historic environment's cross-sector relevance and demonstrating existing localist endeavours, offering new avenues to work on developing partnerships with new organisations and sections of the population, as well as several new tools introduced by the Localism Act, each backed by a political will to develop new practices. In the context of the current threats to many heritage services in local government and changes to the national government's perceptions on the role of NGOs, it made sense to argue within the frame of the Big Society for a model for service provision which enabled wider public value, rather than pursuing agendas which shunned the political opportunities of localism, or which withdrew from public value in the face of perceived economic and ideological challenges.

8.3 ENGAGEMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES

The Localism agenda and Big Society policies have created interest in parts of the heritage sector. This section considers various avenues through which the Big Society or localism have been explored by heritage sector stakeholders. It considers national advocacy stances of the sector, responses to neighbourhood planning, and other engagement with localism tools within the sector and local government.

The evidence presented shows that complementary sector activities that were pre-existing, those reactively aligned with localism, and those specifically created as a result of it have all been able to create positive outcomes. However, a lack of a co-ordinated sector stance on presenting these benefits within wider advocacy or a high level reflection on the political value of such a stance inhibited the value of the policy to the public value framework – a failure which has arguably damaged the sector's political reputation and the dominance of the public value paradigm.

8.3.1 National advocacy stances

In 2010 and 2011, the Localism Bill was identified as a significant item within the sector's advocacy activity (e.g. The Archaeology Forum 2011; Heritage Alliance 2011c). However, much of this advocacy focussed on the effect of localism on issues of statutory heritage protection and not on maximising the potential benefits of the connections or synergies between heritage and localism. Concerns raised by sector actors such as English Heritage and the Heritage Alliance were related

mostly to the importance of national designations and ensuring they were not lessened by the Act (Donnelly 2011; RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust 2011; Heritage Alliance 2011e, 2011g). The responses focus on technical issues such as that proposed Neighbourhood Development Orders may present a threat to conservation area protections. Responses to draft legislation usually do consider technical details above broad principle, so this should not be unexpected. However, the lack of a positive response both within and beyond the official consultations is notable.

Other Heritage Alliance contributions do highlight omissions in the Draft Bill of explicit reference to 'cultural well-being' as well as insisting that the draft emphasis on business growth was inappropriate and should be more balanced in terms of wider community interests (Heritage Alliance 2011f). However the overriding principle is not that the historic environment has anything to contribute to localism – or vice versa – but that national heritage protections need to be preserved against a perceived threat from localism. The summation of one Heritage Alliance briefing to the Lords states: 'Our historic environment is not only a neighbourhood issue - it is an issue of national importance' (Ibid.). The statement implies the public value principle of scaled heritage, but rather than praising the potential for improving provision for traditionally underrepresented local heritage, it focuses on a perceived threat to the traditionally strong national heritage. Essentially, this is the type of response which is common for historic environment bodies to employ when responding to issues outside their regular purview where the intent is to preserve existing powers which may be impacted, rather than to genuinely contribute to the policy. This illustrates a lack of strategic recognition of the potential of the localism agenda for heritage.

Other bodies, such as the National Trust, were wary of the government's localism in the context of damaging rhetoric being used in the draft NPPF, and whilst the organisation was aligned favourably with many principles of localism it held on to a concern that the Government's interests in pursuing it were not entirely genuine (Cowell 2012, Interview 4). Others, like the CBA were more publically positive and suggested that the Localism Act provided opportunities to 'promote and protect the things that matter most locally' (Chitty 2012). However, the general attitude of many heritage bodies was one of mistrust, which could explain why the opportunity to link localism to public value developments was not more readily taken.

In addition to direct lobbying in relation to the Localism Act, the Historic Environment Forum chose the Big Society as the theme of the *Heritage Counts* survey in 2011. The annual theme for the survey tends to provide a good indication of key issues facing the sector at the time, with the reports being used to support a shared sector advocacy agenda. This appears to be a considerable indication of the recognised importance assigned to localism. However, Head of Social and

Economic Research at Historic England, Laura Clayton, who leads the process of compiling and editing *Heritage Counts*, recounts a general lack of interest among members of the forum in the 2011 report saying that it 'didn't really work' because there seemed to be little impetus to use the report to 'genuinely implement change' (Clayton 2013, Interview 11). This lack of buy-in from many HEF members is indicative of an opportunity half-perceived but not exhaustively pursued. From a perspective of developing the public value agenda, however, the Big Society theme could have been used to generate significant political capital if used to highlight mutually held agendas. This potential was not capitalised upon in national advocacy where lone voices such as Civic Voice Director Tony Burton were not able to convince others of a sector-wide benefit to engaging with the policy (Clayton 2013, Interview 11; Burton 2014, Interview 19).

8.3.2 Responses to neighbourhood planning

Neighbourhood planning was perhaps the most successful concrete policy to emerge from the Localism Act with well over 1000 neighbourhood planning forums registered (Department for Communities and Local Government 2015) and over 100 successful referendums (Planning Aid England 2015). Neighbourhood plans offered people the chance to set forth a community-led vision for the designated neighbourhood area, with specific policies which, when passed at referendum, become material consideration in the planning process, with potential benefits for local heritage assets (Burton 2014: 3, Chitty 2012: 65). The Localism Act and Neighbourhood Planning Regulations (Department for Communities and Local Government 2012e) made statutory the provision of support by local authorities to Neighbourhood Development Forums (NDFs). Government funding was eventually made available (although it was not at first) to help authorities and NDFs to bring the process to fruition (Department for Communities and Local Government 2013b; 2014b; Locality 2013) and has been continually renewed with more investment as required (Locality 2014; Department for Communities and Local Government 2014b).

Neighbourhood plans are thus community-led representations of local desires for places. Plans must pass local authority scrutiny to ensure compatibility with local and national policy and a vote at local referendum, but offer considerable flexibility in terms of ability to include innovative policies relating to a wide range of issues which may be of concern to local residents, including local heritage. Whilst neighbourhood planning cannot create new policies, for instance, creating a local heritage list where none exists, the mechanism has clear potential to add layers to the understanding of local heritage, has the capacity to provide specific protections for such things as local historic character and local heritage assets, and can create opportunities to enhance heritage education or interpretation through mechanisms which exist to lever funding for community projects from developers.

Broadly, heritage has been an important part of the neighbourhood planning process. As Tony Burton (2014b) states:

> 'Almost all neighbourhood plans start with a sense of where they've come from –
> it's a heritage base. And then where are we going? It's the stuff of neighbourhood
> planning.'

Other data shows that over 93% of neighbourhood plans are engaging with heritage issues (Locus Consulting 2014: 7). However, whilst this may be true, much of the engagement of neighbourhood development fora with heritage revolves around designated assets, and there is a significant lack of understanding of how heritage and place issues can be supported by heritage bodies (Hedge et. al. *forthcoming*).

The heritage sector has made some direct investments in neighbourhood planning. The most prominent examples coming from English Heritage which produced various short guidance documents on how to consider heritage in local plans, and provided information online (English Heritage c.2011; English Heritage c.2012). Historic England is also one of the environmental statutory consultees which must be contacted by neighbourhood planning groups if the plan is considered to impact upon the historic environment (English Heritage 2014). The English Heritage guidance ranges from basic practical information regarding statutory national and local duties towards heritage, such as designations, to broader advice on how the historic environment can be used to underpin community-led planning, and place-making (English Heritage 2011b; English Heritage et. al. 2012a). It also highlights sense of place, the importance of the historic environment in local character and distinctiveness, the links to local pride and identity, and the economic potentials that historic spaces often carry. The guidance advises that understanding of this historic landscape can lead to better integration of new development and provides advice on how this might be accomplished, through practical policies relating to design, re-use, and identification of investment opportunities, which might become part of the plan itself, and of other tools which may help to support the neighbourhood plan, such as local listing or conservation area appraisals (English Heritage 2014: 3-6).

Another guidance document has been produced jointly by the four statutory advisors on environmental issues; Historic England, the Environment Agency, the Forestry Commission, and Natural England (2012). Whilst the statutory advisor status of Historic England is largely linked to formal heritage protection safeguards, such as ensuring that national designations are not undermined in neighbourhood plans, the guidance also goes beyond that and seeks to describe the importance of heritage and the environment to people and place (English Heritage 2012a; English Heritage et. al. 2012b).

The National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) also contains specific reference to Neighbourhood Planning, ensuring that projects to support it would be considered a priority and have access to English Heritage grant-in-aid (English Heritage 2013d: 4, 24). Indeed, support for various community groups and localist initiatives has emerged through this NHPP funding stream. For example, English Heritage has funded the development of 'Placecheck' – a methodological tool for communities to create a base level of understanding of their 'place' and is used extensively by groups pursuing neighbourhood plans (Burton 2014, Interview 19). This type of engagement has been positive and has contributed to a connection between the organisation and wider public and professional stakeholders involved with neighbourhood planning.

It is questionable, however, how effective much of this guidance is at reaching neighbourhood planning forums (Chetwyn 2013, Interview 7; Burton 2014, Interview 19) and a lack of close engagement for national historic environment interests in the implementation of delivery of neighbourhood planning is clear, with major contracts for the delivery of neighbourhood planning advice and grants going to a consortium led by the community-sector charity, Locality, without any direct heritage sector involvement (Chetwyn 2013, Interview 7). Arguably, being overlooked for inclusion in this type of consortium shows up the lack of long-term interaction of many historic environment sector bodies with these groups on issues of place-making and community-led heritage, through which more fruitful benefits of including heritage as a core component of neighbourhood planning could have been developed. However, the lack of a central strategic recognition of this potential has been extremely limiting.

8.3.3 Other sector efforts and investment in localism

English Heritage has been involved with a number of other projects which have had benefits relating to localism. For example, through its HER21 programme, English Heritage funded various local authorities to develop new ways of engaging people in local decision-making processes (English Heritage 2010b). The organisation has produced a wide range of guidance on issues related to place and localism; including *Pillars of the Community* (English Heritage 2012b), produced jointly with the Asset Transfer Unit (now Locality) which gives guidance on how community and heritage benefits can be achieved from such actions. Similarly, guidance on *Vacant Historic Buildings* (English Heritage 2011c) which provides owners with advice on finding community uses for buildings and transferring assets to community or social enterprises. All of these efforts channel the 'constructive conservation' (English Heritage 2008; Historic England 2015a) philosophy which is further explored in documents covering conservation area appraisals (English Heritage 2011d), local listing (2012c), and understanding place (2010a).

In these areas English Heritage has been quite proactive about exploring localism and considering how its principles are implicit in the actions and work of the heritage sector (Clayton 2013, Interview 11). For instance, Director of National Advice and Information, Deborah Lamb (2010), has stated that; 'heritage is all about the "local"… local delivery is key to the future, and this is very much on the radar at EH.'. At least at this high level, the organisation also clearly perceives the relevance of wider issues such as localism to its operation:

> "As part of its ambition to strengthen and empower the Big Society, Government is looking to reform the planning system... the implications of this are not clear but English Heritage and other heritage bodies are likely to need to change the way they work with other organisations particularly at a local level."
>
> (English Heritage 2011e: 4)

Part of the reason for this rhetoric is that English Heritage perceives a duty to react to governmental priorities, setting the tone by which heritage can contribute to them (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2006: 137). There is, however, some doubt as to whether English Heritage has put forward this intention consistently at a strategic level, or has effectively translated its aims into genuine cross-sectoral influence, particularly by achieving penetration into organisations specialising in community, localism, and place issues. This can be observed largely as a failure in achieving cross-sector influence. Tony Burton (2014b) comments that 'English Heritage is almost irrelevant' to these other interests. Burton contends that English Heritage, together with most heritage bodies, is getting better at describing complementary values, but still lack effective ways of communicating with people in order to take account of the 'emotional connections to the environments that [people] inhabit', which are the preserve of the 'place-makers'. These sentiments are echoed by former IHBC Chair Dave Chetwyn (2013), who considers there to be a disengagement with both community-engagement and place-making with the organisation and the historic environment sector more broadly.

The broad nature of the advice described here does show that there is positive potential for the sector to influence across the wider sphere of localism and community heritage, utilising public value themes to demonstrate relevance. Looking forward, Historic England's corporate plan highlights the objective to 'help national government, local authorities, and local communities create planning policies that support constructive conservation as part of sustainable development' and moreover, to 'make the case' for the value of heritage to government, 'stimulate greater participation', and 'encourage others' in the professional sectors and public to articulate heritage in their activities – potentially creating a mandate to more positively reflect this wider agenda in advice and outreach (Historic England 2014). However, practitioners have commented that English Heritage has narrowed the scope of its recognition of this type of local value in its statutory

designation capacity in recent years (Jackson 2015, pers. comm.). This is counterintuitive if the organisation's intention is to embed a more broad, relevant, and visceral concept of heritage in public perceptions.

The situation is different at the HLF where the principle that its work should be driven by an equal commitment to heritage, people and communities is consistently demonstrated (Heritage Lottery Fund2013b: 6, 8). Localism and HLF grant-giving are closely aligned for ideological and practical reasons. In terms of ideology, the HLF has always sought to fund projects which take local passion for heritage and channel it into efforts to create benefits for communities (and not simply for the heritage asset itself). Since 2010, the HLF has made a conscious effort to develop networks concerned with community ownership, including through membership of the Community Ownership Forum (which includes all major Big Society actors such as Locality, Big Society Capital, and the LGA) and the development of new ways of supporting community groups in receiving grants. Head of Historic Environment at the HLF, Ian Morrison, stated in interview that:

> '[Localism] does fit comfortably with HLF's objectives, but it has taken the localism
> agenda for that to really get other groups talking about it, and you need the
> legislation to work towards things like the community right to bid, where groups
> can come to us for grants.'

(Morrison 2014, Interview 18)

In particular, the development of ways of thinking which are designed to help facilitate localism objectives has been significant, with greater emphasis on grant-giving to non-heritage, or non-heritage specific, groups:

> 'That's the big difference; we've always focussed on heritage organisations and
> giving them grants, and now we're increasingly funding small community groups
> and giving them help in setting themselves up and understanding what it means to
> take on a heritage asset and run it. We're seeing many new types of organisation
> coming to us for funding now.'

(Ibid.)

Further to its own grant-giving, the HLF has also sought to produce guidance with other heritage bodies such as English Heritage and the Prince's Regeneration Trust (English Heritage et. at. 2012) and has also pro-actively engaged government to become involved with the government's Catalyst programme (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport 2011) to stimulate philanthropy to support cultural projects, not simply for the financial benefits, but also for the wider expertise that donors can bring to projects, building capacity, and inspiring greater cross-

community interest and participation through the involvement of local investors (Heritage Lottery Fund 2012b: 3).

The willingness of the HLF to explore new ways of achieving heritage benefits is important to the advancement of both heritage and localism as successful political narratives. It develops the demonstrable reach of the public value paradigm for heritage and helps to solidify political ties and improve the way in which heritage is understood as a contributing factor to those wider policy spheres. Whilst the HLF undoubtedly has an easier task to engage other organisations in positive programmes, owing to its powerful position as one of the largest funding distributors in the UK, the example it sets in terms of open engagement with parallel arenas is still relevant to the rest of the sector. This engagement has been among the most positive in the sector and shows the potential for enhancing and broadening political relationships and generating synergies between the heritage and localism agendas.

8.3.4 Independent NGO practice

Although high level political advocacy in response to localism was lacking from most independent heritage NGOs during the policy's development, since the agenda has matured there have been some good examples of positive responses to opportunities and perceived changes in political expectation. For example, the CBA's Local Heritage Engagement Network – mentioned in the previous chapter – represents a method of adapting the organisation's advocacy strategy to a more localist ethical base. This approach to engaging people chimes with a localist sense of putting power and responsibility in the hands of communities and also supports the organisation's 'Archaeology for All' mantra and pre-existing public value strategic aims (Council for British Archaeology 2014). Similarly, the JCNAS' Heritage Help website, which was a conscious step towards making the Committee more relevant to people who may be engaging with heritage issues from non-specialist interests, particularly those emanating from the growth of localism, such as neighbourhood planning, and community stewardship (Slocombe 2014, Interview 16). The SPAB has also consciously reacted to localism, designing and obtaining grant funding for projects such as the Maintenance Co-operatives project – which trains local communities to undertake maintenance of neighbourhood heritage assets such as churches, and wider efforts to stimulate community asset transfer (Ibid.). These projects all attempt to develop local involvement and utilise political will to fund projects with direct localist impact.

However, across the sector, responses have been mixed. This is partly to do with political apathy with perceived party political commitment to measures, and partially because the potential benefits were not recognised as being readily accessible (Lennox and Jackson 2013: 26; Chitty 2012: 64). For some organisations, such as the National Trust and Heritage Alliance, it appears that

the positive potential of localism was not clearly separated from the perceived threats in other government reform processes, such as the NPPF (Cowell 2012, Interview 4). The National Trust's *Localism at Risk* publication (Local Government Information Unit and National Trust 2013) shows this to be the case. In other instances, localism represented an agenda where cross-sector organisational or public relationships were not already in place, which would have enabled easier involvement. This, perhaps, made engagement more difficult to justify, particularly in a period where many organisations were suffering from severe financial difficulties and consequently had less resource to put into creating new partnership programmes.

A wealth of other activity from many organisations could be classified as having broadly complementary intentions, whether directly a response to political policies or simply in recognition of a broader cultural shift towards localist ways of thinking (Lennox and Jackson 2013: 28). However, apathy towards the localism agenda raises serious concerns that the sector lacks a pragmatic strategic leadership which is capable of identifying opportunities and ensuring that they are maximised – as exemplified by the failure of *Heritage Counts* to be used to any great impact in 2011. It is possible that the Heritage 2020 framework may be able to provide this strategic direction and develop a more clearly codified set of principles to guide the engagement with government and wider stakeholders on public value issue relating to promotion of the sector.

8.3.5 Local Authority activity

In the localism agenda, the principle of decentralising power from central government to people is one which requires local government to play a central role. It has an implicit function as a facilitator of community projects and an explicit need to adapt local policy to incorporate new community scale policies. The Big Society agenda has placed significant demands on local authorities; from the requirement to replace Regional Spatial Strategies with NPPF compliant local plans and produce local policies to take the place of central government policy and guidance, much of which was lost in the NPPF reforms, to the demands to accommodate 'free schools', enable community asset transfer, neighbourhood planning and other community-led schemes. These changes have come at a time when many authorities are struggling to support services in these areas, adding a greater burden where capacity is at a ten-year low. As a consequence of this, responses to localism at a local authority level have been extremely variable.

The Big Society agenda has created political, practical, and financial tensions in some areas, with some authorities struggling to adapt to facilitate localism whilst still dealing with considerable control from central government (Fearne 2012). For local authority historic environment services, the decline in capacity suffered nationally over the same period that the Big Society was being rolled out has meant that many authorities have struggled simply to undertake statutory

development control work. This has meant that there has been a significant barrier to prevent historic environment staff from engaging with localism mechanisms directly (Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers et. al. 2014: 1). Indeed, national trends are towards a contraction of community focussed opportunities operated by local heritage services: For instance, the number of posts advertised since 2010 which include components for engaging in innovative projects are far fewer than they were in the mid-2000s (Kindred 2014). Non-statutory place-shaping heritage tools, such as local listing and active engagement with communities beyond development control, are therefore under extreme resource pressure in many authorities (e.g. Bryant 2015, pers. comm.; Norfolk County Council 2015; Council for British Archaeology 2015b). Arguably, this type of financial restriction has damaged attitudes towards the Big Society across government (Timothy 2014, Interview 14).

Nonetheless, there are also good examples which illustrate the potential for developing localism: In Bristol a successful Place agenda – spanning planning, localism, and historic environment teams – has engaged in a wide variety of innovative projects which are helping the city to connect positively, and in an integrated way, with programmes of regeneration, social inclusion, civic empowerment, and heritage conservation (Insole 2014, Interview 17; City Design Group and English Heritage 2012: 12). Similarly, in Leicester, a renaissance for heritage, fuelled in part by the great public interest generated in the wake of the discovery of the remains of Richard III in the city (Kennedy 2013), has sparked a political interest in using heritage at the heart of its regeneration strategy (Timothy 2014, Interview 14; Leicester City Council 2013: 5).

The Bristol City Design Group has developed city-specific approaches to deliver localism benefits through neighbourhood planning, community-led area character appraisals, planning tools like local listing and community design statements, and working with community enterprise and civic groups to facilitate asset transfers, or community-led local improvement projects, with the historic environment an integrated component in all these schemes (Insole 2014, Interview 17). Additional management arrangements, including community asset transfer and volunteer management agreements have also been part of the local authority arsenal for several years (Quirk 2007: 3) although with the level of innovation and integration of the historic environment into these processes being variable across authorities.

Many examples of community entrepreneurship and the creation of grassroots organisations have been observed where councils have acted flexibly to allow local groups to take on council responsibilities through the Localism Act (and prior to it). The Jewellery Quarter in Birmingham, for instance, has seen a burgeoning community-led revitalisation project, facilitated through designation as a Business Improvement District centred upon a heritage identity (Jewellery Quarter Business Improvement District 2013). With support from Birmingham City Council and a positive

approach to encouraging community enterprise, heritage sector funding for the regeneration and reuse of historic assets, and various other community programmes, positive change is being affected. Whilst this model for regeneration has been utilised elsewhere prior to the Big Society (e.g. Academy of Urbanism 2013), the catalyst of the Big Society has led to local communities having better support in exploring its opportunities (Sadek 2012; City Design Group and English Heritage 2012; Morrison 2014, Interview 18).

There are important public-value principles at the heart of these successful strategies: A focus on everyday heritage, the sharing of skills across the service and with communities, a user-focussed approach to outreach and community empowerment, facilitated by experts, rather than imposed by them, and successful integration of heritage with wider specialisms such as the built environment (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment et. al. 2003: 2, 16, 26). These services set out conservation as a positive force in urban design and planning and are well positioned to engage with localism and work effectively with a broad range of partners to increase the influence of historic environment services and further contribute to mutual understanding of value principles and shared agendas.

Clearly, political support is vital to the success of these local authorities. In Bristol and Leicester, support from council leaders was hailed as important to the work of historic environment teams (Insole 2014, Interview 17; Timothy 2014, Interview 14). Where this support is in evidence positive effects are much more likely to occur as a result. Bristol City mayor George Ferguson has been a strong supporter of heritage-led regeneration in the city, and his willingness to engage with the public on the issue has allowed for a demonstration of public support, ongoing dialogue, and continual justification of investment (Ferguson 2014). On the other hand, where investment and support is not present, historic environment teams struggle to maintain user-focused services or develop initiatives with a popular democratic return and thus a cycle of decline is more likely to set in as relevance and value-for-money decline, leading to ever increasing temptation to cut the service further. In addition, innovative services are more able to attract outside investment to support council spending. Bristol and Birmingham have been successful in targeting national funding from HLF, English Heritage and others to support innovative programmes, and this helps to maintain skilled teams of staff and bolsters capacity for core work.

The localism agenda provided a stark prompt to heritage sector bodies to change the way they engaged with local authorities and local groups. Part of the broader Conservative agenda was to challenge the third sector to become a 'distinctive player' in a truly 'tri-sectoral national economy' (Evans 2011: 171), with the promise of greater powers to enable and reward innovation. Clearly, this type of reorganisation has resource implications, which perhaps gives some justification for the slow response by many organisations, but the consequential legitimisation that could have been

gained might have been significant if new roles had been explored with more enthusiasm; for instance, to provide training or assistance to local authorities and communities on how to maximise the Big Society potential of the historic environment. This role is particularly crucial for English Heritage which now, since the de-merger has, as Historic England, committed to such a role (Historic England 2014). The wider sector could equally be doing more to present positive local examples within national and local advocacy to support the wider communication of potential benefits and synergies within localism policies.

8.4 THE WIDER POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE BIG SOCIETY SINCE 2010

Despite the ideological credentials of Cameronism outlined above, it is important to qualify the substantial negative attention which the Big Society agenda has attracted since 2010 and note how this has impacted upon various actors to whom it presented potential opportunities. There are both ideological and practical political reasons why the policy was tarnished in this respect. These reasons include the perceived threats from public bodies reform, changing governmental relations with the third sector, and the overarching influence of economic austerity measures (Tam 2011). It is this wider political context to which Maurice Glasman was referring when he labelled the Big Society 'an abandoned child... mired in the financial crisis, the lack of growth, the cuts agenda and all of that' (Glasman and Norman 2012: 11).

A lack of buy-in from local government, on whom much of the onus for generating outcomes is laid in the Localism Act and general rhetoric, has lowered localism's potential in many areas. Whereas the Government's vision was one which aimed to enable passionate communities to approach local authorities and pursue innovative projects, many authorities have been slow to promote this to communities due to a lack of resources, and communities have been deterred by a lack of a proper process and capacity to enable activity within local authorities. Even where particular Big Society tools existed prior to the Localism Act (such as Community Asset Transfer), the aim to improve communication and collaboration between local authorities and communities has suffered from a lack of commitment in many places.

Without sufficient enabling financial support, localism policies have been accused of creating new local power dynamics by privileging certain communities - generally the more affluent, where time, resources, and 'white-collar' skills are more easily drawn upon – to take advantage of the policies, whilst other communities fall further behind (Madden 2010: 177). The 'right to bid' for instance, requires communities to be able to raise revenues in a short time to fund the purchase of community assets with no assistance for poorer neighbourhoods (Buser 2013; Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations 2011; Coote 2010; Glasman 2010).

These limitations are arguably derived from the wider policy intentions of the governing Conservatives which represent a skewed version of localist ideals, insofar as they are unhelpfully tethered to a particular view on what volunteerism and community should be, and how this can replace government activity in the context of a small (and austere) state (Buser 2013: 14). It has also been argued that the Big Society stifles some genuine local innovation and community spirit by 'commodifying' the process of altruistic social action (Coote 2010: 3). Much of this criticism is based upon a belief that the Government had not considered deeply enough how communities are made-up in reality and what Government encouragement of local action and third sector collaboration actually serves to do.

In this sense the wider ideological aims of the Coalition government appear more pernicious and threatening: The progressive views of Conservative modernisers such as Big Society architect Jesse Norman and Cameron's chief strategist Steve Hilton are offset by traditional neo-liberalists in the party who were championing the demise of the legacy of the 'individualist and self-obsessed' British liberalism and hailing it a paradigmatic victory for the 'traditional' – nostalgic values of friendly rural communities (Blond 2010: 16-17; Kelly 2012: 23). In this context the perception in the sector has been one of perceived threat from these ideological undercurrents – with assessments that the Big Society is a smokescreen which was not truly indicative of new opportunities beyond the otherwise attractive headline rhetoric.

Some early examples of the take-up of Big Society policies also proved compromising to the public perception of the policy and did not help to win people over to its cause. From the heritage sector, a prominent example is the actions of National Museum Liverpool which announced 30% cuts in its budget shortly before committing to joining the Liverpool Big Society 'Vanguard' area in a push to increase volunteer opportunities, including using volunteers to open the museums later into the evenings. The situation was even more damaging to public perceptions of the policy considering that the museum had, two years previously, disbanded a 1700-strong volunteer society for allegedly not being sufficiently 'compliant' with the Museum management's plans (Brown 2010). Stories such as this have seemed to dominate many public and professional impressions of the Big Society as a 'smokescreen for cuts' (Lennox and Jackson 2013: 27) or, simply, a 'Big Con' (Tam 2011: 30).

Added to this was a reactionary view that the heritage sector had been at the forefront of this kind of endeavour for years, and that the government's new found passion for 'Big Society' was, at best, lacking an appreciation of the good work already done, and at worst, an offensive and disingenuous way to claim credit for charitable and volunteer efforts (Jackson et. al. 2014). Many commentators within and beyond the heritage sector did not see the agenda being founded on a genuine governmental desire for social change and did not perceive that it would be likely to affect

the national culture in the long term (Jackson et. al. 2014: 85; Townsend 2010). As an illustration of this, Liverpool eventually pulled out of the Vanguard programme, citing an irreconcilable situation caused by the intense cuts imposed by central government on local authorities and the lack of demonstrated support for the aims of the Big Society policy (Hayman 2011; BBC 2011b). Liverpool Council Leader Joe Anderson commented at that time;

> 'How can the City Council support the Big Society and its aim to help communities
> do more for themselves when we will have to cut the lifeline to hundreds of these
> vital and worthwhile groups?'
>
> (Anderson cited in Hayman 2011)

Given this criticism, it is perhaps unsurprising that heritage organisations have been less keen to strongly ally themselves to the political agenda, despite obvious resonances that the principles of localism have with public value. Nonetheless, the analysis of the potential ways in which localism provides a model for enhancing public value – both in practical and political terms – still has validity, if only because many heritage activities were driven by similar values already.

For instance, whilst National Museums Liverpool attracted criticism for its part in the Big Society Vanguard – driven in part by a wider media criticism of the whole agenda – the group's Chairman Phil Redmond claimed that;

> 'The aim is to help the public gain better access to the public assets that their taxes
> actually maintain … It is not about cuts. This was being discussed by our trustees
> long before the Big Society came into being.'
>
> (Redmond cited in Heywood 2010)

After withdrawing from the government sponsored pilot he reiterated that; 'I remain a strong supporter of the principle behind Big Society – even if the marketing slogan is not the best!' (Redmond cited in Butler 2011). Similar reasoning could be applied equally to community archaeology or local planning issues as to museums.

In these areas new tools exist, or new frameworks are being put in place which emphasise values which could benefit heritage sector organisations and interests. There is enough evidence to support the conclusion that there is genuine popular enthusiasm backing localist initiatives and similar evidence that this enthusiasm has the potential to benefit local heritage protections and this is unlikely to disappear in the near future. So whilst the exploration of these issues is still continuing, with concerns about of the political translation of this potential at the heart of many of the current failings, the principles of localism do seem to be embedding as an emergent locus for political legitimacy (Lamb 2013; Burton 2014, Interview 19).

8.5 ANALYSIS OF SECTOR APPROACHES TO WIDER POLICY ARENAS

Through the example of localism set out here, it is argued that the principles of public value encourage the sector to seek to demonstrate the relevance of heritage to wider arenas of political and societal activity. If a consequentialist position that heritage is important precisely because it matters to people is adopted, the fact that heritage benefits are manifest in wider relationships with community, or the built or natural environment becomes an important factor in the sector's approach to strategy and advocacy. If the sector does not work to deliver heritage benefits across these wide arenas its public value relevance will be ceded to other stakeholders, which may mean a further decline in the political capital for historic environment protections and ever greater marginalisation of conservation and archaeology within modern political affairs.

The public value era has seen the sector increase the breadth of its engagement in this way. The positive examples of engagement with localism given above are particularly politically beneficial because they demonstrate heritage's public value credentials within an arena which is subject to governmental attention. In this sense, the pragmatic appropriation of politically complimentary agendas is a sensible strategy. By engaging practices such as outreach, community co-creation, and local regeneration efforts, which are geared towards public value benefits through these types of agendas – whether the Big Society, place, or other agendas – heritage actors ensure they are seen to contribute to political priorities. This allows for the mainstreaming of the public heritage agenda as well as enabling the creation of long-lasting cross-sector connections, the achievement of political authorisation, increased public understanding, and establishment of legitimacy for the whole spectrum of its activity.

Where less than full engagement with these wider agendas is observed, there are several potential reasons: Firstly, a lack of cross-sector connections creates an influence deficit, which is difficult to overcome. Organisations often lack the personal connections with natural or community sector bodies, and energy to develop strategy or meaningful projects. Developing better connections, over time, establishing more effective communication, and seeking to develop shared narratives with complementary bodies should lead to the development of mutually beneficial public value agendas and joined-up action in the future (Clarke 2014).

Secondly, since 2010 there has been a drop off in the momentum towards public value and a sense that current political agendas offered little potential for heritage. Instead of identifying localism as an area through which many of the broad public value messages from the sector's advocacy under previous Governments could be salvaged and advanced, many sought a retrenchment of focus upon statutory preservationist roles and economic instrumentalism – driven

by a perception that that was where government ideological sympathies lay (e.g. Beyrouty and Tessler 2013, Historic Houses Association 2014). Thirdly, these feelings were compounded by the restrictions placed on many organisations due to declining resources and increased financial pressure, contributing to a risk-averse attitude which stifled innovation (Geohagen 2014b). Arguably, a more pragmatic approach in conjunction with a stronger populist advocacy stance could have achieved more to overcome these obstacles.

Localism is only one example of an alternate policy arena within which public value heritage can seek to become politically relevant. At the heart of the issue of relevance is the recognition that public heritage values permeate wider parts of policy and society. This understanding should help to guide the strategic direction and the advocacy efforts of sector actors. A narrow heritage focused on protectionism only has limited potential to do this. It is therefore a broad definition of public value heritage which provides the best hope for effective partnerships with wider sectors, and pragmatic and innovative responses to government social, cultural, and environmental agendas.

The sector has, however, not been universally successful at achieving this type of influence during the public value era. For example, for all the talk of place-making, constructive conservation, and the importance of heritage in the wider built and natural landscape, there is no explicit mention of heritage or historic environment within clearly relevant documents such as the 2009 document *World Class Places* (Department for Communities and Local Government 2009). It is difficult to say whether this indicates a failure on the part of English Heritage to develop the necessary influence with government or a failure on the part of the wider heritage sector to adopt appropriate strategic policies and conduct effective advocacy to earn a place within these wider policy communities. However, it shows that in order to ensure the successful integration of a broad heritage narrative across a wide spectrum of activity, a considerable effort needs to be put into building connections and focussing resources into demonstrating relevance.

The sector's inability to embrace the wider policy potentials of localism and other complimentary agendas not only leads to a failure to ensure optimum political capital, but also presents the sector's narrow protectionist base as one which is non-contributory to present narratives of progress and fundamentally of limited relevance to contemporary society. This is, of course, not to suggest that the sector abandons the traditional system of heritage protections that have built up over the past century. These mechanisms, by and large, work well and should be defended and developed as one facet of a far wider approach to heritage protection and defining how and why heritage is important, and to whom. Exploring these opportunities through policies such as localism is a potentially effective way to do this.

New agendas will continue to rise which are complementary to public value heritage. Whether exploring consequential societal benefits to health, poverty reduction, social wellbeing and inclusion of engagement with heritage or tapping into big government agendas relating to such things as social cohesion and inequality (Tett 2014). Engaging with these debates allows cultural heritage to be understood as an affecting phenomenon of everyday life – something which can be influential in the way we approach social interactions, how we create our identities, and how we reflect ourselves to the wider world, and understand others.

Conclusions

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This study set out to investigate the hypothesis that the shift towards a public-centred, value-led understanding of the historic environment offers opportunities to develop historic environment sector practices in response to political and societal influences which act to shape the reputation, relevance, and political sustainability of the sector in practice. This observation of a value shift, over the past two decades, is attested to by a dominance of academic and professional rhetoric which emphasises broad and inclusive definitions of heritage, accepts the everyday importance of things and places to people, and both emanates from and contributes to our ontological perspectives on the world – our sense of place, quality of life, memory, happiness, security, and wellbeing. In addition, the role of heritage has expanded to be one of creating instrumental benefits to society, culture, the environment, and the economy, all of which reflect an underlying requirement to produce benefits for people.

The study aimed to discover the significance of this 'public value paradigm' for the historic environment, as well as its viability as a guiding ideology, by analysing its current uses by the sector and government, considering how it is influenced by the various political processes and structures of the state, sector and society, and predicting how these influences could be managed in the future. This final chapter provides a summary of the findings, draws conclusions, discusses the contribution the research makes to existing discourse, and reviews the project, highlighting limitations, and making recommendations for future research.

9.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISSCUSSION OF RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

Documentary evidence used in this thesis has been analysed to show how heritage, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, came to be dominated by rhetoric on its value to the public. The sector used this public-centred heritage ethic (which took ideological cues from previous eras, but which

was substantially expanded) to hook into the New Labour government agendas of the time. Theories of public value were discussed widely in the sector and academe during the mid and late-2000s. Led by commentators such as John Holden and Robert Hewison (2004, 2006) and organisations like the HLF (Clark 2006; Clark and Maeer 2008), the sector began to develop a framework for operation based upon theories of public administration which cast it as guardian of the public interest in the past, and sought to *create* public benefits as a central tenet of its existence. This logic was used to develop new ways of thinking about the role of heritage in society and its nature as a broadly instrumental discipline which was conducted *for people*, provoking new thinking on conceptions of values and measurement of value for money, and affecting how the sector pursued advocacy towards government based on these principles.

However, after the political and economic shifts that occurred following the 2008 economic crash and the subsequent election of the Conservative-led Coalition, some parts of the sector have begun to implicitly doubt the continued viability of the nascent public value framework for guiding sector strategy and operations. Furthermore, in some cases it is clear that the principles of public value have failed to become fully instilled in professional understandings, and that there remains a markedly narrow approach to defining and describing heritage which has been promoted through some sectoral publications and advocacy, ultimately limiting the potential for societal and political relevance which is sought as an outcome of the public value mission. New government agendas of austerity, small state government, and a decline in the political will to spend money on heritage and wider social and cultural services have also come to weigh on recent sector strategy and advocacy.

What this thesis attempts to do is to show that the essence of the public value ethos remains largely unchanged, despite some continued failure to display strategic unity and fundamentally grasp public value principles in some sector activity, and despite a new, less favourable, economic and political context. Arguably, the public value of heritage has even become more internalised by state actors, who despite often failing to act, implicitly recognise the public value basis of heritage, and understand that societal expectations relating to it are high, even if they do not cohere with party political ideology or governance strategy on intervention in its management or protection. Furthermore, instead of losing relevance with New Labour's fading policy priorities, it is argued that further development of the public value framework represents a cogent and fruitful way to guide the sector in its current political challenges.

Accepting new goals in respect of a public value framework will require the careful consideration by sector actors of the deep implications of the public value paradigm and a consequent shift in expectations and emphasis in political and public engagements, embracing a wider role and definition of heritage and a reassessment of the predominance of traditional value-

led processes. However, in doing this it may be possible to build a stable foundation for future sector activity, based upon sound ethical principles and positive relationships with public and government stakeholders.

9.2.1 The public value framework

Taking a starting point of Holden and Hewison's proposals for a heritage sector public value framework for planning, measuring, and communicating heritage and then delving deeper into the theoretical detail of Moore and his collaborators and followers, this thesis has attempted to restate the value of the public value framework within a new political context. Furthermore, the analysis is explicitly contextualised in the political realm rather than existing in a theoretical vacuum, and considers the real political influences upon the sector, which are examined for their effects on how the public value ethic is utilised in practice, and how effectively the public value framework is adopted in the sector.

The resulting advice, which should be relevant to both government and sector stakeholders, describes a method of engagement which is at the same time pragmatic in the face of political realities and the prevailing culture of government in England, and of modern state structures and economy, but which is optimistic and innovative about the way sector bodies can capitalise on the ethical importance of heritage within the democratic public sphere. Whilst Moore provides the core principles for defining 'public managers' as guardians and creators of public benefit, it is only through the further consideration of this political context of the historic environment that a truly nuanced interpretation of Moore's concept can be arrived at which is appropriate and helpful for the current challenges of heritage management.

Key to this advice is the need to pursue better relationships with public, professional, and political stakeholders, operate more effectively within this authorising environment, and put continued effort into the representation of the purpose and benefits of heritage, not its special status. Essentially, the public value framework provides a way to organise strategic sector responses to political challenges and societal responsibilities which respect the principles of a public value ethos. Moore's 'strategic triangle' for public management articulates the responsibilities of public managers as being to (1) identify a contribution to public values, create benefits and be responsive to public needs; (2) develop legitimacy and demonstrate support; and (3) ensure operational capacity. This 'triangle' defines a strategic direction, role, purpose, and audience, implies the need for the sector to develop effective measurement and engagement and ensure appropriate working mechanisms.

These responsibilities can be articulated through the implied relationships between politicians, heritage sector professionals, professionals in other sectors, and publics, as set out in the

authorising environment – the spectrum for public management stakeholder relationships created by Moore, expanded by Clark (2015a), and further analysed in context in this thesis. The authorising environment highlights needs to (1) engage with stakeholders in particular ways based upon the wide meanings and applications of heritage; (2) demonstrate *public support and legitimacy*, (3) maintain or build *political reputation*, (4) develop *effectiveness* in working practices, and (5) establish *relevance* with other sectors and the public.

9.2.2 Public value practice and political contexts
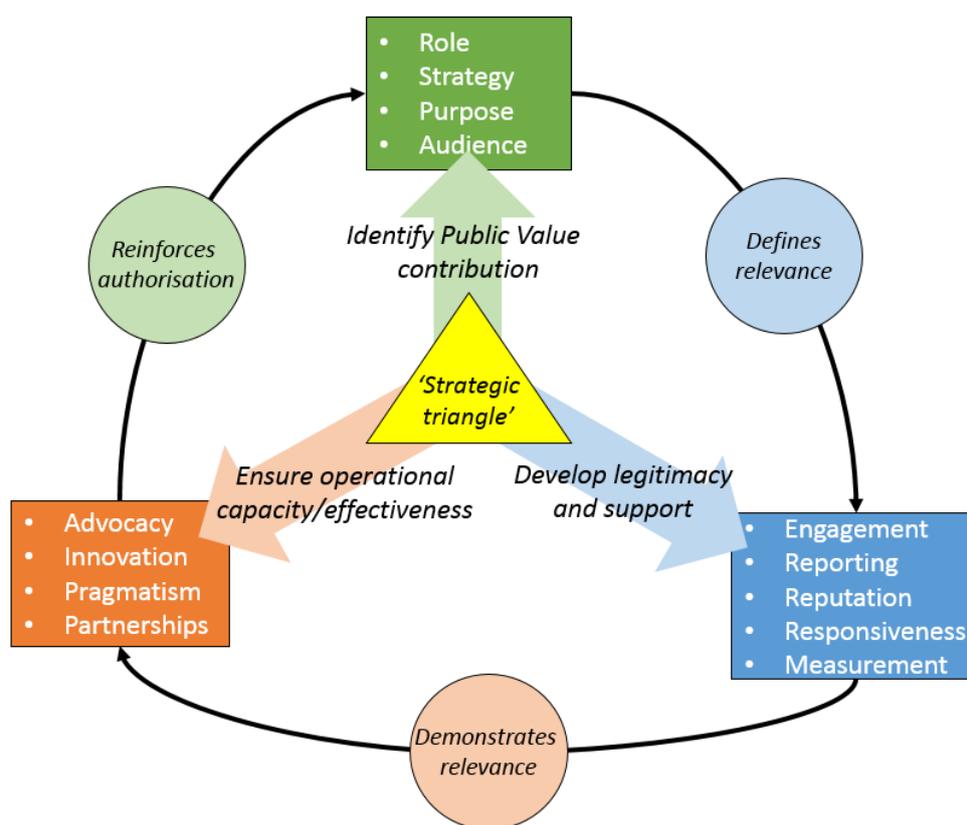
Fig 9.1 – A strategic model to fulfil public value framework goals

Following a public value framework leads to conclusions which suggest appropriate organisational approaches to strategy and practice. These conclusions are: (1) Bodies should pursue wide *partnerships* which highlight the relevance of heritage across broad policy areas, pursuing better relationships with different government departments and creating public benefits with allied bodies in the associated communities sector, and the built and natural environment sectors. (2) In order to demonstrate the benefits of a relevant and effective public value heritage, sector organisations will need to ensure genuine *public engagement* and responsiveness to audiences. This may mean co-production of policy, measurement, or direct consultation and will vary depending upon the audience, the management activity, and the public benefit. (3) Engagement with government should employ a *populist advocacy* approach, drawing on the strengths of the public value ethos and utilising public legitimacy to underpin expertise. This will mean a greater emphasis on communicating messages with people to ensure understanding and enabling

measurement of public opinion, and will develop a strong democratic basis for advocacy. ***Activism*** is a practice which may be utilised more by certain institutions to achieve this. (4) In order to ensure effectiveness, however, working relationships with government will also require ***pragmatism*** to balance political reputations and retain an expert reliability which does not impede effective relations. This may mean recognising political opportunities to develop heritage relevance to wider government agendas and tailoring engagement to develop appropriate outcomes.

9.2.3 Contribution to discussion of public value dominance and alternate values

The public value ethos which underpins the above framework and the common rhetoric utilised by the sector reflects, implicitly, some basic assumptions about what heritage is, the way that values are formed, and the way they are understood by people. This study develops understandings of these values which draws on the ontological connections that people have with places and things, and instrumental effects that arise from them over time. This way of thinking shows the importance of such things as a plural understanding of what constitutes heritage, and an approach to management which is participatory and context specific. By doing this, not only are the paradigmatic elements of a public value heritage brought into better focus for the purposes of discussing political and public engagement, but alternate ethical elements which perpetuate in heritage practice are also contextualised in a revealing way.

The use of Raymond Williams' epochal analysis and characterisation of cultural process and transition is useful in coming to terms with how this complex value system manifests within heritage practice. Epochal characterisation reveals the three strands of ethical value which exist in a variable balance throughout this development. These are preservationism, economic instrumentalism, and public value. In terms of the present balance of values it is argued that traditional preservationist processes, by virtue of a declining relevance to the core purpose of governance, have been falling from mainstream political relevance.

Nonetheless, the public ethos, whilst often dominant in terms of rhetorical purpose, has not influenced a wholesale change from the preservationist practices which have characterised previous eras. Traditional values derived from these alternate ways of thinking about heritage still underpin the majority of sector practices, particularly statutory provisions. In these cases public value may simply be a politically influential gloss which has affected the way these processes are judged. Given the failure of these practices to win political support in recent years, the reputation of the sector has suffered during this period. However, whereas under New Labour the sector was relatively successful in shifting political narratives to recognise public value benefits, since 2010 the narratives employed by many stakeholders have become both withdrawn to the 'core' of statutory preservationist duties, and focussed primarily upon economic instrumentalism as a basis for value

measurement – both at the expense of public values. This is due in part to a perception that public value is less amenable to current political agendas, and partly due to a continued lack of deeper realisation among inward-looking niche professions (e.g. archaeology and conservation) of the breadth and meaning of public value heritage.

Part of the reason for the importance of using public values to underpin sector direction is that they are fundamentally different from previous protectionist value frameworks in that they have a potential political influence which is far more relevant to the core purposes of government. Public values, understood in terms of ontological connections, plural interests, and emotional resonances, develop synergies with wider areas of society and policy. This is a vitally important distinction as it allies the heritage agenda to wider issues such as community, planning, the built and natural environment, and social, physical and mental health and well-being. With a perception of declining government interest in traditional monumental heritage, these areas provide opportunities to restore reputation and relevance to the sector's work. This is done by proving that heritage can deliver broad benefits to society, culture, environment and economy and pursuing the integration of heritage into alternate programmes of ministerial influence, policymaking, political alliances, and funding.

To gain relevance and political capital the underpinning logic of preservationist mechanisms should continue to be broadened and characterised for their public benefits, and technical conservation processes allied with such issues as skills training, community interests and associated values. Economic instrumentalism is also an important value, and one which is likely to command greater priority during periods of relative economic hardship, but should generally be cast as one among many instrumental effects, rather than privileged as the primary aim of heritage practice. It is vital, in this way, that the basis for understanding heritage value is a broad one, which moves on from narrow perceptions of heritage of national importance, thresholds of importance, and objectivised criteria for expert judgement. The implementation of a public value framework based on this ethic requires the realisation that preservationist practices account for only a small part of the public relevance of heritage and a small part of the political potential of heritage.

9.2.4 Political context, relations, and securing the future of the heritage sector

The usefulness of this analysis of public value, and the purpose of the public value framework, is to guide sector stakeholders to the achievement of the goals of the public manager: Greater effectiveness, better relationships, and maximised public value creation. Earlier chapters have sought to highlight the structural impositions to this goal, and characterise the present political challenges in terms of governing culture and ideology throughout the public value era. To this end, it is judged that particular sector responses have arisen which have underplayed the political

influence of public value or which are mired by traditional relationships with political institutions and government.

The sector faces long-term challenges to achieving effective advice and advocacy to government and influencing policy: The culture of departmentalism means that bodies must be pragmatic and nurture wide relationships in order to gain influence. This is difficult given the low political priority assigned to heritage and the tendency for its operations to be understood as being narrow in their effect and relevance. Policy-making cultures are also a perennial influence which an effective sector should know how to approach in terms of choosing appropriate advocacy endeavours, utilising reputations built on technical expertise as well as legitimacy drawn from public support. Whilst processes of policy-making are variable, the principles of engagement defined within the public value framework should always be useful in this regard to directly reflecting public will articulated in the public sphere, even if unsympathetic government agendas dominate the political scene. Furthermore, wider aims of a public value sector to enhance cross-departmental relevance and reputation are likely to take time to develop, with realistic assessments of the position of the historic environment in the hierarchy of government always needing to be acknowledged.

Intra-sector relationships are also important in ensuring effective engagement with other stakeholders in the authorising environment: Sector actors need to improve their organisational unity by developing a stronger strategic vision for the sector, and also pursuing greater strategic collaboration with other sectors. The Heritage 2020 plan currently provides a clear opportunity to do this. The purpose of strategic unity is to embed public value principles and allow the development of mutually beneficial advocacy programmes and clearer conformity to a shared vision in other organisational strategic policies and advocacy objectives.

9.2.5 Post-crash relationships with government

A critical axis in the analysis of the potential of public value is the political changes which occurred in the national context following the 2008 economic crash. This external event has strongly influenced British politics and has shaped agendas and the ideological mandate of the Conservative-led Governments since 2010.

In this context, perceived challenges facing the historic environment sector have been accentuated by restrictive economic conditions resulting from the austerity agenda, and a small-state governing ideology which has led to a restrictive approach to policy-making, both in terms of policy networks and issue selection. Under these conditions, perceptions that government considered social and cultural public services as soft targets for cuts has led to a reversal in the

emphasis on public value, with bodies retrenching behind statutory preservationist practices and rhetoric of economic instrumentalism, to the detriment of public value endeavours.

The policy record of the 2010-2015 Coalition Government was one which displayed a distinct lack of interest in the advocacy contributions of the historic environment sector and was certainly a regression from the example set by the 2010 *Government Statement on the Historic Environment* in terms of the support given to develop the broad relevances of the historic environment to policies such as planning, natural heritage, and communities (as exemplified in the initial drafts of the NPPF, the sale of nationally owned forests, and the Localism Act). However, whilst threats to the historic environment sector continue to be potentially serious, many of these relate to a more wholesale change in the nature of public services in an austere state, which have had knock-on effects on the delivery of public value.

The sector must also take a share of the blame in this exclusion from political relevance. This is illustrated by the sector's failure to pragmatically engage with the Government's localism agenda in a way which developed the obvious synergies between the policy and public value heritage, which would have consequently forced heritage into a more politically favourable position. At the same time processes such as conservation and archaeological advice in planning have suffered due to a lack of resource, as well as negative perceptions of the purpose of those processes (assumed to be preventing growth) and have not effectively shown their public value potential as, for instance, have local 'Assets of Community Value' – a key instrument of localism. Conversely there is limited evidence of an ethical rejection of public value heritage by government. Opportunities, although necessarily more restricted in terms of public finance than under New Labour, still exist to ally the historic environment with public value benefits, with the example of localism and place agendas showing this. It is possible that the modes of these potential public value engagements will change in the coming years, with potentially a growth in volunteerism or philanthropic funding, but the principles remain valid.

There is a distinct parallel between the 2010 and 2015 Cameron Governments and the 1979 and 1984 Thatcher Governments in terms of approaches to deregulation and an erosion of previous socially focussed government policies. However, whereas Thatcher attempted to use the past as a tool to establish her new vision for Britain, Cameron has substantially ignored heritage as being largely irrelevant (beyond some recognition of market value of a limited type of heritage to tourism) to his. Whilst accepting the many difficult political influences during this period, the failure to overturn this government omission of heritage from its social and environmental agendas must, in substantial part, lie with the sector.

Those historic environment sector bodies which have retreated to preservationism and economic instrumentalism during the present period of financial restriction have thus been taking an approach which is not helpful in the long term, or in any real sense in the short term. Although economic instrumentalism has an important role to play in an austerity agenda, focussing upon an extremely limited spectrum of heritage (i.e. heritage attractions and important designated heritage) does as much to damage perceptions of the relevance of the sector as it does to support the continuation of its role.

The public value of heritage is not articulated by the 1% of protected national heritage, but by the 99% of local historic sites and places with which people identify on a daily basis. Designated heritage does, of course, score very highly in people's responses when considering what they value about their environments, so protection for great historic assets is not likely to wane in any great degree. However, a more politically progressive narrative requires moving from a system which *assumes* value and privileges expert-defined historic assets, to one which attaches value to a historic building based upon a contribution to being and place. This would enable the plural ontological connections to place and instrumental benefits and enhanced personal opportunities engendered by engagement with or access to heritage to become the central driver of sector activity. The collective discovery of how the past influences our shared present and future, although inclusive of monumental and designated or directly profitable heritage, needs to be subject to a much wider recognition by stakeholders and government, and narratives of contribution to being and place elevated beyond protection and profit.

The public value framework helps the sector to deliver this more convincing type of message to government. It represents a strategic approach to transcending the limited debates on economic value and the narrow policy of monumental protectionism. It does this by appealing to a much wider range of policy areas and values, drawing on public backing and utilising different political avenues to the ones restricted by unsympathetic government agendas in the present post-crash period. Good work is undoubtedly taking place in this regard, with prominent examples given in the previous chapters from the HLF, National Trust, and Heritage 2020 group. However, the sector has missed opportunities to engage with wider professional sectors and government agendas and has not built deep connections with other organisations to maximise the relevance of public value heritage and build a public legitimacy. The sector is, predominantly, still far too obsessed with the monumental heritage and does not pay enough attention to the ontological landscape of public values and the inherent interconnectivity of heritage issues and place, community, health, and wellbeing. There is still virtually no debate in England in either government or the historic environment sector over the Faro Convention, or principles and vision for heritage contained within it. This type of public value vision is lacking within the sector still.

Beyond these issues of ethical principle, practical details of how to develop relationships and strategic direction under a public value framework are also important to consider. The sector needs to work to overcome: (1) the internal sectoral struggles for influence and recognition; (2) the fragmented nature of sector niche interests and lack of effective links outside the sector; and (3) being out of touch with the public, spending too much time focussed on expert-led and closed preservationist practices. The public value framework seeks to enable the sector to assert its relevance, enable a stronger and more unified advocacy platform, and encourage innovation which will develop opportunities to increase how embedded heritage practice is within political and social processes which have greater political capital. This research should, therefore, be useful to sector organisations who are struggling to find a sound basis for influence in the current post-crash political environment; inspiring strategic policies which develop public support and advocacy strategies which are likely to chime with wider relevant agendas. Of course, the possibilities will be limited by the economic austerity of the present era, but public value strategies will remain relevant as the economic system recovers and public spending strategies are rethought by future governments, inevitably creating new opportunities. What is likely, however, is that the paradigm for heritage protection will not return to its former shape and monumental protectionism will not regain its political relevance. In this future context, an innovative and flexible public value sector will have more opportunities to build a place at the heart of a vibrant group of socially, culturally, environmentally, and economically instrumental sectors.

9.3 REVIEW OF THE PROJECT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.3.1 Limitations of this study

There are a number of ways in which the study has been limited in scope by the design and focus of its methodology and the limited geographical context necessitated by the size of the study. Many of these limitations are assessed in chapter two. However, certain aspects of these methodological limitations are worth reiterating in the light of results. These are, firstly, that by adopting a high-level political analysis, the study focusses upon political instruments and relationships at the expense of detailed analysis of the finer points of public engagement. Secondly, by adopting an overtly theoretical approach, the study lacks a strong foundation in empirical data on heritage practice. Both of these issues are of significance as they arguably affect the potential of the study to put forward a convincing case of immediate value to professional stakeholders.

These connected points both stem from the qualitative approach and conceptually exploratory purpose of the original research question, which sought to examine ethical understandings of heritage in the context of political processes, rather than assessing practical

actions and effectiveness of real-world responses to ethical understandings. Essentially the research does not go the full way to providing a theory-to-action plan for the sector or the state. Rather it is a piece of work which should act to raise the notion that strategic direction may need to be reconsidered in the light of a new conceptual articulation of sector purpose. Additionally, the type of qualitative analysis produced as a result of the researcher's personal reactions to and observations of sector practice place an emphasis on informal data sources.

Case studies which examine the potential of public engagement practices to deliver goals within the public value framework would have been valuable additions to the discussions of political systems and relationships. For instance, instead of analysing the National Trust's advocacy success from a perspective on the policy process, the study could have focussed upon the detailed steps taken in order to develop practices such as media penetration, ministerial briefings, and public engagement. The grassroots elements of the engagement process are also vital in understanding the dynamics of public value action. The study traces the logic of the public value framework from grassroots to Westminster, and substantially omits the audience analysis of what makes the public engage in populist heritage activity and advocacy. This type of analysis of the operation of public value strategies in practice would have potentially allowed for a clearer justification of the potential of the framework to deliver the stated potentials. Both of these approaches provide interesting potential for future research.

9.3.2 Execution of the methodology

In addition to these limitations, there are several identified flaws in the study which are traceable to aspects of execution and planning. These are: (1) an oversight in the form of a failure to establish an adequate recording mechanism for qualitative data gathering in informal settings, (2) the potential for a greater number of interviews to be conducted, and (3) the limited relevance of the survey data to the eventual conclusions of the work.

The issue of the adequate recording of qualitative encounters is one which became apparent during the research process as understandings gleaned from particular meetings, conferences, or events, and informal conversations began to shape the perceptions of public value and sector practice. At the outset this type of participatory interaction was not anticipated to be as significant as it turned out to be, and as a result no procedures were put in place to record this informal form of participant observation. In hindsight, the project would have potentially been more methodologically convincing had these encounters been systematically documented and analysed in a consistent fashion.

The problem of a limited number of interviews is a related but opposite issue. The framework for rigorous recording was in place, but the quantity of data was, potentially, less than it could

helpfully have been. These interviews, whilst highly productive, could have been conducted with a wider range of subjects in order to sample attitudes and insights from more sectoral organisations, rather than simply those deemed central to the analysis and key examples. On the other hand, retaining contact with many of the smaller number of interviewees proved valuable on many occasions, as 'off the record' insights were communicated which substantially enhanced my understanding of particular processes and relationships. Equally, each interview was conducted in an individual way so as to enable particular insights based upon the given situation. It is unlikely that this type of insight would have been accessible if the purpose of the interviews was to sample a wider range of sector organisations and achieve directly comparable data.

Finally, the relevance of the survey of professionals, which was conceived early in the project process, ultimately added little to the refined focus on the public value framework. The survey has therefore had limited impact on the study, despite in itself creating some interesting data relating to the existence of professional ideologies, public value dominance, and preservationist practices.

9.3.3 Further study

The above section notes the perceived limitations caused by this study's focus on ethics and political theory. Any future development of the ideas in this study should seek to develop the ethical conclusions to emphasise the public value framework in a practical and empirical way. Heritage organisations, or cross-sectoral forums such as the Heritage 2020 steering groups or HEF would be well positioned to take up the propositions of this thesis regarding public value and conduct research into how, in practice, their particular organisations could seek to employ them in the context of specific audiences and processes and where different emphases on roles and relationships within the authorising environment would have the most relevance. Furthermore, cross-sector exploration of public value strategies would be beneficial in identifying areas for improving effectiveness and as such, projects undertaken under the aegis of the HEF or THA could achieve notable impact which would add to the research done by the HLF and collaborators in the mid-2000s. There would also be potential to undertake this research as an academic exercise, utilising more in-depth primary research to measure, record, and analyse public and political effects of the public value framework in practice, including considering the political effectiveness of advocacy based upon public value claims, audience research, and practical methods of engagement.

Further research would also be valuable to expand the brief discussion of wider geographical contexts and trends which provoke interesting questions about the wider structure of feeling relating to public value and heritage. The European context, for instance, offers an important axis for understanding the use of public value rhetoric in the ethical development of European

conceptions of human rights and cultural expression, and how values-led endeavours have been interpreted in the context of the domestic political structures of various state parties. A modern investigation paralleling Baldwin-Brown's (1905) pioneering multi-country investigation of conservation practice would be fascinating to explore in the public value era. The wider UK context would also provide an interesting parallel analysis to discuss the direct impacts of structural and ideological differences in government and a useful way to show how the public value framework enables responses in variable political contexts with different organisational requirements.

9.4 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

This study has demonstrated that there is significant potential in the concept of public value to describe historic environment sector ethics and help shape practice. Cultural heritage is a complex ontological and political phenomenon and it cannot be divorced from the social and cultural environments within which it exists. Constructing a public value framework to guide the strategic engagements of the sector provides a way to create a platform which recognises the strength of public feeling attached to heritage.

In terms of the professional political engagement of heritage management, the development of an approach to delivering heritage services which understands a responsibility for public value management and which is responsive to variable political structures of government and policy-making, based upon a demonstrable public backing, provides the roadmap for a stable, influential heritage sector of the future. Stakeholders need to focus on how heritage adds value to the public sphere and navigates the political, paying particular attention to how to rationalise the existing monumental preservationist processes and narrow narratives of heritage tourism within an appropriate public value ethic. Heritage is also an economic contributor, and has responsibilities to achieve sustainability and profit which, where possible, should always be factored into debates, although never as a sole identifier of legitimacy. What all this means is that public value heritage should be a subject which is merging ever closer into the holistic discussions of what makes our environment special, what makes culture important, and how society should function. The realisation of this will be a key challenge for the historic environment sector in years to come.

Appendices

Information on Historic Envionment Organisations

Table 1: types of historic environment sector organisations

Type of body	Examples	Description	Significant responsibilities
Government departments	DCMS, DCLG, DEFRA Others include: BIS, DECC, DfE,	Government is the central actor in the direction of national agendas, and the creation of legislation and policy. Departments maintain policy portfolios with a high degree of central control. Departments also maintain oversight of government agencies (such as NDPBs). Government is also a regulator of both the sector and local government. In the past 30 years government has arguably become much more conscious of its public presentation due to changing modes of public engagement with politics and portrayal in the media (Moran 2011: 237).	Core responsibility for national policy making (within government hierarchy); dictate advisory relationships; regulate govt. agencies; consult with sector and local government; important informal influence of perceptions of policy areas.
National Heritage Agencies	Historic England (HE), *formerly English Heritage (EH)*, Cadw, Historic Environment Scotland (HES), *formerly, Historic Scotland (HS)*	The lead government advisors on the historic environment in England, Scotland, and Wales. These bodies have a privileged connection to government and have statutory responsibilities (see chapter six). With the exception of Cadw which exists within government, these agencies are hybrid sector/government bodies, with variable characteristics of each, being both funded and overseen by government, but having executive control over many functions. This leads to the work force being largely specialist in their areas of operation and contributes to a position as a body which is aligned as allies with the wider sector bodies.	Advise govt. on policy; produce sector guidance; maintain public visibility; act as a statutory advisor on heritage protections (planning system); act as a funding body for the sector; Wales and Scotland (and formerly in England) manage visitor attractions in the national collection (now undertaken by a charitable trust in England)

Other government agencies (and former agencies)	Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF); Design Council, *now a charity*; Planning Inspectorate (PINS); Arts Council England (ACE); Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), *now part of Design Council*; Museum, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), *now part of ACE*	A variety of government agencies and former agencies exist with various roles within the historic environment. These bodies undertake a wide variety of administrative functions on behalf of government. Budgetary independence and devolved responsibility for certain administrative tasks. For example, the HLF distributes funds for the National Lottery to good causes. Some government sponsored bodies, such as the national museums, do not have a direct role in delivering government policy, and other fulfil mainly technical functions. Some bodies, such as the Design Council, were axed in Public Bodies reforms in 2010 and are now independent charities, although still receive some government subsidy. Organisations like CABE had their activities substantially reduced during this reorganisation.	HLF: Lottery funding distributor; Design Council: Champions design and place agenda; PINS: Govt. inspectors of local planning policies and appeals
National Trusts	National Trust, National Trust for Scotland (NTS)	The National Trust (for England and Wales) is unique in the sector being an independent charity which is invested with particular statutory roles described within the National Trust Acts, giving it special statues as a protector of national heritage. It is also, by virtue of its size a uniquely influential independent body in the heritage sector. Its membership has been, consistently, an example of the growth in environmental NGOs, against other national trends. The National Trust spans several sectors and has expertise in cultural and natural heritage management and conservation sectors, but is also a large scale land-owner and developer and is involved with other projects such as promoting green energy and promoting healthy lifestyles for children. The NTS works similarly in Scotland but is an independent organisation.	The largest independent heritage charity with over four million members; has an important advocacy profile; strong public recognition; active natural and cultural conservation programmes; broad interests.

Umbrella bodies	The Heritage Alliance (THA), Historic Environment Forum (HEF), Small Champions, The Archaeology Forum (TAF)	Umbrella bodies are collectives of wider sector organisations and have varying purposes and activities. Some umbrella bodies, like Historic Environment Forum have a primary practical purpose used to feed directly into policy and advocacy processes. HEF work in close collaboration with Historic England and have a high degree of influence, being taken to represent an official representation of the sector. HEF are responsible for the production of the Heritage 2020 sector strategy for the historic environment. Others groups, like the Heritage Alliance, are entirely independent of the state (in name, but not funding) and are important primarily for the breadth of organisations which it represents and who engage with its advocacy aims and for the forum it provides for discussion of issues. The Alliance helps to ensure members have unified understandings but also undertakes advocacy work in a representational capacity.	Lobbies and directs sector advocacy; defines shared policy objectives; important figureheads for HE or state interactions with sector bodies; defines shared strategic priorities; ensures shared sector understanding and agreement on issues; provides a forum for discussion; often a lead partner in research.
Professional Institutes	Chartered Institute of Archaeologists (CIfA), Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation (IHBC), Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO),	The two main professional institutes which operate within the sector; the Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation (IHBC) and the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA). Other smaller or niche heritage interests have their own professional institutes (e.g. Institute of Conservation (ICON), Royal Archaeological Institute (RAI), Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers (FAME), and the Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (AGLAO). Further institutes operate with wider remits which include the historic environment in some capacity or with which the sector has considerable interaction (e.g. Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI), the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors (RICS), the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), the	Professional or technical unions for specialists and practitioners in a particular field, with some overlap in various institutes; provide professional standard setting and monitoring and produce guidance; work with government to implement standards; usually have public grievance procedures; undertake advocacy work

		Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland (RIAS) and the Chartered Institute of Building (CIOB). These bodies feed in the specialised advice of the professional services they represent in much the same way as the professional institutes.	
National Amenity Societies	The Ancient Monuments Society; the Council for British Archaeology; the Garden History Society; the Georgian Group; the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings; the Twentieth Century Soc.; and the Victorian Soc.	National Amenity Societies (NAS) are established expert bodies in their respective areas of interest, with some being relatively niche (e.g. Garden History Society) and others broad (e.g. CBA). In addition to wider variable interests (e.g. research, publication, and membership schemes) these independent, voluntary and charitable organisations are statutory consultees to local government in planning matters relating to the full or partial demolition of listed buildings since the Town and Country Planning Act 1968 (Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1968: Part V 56.2) and currently have their responsibilities enshrined under ODPM Circular 09/2005 (Annex A.4) and Welsh Office Circular 61/98 and 01/98. The groups often have wider casework roles as well.	Statutory position in the planning process (limited definition); independent advocate to government; often produce research and public material; may engage in public campaigns; traditionally expert bodies; most are member organisations although demographics vary
Civic Societies	Civic Voice (*national umbrella group*)	With over 1000 individual civic societies in England, the civic movement gained political notability in the 1950s and has been a feature of local government planning since that time. Since 1957 the Civic Trust provided a national independent voice for local societies. The Trust went into administration in 2009. In 2010 a new body, Civic Voice was launched to replace it, operating a much leaner strategy focussed on political advocacy. It has significant democratic support in the form of its member societies and is influential in place-making, civic affairs, local government	Represent local civic issues and provide independent oversight of local decision-making; assist in plan-making, development control, and community planning; at a national level, exists as a membership body, provides guidance, campaigns on behalf of local groups; provides secretariat for APPG on Civic Society

		issues. Many civic societies exhibit an extensive focus on the historic environment, although their general focus is often much wider. Local civic societies are very diverse, ranging from larger groups with high levels of professional organisation and thousands of members, to smaller less active groups. Many are influential in planning and community affairs and the institution of civic society often carries weight in local government.	
Landowners groups	Historic Houses Association (HHA), County Land and Business Association (CLA), Listed property Owners Club (LPOC)	The majority of historic sites and buildings are in private ownership, from homes to farms, or private collections (e.g. estates). Bodies which represent the owners of heritage assets have specific interests which flow from this particular role, for example, tax issues such as inheritance and VAT on repairs are unique interests for these groups. The HHA represent many large stately homes in private ownership, many of which are run as visitor attractions. The CLA represents landowners and has concerns with the businesses of members, from agriculture to forestry. Both the CLA and HHA have highly organised lobbying teams to represent member interests. HHA often attempts to highlight public values arising from their member's estates, in addition to benefits for the members themselves.	Represent member interests with government; provides policy advice and guidance to members; provides legal advice and other services to members, well-resourced and connected sector partners; span wider sectors (e.g. business, planning, agriculture, natural environment) as well as historic environment.
Campaign groups	SAVE Britain's Heritage; Rescue: The British Archaeological Trust; Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE).	SAVE Britain's Heritage and RESCUE are examples of organisations where public campaigning is the primary purpose. Each was established as a pressure group to raise the profile of inadequacies in heritage legislation and action (Binney 2006: 13). Their actions continue today in the form of public campaigns, legal challenges, fundraising, and direct lobbying. The distinct advantage of these organisations is that they are able to aggressively campaign with the intention of achieving the greatest possible impact,	Highlight government policy issues and raise awareness with the public of various issues; publicly campaign; some offer planning/legal advice; some engage in practical conservation work (e.g. SAVE).

		without too great a worry about damaging political reputation in the process, as their intent is primarily to get the issues on the agenda, rather than actually seeking insider status in the policy process. As a consequence, their direct political advocacy is minimal, confined to existence outside policy communities, and utilising only public routes for communication (e.g. public consultations). However, this type of democratic power relies explicitly on number of supporters and as such these bodies are limited in a comparatively small sector when compared to the likes of Greenpeace, who operate similar strategies.	
Local groups		Many different types of local interest or grassroots action groups exist within the historic environment sector. These may include building preservation trusts, residents' associations, or local history societies, community archaeology groups to community campaign groups, as well as unaffiliated individuals. Local pressure groups have a particular influence in the political arena since the rise of localism and community-led initiatives for influencing service delivery. Both government and the professional sector can look to local stakeholders to help support and develop political lobbying and practical engagements with the historic environment.	Various practical activities; local advocacy; media campaigning; issues include development control cases, local planning, localism activities, and community building activities.

Table 2: government departments:

Name	Description	Responsible for
Government departments		
Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS)	The DCMS is the department responsible for the designation of nationally important heritage and ultimately determining applications for listed buildings and scheduled monument consent, although in practice these roles are delegated to Historic England. The department includes within its policy remit; archaeology, museums, tourism, and heritage. It recently lost architecture to DCLG. It is the parent department of Historic England, among other quasi-autonomous cultural bodies such as the national museums.	Historic England, Heritage Lottery Fund, National Heritage Memorial Fund, Advisory Committee on Historic Wreck Sites, Historic Royal Palaces, Arts Council England, Churches, Conservation Trust, British Museum, Imperial War Museum, National Gallery, National Maritime Museum, Royal Armouries, VisitBritain, Visit England
Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG)	The DCLG is the department responsible for the national planning acts as well as national and regional planning policy and takes decisions on planning appeals and listed building consents for Grade 1 and II* Listed Buildings. The department has influence over local government practices, and restricts how local government policy is structured and adopted.	Planning Inspectorate
Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA)	DEFRA is responsible for countryside affairs, National Parks, and is the parent body of Natural England which is the NDPB responsible for a wide range of natural environment issues, including designations of National Parks and AONB, and other forms of natural heritage and countryside recreation.	Natural England, Environment Agency, Forestry Commission,
Other Government departments	In addition, the wider tourism sector is jointly tied to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) and although the DCMS is the sponsoring body of the NDPB 'Visit England' which has concerns which extend into heritage tourism, BIS interests are also a significant partner is tourism	*BIS*: Design Council (now an independent charity); *Foreign and Commonwealth*

	research and policy. There are also a breadth of connections with largely unrelated departments, for example, the Department for Energy and Climate Change (DECC) with regards historic buildings and energy efficiency, the Department for Education (DfE), on heritage and the curriculum.	*Office (FCO):* British Council
Wales and Scotland	In Wales and Scotland both the National Assembly and Scottish Government respectively have powers to legislate over their own domestic planning and heritage policies, including listed buildings and ancient monuments and each controls the country's respective government heritage agency. An oddity in the system of Scottish devolution is that whilst primary planning legislation is devolved, meaning that Listed Buildings legislation is codified under the 1997 Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Area) Act (Scotland), and the 2006 Planning, etc. (Scotland) Act, Ancient Monuments legislation is still governed by the 1979 AMAA which has power across the whole UK (Historic Scotland 2011: 41). In Wales most primary legislation currently comes from Westminster, although since 2011 it had primary law making powers expanded to new areas including culture and planning and has Welsh Heritage, Planning, Environment, and Future Generations and Wellbeing Bills currently due to be enacted in 2016. Wales also has its own secondary legislation for planning, listed buildings and ancient monuments. Currently the important documents are Welsh Office Circulars 60/96, 61/96 and 10/99. It also has its own national planning policy, Planning Policy Wales, which has a chapter relating to the historic environment.	Cadw, Historic Environment Scotland
Local authorities	Local government authorities across the UK also have powers to determine local planning policies conforming to the constraints of national directives, and are responsible for determining planning and listed building consent applications. The only exception to this is the Sites and Monuments Record for London, which is managed by English Heritage (Harwood 2012: 11). Local authorities are also responsible for designating conservation areas and compiling local lists of heritage assets as well as other localism tools with a potential impact upon heritage. Normally, local authorities at Unitary or	Historic Environment Records, local authority museums, planning advice.

| | County level will be responsible for maintain HERs and conservation services (DCLG 2012a: 41). | |

Table 3: sector organisations

Note: This list is not a complete list of all historic environment sector or related bodies. It is, firstly, a catalogue of all the bodies which have been investigated, mentioned in conversation, or encountered during this research, and therefore acts as a glossary of bodies referenced in the text. Secondly, it is a subjective list of the larger and more influential bodies engaged in the political arena in any form – be it through sector umbrella bodies, or direction interaction with government.

Bodies are judged, based on research on the following aspects of their operation and relative to one another:

- Public reputation (recognition, trust)
- Political influence (insider access, consultation history, political interactions)
- Sector interconnectedness (based on umbrella group status, sectoral reputation,)
- Non-sector interconnectedness (based on wider projects and influence)
- Advocacy capacity (based on organisation, strategy)
- Advocacy type (insider/expert advisor/formal (e.g. consultations, letters, submission to written or oral evidence), informal (e.g. briefings, meetings, hustings, event, etc. with politicians), or campaigning (media or public focussed))

Name	Description	Important information
National Heritage Agencies		
Historic England (HE)	An executive non-departmental public body, established in 1983 under the National Heritage Act. Formerly known as English Heritage (EH) until a de-merger in 2015, which separated the body into an independent charity (English Heritage) responsible for managing the national collection of properties in trust, and Historic England – the lead government advisor on the historic environment and statutory partner in the planning system. HE's parent department is the DCMS. A large part of the work of HE is its statutory role within development control, managing designations decisions (delegated responsibility from the Secretary of State), and advising local authorities on decisions affecting designated assets. HE also	- *Public reputation:* **High/Medium** Prominent position although mixed reputation prior to split, faces challenge to reassert. - *Political influence:* **High** Official advisor to government. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Observer in most all sector forums, key funder of independent activity, generally a sector ally - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Some key relations, generally limited to statutory functions

	maintains roles in providing guidance to the public and professionals and training (mostly) to professionals, as well as leading on producing research frameworks. It is often an important partner in advocacy, although usually limited by its semi-autonomous position. It is also a funder of many important heritage organisations and other activities, such as the Heritage Counts publications. HE has public remit as the lead body responsible for safeguarding the historic environment – a role which is regularly stated in organisational rhetoric and publications. The re-branding process following the split will likely present challenges of public recognition for HE.	- *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Advocacy limited by relationship to govt. - *Advocacy type:* **Insider** Privileged access to govt. discussions, relatively high value placed on advice.
Cadw	Cadw, the Welsh national agency, is an integrated part of Welsh Government and not an Assemble Sponsored Public Body (the Welsh version of an NDPB). As such it has a slightly different relationship to both the state and the sector (see chapter six)	- *Public reputation:* **High/Medium** Prominent position due to national collection. - *Influence:* **High** Inside government. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Observer in most all sector forums, key funder of independent activity - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Good cross-government collaboration - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** Cannot lobby outside of internal govt. discussions - *Advocacy type:* **N/A**
Historic Environment Scotland (HES)	HES, the Scottish national agency, is, since April 2015, a NDPB having incorporated the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland (RCAHMS). The previous body Historic Scotland was an Executive Agency. Its range of powers are similar to Historic England. The government and policy advice team were moved inside	- *Public reputation:* **High/medium** Prominent position due to national collection. - *Influence:* **High** Official advisor to government. Potentially less since HEPU's

	government in 2014 and named the Historic Environment Policy Unit (HEPU). However, it was subsequently dismantled in 2015 following budget cuts, with advisors distributed within existing teams.	move and more recent dissolution - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Observer in most all sector forums, key funder of independent activity, generally a sector ally - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Some key relations across government facilitated by National Performance Framework targets on partnerships - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Limited by relationship to govt. - *Advocacy type:* **Insider** Privileged access to govt. discussions, relatively high value placed on advice.
Other quangos		
Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF)	The Heritage Lottery Fund (officially managed by the National Heritage Memorial Fund) are an executive agency of government set up with the role of distributing the share of National Lottery funding. The HLF have considerable soft power, as they are often not directly involved with national advocacy, guidance, or standards, but hold considerable influence over the practice of anyone wishing to receive funding from them. For example, local authorities are regularly encouraged by HLF to adopt heritage strategies in order to lever HLF funding. HLF principles of public value therefore have high potential for influencing other bodies.	- *Public reputation:* **High/medium** Prominent position although mixed reputation prior to split, faces challenge to reassert. - *Influence:* **Very high** Official advisor to government. Important influence over sector due to funding conditions and potential to assist independent bodies financially. - *Sector connectivity:* **Low/medium** Has traditionally not engaged in sector forums and tends to utilise its soft power to influence sector. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Works alongside other lottery distributors, since 2010 has

		funded more non-sector bodies.
		- *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** Does not tend to directly lobby. Consultation responses and committee evidence tend to focus on process and potential rather than advocating for particular policy changes.

- *Advocacy type:* **Expert** Privileged albeit potentially changeable position as soft power wielders. |

The National Trust(s)

| National Trust (NT) | Also known as the National Trust for England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The largest member organisation with a purported 4 million members (BBC 2011a). Founded in 1985 with aims to protection of cultural heritage, scenic and otherwise significant places. The Trust are involved with a vast range of management and landowning affairs as well as political advocacy and tourism.

They are the largest non-governmental landowner (with over 630,000 acres). Also owns over 300 historic properties (Country Life 2010). | - *Public reputation:* **Very high** NT research shows 85% public recognition. The most high profile independent sector body and largest membership of any private organisation in the UK

- *Influence:* **High** A strong reputation and demonstrated expertise mean the Trust are often influential, although are not perennial insiders showing value consensus with govt.

- *Sector connectivity:* **High/medium** Highly connected THA, HEF, Small Champs., TAF members. Prominent examples of joined up working. However, internally identify a lack of strategic partnership within the sector

- *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Good connections through Wildlife and Countryside Link (WCL) |
| --- | --- | --- |

		and projects to work with natural environment, and other stakeholders e.g. construction industry and energy suppliers. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Very high** Considerable staff provision for external affairs and government advice. Can mobilise huge public support and engage in campaigns as well as insider advocacy. - *Advocacy type:* **formal/campaign** Ability to act as an insider expert or outside campaigner with equally effective results.
National Trust for Scotland (NTS)	A separate independent organisation fulfilling the same function in Scotland.	- As above
Professional Institutes		
Chartered Institute of Archaeologists (CIfA)	Professional body for the archaeological profession, achieved royal charter in 2014. Aims to establish standards for professional work, produces standards guidance, codes of practice and advocates on behalf of its members and generally in the interests of broad public value heritage principles. Have staged membership (for both individuals and organisations) indicative of competence level and accreditation. Has ambitions to grow influence and remit internationally.	- *Public reputation:* **Low/medium** Has a primary focus on professional members. - *Influence:* **Medium** Has a strong commitment to advocacy and is generally counted within the main independent sector groups by government, with whom it is relatively well connected through professional links. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Highly connected through THA, HEF, and TAF. Lead partner in many archaeology sector initiatives. Less well integrated outside archaeological sector and still harbours divisions with IHBC.

		- *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** Few connections outside historic environment and DCMS. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Strategic focus on advocacy objectives. Utilises traditional advocacy methods, mainly. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal/informal** Expert knowledge and professional experience as standard setting body gives CIfA their primary advocacy position.
Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation (IHBC)	The IHBC is an organisation for professionals specialising in various roles historic buildings conservation. The organisation was originally formed as the Association of conservation officers (i.e. local authority officer) but expanded its remit to include private sector professional interests in historic buildings. The organisation has considerable cross-overs in membership with the RTPI, RIBA, and RICS, as planners, architects, and surveyors for a core of their specialist members. The organisation engages government in advocacy, but also provides services to members such as training for continuing professional development (CPD), as well as guidance, including guidance on local advocacy and planning issues.	- *Public reputation:* **Low/medium** Has a primary focus on professional members who may be more personally aligned with other professions. - *Influence:* **Medium** Has strong commitment to advocacy and is sometimes counted within the main independent sector groups by government, with whom it is well connected through personal and professional links. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** Connected through THA, HEF. Perpetuates divisions with archaeology sector and sometimes divisive about the unity of the historic environment. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** Well connected with overlapping built environment professions. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium**

		Strategic focus on advocacy objectives. Utilises traditional advocacy methods, mainly. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal/informal** Expert knowledge and professional experience as standard setting body gives IHBC their primary advocacy position.
Royal Institute of British Architects (Conservation division) (RIBA)	RIBA are the main professional accrediting body for architects. They have a core concern with architecture but maintain a specialist conservation group which focuses on historic environment issues. The group regularly responds to built environment and heritage issues and is influential on government in this way. The group has limited cross over with wider historic environment sector, with more connection with IHBC and the Historic Towns Forum, and other built environment focussed groups. The group's memorandum of understanding on conservation – developed with English Heritage, echoes many public value principles (RIBA et. al. 2009).	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** - *Influence:* **Medium/high** Strong reputation nationally and internationally. Many high profile patrons/members. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** – THA members. Recently took over joint delivery of Heritage Open Days. Cut the VAT alliance member. - *Non-sector conn.:* **High** - *Advocacy capacity:* **High** Limited in historic environment affairs. - *Advocacy type:* **Professional**
Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI)	The RTPI are the main professional body which accredits town planners. The organisation maintains a specialist Historic Environment Group (HEG) which provides best practice training and CPD for members and produces a periodic bulletin. RTPI responds to consultations of planning for the historic environment.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium/low** - *Influence:* **Medium** - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium/low** THA members. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Limited in historic environment affairs. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal/informal**
Royal Institute for	RICS represent the profession of buildings surveyors, some of whom specialise in	- *Public reputation:* **Medium**

Chartered Surveyors (RICS) Conservation Group	historic buildings, with many others having some interaction with historic assets. RICS are the only one of the built environment professional institutes to be HEF members.	*- Influence:* **Medium** *- Sector connectivity:* **Medium** THA and HEF members. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Limited in historic environment affairs. *- Advocacy type:* **Formal/informal**
Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers (ALGAO)	ALGAO, formerly the Association of County Archaeological Officers Conservation Officers was formed in 1996 and represents archaeological specialists in local authorities, most of whom will be archaeological advisors to the planning system, or HER managers, archivists. These represent the core curatorial expertise for the historic environment within the planning system. The organisation is voluntary, with no staff, with business being conducted via committees drawn from amongst its professional membership. This means that it has a limited capacity compared with some other sector bodies. The organisation has branches in Wales (ALGAO Cymru) and Scotland (ALGAO Scotland), as well as a UK secretariat.	*- Public reputation:* **Low** Has a limited professional focus and no direct public profile. *- Influence:* **Medium/low** Has a strong expert practitioner niche, but generally has influence as part of sector coalitions. Often complains of being overlooked in consultations. *- Sector connectivity:* **High/medium** THA, HEF, and TAF members, although HEF membership recently was nearly withdrawn. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Low** Few connections outside archaeology sector. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Low** Has advocacy stances but low capacity to engage politically. Actions limited to consultation responses. Currently contracts CIfA to provide some advocacy support. *- Advocacy type:* **Formal** Expert niche interest in curatorial affairs and local govt.

| Institute of Conservators (ICON) | Formed in 2005 from a merger of multiple smaller specialist bodies, ICON are a relatively small professional body for objects conservators with specialisms in various under a broadly stated 'cultural heritage' banner, however, are particularly aligned with museum professions. ICON publishes a journal, runs training, maintains a list of professional conservators, and speaks on behalf of over 2000 members in advocacy arenas. | - *Public reputation:* **Low** A small body representing a small technical sub-sector of professionals.

- *Influence:* **Low** Has an expert practitioner niche which overlaps with various larger bodies (e.g. CIfA).

- *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** ICON are THA and TAF members and engage in most open sector policy engagements.

- *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** Few connections outside archaeology sector.

- *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** Has advocacy stances but low capacity to engage politically. Actions limited to consultation responses. Currently contracts CIfA to provide some advocacy support.

- *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Expert niche interest in objects conservation. |
| Society for Museum Archaeologists (SMA) | The SMA are a specialised professional body for curators and other museum professionals who work with archaeological collections. The organisation is concerned with aspects of the museum experience such as interpretation, education and outreach as well as technical issues such as archive storage, interface with planning systems, and the use of collections for research.

The SMA has very limited paid professional staff to undertake secretarial duties.

The organisation maintains specialist subject networks which provide advice to | - *Public reputation:* **Low** A small, specialised professional body.

- *Influence:* **Low** Has an expert practitioner niche which overlaps with various larger bodies (e.g. MA, CIfA).

- *Sector connectivity:* **Low/Medium** SMA are TAF members and engage in most open sector policy engagements. |

	practitioners. They have a relatively low national profile.	- *Non-sector conn.:* **Low/medium** Few connections outside archaeology and museums sector.
		- *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** Has advocacy stances but low capacity to engage politically. Actions limited to consultation responses and umbrella group actions.
		- *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Expert niche interest in archaeological collections and interpretation in museums.
Umbrella Bodies		
The Heritage Alliance	THA is the primary independent umbrella body covering the widest range of heritage interests in the sector in England. It has 100 members at the time of writing and includes most large and many smaller heritage bodies. The Alliance was set up in 2003 (as Heritage Link) following conversation with DCMS who stated that the sector's wide variety of fragmented bodies made it difficult to communicate with. The Link/Alliance was thus installed as a primary government spokesman for the sector and has considerable influence. The stated focus of the organisation is on influencing politicians. As such, its situation in offices in Westminster, and its main tasks of briefing and influencing politicians support this. Public presentation is lower, with few public-facing activities, although the organisation does make good use of its Chairman Loyd Grossman in the media to raise awareness of issues and a set of high ranking and politically knowledgeable trustees (e.g. ex-Treasury civil servants, and wider experts from parallel sectors) provide. THA maintains four policy advocacy groups as well as communicating regularly with	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** Maintains a core focus on politicians and puts limited resource into courting public profile. - *Influence:* **High** Representing the largest coalition of heritage bodies makes THA an obvious partner for govt. and wider interests. - *Sector connectivity:* **Very high** Maintains HEF, small champion and TAF observer. Has 100 member bodies and is a key node for sector communication and policy advocacy. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium-high** Has engaged with non-sector partners in the Cut the VAT coalition. Also aims to attract trustees with wide experience of other sectors and government. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium**

	members and thousands of professionals via its Heritage Update e-bulletin. THA also has interests and connections with European institutions such as Europa Nostra, ICOMOS, the Council of Europe, and European Commission.	Has a very small but focussed staff whose work is primarily advocacy-based. - *Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal** Expert niche interest in archaeological collections and interpretation in museums. Current leadership makes a point of being outspoken when dealing with government.
The Historic Environment Forum (HEF)	The HEF is a grouping of the major heritage bodies in the sector which meets periodically to discuss issues of policy and strategy. It is the foremost unified strategic forum in the sector. The group is managed and maintained by the Heritage Alliance, having previously been chaired by English Heritage. Historic England are an observer and often act as a facilitator (e.g. for the Heritage Counts publication). HEF does not collectively have an advocacy remit as it includes public bodies, although it helps to set the agenda for individual sector bodies by discussing issues of strategic direction and policy priorities. HEF membership excludes a number of smaller national bodies and has in the past been the subject of discussion, whether to cut down members further.	- *Public reputation:* **Low** Has very little public profile. - *Influence:* **High** Arguably the most influential strategic forum for the sector. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Contains most main sector bodies. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Has membership with broad non-sector experience/connections. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Does not directly lobby but can draw on member resources, including HE, for research. - *Advocacy type:* **Agenda setting** Help to set strategic agenda and policy priorities for the sector.
Small Champions	The Small Champions are an unofficial sub-group of the HEF comprised of the most influential heritage bodies and groups: The HHA, the National Trust, Historic England, Heritage Alliance, and JCNAS.	- *Public reputation:* **Very low** An explicitly private group. - *Influence:* **High** Grouping of arguably the most influential independent sector bodies. - *Sector connectivity:* **Low** Rarely (if ever) reveals thinking. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low**

		- Advocacy capacity: **N/A** Does not directly lobby. *- Advocacy type:* **Agenda setting** Help to set strategic agenda and policy priorities for the cohort of powerful members.
The Archaeology Forum (TAF)	The Archaeology Forum is a grouping of archaeology sector bodies and has a role in coordinating policy positions and advocacy responses. The group facilitates joined-up action such as research and provides the secretariat for the All Party Parliamentary Group. The role has a low organisational profile, tending to rely of individual members to undertake lobbying, in collaboration, as required, the forum does on occasion undertake work such as providing evidence to select committees on behalf of all members, holding husting events, or writing joint letters.	*- Public reputation:* **Low** Does not seek public visibility. *- Influence:* **Medium** Arguably a significant strategic forum for archaeology specifically with good political connections, relatively speaking. *- Sector connectivity:* **High** Contains most main archaeology sector bodies. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Has membership with broad non-sector experience/connections. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Tends to lobby as individuals but on occasion will lead on advocacy activity. *- Advocacy type:* **Agenda setting/informal** Help to agree strategic agenda and policy priorities for member bodies.
Civic Voice	The national umbrella group for local civic societies, launched in 2010 as a replacement for the Civic Trust, which operated from 1957-2009. Civic Voice is primarily an advocacy body, producing briefings, seeking access with politicians, and providing the secretariat for the APPG on Civic Societies. Despite being a brand new organisation, Civic Voice has developed considerable influence with politicians and is generally perceived as having a positive reputation.	

	The organisation is guided by democratic support from civic groups and has, in the past, had advocacy focusses relating to such things as neighbourhood planning, local heritage listing, street furniture and war memorials.	
Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies	The National Amenity Societies meet regularly under the aegis of the Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies (JCNAS) which is an umbrella body which is designed to allow a joint advocacy outlet for the seven societies. The JCNAS therefore regularly replies to government consultations, select committee hearings, and other policy avenues such as letters to Ministers or the media (Slocombe 2013, Interview 9).	- *Public reputation:* **Low** Has a low public profile although has made moderate increases in recent years. - *Influence:* **High/medium** Established body with remit linked to statutory duty and respected for independent expertise. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Small Champion, HEF and THA member. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/low** Has limited expertise and remit to lobby, generally deferring to individual member interests. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Chairman has good connections. Regularly responds to public consultations.
Built Environment Forum Scotland (BEFS)	BEFS is the closest equivalent to THA that exists in Scotland, albeit with a much small set of organisations members. BEFS' primary focus in on advocacy and government advice. BEFS provides a communication service to members updating them on government issues, providing guidance, running events and training. BEFS operate an open and collaborative approach to responding to consultations and often run workshops to facilitate discussions as well as actively inform some members.	- *Public reputation:* **Low/medium** Largely focussed towards politicians. - *Influence:* **High/medium** Effective political operations. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Central forum for Scottish heritage sector advocacy discussions. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high**

	The aspirational rhetorical focus of the organisation is on the built environment and place, rather than historic environment, and the organisation closely holds to public value and integrated real-world heritage importance. This is in line with the Scottish National Performance Framework and therefore has significant potential for influence.	Broad focus in name and aspirational intent, but struggles with non-sector contacts, although Scottish policy environment is favourable. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Small staff but effectively operate informal and campaign type activities. - *Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal** - Operates variable approaches from direct briefing to formal consultations.
National Amenity Societies		
Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)	The longstanding reputation of bodies such as the SPAB and CBA, founded in 1877 and 1944 respectively, is also a critical aspect of their expertise and is secured through their often long established connections with government, and reputations in both the public and professional eye. The SPAB have a strong reputation as technical experts in the field of buildings conservation, underpinned by the clear and strong ethical and practical directions of their 1877 Manifesto. This ethic means that SPAB is primarily accountable 'to the buildings' which leads to an odd relationship with public values, although one which the modern organisation attempts to integrate so as to comply with wider sector values. However, their reputation is also a result of public lobbying efforts – for example, leading on an open letters in national newspapers. The body releases technical guidance and conducts research into practical conservation, as well as more recently, engaging communities in conservation.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** An old and well establish technical body. - *Influence:* **High/medium** Well known in political circles and generally respected voice to whom technical questions are often addressed by politicians and civil servants. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium/high** Well connected through JCNAS and THA as well being active as an individual body. Committee has representation from IHBC. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low/medium** Limited connections with wider built environment sector. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/low** Small staff with much broader focus than advocacy alone - *Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal**

		Operates variable approaches from cultural political friendships, to direct briefing, and formal consultations.
Council for British Archaeology (CBA)	The CBA specialise in representing the public and voluntary interest in archaeology in England and Wales. Given their archaeological expertise, the amenity society statutory casework role is somewhat narrower than the wider organisational focus and is therefore only one aspect of organisational practice. The CBA are one of the more high profile independent sector archaeological bodies and are a central member of THA, HEF, and TAF. It publishes a general sale magazine, British Archaeology (BA), runs the Young Archaeologists Club (YAC), and has over 6000 members. The CBA is represented by JCNAS, but regularly also represents itself in all forums save the Small Champions.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** A public focussed body with (relatively) high recognition amongst interested publics owing to public membership offer, BA, and YAC. - *Influence:* **Medium/high** Well known in political circles and generally respected archaeology sector voice. - *Sector connectivity:* **High** Well connected through JCNAS, HEF, and THA. Individual connections very good, with central role in cross-sectoral initiatives such as Heritage 2020. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/low** The only historic environment body to be a member of the Wildlife and Countryside Link, although does not regularly utilise connections. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Limited capacity to engage in advocacy but makes efforts to work in both public and politically focussed arenas. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal/informal/campaign** Operates variable approaches including meeting politicians, to providing secretariat to APPGs, to formal consultations. Some public campaigning undertaken.
Ancient Monuments	A relatively small society with just over 2000 members. Specialises in practical buildings	- *Public reputation:* **Low/medium**

Society (AMS)	conservation advice in fulfilment of its statutory role as a consultee in the planning system.	Small body with limited profile although does operate public membership - *Influence:* **Low** Rarely noticeable in advocacy affairs or high profile in sectoral forums. - *Sector connectivity:* **Low** THA member and represented through JCNAS. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Small staff who focus largely on casework role. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Operates limited formal advocacy engagement.
The Georgian Society	One of the 'period' societies, specialising in Georgian architecture and built heritage. Considered foremost experts in this niche and often given privileged weight in development control issues within this period. Boasts the greatest technical knowledge relating to the significance and special interest of buildings of their particular specialist time period, with expertise closely aligned with material importance and preservationist values. Due to statutory responsibility focuses more on development control cases rather than national policy advocacy.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** Oft cited in media where its niche interest is represented. - *Influence:* **Medium** Well respected as experts in their specialism. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** THA member, limited connections beyond. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** - *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Operates limited formal advocacy engagement.
The Victorian Society	One of the 'period' societies, specialising in Victorian architecture and built heritage. Considered foremost experts in this niche and often given privileged weight in development control issues within this period. Boasts the greatest technical knowledge relating to the significance and special interest of buildings of their particular	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** Oft cited in media where its niche interest is represented. - *Influence:* **Medium** Well respected as experts in their specialism. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium**

	specialist time period, with expertise closely aligned with material importance and preservationist values. Due to statutory responsibility focuses more on development control cases rather than national policy advocacy.	THA member, limited connections beyond. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** - *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Operates limited formal advocacy engagement.
The 20th Century Society (C20 Soc.)	As above, the 20th Century Society, formerly the 1930s Society, are specialists in that particular period. Unlike the other period societies, the C20 Soc. often have to defend the material importance of their specialist subject area against the general aesthetic perceptions of a majority of people (ComRes 2015). Otherwise, similar technical expertise and focus is evident when compared with the 'older' period societies.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** Oft cited in media where its niche interest is represented. - *Influence:* **Medium** Well respected as experts in their specialism. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** THA member, limited connections beyond. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** - *Advocacy type:* **Formal** Operates limited formal advocacy engagement.
The Garden History Society (GHS)	The GHS is the seventh National Amenity Society and has a more limited statutory role than the other 6, only being statutorily recognised as needing to be consulted in the case of historic gardens. All other NAS' are, by the letter of the law, to be consulted for *all* cases of partial or full demolition of listed buildings (even though this does not always happen in practice).	- *Public reputation:* **Medium/low** Occasionally cited in media where its relatively small niche interest is represented. - *Influence:* **Medium/low** Well respected as experts in their highly specialised area. - *Sector connectivity:* **Low/medium** THA member, limited connections beyond. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Low** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** - *Advocacy type:* **Formal**

		Operates very limited formal advocacy engagement.
Campaign Groups		
SAVE Britain's Heritage (SAVE)	Founded during European Architectural Heritage Year SAVE has been a body concerned primarily with the conservation of historic buildings and the appropriate treatment of historic assets in planning decisions. SAVE have been involved with dozens of high profile restorations and programmes to save historic buildings. The group also publishes lists of buildings at risk. SAVE maintain professional planning and legal advice and often become closely involved with campaigns to protect particular sites, e.g. Spittlefields market, which it led the campaign to protect in 2013-15. It's national policy advocacy is less than its specific site based advocacy.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** A public focussed body which campaigns publically and works with communities of interest. - *Influence:* **Medium/low** Influential campaigners, but generally represent outsider interests. - *Sector connectivity:* **Low/medium** THA member but generally does not work collaboratively with others. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/low** Works with local stakeholders in business and built environment in relation to practical projects. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Focussed on raising awareness for heritage at risk and generally good at gaining publicity. - *Advocacy type:* **Campaign**
RESCUE The British Archaeological Trust (RESCUE)	RESCUE was set up during European Architectural Heritage Year to provide a voice for archaeology which was being harmed through the development process, without comprehensive protections in the planning system. The group were highly influential during the 1980s when this issue was at its most prominent. Since the advent of PPG 16 and protections for archaeology in planning, the organisation's profile has diminished. The body's campaign strategy is usually limited by a lack of resources: They are a voluntary organisation with limited	- *Public reputation:* **Medium/low** A public focussed body which campaigns publically via social media and to its members. - *Influence:* **Medium/low** Outsider group by choice - *Sector connectivity:* **Low/medium** THA and TAF member but generally does not work collaboratively with others.

	membership subscriptions, largely from members who are also professionals. RESCUE adopts generally antagonistic campaigns and seeks to highlight poor decision-making and harm to archaeology.	*- Non-sector conn.:* **Low** Specifically focussed on historic environment issues and audiences. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Voluntary organisation with limited resources, focussed on raising awareness for heritage at risk and generally good at gaining publicity. *- Advocacy type:* **Campaign**
Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE)	CPRE are a campaigning charity primarily focussed on the rural environment, and so equally embedded with the historic and natural environment sectors. CPRE are engaged closely with planning issues and other primarily rural issues, such as farming, transport, and energy. The body undertakes campaign driven advocacy, drawing upon expert research it produces itself. It has an adversarial remit, generally existing as an outsider group to government. It utilises media connections heavily to gain high public impact. It produces a quarterly member's magazine as well as providing advocacy resources and guidance to the public.	*- Public reputation:* **Medium/high** A public focussed body which campaigns publically via mainstream media and to its members. *- Influence:* **Medium/high** Outsider group by choice, but with good resources and expertise to back up campaigns. *- Sector connectivity:* **Medium/low** Well connected through HEF and THA, but with limited interests in the historic environment. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Engaged closely with natural environment networks. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/high** Relatively well resourced and effective public campaigner. *- Advocacy type:* **Campaign/formal** Undertakes both formal advocacy and public

		campaigns, utilising research findings.
Landowners groups		
Historic Houses Association (HHA)	The HHA is a UK-wide not-for-profit 'federal' organisation which seeks to represent the interests of its members who are private owners of historic houses – of all types, but prominently large stately homes such as Blenheim Palace, Chatsworth House, Castle Howard, and Longleat. 500 of these 1500 member properties are open to the public, and the organisation provides a public profile for its 36000 'friends' – people who wish to visit sites. The organisation both represents and advises its members, providing guidance and legal advice. The organisation is relatively well funded and organised, with an effective informal lobbying portfolio and media team, which is managed by contracted public affairs advisors. Much advocacy is technical and not of public interest, so tends to be informal and not conducted through public channels. However, the implicit public function supports reputation, if not democratic legitimacy. However, some public engagement is undertaken to prevent perceptions the interests are an elite concern by emphasising public value.	*- Public reputation:* **Medium** In lobbying terms, ostensibly a private member body, but also maintains a high profile network of members' historic houses open to the public. *- Influence:* **Medium/high** A well connected group with clear emphasis on using expertise to influence politicians. *- Sector connectivity:* **Medium/high** Small champion, THA, and HEF member. Strong organisational commitment to the importance of umbrella bodies working. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Member of the Tourism Alliance. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/high** Relatively well resourced and effective lobby group aiming to access informal connections. *- Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal**
Country Land and Business Association (CLA)	An environmental charity with over 200 local groups across England. The CLA maintain a reasonably well-resourced advocacy team, with savvy political practices aimed at culturing informal connections with politicians as well as engaging in formal advocacy. Their broader remit allow for a critical mass of advocacy expertise as well as	*- Public reputation:* **Low** A private member body with limited remit to engage the public. *- Influence:* **Medium/high** A well connected group with clear emphasis on using expertise to influence politicians.

		- Sector connectivity: **Medium/high** THA and HEF member which leads on various collaborative initiatives (e.g. HEF sub-group on heritage protection reform) *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Good natural environment connections. *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/high** Relatively well resourced and effective lobby group aiming to access informal connections. *- Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal**
Listed Property Owners Club (LPOC)	A private company which represents the private interests of members to government. Roughly imitates the role of the HHA but does not have a public remit and is specifically a profit-making organisation. The organisation offers advice on conservation and campaigns on issues such as insurance, tax reform, grants, loans, and inheritance. The group recently set up a Listed Property Owners Club APPG, chaired by Conservative MP Craig Mackinlay.	*- Public reputation:* **Very low** A private member body with limited remit to engage the public. *- Influence:* **Medium/low** A relatively well resourced niche private interest lobby, although its political reputation is not obviously high. *- Sector connectivity:* **Very low** The LPOC does not interact with any other sector bodies. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Very low** *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Relatively well resourced and effective lobby group aiming to access informal connections. *- Advocacy type:* **Informal**
Civic Societies		
Civic Voice	Launched in 2010, as the replacement for the Civic Trust, which operated from 1957-2009 before going into administration, Civic Voice were set up with an extremely streamlined staffing structure of two people and an	*- Public reputation:* **Medium** Has a closer connection to wider publics through civic movement but generally

	effective political agenda and commitment to the localist and civic amenity movement. The body now represents over 1000 local civic societies and as such commands a wide democratic legitimacy. The body has been successful in riding the political momentum provided by the Big Society and has generated political interest in the organisation on the back of it. It has set up a new APPG for Civic Societies which engages with issues of historic environment protection and has engaged effectively across the political sphere with a mix of public, informal, and formal advocacy. The body is also engaged with providing advice to its members and facilitating representation of those bodies via democratic means. The organisation is guided by democratic support from civic groups and has, in the past, had advocacy focusses relating to such things as neighbourhood planning, local heritage listing, street furniture and war memorials.	represents its members and has a focus on politicians. - *Influence:* **High/medium** Has an easily demonstrable democratic underpinning and large member base drawn from civic societies. Lobbies effectively. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** THA and HEF member - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Has closer connection to communities sector and local government. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** Small staff but effectively operate informal and campaign type activities. - *Advocacy type:* **Campaign/informal/formal** Operates variable approaches from APPGs and direct briefing to formal consultations, to public campaigns.
Civic Trust Cymru	The Civic Trust Cymru (formerly the Civic Trust for Wales) has existed since 1964 and The Trust has undertaken such practical roles as organising European Cultural Heritage Year and managing Open Doors days – Wales' version of European Heritage Days (Heritage Open Days in England). The Trust did this until 2013, when it was transferred to Cadw. The Trust has also undertaken practical conservation projects on prominent and have engaged in research into the development of Welsh planning policy. This range of responsibilities is very akin the the Civic Trust is England and arguably subject to similar criticisms of having an	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** In Wales, the Trust have operated in the public eye insofar as they have historically delivered events such as Open Doors – as well as acting as an umbrella body for civic societies. - *Influence:* **Medium** Undertakes a lot of significant work, but targets it poorly, without clear advocacy processes. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium/high**

	unclear core mission. However, in Wales, the absence of other large national independent bodies means that the Civic Trust is able to take greater ownership over some of these roles when compared to England. More recently the Trust have taken on the lead role of the Welsh Heritage Group - a new initiative of Welsh Government which is intended to mirror the Heritage Alliance's role in England.	In Wales, one of the major independent sector bodies with wide ranging interests. - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low/medium** A respected body, but with limited engagement with advocacy issues. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal/indirect** Often achieves positive advocacy results through PR for practical projects.
Other bodies		
Historic Towns Forum	HTF is a forum designed to facilitate discussion of professional management of the historic environment and lobby decision makers – it does this at both national and local level, but its focus on planning issues facing the historic environment give it a particularly clear local focus. The HTF produced publications, a member's newsletters, and runs events and workshops on topical issues. As such its strategic intent is to cohere professional experience and evidence to feed into its lobbying. It is a small organisation with limited capacity, but is well connected and valued by collaborators. Works in partnership with the Association of Small Historic Towns and Villages (ASHTAV) which have historically had overlapping roles. Its role is arguably not distinct from some other bodies, such as the Heritage Alliance, which duplicates many functions, although it has greater potential to focus on local issues exclusively and is more specialised that the Heritage Alliance. Arguably it's focus on 'historic towns' implied by the name is out of date in the era of public value.	- *Public reputation:* **Low/medium** Has a primary focus on professional expertise and training. - *Influence:* **Medium** Has considerable reputation amongst built heritage bodies such as IHBC. - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** THA member, works collaboratively with bodies such as IHBC and ASHTAV - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/low** Has connections within the planning and tourism spheres. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/low** A small organisation which engages in sector discussions and has limited formal advocacy capacity. - *Advocacy type:* **Formal**

Church of England (Cathedral and Church Building Division)	The Church of England Cathedral and Church Building Division (CCB) is the Church's historic environment and conservation wing, which engages with planning issues regarding its buildings, including managing the ecclesiastical exemption from listed building consent, issues of redundancy, as well as conducting conservation. However, it also has a significant lobbying focus and has significant influence developed through its policy advocacy teams.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** - *Influence:* **Medium/high** - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Medium** - *Advocacy type:* **Informal/formal**
Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF)	The AHF is a funding body specialising in providing grants to charitable or community organisations engaged with conservation of historic buildings and charities or community interests groups engaging is conservation projects. The organisation has a limited advocacy role.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** - *Influence:* **Medium** - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium** - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low** - *Advocacy type:* **Formal**
Prince's Regeneration Trust (PRT)	A charity focused on restoring and reusing historic buildings and creating public benefits from them. The PRT focusses its resources on socially beneficial cases, and therefore does the majority of its work in deprived areas. The body works to create social outcomes as well as restore buildings. The PRT provides advice and expert assistance to groups wishing to undertake projects.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium** - *Influence:* **Medium** - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium/low** - *Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/high** Works regularly with local authorities, businesses and community groups, among others. - *Advocacy capacity:* **Low/medium** Does not have a direct advocacy agenda, although activities will have PR benefits. - *Advocacy type:* **Informal**
Association of Preservation Trusts	The APT are a body which represent buildings preservation trusts providing advice and conducting research in support of members, and lobbying on their behalf to government.	- *Public reputation:* **Medium/low** Does not maintain an important public role. - *Influence:* **Medium** … - *Sector connectivity:* **Medium**

		THA and Cut the VAT member. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium** Works with local authorities *- Advocacy capacity:* **Medium/low** Has a clear advocacy mandate but appears not to regularly engage. *- Advocacy type:* **Formal/campaign**
Landmark Trust	A charity specialising in the restoration of buildings of architectural and historic interest too small to be used for most modern uses. The Trust converts buildings into holiday lets, allowing them to be enjoyed by as many people as possible. It has a reputation for high quality conversions and was recently awarded the Stirling Prize for Architecture for its restoration of Astley Castle in Warwickshire. Does not directly lobby government other than on issues affecting its work. Sometimes engages with Heritage Open Days and promotes public value of heritage through its activities, giving indirect benefits.	*- Public reputation:* **Medium** As a holiday letting body and charity that relies upon donations, the Trust have a reasonable public profile. *- Influence:* **Low** *- Sector connectivity:* **Low** THA member, but the Trust is not a regular participant in sector discussions. *- Non-sector conn.:* **Medium/low** *- Advocacy capacity:* **Low** *- Advocacy type:* **Indirect**

List of interviews

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES:

1.   Duncan McCallum – Policy Director, English Heritage

2.   Roger Smithson – Former Strategic Environment Advisor, DCLG

3.   Bob Kindred – Government Liaison Secretary, IHBC

4.   Ben Cowell – Deputy-Director of External Affairs, National Trust

5.   Peter Hinton – Chief Executive, IfA

6.   Kate Pugh – Chief Executive, THA

7.   Dave Chetwyn – Director, DJC1 Heritage / Former IHBC Chair

8.   Nick Way – Director, HHA

9.   Matthew Slocombe – Director, SPAB

10. Bob Sydes – Heritage Regeneration Officer, York City Council

11. Laura Clayton – Head of Social Policy Research, English Heritage

12. Jo Robertson – Senior Policy Officer, BEFS

13. Robin Turner – Head of Survey and Recording, RCAHMS

14. Jennifer Timothy – Heritage Officer, Leicester City Council

15. Kate Pugh 2 – Chief Executive, the Heritage Alliance

16. Matthew Slocombe 2 – Director, SPAB

17. Peter Insole – Senior Archaeological Officer, Bristol City Council

18. Ian Morrison – Heritage Lottery Fund

19. Tony Burton – Former Director, Civic Voice

20. Mike Heyworth – Director, Council for British Archaeology

21. Gwilym Hughes – Deputy Director and Head of Historic Environment, Cadw

22. Pete Hinton 2 – Chief Executive, Chartered Institute for Archaeologists

23. Matt Trimmer – Head of Strategy, the National Trust

Note: Most of the interviews conducted were recorded. Interviewees were under no obligation to be recorded, and were informed that they would be able to view their transcript and review any quotations prior to it being included in the final thesis or any publications. Interviewees were then

asked to give explicit permission for the transcript to be included in this appendix. A number of respondents declined to give permission, or did not respond. In these cases a brief bullet point list of topics discussed are included.

In a small number of cases the interviews were not recorded, either because the equipment to do so was not available, because it malfunctioned, or because the environment in which the interview was conducted made sound recording difficult (e.g. on a train, or in a noisy café). In these cases notes for the discussion are also provided.

In addition to these interviews, many more less formal conversations with professionals have also influenced the thesis. Where directly relevant these have been referenced as personal communications in the text.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND FULL TRANSCRIPTS, WHERE AVAILABLE, ARE INCLUDED ON THE CD ATTACHED WITH THIS THESIS.

Survey questions and responses

1. Questions and form.

The survey was distributed and filled in online. The following form was used to access

Title: Questionnaire: Surveying professional attitudes to heritage and policy

Intro: Thank you for your interest in this survey.

You have been invited to take part in this survey if you work within the heritage sector, or in a role which deals wholly or partly with heritage and historic environment issues. Your contribution will be used to assess how individuals working across a broad range of professional sectors think about heritage, and how they view and interact with the various policies that regulate it.

There are 40 questions in the questionnaire. It should take around 10-15 minutes to complete.

Of the 3 sections of the questionnaire, the first deals with your job, the second with your views on what heritage is and why it is important, and the third on the relationship between those views and regulatory policy. There are extended answer comment boxes at the end of each section. Please use these if you wish to add any qualifying information relating to any question in the section.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey, your contribution is greatly appreciated.

_____

This research is funded by the AHRC and Council for British Archaeology and is conducted as part of a PhD thesis being undertaken at the University of York. For more information please visit https://www.york.ac.uk/archaeology/research/research-students/rob-lennox/.

Note: *Required

Section 1: About your work

1. a) What area(s) of the 'heritage profession' or related sector do you work in? *

Please tick any that apply:

Options: Archaeology/Architecture/Conservation/Heritage tourism/Museums/Planning/Surveying/Research/Development or construction/Other [*please specify*]

b) Have you previously worked in different sectors?

Please tick any that apply

Options: Archaeology/Architecture/Conservation/Heritage
   tourism/Museums/Planning/Surveying/Research/Development or construction/Other [*please specify*]

2. a) Is your employer: *

If you have multiple jobs, please answer for your 'main' job.

Options: A local authority/A government department/A non-departmental public body (e.g. English
   Heritage)/A national independent organisation/charity/A local independent
   organisation/charity/A university/research institution/Self-employed/Other [*please specify*]

b) Are you currently, or have you previously been employed in any other of the following?

Options: A local authority/A government department/A non-departmental public body (e.g. English
   Heritage)/A national independent organisation/charity/A local independent
   organisation/charity/A university/research institution/Self-employed/Other [*please specify*]

3. What is your annual income? *

If you have multiple jobs, please state average income.

Volunteer/Less than 10k/10-15k/15-20k/20-25k/25-30k/30-40k/40k +/Prefer not to say

Optional question 4. a) Who is your employer?

Answers given here will be kept strictly confidential and are used for purposes of obtaining clarity
in organisational and role profiles. If for any reason you are uncomfortable giving this information,
please skip to question 5.

[*Short answer*]

b) What is your job title/role?

[*Short answer*]

5. Do you have any professional affiliations?

e.g. ICON, IHBC, IfA, MA, RIBA, RICS, RITP, etc.

[*Short answer*]

6. Are you involved in any of the following heritage management processes as part of your work?

Please check all that apply

Options: Planning applications/Heritage designations (listing, scheduling, etc.)/Heritage consent
processes/Local listing/Historic Landscape Characterisation/Community outreach/local
engagement/Education/Museum/heritage interpretation/Planning-led archaeological
investigation/Planning-led conservation work/Non-planning related archaeology/Non-planning
related conservation work/None of the above/ Other [*Please state*]

7. Would you like to add any extra information about your job?

e.g. What particular heritage issues concern you?

[*Long answer*]

Section 2: About your views on heritage

8. Any place can have heritage significance. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

9. Formal designation of heritage assets is a satisfactory way to protect what people value about their historic environment. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

10. The heritage assets people value most are primarily what is considered to be 'national heritage'. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

11. Others may value the same places or concepts as me, but essentially my heritage is individual. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

12. Only heritage assets that reach certain thresholds of significance should be a concern of regulatory controls. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

13. It is more important to secure an economically stable future for the nation than protect our heritage. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

14. Heritage must fit within sustainable development, otherwise it should not be privileged with protected statuses. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

15. When determining the significance of a heritage asset, historic/archaeological/architectural values are more important than communal/social values. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

16. Heritage is fundamentally about what people value. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

17. Heritage is fundamentally about the preservation of important historic places *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

18. It is important that heritage is considered inseparable from the process of seeking positive improvements to the environment as a whole in all places, not just historic ones. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

19. Protecting heritage is as much about good planning for the future as about preserving the remains of the past. *

[*1 = strongly disagree - 5 = strongly agree*]

20. Please choose 3 of the following which you feel are the most important in your conception of what the heritage profession should do: *

Please choose only 3, even though you may agree with more (or all) options. Choose the ones you think are MOST IMPORTANT.

Options: Protect nationally important historical sites/buildings / Protect local distinctiveness/ Enhance the built environment / Contribute to knowledge and understanding of the past / Enable people to enjoy themselves / Contribute to personal identity / Contribute to community / Stop inappropriate environmental change / Preserve places as they currently are / Protect picturesque/beautiful places / Mitigate damage to the historic environment / Enable people to get actively involved with conserving their heritage / Protect what people value about the built environment / Other: [*Please state*]

21. Do you have any additional comments on this section?

Please give any extra information you wish relating to the above questions

[*Long answer*]

Section 3: About your views on heritage regulation

It is not expected that all respondents will be familiar with all the aspects of the political policy process raised in this section. If for any reason this is the case, please answer 'don't know'. A don't know answer is just as valuable as any other in this section.

22. Would you agree that regulation which affects heritage adequately matches your views on what heritage should do?

Strongly Agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree / Don't know

23. Would you agree that new government policies on heritage usually bring change for the better? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know

24. Do you agree that regulation of heritage is usually well researched, well structured, and supported by the profession as a whole? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know

25. Do you agree that those heritage professionals with responsibility for sector policy have the same views as you? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree / Don't know

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26. Do you agree that the heritage sector's leadership is strong? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know

27. Do you agree that the heritage sector's leadership has an adequate advocacy capability for influencing government? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree / Don't know

28. Would you agree that the government is committed to heritage issues? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree / Don't know

29. How influential is government regulation in your work? *

Highly influential / Fairly influential / Not very influential / Not influential at all / Don't know

30. How influential are unofficial sectoral guidelines in your work? *

e.g. English Heritage, Historic Scotland or Cadw best practice guides.

Highly influential / Fairly influential / Not very influential / Not influential at all / Don't know

31. a) Would you agree that, in practice, less weight is given to the guidance produced by national heritage agencies (English Heritage, Historic Scotland, Cadw) than to government legislation and policy? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know

b) Why do you think this, and do you think it should be so?

 [*Long answer*]

32. Have you ever had to adapt your working practices in response to new demands of regulation? *

Yes / No / Don't know

33. a) If so, how difficult was it to do so?

[*1 = Fairly straightforward - 5 = Highly complex*]

b) Could you give an example?

[*Long answer*]

34. Do you feel you have flexibility to interpret policies in your job/organisation? *

Very flexible / Quite flexible / Not very flexible / Not flexible at all / Don't know

35. Would you agree that, in practice, your work accurately reflects the intended meanings of sectoral policy and guidance? *

Strongly agree / Agree / Disagree / Strongly disagree / Don't know

36. How effective do you feel the guidance mechanisms for helping you (or your organisation) understand the principles and requirements of policy are? *

Highly effective / Fairly effective / Not very effective / Not effective at all / Don't know

37. How do you keep up with regulatory changes in the sector? *

Please tick any that apply

Government statements / English Heritage/Historic Scotland/Cadw / Your employer / Heritage Alliance / National Trust / Other independent heritage organisation (please state below) / Social media/blogs / Informally through colleagues, etc. / I generally don't know what changes are occurring in regulation / Other: [*Please state*]

38. a) Have you ever received training on how to interpret and apply new regulatory policies?

Yes - I have taken policy training / No - I have been offered policy training, but I have turned it down / No - However, if training was available, I would have taken it

b) If yes, who was training offered by?

Choose any that apply

Your employer / English Heritage / Historic Scotland / Cadw / Other: [*Please state*]

39. Do you have any further comments about heritage regulation?

Please give any information you wish

[*Long answer*]

Further comments:

[*Long answer*]

The results from this survey will inform a wider investigation into these issues and will be variously reported on in conference papers, academic journals and an eventual PhD thesis. If you are interested and would like to be kept up to date with the research, please enter your email in the box below.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

40. Do you have any general comments about this survey or the topics covered?

Please give any information you wish

 [*Long answer*]

2. Survey results

1. a) What area(s) of the 'heritage profession' or related sector do you work in?

Archaeology	48	42.1%
Architecture	28	24.6%
Conservation	48	42.1%
Heritage tourism	10	8.8%
Museums	9	7.9%
Planning	51	44.7%
Surveying	9	7.9%
Research	19	16.7%
Development/construction	13	11.4%
Other	10	8.8%
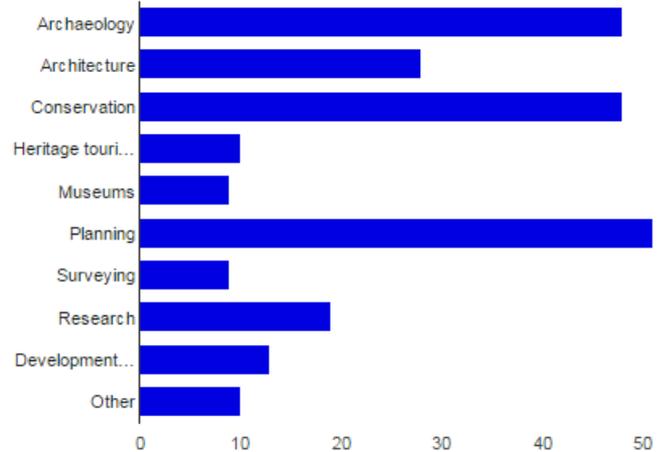
b) Have you previously worked in different sectors?

Archaeology	23	34.3%
Architecture	14	20.9%
Conservation	8	11.9%
Heritage tourism	7	10.4%
Museums	13	19.4%
Planning	24	35.8%
Surveying	11	16.4%
Research	14	20.9%
Development/construction	12	17.9%
Other	5	7.5%
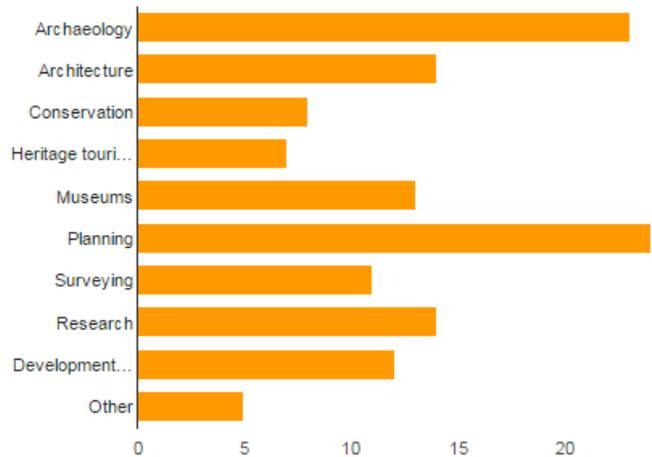
2. a) Is your employer:

A local authority	40	35.1%
A government department	1	0.9%
A non-departmental public body (e.g. English Heritage)	16	14%
A national independent organisation/charity	8	7%
A local independent organisation/charity	13	11.4%
A university/research institution	7	6.1%
Self-employed	19	16.7%
Other	10	8.8%
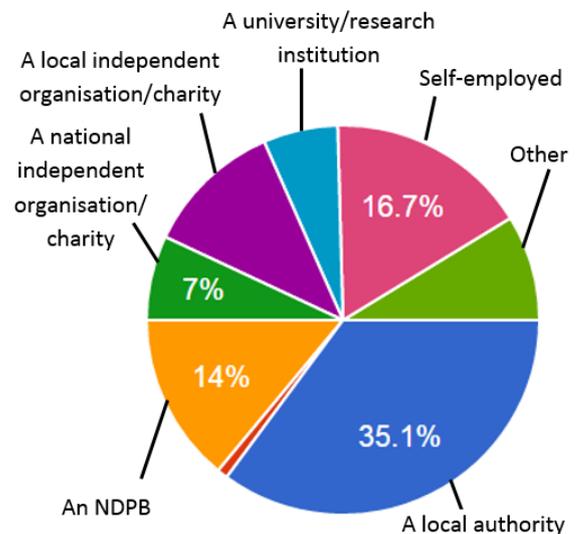
b) Are you currently, or have you previously been employed in any other of the following?

A local authority	55	60.4%
A government department	3	3.3%
A non-departmental public body (e.g. English Heritage)	15	16.5%
A national independent organisation/charity	18	19.8%
A local independent organisation/charity	25	27.5%
A university/research institution	17	18.7%
Self-employed	24	26.4%
Other	4	4.4%
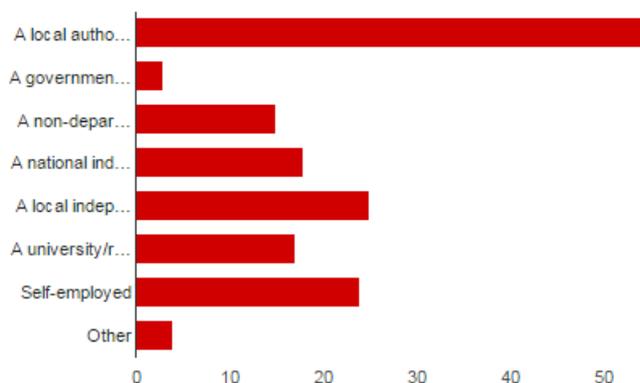
3. What is your annual income?

Volunteer	1	0.9%
Less than 10k	3	2.6%
10-15k	5	4.4%
15-20k	6	5.3%
20-25k	19	16.7%
25-30k	17	14.9%
30-40k	23	20.2%
40k +	22	19.3%
Prefer not to say	18	15.8%
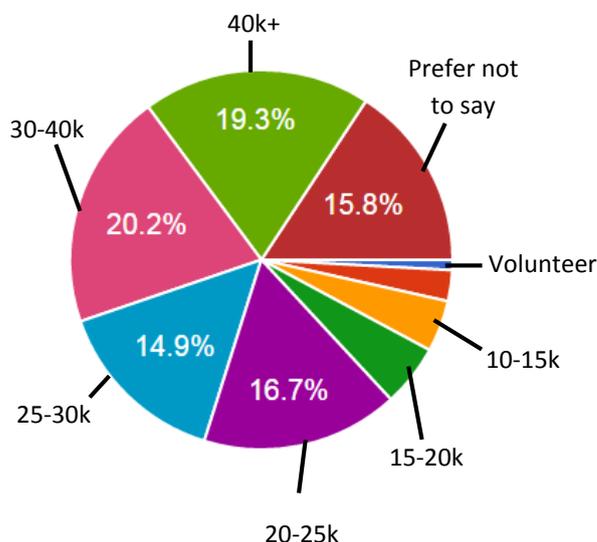
Optional question 4. a) Who is your employer?

Hartlepool Borough Council

Gwynedd Archaeological Trust

Antony Gibb Ltd

Northumberland

Gloucestershire County Council

Dumfries and Galloway Council

Middlesbrough Council/Harrogate Borough Council

Historic Scotland

English Heritage

IOW council

Flintshire County Council

Cambs Co Co

Planning Branch Ltd

A Planning consultancy

Gerry Martin Associates Ltd

Warwickshire County Council

Staffordshire County Council (Strategic Property Unit)

Janet Hodson

University of York

White and Sons

Stroud DC

PRIVATE ARCHITECT

Natural England

Cambridgeshire County Council

English Heritage

Adrienne Hill Limited

self employed

Partner in my own small practice

East Riding of Yorkshire Council

East Sussex County Council

Preston City Council

Bidwells

self

CgMs Consulting

gss architecture

Oxford Archaeology North

Durham County Council

Isle of Wight Council

Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners

AHRC

Prifysgol Bangor University

Staffordshire County Council

John McAslan + Partners

Self-employed

Snowdonia National Park Authority

Institute for Archaeologists

City of Lincoln Council

AM A PARTNER IN AN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICEC

Citydesigner

Northumberland County Council

Shropshire Council

County Council

Nathaniel Lichfield & partners

Capita Symonds

National Trust for Scotland

Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust

Biggs Talbot Architects

Herefordshire Council

Stockton-Borough Council

Denbighshire County Council

Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture, University of York; Heritage Technology Ltd

Avanti Architects

Januarys Consultant Surveyors

Self employed

Heritage Vision Ltd

Guy Taylor Associates Chartered Architects

Previously Kirklees Metropolitan Council Planning Services

Bedford Borough Council

Sandwell MBC

Exeter City Council

b) What is your job title/role?

Planning & Arboricultural Consultant

Site Manager

Historic Environment Record Manager

Historic Property Steward

Head of Technical Design; Director

Associate Director

architect/conservtion architect

Conservation Assistant/Heritage Officer

Conservation Project Officer

Project / Conservation Architect

PARTNER

County Archaeologist

Archaeological Data Officer

director

Director

Historic Properties Steward

Conservation officer

Postgraduate Research Assistant

Training Delivery Officer

Planning Manager

Historic Environment Officer

Landscape Planning and Conservation Team Leader

Development Control Archaeologist

architect

Professor of Archaeology and Heritage

Planning Consultant

ASSOCIATE

Scheme Manager

Associate Planner

Senior Archaeologist

Partner

Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments

Planning Strategy Manager

Archaeology Officer

Heritage Team Leader

CBABursary holder, community archaeologist youth engagement

Associate Partner

Senior Sites and Monuments Record Officer

Perth Regional Office Partner

partner

Head of Heritage Management

Consultant

Senior Building Conservation Officer

Places of Worship Adviser

Inspector of Ancient Monuments

built environment officer

Principal

Collections Registrar

Senior architect

Strategic Land and Planning

Conservation Officer

Standards Promotion Manager

Fieldwork Supervisor

Senior Design and Conservation Officer

project architect

conservation officer

Planning Assistant

Historic Environment Record Officer

Urban Designer

Property Supervisor

honorary curator

Was Senior Architect - Planner

Hisoric Environment Lead Advisor

Heritage & Planning Consultant

Assistant County Archaeologist

Head of Planning

Head of Cultural Heritage

Research Fellow

Heritage Officer

Historic Buildings Officer

Researcher

PhD student

Conservation Offier

Senior Conservation & Design Officer

Senior Heritage Consultant

Specialist Advisor, Archaeology

Principal Urban Designer

Architect

PhD Student!

HER Officer

Heritage Information Partnerships Supervisor

Senior Associate Director

manging director

PhD Student

5. Do you have any professional affiliations?

CIfA	17	15.47%
IHBC	16	14.56%
RTPI	16	14.56%
RIBA	13	11.83%
(RIBA Cons. Group)	3	2.73%
MA	4	3.64%
RICS	4	3.64%
FSA Scot	4	3.64%
FSA	3	2.73%
RSA	1	0.91%
ICOMOS	1	0.91%
SPAB	1	0.91%
CBA	1	0.91%
British Academy (BA)	1	0.91%
None	3	2.73%
Architects Registration Board (ARB)	3	2.73%
Architects accredited in building conservation (AABC)	1	0.91%
Small Businesses Federation (FSB)	1	0.91%
Chamber of Commerce	1	0.91%
Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD)	1	0.91%
Association for Project Management (APM)	1	0.91%
Chartered Management Institute (CMI)	1	0.91%

Unrecognised acronyms:		
CA	1	0.91%
CAABC	1	0.91%
SCA	1	0.91%
RAC	1	0.91%
UDGRP	1	0.91%
RIPA	1	0.91%
ICOM	1	0.91%
FGS	1	0.91%
CDA	1	0.91%
FIQ	1	0.91%
IHBS	1	0.91%
Total:	109	

6. Are you involved in any of the following heritage management processes as part of your work?

Planning applications	80	70.2%
Heritage designations (listing, scheduling, etc.)	38	33.3%
Heritage consent processes	63	55.3%
Local listing	42	36.8%
Historic Landscape Characterisation	30	26.3%
Community outreach/local engagement	48	42.1%
Education	24	21.1%
Museum/heritage interpretation	17	14.9%
Planning-led archaeological investigation	34	29.8%
Planning-led conservation work	43	37.7%
Non-planning related archaeology	29	25.4%
Non-planning related conservation work	31	27.2%
None of the above	3	2.6%
Other	25	21.9%
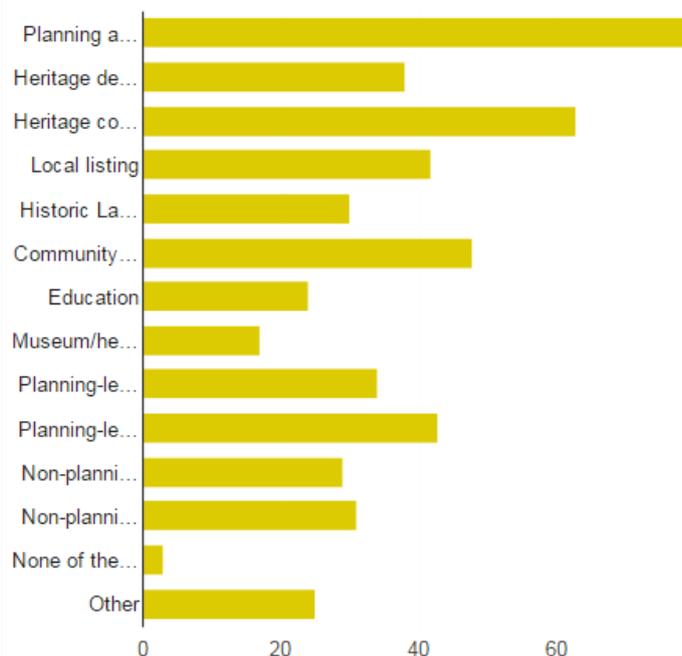
7. Would you like to add any extra information about your job?

"n/a"

"Conservation area / listed buildings impacts and application requirements / financial obligations. The huge variances in decision-making between councils on heritage matters: e.g. LPA heritage officer A recommends a locally listed building to be retained due to its value / heritage officer B recommends the same locally listed building can be demolished...i.e. Advice received is very much dependent on individual interpretation."

"Low pay that hasn't risen in 5 years - we have had our first pay rise this year, and that wasn't even CoL. Lack of training, and lack of management interest in existing or potential skills."

"Lack of understanding about significance, over concentration on fabric and authenticity, Community engagement, capacity building and craft skills shortage are the particular issues that concern me."

"Maintaining the balance between access to the public and protecting the monument."

"Planning law and its relation to heritage issues"

"I work primarily in training and so therefore have a broad understanding of a variety of heritage management issues. I work with specialists and subject matter experts in order to try and tackle issues and potential problems through training (in its widest form); however don't deal with the heritage management issues directly myself."

"I am currently delivering 'heritage led regeneration' projects with external funding in a historic market town, conservation area with the highest concentration of listed buildings in one area - without the 'carrot' of the external grant programme it is hard to work with owners/businesses and private sector to get them to invest in historic fabric. The conservation grant programme and strategic direction of support for the commercial and retail sector in times of austerity is delivering tangible results to the built heritage via a targeted programme of fabric uplift. This is important if heritage assets are to be repaired, sustained and in continual use and occupation. The legislation and guidance is important but so is the combination of 'carrot, stick and bluff' to deliver it."

"Lack of resourcing, staff morale, pay and subsequent decline in skilled workforce available."

"Vulnerability of undesignated heritage assets eg demolition of locally characteristic buildings"

"Mainstreaming archaeology & heritage in the public consciousness (in the way that the natural environment has done so successfully)"

"Countryside management and the integration of historic environment management issues with the broader management of the environment."

"Continuing divide between Archaeology and Conservation professionals"

"The main issues for the Places of Worship team, are currently: - Sustainability and re-use of historic POWs - Heritage at Risk - removing POWs from the register, but also ensuring full coverage of all POWs for the 2014 register (currently it's about 10-15%) - Improving our knowledge and understanding of less traditional 'historic' buildings, e.g. C20th POWs, Orthodox church buildings, secular buildings used as places for worship; and the potential recommendation of some of these for designation. - Anything within the NHPP has an impact and influences the work that we do. Please note that the views below are my own and not those of English Heritage. Therefore, please do not quote them as such if they are to be included in any resulting publications or reports."

"Research: we are currently starting our fourth research project for English Heritage in 3 years We save listed buildings and other heritage assets from planning-based challenges"

"My role is concerned with the protection and enhancement of heritage assets in the farmer environment, specifically those areas within SSSIs or agri-environment agreements (c. 70% of land within England). Also with the restoration of farm buildings. I manage grant aid and plan and coordinate capital works aimed at reducing heritage at risk as well as enhancing rural non-designated heritage sites, parks and gardens (under grazing) or battlefields. I also advise on mitigation for other farming and conservation related activities e.g. large scale habitat restoration projects such as rewetting of marshes, arable reversion, creation of wood pasture etc. Some of our work includes the provision of educational access grants and historic farm buildings in particular have a natural partnership with this kind of work although the grant aid rules mean only like for like repair and no conversion works may be funded"

"Maximising profits for developers and land/building owners. If this includes Listed Buildings then my main concern [at the moment] is the viability of converting Listed Buildings. There is an opportunity cost that Local Planning Authorities [LPAs] tend not to understand: the longer a heritage asset is left vacant, the larger the cost implication of bringing that building back into a functioning and appropriate use. This is a huge consideration for the private sector. Also, the fundamental point of what is better for the building. Leaving it to fall down or comprising and permitting a new use [so that the building's life is secured]? [A good example of the above is vacant barns/outbuildings that are listed or listed by association. If you would like a real world example, let me know! I have a few...]"

"Decline of professionals employed due to government cuts. Lack of skills by officers engaged in conservation matters. Weakening of conservation legislation. Lack of conviction to take enforcement against illegal works."

"Working at IfA puts us in quite a unique place in the sector - setting and maintaining standards, and promoting the profession, but not directly working within it. IfA is well placed to provide responses on consultations and advocacy on heritage policy, and this is an area where I feel more commercial organisations could have more of a say by also responding to threats and consultations. The organisation I used to work for tended not to comment on these matters, despite being both a commercial unit and a research department."

"Balance between tourism (a good family day out) and factual interpretation and historical integrity"

"- The demise of specialist conservation staff in local planning authorities - The weakness of the NPPF which should be abolished - The re-instatement of the previous PPS's and PPG's - The pusillanimity of the IHBC in not enforcing its professional Code of Conduct particularly Articles 18 (Members shall strive to conserve and preserve...) and 21 (Members shall report breaches....). Members of the IHBC are involved in the un-necessary demolition of perfectly good histroic buildings. - The un-willingness of local authorities to enforce LB un-authorised works and breaches of LBC and planning conditions."

"lack of popular knowledge of local heritage assets. I believe if people understood more they would respect & do less damage to our assets."

"Obtaining planning, listed building and conservation area consent for my clients. Also fulfilling requirements for archaeological assessment and investigation associated with redevelopment."

"Planning reform - mostly ok, but the expansion of permitted development rights is of major concern. Major or long-term development-led investigations are not matched by suitable displays of new discoveries owing to lack of capacity in museums & difficulty of securing sufficient funding for this in advance (eg via s106 and/or CIL - archaeology struggle to be at the table when Heads of Terms are discussed). Lack of a Heritage Act that would include a scale of financial penalties/prosecution for criminal activities towards archaeological sites/the historic envt generally. Metal detecting (looting) should be done under special licence. Could be extended to archaeological excavation."

"listed buildings @ risk surveys, grant schemes for their repair . concern = limited budget (inflation + 20% vat) and no increase in funding, outlook looks bleak and as more LB fall into disrepair. Legislation not effective .. enforcement not a deterrent and time consuming!"

"Lack of tax breaks for heritage buildings Public/owner/industry lack of knowledge of legal obligations/requirements"

"The small mindedness of the heritage bodies. Their inability to see wider contexts than the immediate."

"In terms of concerns the continuing reduction in resources and the demand to generate income to off-set costs within local authorities is having a significant impact on the delivery of our services!"

"no"

"Capricious approach by the authorities, where inconsistent and personal views are followed, often changing between meetings."

"Heritage protection, public access"

"Free-lance archaeological contractor"

"Issues in relation to development proposals"

"The over zealous interpretation of planning policy. There is too much control over alterations to listed buildings"

"Lack of protection for non-statutorily designated sites/areas Lack of protection against demolition of unlisted buildings Archaeological impact of works undertaken by electricity and telecommunications schemes Variable awareness and valuing of historic environment by local authorities and the public Difficulty ensuring consistency and standards Difficulty in enforcing planning conditions - often damage already done"

"A lack of adequate government funding to support the preservation of listed buildings at the local level"

"conservation architect for museums & heritage sector masterplans, planning/listed building applications through to work on site"

"assessing architects for entry to the register of specialist practitioners"

Section 2: About your views on heritage

8. Any place can have heritage significance

Strongly disagree: 1	4	3.5%
2	10	8.8%
3	18	15.8%
4	40	35.1%
Strongly agree: 5	42	36.8%
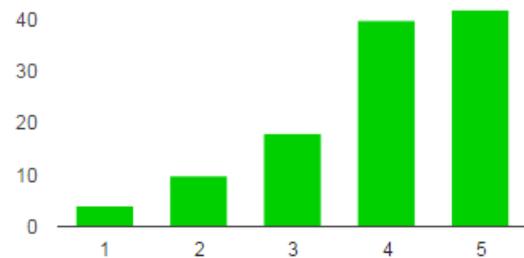
9. Formal designation of heritage assets is a satisfactory way to protect what people value about their historic environment.

Strongly disagree: 1	5	4.4%
2	18	15.8%
3	25	21.9%
4	49	43%
Strongly agree: 5	17	14.9%
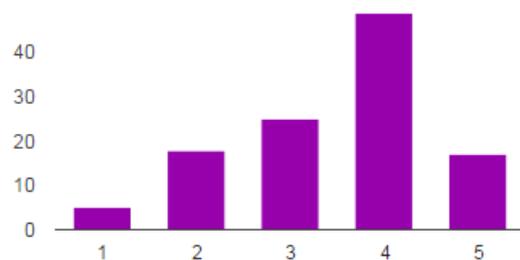
10. The heritage assets people value most are primarily what is considered to be 'national heritage'

Strongly disagree: 1	8	7%
2	41	36%
3	31	27.2%
4	25	21.9%
Strongly agree: 5	9	7.9%
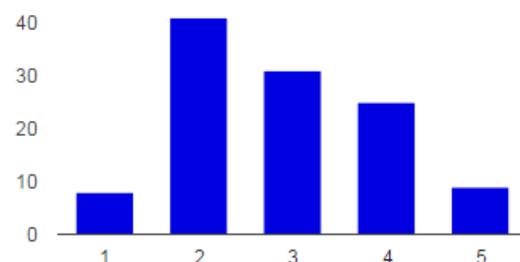
11. Others may value the same places or concepts as me, but essentially my heritage is individual.

Strongly disagree: 1	7	6.1%
2	26	22.8%
3	34	29.8%
4	32	28.1%
Strongly agree: 5	15	13.2%
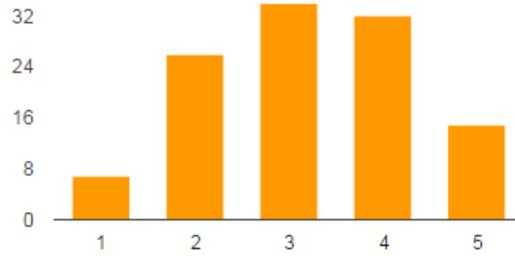
12. Only heritage assets that reach certain thresholds of significance should be a concern of regulatory controls.

Strongly disagree: 1	23	20.2%
2	18	15.8%
3	18	15.8%
4	43	37.7%
Strongly agree: 5	12	10.5%
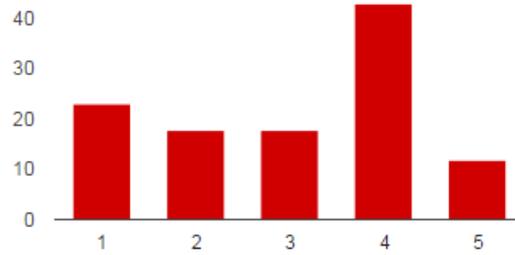
13. It is more important to secure an economically stable future for the nation than protect our heritage.

Strongly disagree: 1	30	26.3%
2	44	38.6%
3	28	24.6%
4	9	7.9%
Strongly agree: 5	3	2.6%
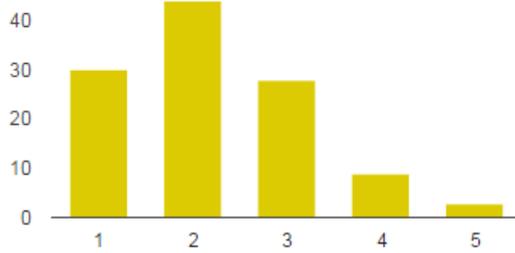
14. Heritage must fit within sustainable development, otherwise it should not be privileged with protected statuses.

Strongly disagree: 1	27	23.7%
2	27	23.7%
3	26	22.8%
4	28	24.6%
Strongly agree: 5	6	5.3%
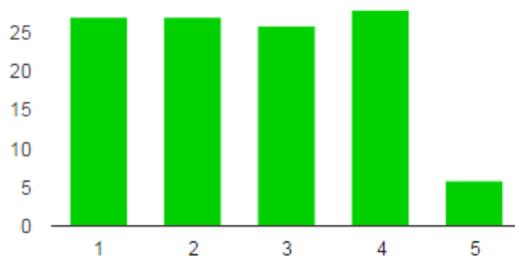
15. When determining the significance of a heritage asset, historic/archaeological/architectural values are more important than communal/social values.

Strongly disagree: 1	9	7.9%
2	39	34.2%
3	31	27.2%
4	31	27.2%
Strongly agree: 5	4	3.5%

16. Heritage is fundamentally about what people value.

Strongly disagree: 1	3	2.6%
2	20	17.5%
3	31	27.2%
4	37	32.5%
Strongly agree: 5	23	20.2%
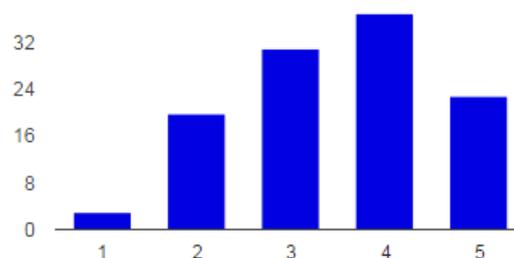
17. Heritage is fundamentally about the preservation of important historic places

Strongly disagree: 1	8	7%
2	29	25.4%
3	32	28.1%
4	35	30.7%
Strongly agree: 5	10	8.8%
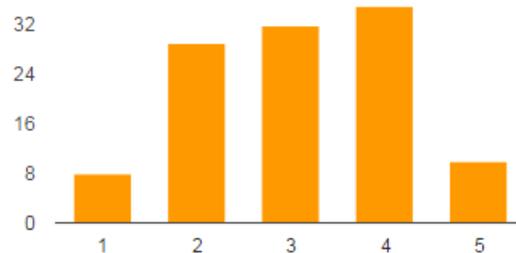
18. It is important that heritage is considered inseparable from the process of seeking positive improvements to the environment as a whole in all places, not just historic ones.

Strongly disagree: 1	1	0.9%
2	5	4.4%
3	20	17.5%
4	47	41.2%
Strongly agree: 5	41	36%
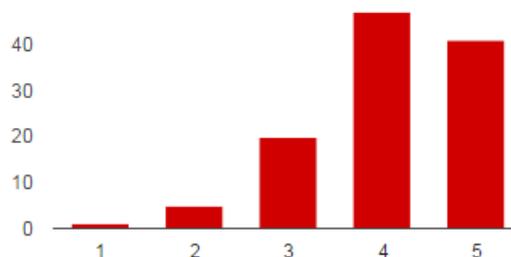
19. Protecting heritage is as much about good planning for the future as about preserving the remains of the past.

Strongly disagree: 1	0	0%
2	4	3.5%
3	8	7%
4	42	36.8%
Strongly agree: 5	60	52.6%
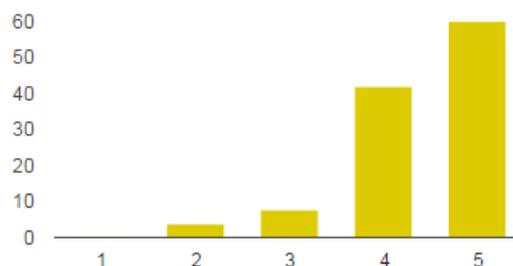
20. Please choose 3 of the following which you feel are the most important in your conception of what the heritage profession should do:

Protect nationally important historical sites/buildings	64	56.1%
Protect local distinctiveness	42	36.8%
Enhance the built environment	39	34.2%
Contribute to knowledge and understanding of the past	65	57%
Enable people to enjoy themselves	2	1.8%
Contribute to personal identity	6	5.3%
Contribute to community	19	16.7%
Stop inappropriate environmental change	7	6.1%
Preserve places as they currently are	1	0.9%
Protect picturesque/beautiful places	8	7%
Mitigate damage to the historic environment	45	39.5%
Enable people to get actively involved with conserving their heritage	31	27.2%
Protect what people value about the built environment	24	21.1%
Other	2	1.8%
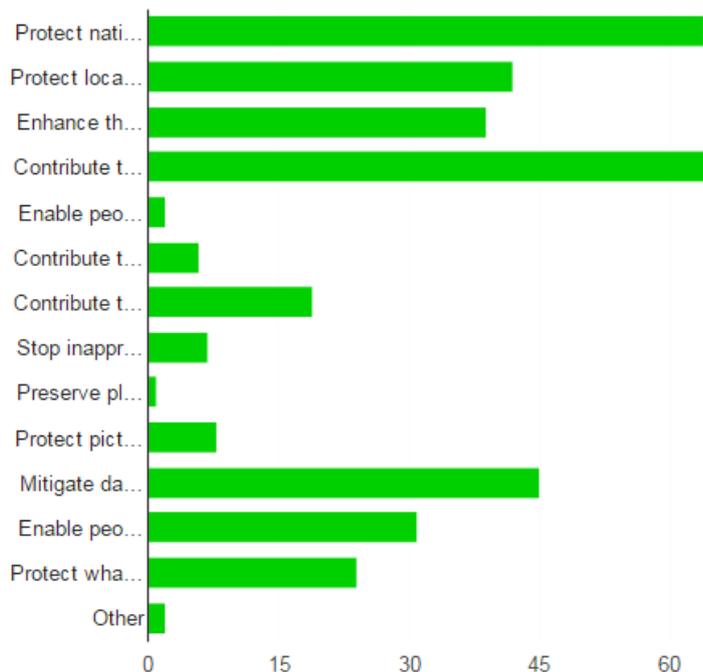
21. Do you have any additional comments on this section?

"n/a"

"- I also agree with items 4,6,8,10,11,13."

"I think that a synthesis of many of the above is enshrined in good 'conservation'. Separating these aspects into individual elements might spell disaster for particular sectors of the conservation community. Government only needs a slight opportunity to weaken further the controls of 'heritage'."

"Several questions could be taken more than one way eg 16 - heritage IS what people value but of course this changes over time, and most people may think some things are unimportant (eg Cold

War) until time passes. Q14 definition of sustainable development in NFFP indicates that includes protecting heritage anyway. Answer to Q 20 given from point of view of my current job"

"I think there is a need to make the case that the historic environment can support sustainable economic growth by creating or contributing to places that people want to live, work, visit. Too often it is still seen as a barrier to investment."

"I think concepts of heritage and the historic environment go far beyond the current statutory designation system, although it is very difficult to define and protect the more intangible elements of our past. Often when people seek to protect historically important places, particularly those which are considered to have only local or communal interest under the current designation definitions, they are actually seeking to preserve something more than the building or landscape - that is simply the most tangible element of what they value. Cultural and social practices and communal memory are all reflected in these places - and often that is what people are seeking to protect and preserve."

"Q8 & Q17 Heritage significance is a variable concept that will change over time. 'Heritage' is the tourism industry specifically based on the past; it is a term best avoided in terms of managing the historic environment from anything other than this perspective. Q14 & Q18 - The historic environment needs protection regardless of political and economic strategy. It needs to be considered as part of schemes but has independent needs; and sometimes, sustainability for monuments means no change at all. Q15 Without historical, archaeological or architectural value somewhere is not a heritage asset; it may be a cultural asset and it may in time become a heritage asset. The different values can layer to increase overall significance, without one being necessarily more important than another."

"Think you should allow 5 rather than just 3 answers"

"Heritage professionals should see opportunities in historic structures and should not be afraid to introduce interventions to give new and different lives to them. There is too much over emphasis on existing buildings having to be kept exactly as they are. Old buildings have often been much changed in their lifetimes and the conservation bodies who we have to consult seem to be terrified at the thought of permitting change."

"As well as 'formally' listing buildings, a number of LPAs develop documents that identify buildings/places of local interest. This helps planners identify constraints in the planning process early on and helps with the transparency of the system."

"Conserve our heritage for future generations"

"Clever questions. Not sure what 'sustainable development' is. I can think of circumstances in which I 'agree' in some aspects but 'disagree' in others."

"I believe if you can engage the community, and persuade the state and the developer that the work heritage professionals do is valuable, you will more easily achieve all the list above. I also believe that the underlying principle is that people value heritage and we should do our all to ensure that heritage becomes a more vital part of peoples present and future, and not simply a mode of preserving history."

"Regulatory control is necessary to protect heritage assets, but I don't believe the current system of listing works particularly well. I work with a lot of Grade II listed buildings, which can vary

significantly in terms of heritage value. Even Grade II listed buildings can be subject to fairly stringent controls, all too often at the whim of individual conservation officers. In some cases I feel this can encourage backwards thinking and stifle good design. I think the system would benefit from further tiers, allowing buildings of lesser heritage significance to still be protected, but without the draconian controls often applied to listed buildings. The current system of 'locally listed buildings' does not work, as they do not require listed building consent and can be demolished without consent if located outside of conservation areas (and many of them are). It's very difficult to make broad-brush statements about whether sustainability and economic considerations are more important that heritage. I think those kind of considerations need to be weighed against the significance of individual heritage assets."

"Natural England's ecosystem's services approach means that heritage is valued under cultural heritage services - the national character area profiles focusing on which characteristic assets make up local distinctiveness underpin much of our work and this may become a stronger influence in the future post-CAP reform. as farming is effectively outside planning regs agri-environment acts in a similar way not to check development but to mitigate its effects and to make it sustainable whilst avoiding damage to the most significant features. However it is a top-down approach and only public feed in can be achieved via HERs if they have a local list. in my region many do not. undesignated sites are common in my 'patch' as it is outside national parks - lack of designation clearly does not mean lack of significant sites. NE also has a statutory role on landscape - I do not work in this section of NE and they do not consult with our in-house heritage staff only with EH"

"You may find it useful to read the recent speech by the Cabinet Secretary in Scotland. Online at: http://www.scotsman.com/news/arts/full-speech-fiona-hyslop-on-scottish-culture-1-2955236"

"Q. 16. Problem with defining 'people'. Some want nothing ever to change, ever again, others couldn't give a damn. Q.17; problem with the word 'preservation'. Architecture is the one art that must be capable of evolution, or it becomes sterile. Conservation allows essential change."

"Heritage protection should not just be about preserving the asset as it is. Buildings must evolve to have context in terms of now. It is not about precluding change, but rather about managing it, so the key elements/components are conserved for now and future generations."

"Historic places, buildings and areas have always been sustainable. That's why they have survived and evolved - the management of the historic environment should not be at the expense of sustainable investment - I think Q14 is pejorative - the historic environment is quite capable of fitting with sustainable development without being 'privileged and protected'. Growth and change has to be managed sensitively but it is not an 'either or' scenario; historic buildings, places and areas survive because they are robust and capable of continued sustainable uses if managed carefully." "Development should contribute to the sense of place and add to local distinctiveness, not preserve it in aspic or stop growth and change."

"It would help to have an optional comments box under the questions, as I felt I wanted to qualify what I'd picked with a few of them, but I don't want to have to scroll back through them all now and add comments here - I haven't got time I'm afraid - sorry!."

"Q 20 is a tough one - pretty much all could (should) be ticked"

"To find economic purpose for heritage sites, to enable their conservation even if somewhat changed."

"Protecting local distinctiveness has become more of focus since the NPPF was published"

"Whatever we do should be active & positive; negative actions such as "stopping" "protecting" will always be seen as special interest, nimbyism, etc."

"A number of the above are intrinsically linked. I.e. in order to 'contribute' to community, local engagement is fundamental."

"No"

"If I could add a 4th point to qstn 20, I would select 'mitigate damage to the historic environment'. Qstn 14 is oddly worded and doesn't make a lot of sense. Perceived understanding, and what has been fought hard for, is that the historic environment (not 'heritage') should be at the heart of sustainable development - full stop. Even before the use of the 'sustainable' concept certain assets were recognised as significant enough to the fabric of the built environment, or due to exceptional preservation qualities, or due to rarity value, to warrant conservation, and therefore, protection. So, it is more 'sustainable' to ensure that historic environment assets, or 'the heritage' if you prefer, are appropriately dealt with to ensure their chance of achieving long-term preservation."

"I'd much rather be able to say "Protect all historical sites/buildings, and where this is not possible then ensure appropriate mitigation and full recording"."

"The definition of 'sustainable development' in the NPPF supports the conservation of the historic environment."

"collaboration between/among heritage professionals from different fields/sectors is important to the protection and understanding of heritage"

"it is our job to see potential and to then apply our ideas to assets without compromising their special qualities and to make assets useful and to make them valued by society as a whole"

"Heritage is a subjective term, and depends on many factors. It is not entirely individual, and normally associated with communities and their concept of identify and how they relate to the rest of the world. This doesn't just mean geographical communities - ie villages, towns, rural areas, but could include the archaeological community itself, those groups involved in re-enactment, those with specific interests, ie pottery specialists. The concept of community is wide-ranging, and thus the concept of heritage. The problem with heritage, if one can call it a problem, is that it straddles many different spheres, from the public, the private and the third sector, and the relationships between these sectors has been varied to say the least. When it comes to who/what decides on what does or doesn't count as significant when determining heritage, there needs to be more understanding and co-operation. There needs to be much more contact between the academic and commercial world, with an attempt to put the intellectual snobbery, and inverted snobbery, aside. Plus, there needs to be less 'ivory tower' behaviour from both sides, and proper interaction with the public on a more equal and open footing. Although it is tacitly agreed that 'Heritage' is not the sole domain of the 'professional', that it belongs to everyone, this is often not translated into practice."

"The singular term 'Heritage Profession' is vague and unhelpful and suggests some sort of praetorian elite. This is certainly how critics often see heritage professionals. In my experience 'Heritage professionals' mostly advise and rarely decide. Our personal views are therefore of only limited weight."

"Q.14 - only the case for buildings, not archaeology. Q. 17 - loads of exceptions. An odd statement to either endorse or not endorse; an odd question when it comes to museum collections, or artistic artefacts"

Section 3: About your views on heritage regulation

22. Would you agree that regulation which affects heritage adequately matches your views on what heritage should do?

Strongly Agree	2	1.8%
Agree	52	45.6%
Disagree	41	36%
Strongly Disagree	7	6.1%
Don't know	11	9.6%
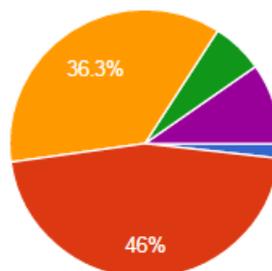
23. Would you agree that new government policies on heritage usually bring change for the better?

Strongly agree	1	0.9%
Agree	40	35.1%
Disagree	50	43.9%
Strongly disagree	8	7%
Don't know	15	13.2%
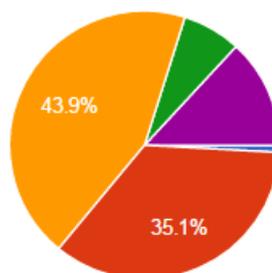
24. Do you agree that regulation of heritage is usually well researched, well structured, and supported by the profession as a whole?

Strongly agree	1	0.9%
Agree	49	43%
Disagree	49	43%
Strongly disagree	6	5.3%
Don't know	9	7.9%
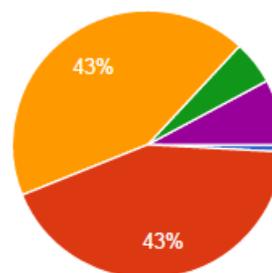
25. Do you agree that those heritage professionals with responsibility for sector policy have the same views as you?

Strongly agree	2	1.8%
Agree	43	37.7%
Disagree	33	28.9%
Strongly Disagree	6	5.3%
Don't know	30	26.3%
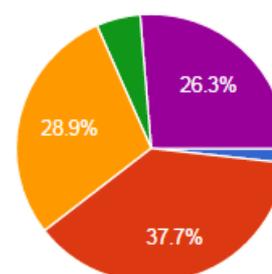
26. Do you agree that the heritage sector's leadership is strong?
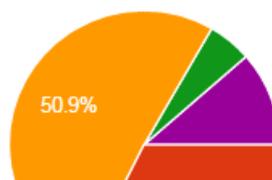
|		
Strongly agree	0	0%
Agree	37	32.5%
Disagree	58	50.9%
Strongly disagree	6	5.3%
Don't know	13	11.4%

27. Do you agree that the heritage sector's leadership has an adequate advocacy capability for influencing government?

Strongly Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	23	20.2%
Disagree	56	49.1%
Strongly Disagree	19	16.7%
Don't know	15	13.2%
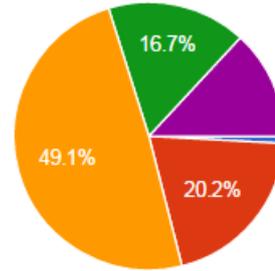
28. Would you agree that the government is committed to heritage issues?

Strongly agree	0	0%
Agree	31	27.2%
Disagree	44	38.6%
Strongly Disagree	27	23.7%
Don't know	12	10.5%
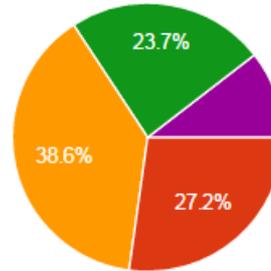
29. How influential is government regulation in your work?

Highly influential	64	56.1%
Fairly influential	33	28.9%
Not very influential	13	11.4%
Not influential at all	4	3.5%
Don't know	0	0%
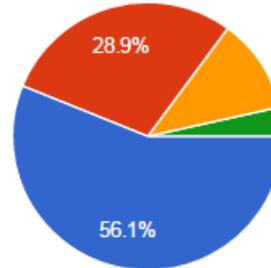
30. How influential are unofficial sectoral guidelines in your work?

Highly influential	49	43%
Fairly influential	49	43%
Not very influential	14	12.3%
Not influential at all	1	0.9%
Don't know	1	0.9%
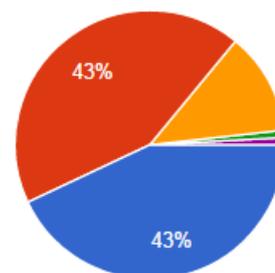
31. a) Would you agree that, in practice, less weight is given to the guidance produced by national heritage agencies (English Heritage, Historic Scotland, Cadw) than to government legislation and policy?

Strongly agree	17	14.9%
Agree	51	44.7%
Disagree	30	26.3%
Strongly disagree	3	2.6%
Don't know	13	11.4%
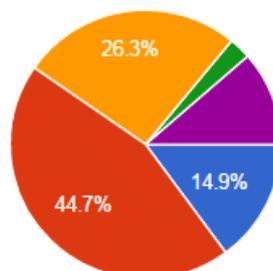
b) Why do you think this, and do you think it should be so?

"Not everything can be covered in policy and therefore these docs should have equal standing"

"Because the government only pays lip-service to the heritage"

"It's all about weight - if it's not written into legislation then guidance is seen as something you can take or leave."

"The guidance produced by national heritage agencies should provide the underwriting for national legislation and be cited therein."

"Often heritage agency guidelines is not relevant to the project in hand. Also, heritage agencies have a a blanket approach which is not relevant to site specifics of projects"

"The reason for this in my view is the role of prime legislation in case law and planning."

"Without specific supporting legislation it will always be, but it certainly shouldn't be."

"Lack of joined up thinking in Government where heritage protection is concerned - in other spheres of government work it tends to be a "bolt on" at best, disgegarded ar worst"

"County Archaeologists use whatever suits them best for a particular situation. Rarely is there consistency across the field from LA to LA. Sectoral guidance is routinely ignored. The SMC process is also extremely slow and fundamentally flawed."

"National heritage agency guidance underpins archaeological practice along with /complemented by professional guidance (eg from IfA and AlGAO, and specialist guidance). Govt works with national heritage agencies to provide practice guides on their behalf."

"Heritage policies are consistently being watered down by government legislation and policy, as their prime emphasis is 'economic regeneration' - with lip service only to 'sustainability'. The agencies are forced to follow political agendas of the ruling party, rather than being apolitical heritage champions."

"Because govt policy is mandatory and agency guidance is not, and the former is backed up by the power and political/economic/financial clout to make it happen, whether it is the "right thing" or not. Heritage is a cinderella in comparison to the natural environment and the economy...."

"From a personal perspective, I think in practice, more weight is given to legislation as this is what defines how a developer and planner responds to heritage. I think heritage professionals use guidance by national agencies far more, and I suspect that IfA Standards and guidance and used far more than that (eg I am a bit biased but as they are generally referred to in all project briefs and used as a benchmark by most practitioners, irrespective of membership). Also, guidance for planning legislation in England has been so slow in coming forward, I don't feel working practices have necessarily kept up with legislative developments, such as the emphasis on sustainable development. Having worked at IfA for 18 months now, I am impressed at how much the organisation has achieved in its policy and advocacy work - its something I want to try and make people more aware of over the coming months!"

"There is usually a stick associated with government legislation e.g. criminal offence to carry out unauthorised works on listed buildings. It is to be noted though that there is general ignorance of this fact by the overall populace. Agency advice is seen as recommended; it is human nature to ignore such advice if it conflicts with personal/business aims/desires."

"Legislation obviously must sit above everything else. National policy does and must sit below this. Other guidance does and must sit below this, but should be (and usually is) influential."

"Government makes policy; agencies give advice. Heritage professionals should assess each case, gather available evidence and think for themselves. Government and agencies can be wrong, especially where they (or their advocates) attempt to apply general policy to specific cases."

"Equal weight is given to the documentation, but determination of what it means varies between individuals and organisations and by LPA to LPA."

"Bias towards development in government clashes often with bias against it at the agencies"

"In practice, guidance is often interpreted as a requirement for want on any better guideline or alternative, objective, evidence based or commonly agreed approach. In my experience this is often due to a lack of understanding, expertise or confidence on the part of practitioners - or simply a desire to 'play safe' and abdicate responsibility and avoid harder or more nuanced decision making."

"Essential difference between legislation and guidance!"

"Governments have a political agenda and national heritage agencies are government funded and therefore to a great extent try to anticipate what the government might want them to say, or else their funding might be squeezed."

"The legislative framework is becoming broader and interpretation and supplementary planning guidance, which is often guided by national heritage agencies, will necessarily have to fill the gap."

"The question answers itself - 'guidance' is perceived as optional, as in some cases is policy. Within the profession guidance is more readily accepted but it carries less influence with decision makers. Obviously this shouldn't be the case and major marketing and education efforts are needed to redress this."

"Because what the Government says trumps what the agencies say. The agencies are there to fill out the Government's approach and to fill in the gaps."

"Q. 26 & 27; Problem here in that the most authoritative leadership should come from English Heritage, but it is government funded... Q. 30 & 31. The guidance from EH is effectively what becomes official, so I don't see the difference."

"There is an obvious distinction between statutory requirements (the law) and guidance. Government legislation and policy is enacted by a democratically elected Government. EH etc have no electoral mandate."

"Cadw are part of Welsh Government"

"It depends on the specific circumstances so this question is a bit pointless and will not have meaningful results"

"national heritage agencies ultimately either work for the government or get funded by them."

"Most people confuse EH and Government policy, assuming it's the same thing. In addition, as EH is the statutory adviser to government, and has a great deal of weight behind it, the majority of people would give significant credence to EH guidance, especially as they may well apply for a grant at some point. EH also has significant authority in many aspects, often casting the deciding vote in planning application consultations and so on."

"information overload at times, means that there are a whole tranche of documents to refer to, with different status. Although good documents, they are generally too complex and detailed for the non-heritage professional to digest. Simpler to use NPPF, which is succinct."

"If used and interpreted correctly there is the ability to use the guidance effectively and to link it with both strategic and national policy. This has to be properly tested and built into the Local Development Framework and SPD's but EH guidance and the whole background and evolution of conservation philosophy and policy cannot be ignored; the principal Act the Town and County Planning Act 1990 has not changed - it is there to be used and interpreted! and if used correctly it still provides a robust and tried and tested framework for conservation policy and guidance that can reference government quangos and agencies as central government's policy advisors."

"They should correspond, the government policies should reflect the views of those departments created to advise on such matters, however the primary legislation will always take precedent over guidance in planning law."

"The various consultation bodies have been far too powerful in preventing changes to historic buildings in recent years and the current government's aim seems to be to reduce this, which I applaud. On the ground, however, the Conservation Officers and Planning Officers one deals with do not have the knowledge, experience or courage to permit change without one having to spend huge quantities of time trying to persuade them to agree to obviously sensible changes. That is why the Government is sensible in trying to loosen up the legislation. Many changes are reversible and Conservation "consenters" (or more often "refusers") fail to apprciate this."

"By definition guidance is subordinate to law. However the law should be changed where it conflicts with specialist guidance - this is not necessarily the case. I have rules and regualtions which I am to enforce which I find to be either unenforceable in practice or patently daft however sometimes that is the way things go."

"I value the advice offered by heritage groups/professionals but have often come across 'barriers' where this advice is not flexible and does not reflect national policy (i.e. They have placed more weight on their own guidance and opinions than their statutory obligations to consider requirements such as regulation and legislation). I do not support this approach unless their guidance is consistent with policy and legislation where the soundness of such guidance has been tested through a consultation process. If such guidance is to influence development then it would certainly need to be tested by the Planning Inspectorate otherwise it would have very limited weight at a potential appeal."

"See 26 and 27"

"National heritage agencies should produce guidance that is in accordance with / informed by government policy and legislation (this is predicated on the said agencies being involved in the formulation of the Government policy / legislation)."

"Government statute is always going to trump individual guidance, although the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. At the moment it is particularly influential because in a time of falling budgets organisations have to be highly visible in applying not just legislation but also more informal elemnts of government policy - in order to try and justify and protect their current funding."

"In practice, legislation has to take a broad approach and heritage agency guidance can be beneficial in filling in the detailed approach with expert knowledge. In some cases this can be given considerable weight due to its clarity, in others it falls down as it is not a legal requirement."

"Because authorities have to adhere to government policies, but not have to adhere to other guidelines"

"I guess guidance produced by government carry's more legal clout, though I have little input into what guidance my company follows, and why."

"There is considerable weight given to the guidance produced by NHAs, but ultimately, at least government legislation, and frequently also policy, trump this guidance if any conflict arises (as it should be in a democratic society)."

"Because the law must be obeyed. Guidance is optional"

"Because these bodies implement Govt policy"

"In a vast amount of cases, particularly in relation to planning policy, those following legislation and policy don't see "heritage" as a topic that concerns them (unless it was blatantly obvious); therefore would not consider looking at guidance from heritage agencies."

"I think this is because Local Government Policy often reflects national heritage agencies thinking. I think that a lot of national heritage agencies haven't caught up with the shift in National Planning Policy [since the National Planning Policy Framework - NPPF] that is more pro-development than the PPG/Ss it replaced. This is probably down to funding more than anything? I think that Conservation and Heritage documents produced by national heritage agencies are often long winded and, when looking from a private sector viewpoint, it is usually much more expedient to ring the Conservation Officer at the LPA and enter dialogue with them directly over what would

and would not be acceptable. With heritage assets, it is important to note that everyone is different and an over-arching document could never satisfy all eventualities."

"EH has inadequate resources Their guidance is very general and not really helpful for professionals already working in the field of conservation EH only involved with grade 2-star and 1 listings We are tuned to follow legislation first and guidance second, and usually only when free!"

"The problem is the conservation professionals who are generally obstructive to perfectly reasonable proposals. The government may change policy but the people on deals with at the consultee bodies have their own personal agendas and are terrified of change. They never seem to bear in mind that most alterations can be reversed."

"National policies carry most weight"

"EH guidance is more detailed & technical, so is necessary to 'fill in the gaps' in national policy"

"Documents endorsed by national government are normally given more weight in decision making, but in practice the guidance documents produced by English Heritage are more useful and understandable by the public"

"I think EH best practice guidance should be considered a material consideration in decision making alongside national policy"

"wo circular 61/96 CADW is our bible !... needs updating though ."

32. Have you ever had to adapt your working practices in response to new demands of regulation?

Yes	91	79.8%
No	14	12.3%
Don't know	9	7.9%
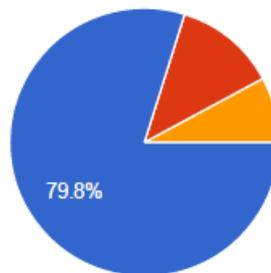
33. a) If so, how difficult was it to do so?

Fairly straightforward: 1	19	16.7%
2	22	19.3%
3	34	29.8%
4	19	16.7%
Highly complex: 5	2	1.8%
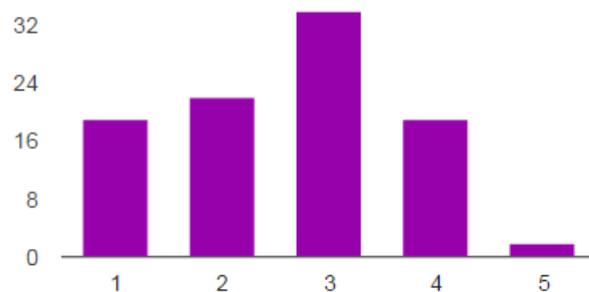
b) Could you give an example?

"NPPF effectively threw out almost all then-current legislation. The new provisions still covered everything in principle, but Guidance Note elimination left us to interpret and argue our own case."

"Changing from PPG15 to PPS5 to the NPPF within 2 years; each had differing emphases and levels of prescription."

"Because I came to conservation and CHM from Eng Lit, rather than archaeology I was fortunate in not being immersed in ideas of authenticity before I started. I have always believed in significance, value, community and the benefits of renewal."

"Scottish Planning Policy introduced 'significance' as a key determining factor - this required all 25,000 sites in the HER to be graded, a job that took two years. It becomes problematic when archaeological companies working for contractors decide to grade something differently, in order to improve their client's chances of a successful application. We're in the process of writing our Local Development Plan to cover the next decade, and have had to review all our policy phraseology since we are no longer allowed to use 'negative' phrases such as "There will be a presumption against development that adversely affects..." We're instructed that planning *must* be seen as enabling, rather than restrictive, and the weakening of central government policy phraseology makes it harder to protect historic environment assets from development."

"Most of my work is in the community and I have to measure it against targets set by national policies. When the policies are reviewed I need to respond to those changes, whatever they may be."

"Not in the UK, but in Austria: change to regulation meant considerably more paperwork required to get an excavation permit, and new regulations introduced by Austrian NHA (2010) now required to stick to specific forms and file formats where previously any kind of record (however it was designed and whatever file format it was in) would do. Note that this has a series of advantages, but also - particularly where bureaucratic lack of flexibility to reflect different types of fieldwork (survey, geophysics, rescue, development-led and research excavation etc.) is concerned - a series of distinct and often somewhat ridiculous disadvantages."

"Everyone is trying to work out what the NPPF means in practice. It's easy for the Government to express support for things like heritage, but what matters is how this works out in practice when up against other things the Government also supports!"

"change from PPS5 to NPPF"

"Changes to WSI to cover scheduled or grade II listed projects. Often these projects are less intrinsically interesting or preserved than unprotected sites"

"Working with PPG 15 + 16 and then the NPPF which, for example, has no specific tests for demolition of heritage assets and relies too much on property speculators' hired conservation 'professionals' who then just recommend what the property speculators want."

"Bat legislation is difficult to work with at times as is newt legislation. The main difficulty is the interpretation that Conservation Officers make of legislation. The requirement for lengthy design and access statements is not helpful but we have all had to get used to preparing them with their requirement for statements about significance which are in my view generally plainly obvious."

"No because it is the individual conservation officer/ EH people who advise what can and cannot be done. Words, however can be twisted to suit whoever is doing the twisting. Concepts like "harm" and "significance" are very subjective."

"Hold up of excavations because of political worries about the perception of the project in national regulatory bodies."

"Producing detailed Impact Assessments for World Heritage Sites, following the introduction of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value. HIAs are adapted based on different methodologies - no single catch-all methodology. The same principle has been adapted for sites which are heritage assets (non WHS)."

"replacing PPG15/PPS5 with NPPF"

"As part of my job I will be developing a new client guide for those working with archaeologists or using archaeology, this will aim to emphasise the value of archaeology and benefits heritage brings to a project rather than methods of mitigation and risk management."

"Changes brought about following PPS16 and charging developers for archaeology."

"Writing and revising guidance notes."

"Move from PPG15/16 to NPPF meaning an adaptation of our own policies/recommendations"

"Viability of barn conversion scheme. Let me know if you would like further details. Since NPPF, attitudes to development of heritage assets has been noticeably more positive. Emerging LPA policy [e.g. Core Strategy/Local Development Framework] does not normally go into any detail re: heritage assets. There are usually Supplementary Planning Documents that deal with heritage assets."

"Need to give appropriate weight to supplementary planning documents through a much longer and complex adoption process."

"My mindset had to change from one of controlling particular aspects of, for instance, elements of individual structures, to an overarching approach of 'managing change'. Sustainability is the biggest con in the heritage sector, but unfortunately the general public are being taken in by it. It's fine for new build, but for everyone's sake, leave the old stuff alone. It appears that the issue of finite is a delicate thing for Pickles and his monkeys to grasp."

"Replacement of PPG15 with NPPF and void left by deletion of PPG15."

"PD rights in unlisted buildings - work previously requiring permission no longer controlled. Design and Access Statements - planning authorities are often pig in the middle between central government requirement and applicant antipathy to same."

"The introduction of PPS 5 and the cancellation of PPG15 The introduction of the NPPF and the cancellation of PPS 5"

"Threat sifting for identifying candidate sites for listing"

"The introduction of the NPPF in 2011 meant change in the legislation we had to follow for heritage consultancy."

"Both pre and post adoption of the nppf - i. e. Planning decisions were granted using arguments hinging upon the pro-development theme of the emerging nppf prior to its adoption in March 2012...confusion over the weight to be applied to adopted policy at the time (ppg's/pps's)."

"Numerous PPS 5, PPS15, NPPF etc. Every time a LPA adopts a new plan..."

"Changes to planning guidance."

"Reducing Height of buildings - relatively easy Not demolishing part/all of a building in order to conform with a local authorities demands - highly complex"

"I deal mainly with planning applications and the introduction of the 2004 Planning Act and the 2012 National Planning Policy Framework has meant that I am having to develop new arguments for promoting planning applications. Unfortunately many public bodies are not responding to these changes and I often have to take applications to appeal to gain a planning permission. I am now seeing more appeals than I was dealing with 2 years ago."

"Switch from assessment of importance to significance (ppg16 - pps5 transition)"

"Changeover from PPS5 to NPPF - rise of significance as a strong factor in decision making, shift away from conservation towards mitigation and stronger emphasis on sustainable development rather than heritage led regeneration."

"Interpretation of NPPF heritage guidance."

"changed regulator attitudes in mid-project, wasting time and money."

"PPS5 & NPPF - brought in slightly different ways of defining heritage, and improved regulation of non-statutory designations, such as Registered Parks and Gardens."

"Building control increasingly complex and requires more and more professional consultants to get through the legislation, eg. and energy assessment /EPC/BREEAM too complex"

"Building Regs change continuously, there is usually a solution just more expensive than the building owner wants."

"Change to PPS5 and the subsequently to the NPPF/NPPG."

"Having to submit design and Access statement for property that was designated as being in a CA after the application had been submitted but prior to determination"

"Conservation area policy now suggests that not all heritage assets contribute towards significance, this enables owners of buildings to make applications for conservation area consent without necessary proving that there are no viable uses for building etc. In addition securing new proposals whilst mentioned within the policy is now very vague so this means that Conservation and Planning Officers need to negotiate carefully to ensure that conservation areas are preserved and enhanced."

"The change from PPG16 to PPS5 took time to implement and change the way we consult on planning applications without LPA"

"No"

"PPG 16 called for preservation in situ (where achievable) and a first response to threat. This is no longer a policy stipulation and bogus protection measures that were called preserve in situ strategies don't darken doorsteps in quite the same way."

"The introduction of the NPPF and the change of focus from listed building, conservation area etc to the generic heritage assets"

"Provision (in Jersey) of HIAs for applications relating to listed buildings."

"It's mainly a case of changing vocabulary and citing different policy documents"

34. Do you feel you have flexibility to interpret policies in your job/organisation?

|		
Very flexible	15	13.2%
Quite flexible	53	46.5%
Not very flexible	31	27.2%
Not flexible at all	5	4.4%
Don't know	10	8.8%
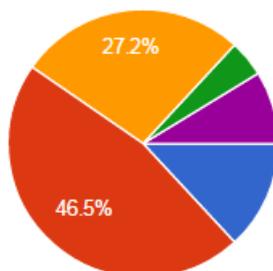
35. Would you agree that, in practice, your work accurately reflects the intended meanings of sectoral policy and guidance?

Strongly agree	19	16.7%
Agree	77	67.5%
Disagree	5	4.4%
Strongly disagree	2	1.8%
Don't know	11	9.6%
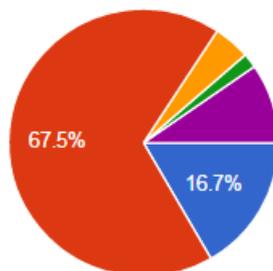
36. How effective do you feel the guidance mechanisms for helping you (or your organisation) understand the principles and requirements of policy are?

Highly effective	3	2.6%
Fairly effective	72	63.2%
Not very effective	29	25.4%
Not effective at all	4	3.5%
Don't know	6	5.3%
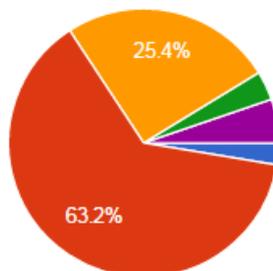
37. How do you keep up with regulatory changes in the sector?

Govt. statements	82	71.9%
EH, HS, Cadw	95	83.3%
Your employer	47	41.2%
Heritage Alliance	22	19.3%
National Trust	10	8.8%
Other independent heritage org.	32	28.1%
Social media	34	29.8%
Informally through colleagues, etc.	73	64%
Generally don't know about changes in regulation	0	0%
Other	23	20.2%
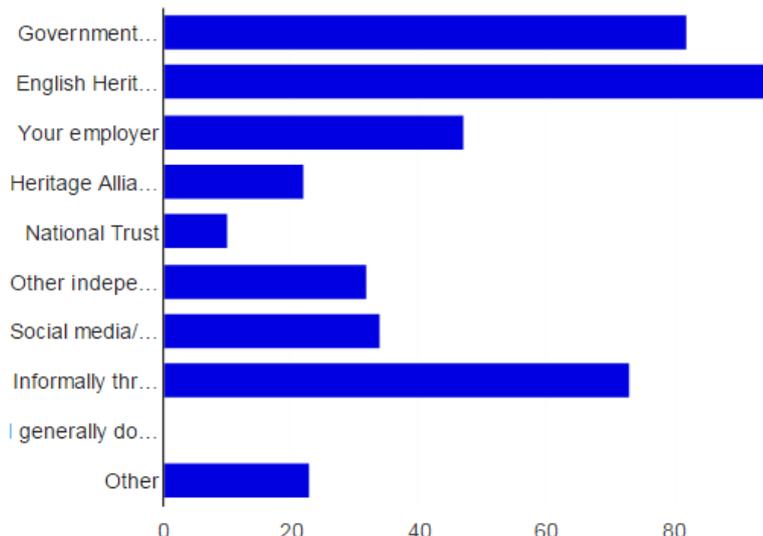
38. a) Have you ever received training on how to interpret and apply new regulatory policies?

Yes - I have taken policy training.	61	53.5%
No - Have been offered, but turned down.	3	2.6%
No - If it was available, would have taken.	43	37.7%
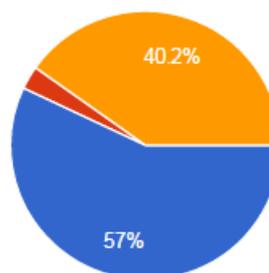
b) If yes, who was training offered by?

Your employer	21	30.4%
English Heritage	50	72.5%
Historic Scotland	1	1.4%
Cadw	2	2.9%
Other	19	27.5%
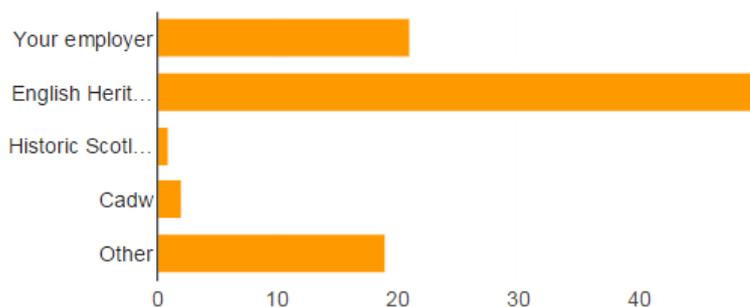
39. Do you have any further comments about heritage regulation?

"Q. 36; Guidance Notes are only just beginning to re-appear post-NPPF. Q. 38; Not enough options. I am involved in delivering CPD to fellow professionals in this subject."

"being within an environmental rather than a heritage organisation i am responsible for updating myself and am heavily reliant on relationships with partner bodies such as EH"

"I think the regulation as set out (England and Wales) is fit for purpose but the interpretation by different bodies can vary quite widely. Despite plenty of case law, different agencies from all sectors (including that of my own) still fail to grasp established principles."

"English Heritage's resolute opposition to any and all substantive reform is a major problem. As the effectiveness of the system on the ground continues to decline (mainly because of cuts in LPA conservation resourcing), EH's refusal to engage meaningfully with anyone contemplating reform (BIS, CLG, or heritage bodies) becomes more and more damaging. This is also true of Cadw, though that is probably mainly because it usually takes its lead from EH."

"I don't think the heritage sector gets the recognition from government that it deserves - the cuts in funding are short sighted. I believe heritage, sustainability and economic development sit together and the wider social benefits of heritage are not fully utilised."

"The Scottish Government abolishing the Historic Environment Advisory Council was a hugely retrograde step, using the excuse of reducing quangos to remove the one body with excellent credentials which was capable of analysing and constructively criticising government policy, when Historic Scotland, as a government agency, were unable to. What we lack is a body with clout *and* governmental contacts to have an influence on the policy-making."

"Personally I do sympathise with the heritage agenda. I feel that the Country's heritage contributes a lot to our enjoyment of villages, towns, cities and the countryside and clearly there are huge economic benefits associated in terms of a tourism industry that in many parts of the country is based on history and heritage. However, I do feel that the heritage agenda can often be put on a pedestal that elevates it to an esoteric status. Because of this I feel that in some aspects heritage protection can go beyond representing the interests of the general public. Throughout my career (as both a local government planner and private consultant) I have regularly dealt with homeowners seeking to make internal alterations to a listed building but are restricted from doing so by often overzealous application of subjective policy by local government conservation practitioners. I don't think this is always in the wider public interest, plainly there are cases where it is but I feel that these are perhaps more related to buildings that are publicly accessibly. Furthermore I often feel that when balancing the benefits of larger scale development, be that renewable energy projects or schemes for the delivery of new homes, against heritage impact the balancing exercise can all too often result in undue weighting in favour of preservation. It's a conflicted area for many in my profession. Whilst I feel that heritage conservation is important there are equally important matters that haven't historically been given the same weighting."

"Under Q36 I don't find the new NPPF Practice Guide particularly helpful in interpretation of the NPPF. Hopefully the planned English Heritage technical guides will prove more useful."

"In the current review of regulation, heritage and conventional regulation need to converge."

"Q38 a) Doesn't allow respondents to record lack of interest in training unless it has actually been offered first"

"I knew a chap who worked as an historic buildings inspector for EH in the south a few years ago, and in his darkest moments he said he was simply presiding over the gradual decline of our historic environment. I believe him. The economy and the blind drive for 'sustainability' is killing our historic environment, and once its gone we'll be looking to someone to explain how and why we let it get to this stage. Wake up Britain, before we make the entire country a theme park.....It'll happen,

trust me. Developers and their cronies in Government are philistines and, frankly, beneath contempt."

"I personally believe that it is our responsibility as heritage professionals to ensure that heritage regulation does what we need it to do. We have been far too slow to tell people why archaeology is important - I think that came through the IfA conference last week. There is some great work being done out there, but there is remains a lot to do. If you worked out how much cash had been put into archaeology via development it would be a lot - and I am not sure you can really see what the benefit of that has had beyond our sector. We publish for specialists, and talk to each other at specialist conferences. It worries me that the recent realisation that we need to do more is too late to have the impact we should be having on local planning agendas. I know we suffer from being poorly paid cross the sector, but until we start making benefit, value and impact the norm, I don't think we will see much of a change. However, there is now much more awareness of this and perhaps with that comes some optimism for the future of the sector."

"Re-instate the PPG's and PPS's asap. Make it obligatory that local planning authorities have sufficient specialist conservation staff AND enforce LBC conditions and take action against un-authorised works Ensure the professional independence of specialist conservation staff within a local planning authority Ensure that LA Planning Service are NOT SUBUMED into other LA departments such as the Chief Executives Dept, Regeneration /Procurement Depts. in which other policies smother the heritage legislation. There should always be an independent Planning Head of Service (aka Chief Planner)"

"There are multiple answers to most of the questions above, and I could write a short essay on each. There would be different answers to each of your questions according to circumstances, so I'm not sure how valuable these answers are."

"It needs teeth. There needs to be more clarification. The IfA has become important to regulation consultation, but there is no mention of it here. They provide standards to adhere to, to fully comply with the regulation, as do HS, EH and CADW. However, as with much in archaeology there is little legal framework, thus bad practice is not properly punished, and there is no proper professional standard that an archaeologist has to reach before being allowed to practice in the UK. We need the IfA to have proper legal status, so they can enforce regulations and standards. There also needs to be questions over who the regulations apply to. Ie, utility companies only have to follow them as guidance, but if they decide to ignore them then they can, whilst other companies have to comply. This could lead to accusations of unfairness, and the potential for important heritage assets being damaged - especially in the current economic climate. Without a proper legal framework and teeth, archaeology and the heritage sector, will continue to be undervalued, and suffer all the problems that stem from this. If we cannot take ourselves seriously, we shouldn't expect anyone else to."

"Regulation is available to protect heritage assets, but in reality it is aimed at designated heritage assets as whilst powers are available through Article 4 directions etc to protect them they are time consuming to introduce and often reactionary when a heritage asset is under threat of demolition."

"Statutory designations generally work well but some of English Heritage's expectations eg the value of local listing are over-optimistic."

"N/A"

"Heritage regulation is tangentially relevant to what I do in my work as a self-employed role, so some of the questions above were difficult to answer and I had to put 'don't know' rather than 'not relevant in my case'."

"Regulation tends to be very polar and extreme. Either a building is Listed and protected extremely well, with far too much expertise 'wasted' on preserving change to unseen details and structures. Or else it is not at all; in that case anyone can argue demolishing a (non-listed, non-conservation area) building and erecting another one twice its size and made of unflexible materials, which will probably be unfit for purpose in 30 yrs time. To the detriment of the local distinctiveness and the 'old building' it replaced. Too much energy is spent on analysing individual buildings than on understanding why heritage is valued and valuable economically in the long term. Focus should shift to regulation that enables the understanding of buildings to each other and the urban/social surroundings they inhabit."

"Current potential policy changes tied in with cuts in EH and conservation officers could be very detrimental to conserving our heritage and de-regulation could be a disaster without adequate safeguards Consider requiring conservation accreditation for all work on protected sites I note you do not mention AABC or SCA in your list above - these are the most relevant accreditations for conservation architects"

"Question 26: The leadership is strong - but going in the wrong direction because it believes in authenticity, the efficacy of protection and preservation - which are illusions."

"It needs incentives; e.g. removal of VAT on essential repairs and maintenance. A public awareness campaign re obligations/responsibilities. Conveyancers and Real Estate Agents should have a legal duty to inform new and prospective owners of the law."

"The ERR Bill is due to be passed in the next few days, and will have an impact. It's not specifically heritage regulation, but includes sections on heritage and designation. As I work for EH, new regulation is always announced via management briefing e-mails, and training sessions tend to be organised, as well as discussions within teams. A lot of the time we've actually written most of it though, so the training often happens in advance of it being published by government."

"The minute control that conservation officers and EH staff have over issues is often a bad use of their (and other's) time. No respect is shown to applicants who may have many years of experience and young staff may know some theory but know little about the practise of their book learnt theories."

"The problem is that too many Conservation Officers/Planners are scared to approve change and as a result more and more people are choosing not to apply to Local Authorities for approval or advice. I have been doing it long enough to remember when Local Authorities were helpful. This is no longer the case and I have advised clients not to buy Listed Buildings because of the many restrictions which will be put on them by the various consultation bodies."

"You need to treat each nation in the uk separately for your PhD. Not all policies etc are the same and therefore not comparable in some respects. Regulation differs from one nation to another"

Further comments:

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40. Do you have any general comments about this survey or the topics covered?

"The natural environment sector seems to have much better structures and organisations in place to influence policy than the historic environment sector. Are we missing a trick somewhere?"

"Sorry to be brief but hopefully this will help as a starter. Good luck."

"Apologies the answers are brief, time is short at the moment!"

"[email address]"

"When dealing with the "sector", most of us deal with multiple heritage assists, not one area. This means that the answers to many questions will have caveats, i.e. exceptions to the rule, which is why I have opted for the middle ground in many of my answers. Please do not forget that most heritage professionals will be multi-disciplinary, dealing with listed buildings, historic areas and archaeology, and also (in my case) museums. The questions seem to be anticipating answers from people with only one area of expertise, which is seldom the case."

"[email address]"

"Really good survey and questions"

"[email address]"

"[email address]"

"I think you will find that my views do not match the majority of responses!"

"[email address]"

"I think Government is trying to reduce obstacles to change and development but the planning/EH professionals on the ground ignore this and try to keep more and more control over too many aspects of projects. There are far too many planning conditions. I have been involved in altering listed buildings since the early 1980s and I have seen more and more regulation. I remain unconvinced that this has benefitted the historic structures."

"[email address]"

"[email address]. The subject is very dear to me, and I have a great passion for historic and other interesting buildings but I am convinced that they all have to accommodate change or they will not be valued and will gradually fall into disrepair and will disappear. I feel much of the fun of working on historic building has been taken away by the many hurdles put in front of one by small minded bureaucrats who only see the small world immediately in front of their tiny minds. (Sorry - you can tell that this is a pet subject!). I also don't think law makers talk to people like me. The problem is interpretation by these bureaucrats."

"It took me about 15 minutes to complete. Not too onerous. I think more people would take it if it were made shorter. Questions 8 - 19 could be consolidated as I think a number of these questions are similar [I might be wrong on this, just my opinion!] No real issue with the terminology...however I work in the planning/development sector and I work with heritage assets every day. To the layman, it may be better to define the types of policy better, as [in my experience] many 'regular' people do not know much about planning policies! I wouldn't add any other categories re: the multiple choice questions. I think, as it is a survey for student research,

people will be willing to give employer details and job title. None of the questions were patronising. The policy questions are worth including but you are right, people do not know that much about policy. If you are sending this to experienced planners/conservation employees, they will be able to answer Part 3 fine [well, they should!] Are you exploring private sector attitudes towards heritage assets, specifically? It might be a good idea to include a section about how one adapts to working with a heritage asset...if that makes sense? We employ an architect that draws up heritage schemes in pencil/pen [with an artistic flair] to make the scheme look good. A CAD drawing, no matter how sympathetic the overall scheme is, never looks as good as hand drawn plans. This is favoured by Conservation Officers and Planners alike. I think some of the multiple choice questions could be consolidated. Apart from that, no other faults! Just give me a shout if you want any further info/clarification on anything."

"Ultimately this area is not really subject to rational analysis (sense of self, values are personal and highly emotive) despite the clever arguments put forward to the contrary in the name of policy"

"Good luck. I suspect that government will loosen regulation in the heritage field and that obligatory investigation of sites will become less welcome in the rush to kick start economic growth"

"[email address]"

"It is extremely difficult to answer these questions consistently when there are distinct differences of practice across the UK. For example, heritage in the devolved countries (particularly Scotland & Wales, know less about NI) does have more significance at political and policy level than it appears to have coming from Westminster. To a certain extent I could answer this series of questions one way when talking about Westminster & England, and another way when talking about Scotland. As an example, read the recent Talbot Rice lecture, quoted earlier."

"You can achieve both - sustainable development and the protection and enhancement of the historic environment through the planning process and conservation legislation...........if you know where to look and how to apply those principles and policies, change can be managed - but it cannot be prevented or halted and I think the tone of the questionnaire somehow seems to intimate that it is 'preservation or development' - and not a careful balance and combination of both. Why should we not create historic and regionally distinctive places for the future?"

"N/A"

"There didn't seem to be a choice to say that I'm employed in a private architectural practice, so I chose the nearest option!"

"Good luck!"

"I may not be a good fit for your survey, as for the last 10 years I've been a self-employed consultant, not working in development-led archaeology. Some of my work has related to heritage regulation, some of the time. In the past (1989-2002) I did work as an archaeologist for a local authority with a contracting field section, but also for the same organisation in the (then) SMR, and doing maternity cover planning archaeology."

"[email address].net All comments are my personal view, and not those of IfA. Are you undertaking an organisational survey as well?"

"Good luck with the PhD."

"I'll send you an e-mail tomorrow."

"[email address] I am also a post-graduate of York: so best of luck ! (I failed the D.Phil and they gave me an M.Phil) Overall, the protection of our national architectural and urban heritage is getting weaker and weaker. Local authorities are being deliberately starved of heritage funding support, the quality of local political leadership is appalling, local councillors are only interested in vanity projects (invariably very poor quality), the training of planners in heritage issues (including design) is poor, architects, in general, are very poor in handling heritage projects unless they are accredited in conservation via RIBA or AABC As far as I can ascertain, English Heritage is very, very weak and does not put up a fight. I know many people who have pleaded with them to get involved but have been very disappointed. Heritage south of Birmingham appears to be strong, but north of Birmingham e.g. around Manchester is very weak. A survey of the distribution of conservation specialists in The Building Conservation Directories reveals that they are concentrated south of Birmingham. This illustrates the North South divide in the importance of architectural heritage to both people and local politicians and explains why the North of England, particularly south Lancashire and the Manchester sub-region, is increasingly tawdry."

"Thanks for letting me get that off my chest! Good luck with the research. I'm two thirds of the way through a PhD in vernacular architectural history - before it's all gone - so I can sympathise with the workload, and having to wade through stuff from old moaners like me."

Abbreviations

ACE – Arts Council England

ACEVO – Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations

AHD – Authorised Heritage Discourse

ALGAO – Association of Local Government Archaeological Officers

AMA – Ancient Monuments Act(s)

APPAG – All-Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group

APPG – All-Party Parliamentary Group

ASPB – Assembly-Sponsored Public Body

BBC – British Broadcasting Company

BEFS – Built Environment Forum Scotland

BIS – Department of Business Innovation and Skills

BM – British Museum

CAA – Civic Amenities Act

CABE – Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment

CASE – Culture and Sport Evidence

CBA – Council for British Archaeology

CCT – Churches Conservation Trust

CHCfE – Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe

CIfA – Chartered Institute of Archaeologists

CLA – Country Land and Business Association

CoE – Council of Europe

CPRE – Campaign to Protect Rural England

CV – Civic Voice

DAMHB – Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings

DCLG – Department of Communities and Local Government

DCMS – Department of Culture, Media and Sport

DECC – Department of Energy and Climate Change

DEFRA – Department of Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs

DETR – Department of Environment, Transport, and the Regions

DfE – Department for Education

DfT – Department for Transport

DNH – Department for National Heritage

DoE – Department of the Environment

DoH – Department of Health

DTLR – Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions

EAHY – European Architectural Heritage Year

EEC – European Economic Community

EH – English Heritage (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission England)

ELC – European Landscape Convention

EU – European Union

FMB – Federation of Master Builders

GLC – Greater London Council

HBMD – Historic Buildings and Monuments Division

HC – House of Commons

HE – Historic England

HEACS – Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland

HEF – Historic Environment Forum

HEPU – Historic Environment Policy Unit

HER – Historic Environment Record

HES – Historic Environment Scotland

HHA – Historic Houses Association

NHPP – National Heritage Protection Plan

HLF – Heritage Lottery Fund

HM – Her Majesty's

HPR – Heritage Protection Review

HRP – Historic Royal Palaces

HS – Historic Scotland

ICOMOS – International Council of Sites and Monuments

IfA – Institute for Archaeologists

IHBC – Institute for Historic Buildings Conservation

IPPR – Institute for Public Policy Research

JCNAS – Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies

JQBID – Jewellery Quarter Business Improvement District

LBC – Listed Building Consent

LGA – Local Government Association

LGiU – Local Government Information Unit

MA – Museums Association

MHLG – Ministry of Housing and Local Government

MLA – Museums, Libraries and Archives Council

MP – Member of Parliament

MSP – Member of Scottish Parliament

NAS – National Amenity Society(ies)

NDPB – Non-Departmental Public Body

NGO – Non-governmental organisation

NHMF – National Heritage Memorial Fund

NHPP – National Heritage Protection Plan

NPM – New Public Management

NPPF – National Planning Policy Framework

NT – National Trust

NTS – National Trust for Scotland

ODPM – Office of the Deputy Prime Minister

OPiT – Our Place in Time: The Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland

PAG – Practitioner's Advisory Group

P(LB&CA)A – Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act

PPG15 – Planning Policy Guidance Note 15

PPG16 – Planning Policy Guidance Note 16

PPS5 – Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the historic environment

RCAHMS – Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland

RCAHMW – Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments Wales

RESCUE – RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust

RIBA – Royal Institute of British Architects

RICS – Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors

RSPB – Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

RTPI – Royal Town Planning Institute

SAVE – SAVE Britain's Heritage

SEED – Scottish Executive Education Department

SEU – Social Exclusion Unit

SNP – Scottish Nationalist Party

SPAB – Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

SPAG – Spatial Planning Advisory Group

TAF – The Archaeology Forum

TCPA – Town and Country Planning Act(s)

THA – The Heritage Alliance

UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

VAT – Value-added tax

WAG – Welsh Assembly Government

WAT – Welsh Archaeological Trust(s)

WCED – World Commission on Economic Development

Glossary

Amenity – is a measure of the quality of an environment or the potential for enjoyment that it holds for people. Amenity is contributed by any element which contributes positively to a place, in terms of character, distinctiveness, visual attractiveness, even safety, or cleanliness. For example, tangible factors such as historic buildings, the relationships between buildings, trees, green spaces, may all contribute to amenity, as well as less tangible factors such as tranquillity. More broadly it can also equally refer to such things as leisure interests, the availability of services such as GP surgeries and nurseries, and in previous eras was used to refer to basic services such as sanitation. Amenity can be used as an aggregate term for all these factors which contribute towards making a particular place good. Largely, this thesis assumes an important consideration of heritage in amenity calculations and describes the concept as one which is of supreme value in the process of planning for the historic environment.

Archaeology – refers to 'the study of the physical evidence of the human past, whether built, buried, or underwater, ranging from investigations of landscape through settlements, structures, and features, to artefacts and biological remains' (Southport Group 2011: *iv*).

Archaeology sector – is considered to be a part of the wider historic environment sector. Whilst archaeological roles may be considerably technically varied, with many practitioners crossing professional boundaries into museums sectors or buildings conservation, archaeology is broadly considered to be a single profession by virtue of the prevalence of archaeology organisations.

Archaeological interest – is a term used in PPS5 and the NPPF. It is used to refer to 'the evidence of past human activity, worthy of expert investigation at some point', than a heritage asset holds (DCLG 2012a: 50). It is applied in the planning system with reference to expert-led academic criteria for value.

Architectural and artistic interest – is a term which whilst no long defined within the NPPF was a feature of planning policy for listed buildings since 1947 and remains a term which is regularly

used when describing the 'value' of heritage assets. It is considered in its official usage to relate to a set of expert-defined academic criteria for value.

Authorising environment – is a term used by Mark Moore (1995), added to by Kate Clark (2015), and developed further in this thesis which describes the essential relationships between stakeholders involved in the production of public value. This thesis places these relationships (between professionals, peers in other sectors, politicians, and publics) at the heart of the framework for improving sector strategic engagements. *See also: Public value framework.*

Being-in-the-world – is a concept from Heidegger which describes the essential relationship between Dasein – essentially, a person – and their surroundings. In Heidegger's view a person is intrinsically shaped by this existence in the world; It is inseparable from one's 'self'. This concept is employed in this thesis as an expression of how fundamental to any sense of self heritage will be, and to describe how heritage identities both arise from everyday life and are not clearly distinguishable from other 'attachments', e.g. family, beauty, amenity. This concept underpins the author's commitment to a public value basis for heritage.

Community – similarly to 'the public', this term is recognised to be an abstraction used to describe an imagined set of people with an interest in a particular place. It is often used to connote residency in a place, but may also include transient population (e.g. workers), or other actors (businesses, universities). As an abstraction, the community 'sphere' is recognised to be an essentially plural and contested space and thus cannot genuinely be understood as a singular entity, masking, as it inevitably does, a variety of opinions. However, community is a level at which plurality can be mediated in order to achieve a valid basis for action or determination in relation to a contextual issue. It is thus a more practical term than the larger-scale and normative 'public'. The principle of a localised 'community' audience is an important one within many historic environment contexts and is used in this thesis when referring to a local level unit of public discourse. However, community is not assumed to be uncontested, or inherently inclusive (See: Wallace 2010).

Cultural process – is a term derived from Raymond Williams (1977: 121) and used in this thesis, to describe the fact that heritage is essentially a system of social and cultural practices which is dynamic and changing over time. This essentially follows critical heritage theorists such as Lowenthal (1985) and Smith (2006) who argue that it is not the physical thing which is heritage, but rather the 'human action' (Harvey 2001) and emotional engagement that defines the connection between people and things or places. All attempts to manage the cultural process of heritage (through, for example, state regulation or community action) are acting to shape the cultural process in a continuum. Whilst potentially individually unconnected, these actions

cumulatively inform the understandings and actions of heritage organisations, political decision-makers, and communities who are engaged in the management of personal plural connections to the world (see Being-in-the-World) (see also; Structure of feeling).

Era – is a term used to describe a period of regulatory history which broadly exhibits consistent regulatory features or dominant ethical influences. In defining eras in this way it is acknowledged that they are based on the author's readings of specific elements of the political and regulatory environment and are therefore only intended to be largely indicative labels. The processes by which eras change is also glacial, with transition occurring in a continuum, and not usually with a clear cut line between one era and the next.

Epochal analysis – is the methodological tool taken from Raymond Williams (1977) used to describe the development of eras and the advancement of cultural and political processes in a continuum.

Heritage – in this thesis is the term used to describe the feelings of attachment that people experience and apply to physical remains of the past (e.g. objects, or buildings) or the physical influences which have shaped landscapes or the built environment. Feelings, memories, or experiences can all be described as heritage and derived notions such as sense of place, identity, sense of belonging, and emotional well-being can all be contributed to by heritage. This usage reflects the particular public value ethic which is developed in this thesis.

Heritage is a broad term and can be applied to the historic environment, natural environment, and museums sectors, as well as relevant wider social or community activities. Heritage is judged to imply a considerable set of shared values. Where the term heritage is used it is meant to reflect these broad shared values.

In more common usage, Heritage is also used to mean the impact that the past has on the present. It has multiple other connotations: The term may recall a sense of 'patrimony' which goes beyond ownership in a physical and legal sense. In a similar vein it has associations with inheritance and something which can be passed down. The meaning of heritage has also had a variety of meanings which have changed over time. In the 1980s and 90s, for example, heritage was used pejoratively to describe a touristic, and nostalgic corruption of history for the purposes of enjoyment. Many of these meanings are still employed both within the professional sector and with non-specialist audiences.

Heritage asset – is a term used in planning policy since PPS5 that refers to 'A building, monument, site, place, area or landscape identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions, because of its heritage interest. Heritage asset includes

designated heritage assets and assets identified by the local planning authority (including local listing).' (DCLG 2012a: 52).

Heritage interest – is a term used in planning policy but not defined explicitly. In policy it can be interpreted to be an amalgamation of archaeological, historic, and artistic interest. It is used in this thesis to describe the *interest of people in things* - possibly relating to history, architecture, archaeology, etc., but equally relating to visual attractiveness, personal memory, or other general interests. It is implied that this term provides a different explanation of value to those categories traditionally defined in planning policy which are judged to be primarily materially focussed and academic.

Heritage management – is a term used throughout the thesis as a shorthand for the wide range of practices and responsibilities of heritage bodies. Where it is used in relation to a more specific activity (e.g. maintaining Historic Environment Records) it is used to imply the relevance of that activity to shared principles of a broader heritage.

Heritage value – is a term used frequently in this thesis and one which has the potential to cause considerable confusion to readers. The term is used to reflect the broad category of attachment to objects or places originating from the past. Heritage values are thus the intangible, applied feelings of individuals (singular) or groups (aggregated). Other theorists categorise values into various typologies, however, these are considered to be valuable only insofar as they mediate the collective discovery of group values by simplifying the plurality of personally held values. The type of value developed in this thesis is described in chapter four.

Historic Environment – is the term used to refer to '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' (DCLG 2012a: 52). The term is the preferred label used in England and the UK for the aggregated archaeological, and buildings conservation sectors – i.e. those engaged with the management of the physical remains of the past in the environment. It does not include wider heritage sectors such as museums.

Historic Environment sector – is the combined professional organisation of actors engaged in the management of heritage assets in the physical landscape. The thesis primarily focusses on the operations of this sub-set of heritage activity which is resultant from such things as the spatial planning process and wider processes of historic protection, conservation management, archaeology, and uses of heritage for social and environmental effects. These include, for example, regeneration and use of historic buildings, heritage feelings such as sense of place, happiness, and well-being, and other physical and emotional effects of heritage which is tied to

the built and natural environment. The historic environment sector may, therefore, be considered to span multiple specialist/technical professions, who share similar ethical outlooks or practical spheres of operation. Historic Environment management shares many ethical aims with other wider heritage management, which crosses over into the natural environment, museums, etc. The historic environment sector may be relevant to these wider sectors and have impacts upon them.

Historic interest – is a term regularly used in the planning system which, although no longer explicitly defined in the NPPF, is used to mean the academic interest in the historic fabric. Historic interest may contribute to heritage interest, but it is not in itself is not a factor that relates directly to public value.

Issue network – is a term first used by Hugh Heclo (1978) used to describe a model for policy making which engages a wide number of partners in the process of developing policy ideas and developing and implementing them.

Landscape/Townscape – is a (planning) term which has been used and developed since the 1960s era to refer to the general appearance of a place. Whilst in policy distinction is sometimes made between urban townscape and rural landscape, this thesis considers the terms to be of the same meaning, although landscape is used where not in reference to a specific published reference, and indicates the more holistic application of townscape to both urban and rural environments. This usage draws on the term landscape as utilised as a core part of international visions for cultural heritage, including: the World Heritage Committee's definition of Cultural Landscapes; and the Council of Europe vision for cultural heritage developed through the 2000 European Landscape Convention, and the 2005 Faro Convention. In this latter sense, the use of the term is very closely aligned to the public value paradigm and coherent with a plural, public, and ontological view of heritage which is developed in this thesis.

Place – is a concept that describes 'a holistic way of viewing the built [and natural] environment and the people who use it' (Farrells 2014: 157). Like heritage and landscape, place is determined by people's perceptions of it. It is a 'constructed reality' (Escobar: 2001: 140) on which heritage impacts. Places are overlapping and plural; it may be applied to a room in a house, a building, street, suburb, or town. Equally it could be a field, a valley, forest or national park. Like landscape it is both an imagined and real thing, for whilst it relates to physical and tangible elements of the built and natural environment it is not bound by a static set of factors, either geographical, political, or social. One person's place will likely be different from another's (see for example, Clifford 2011) as each brings their own uses and experiences of a place into their own conception. However place also provides a medium for discussion and the collective

discovery of contextual approaches to place-management. *See also; landscape, heritage, Being-in-the-world*.

Policy community – is a term, defined first by Laffin (1986: 5), to describe a model for policy-making which restricts engagement over policy-making to a relatively closed set of actors, often those who share a value consensus. Policy communities may operate with low public profile and may be an efficient way of making policy quickly.

Professional – is the term used to describe a specialist who works in any role within the historic environment which has necessitated particular training to gain recognised competence in their given role. They will work to an accepted 'professional' standard – with this being the main identifier of professionalism, rather than getting paid. They will subscribe to various ethical codes governing their practice usually through a specific professional institute such as the CIfA, IHBC, RICS, RIBA, RTPI, RIAS, or CIOB, but potentially form a wider unofficially codified sectoral ethic such as is developed by English Heritage (2008a).

Public – is a term which essentially describes people as a whole and can be a corollary of community (if considered on a local scale) or society or citizenry (if on a national level). In this thesis the argument recognises that the term public is necessarily an abstraction. As such engagement with the (or a) 'public' is something which must be contextually defined. The term 'audience' or 'stakeholders' is a more precise variant, and recognises that in different contexts, publics may be different entities, for example; people interested in archaeology, or local residents. Thus, the precise identity of the public is hypothetical, or even irrelevant in the context of this investigation. Abstract recourse to 'public will' or 'public value' can be made through quantitative or qualitative research (e.g. 92% of people think it is important to protect heritage') however it is essentially assumed that publics are plural and there is no such thing as a singular public good. *See also; Public value*.

Public interest – See *public value*.

Public sphere – is a term originating from Habermas (1989) which refers to a form of social 'rational-critical' discussion between citizens through which they address their collective concerns and develop political consciousness (Habermas 1989: 319). Habermas' final articulation of the public sphere came in 1996, where he articulated a specific interest in the operation of social movements and campaigning organisations as vehicles of the collective social consciousness (1996: 337). This 'sluice-gate' model defines a theoretical logic that suggests that true public value might deliver a type of pure and direct democratic communication – articulated through support for particular issues.

The main use of the term in this thesis is in the sense used by Benington, who develops Moore's theories of public value by introducing a conception of a public sphere through which public managers can dissociate immediate public concerns, from longer term importance to a wider public (Benington 2009: 233). The term essentially implies a more complex engagement between democratic desires of citizens and wider responsibilities of public managers to sustainable management of a 'shared' resource, such as the historic environment. It thus represents a longer term 'public good'. Benington's use of the term also implies a discursive process of sustaining a legitimate public sphere by continual dialogue with publics and as such retains the original Habermasian meaning. The public sphere is therefore an intangible set of outcomes which implicitly fulfil the public value mission.

Beyond this, Habermas' discussions of the public sphere have the potential to add considerable interest to a system of public value heritage management. Whilst this is not explored in great depth in this thesis, it can be argued that in the current era, as described in chapter five, public engagement in rational-critical discourse is been enabled by new patterns of engagement with individual and non-traditional forms of political engagement, and that digital and social media enables much greater potential to capture and utilise 'public opinion' in politically useful ways. This carries potential to shape the way the historic environment sector pursues various practices, such as which enhance the public relationship would have extra value through 'communicative' action – essentially processes as those which are based upon achieving mutual understanding between actors, rather than those which are 'strategic' and are based upon coercion or manipulation of norms or power (Habermas 1984: 285; 2001: 12). This distinction provides a way to consider the impact of various practices, for example designation (strategic) and community heritage planning (communicative) and their effects on the public value-derived influence of sector actors. There is potential to explore these concepts in future research.

Public value – is a term which has several meanings in the context of this thesis: (1) a theory of public administration develop by Mark Moore in the 1990s and widely influential in the 2000s in British politics; in this sense public value is the name which describes the processes by which public institutions are managed for the ends of 'creating' benefits for the public (in either of the following senses). (2) A description of feelings of importance held by the general public which apply to such things as the historic environment (e.g. people think that historic buildings are important to the character of a town). And (3) as a measure of worth value which produces a benefit for the public (e.g. access to heritage increases the social well-being of people). These meanings are used contextually throughout the thesis. This worth may be measured in terms of monetary or non-monetary values; for instance, economic gain, or happiness which result from

the preservation of historic buildings. Different scholars (e.g. Fujiwara and Campbell 2011; Avrami et. al. 2000) have sought to measure public value in both ways.

In all three meanings, public value is essentially a Utilitarian concept: At base it places value on the delivery of the best possible outcome in any given context. It recognises that the values of individuals are essentially plural and that mediation and measurement is required to deliver an acceptable outcome. Thus any use of public value which *assumes* value is empty rhetoric.

Public value era – is the term used in this thesis to describe the current era of heritage management ideology and the one which is the primary subject of the investigation's focus. It is argued that a set of recurring set of ethical principles (defined in chapter three) underpin the observation of this era.

Public value framework – is a term developed for this thesis and used to describe a notional system for the historic environment sector, based on the principles of public value, which could enable sustainable sectoral engagement with politicians, professionals, and the public. The Framework is based upon the need to create optimum relationships within Mark Moore's authorising environment. What is more, the framework aims to be effective at guiding sector strategy under any type of political leadership, by being reactive to changes in the authorising environment.

Public value mission – is a term used as a shorthand for the task which Moore's thesis contends should be the purpose for public managers and public bodies. The strategic triangle describes the main components of the public value mission. This thesis explores how the public value mission can be effected through political relationships and in the context of influences set out within the authorising environment.

Public value paradigm – is the term used to describe the author's perception of a broadly consistent set of ethical principles in the historic environment sector which, although not necessarily uncontested or completely dominant, are recognised as being important to the overall professional, political, and societal perceptions of heritage and the purpose of historic environment management. The principles of public value are outlined in chapter three, and the manifestations of public value in theory and practice considered in chapter four.

Significance – is a term which, as applied since 2010 in PPS5 refers in the planning system to the 'value' of a heritage asset which derives from its archaeological, architectural, artistic, or historic interest. In this thesis the relationship between significance and value is articulated in chapter 4.

Strategic triangle – is a term first used by Mark Moore to group the three most important aspects of the 'public value mission' of a public body. These are: (1) Describing the public value outcomes for that body, (2) maintaining the 'organisational capacity' necessary for the achievement of those outcomes, and (3) ensuring the 'authorisation' required to continue to effectively understand and deliver those outcomes, for example, through effectively consulting public stakeholders, or effectively working alongside other bodies. *See also: Authorising Environment.*

Structure of feeling – is a concept, drawn from Raymond Williams (1977: 128), which describes a pattern of impulses that is widely shared in society and which is a product of a social and historical progression but which is not explicitly learned from one another (Matthews 2001). Williams' intention is to show that culture is not already formed, but is continuously forming. It is argued in this thesis that the prevalence of public value discourse since 1997 is an instance of a broad structure of feeling which has been influential over the practice of heritage management during this period.

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